

# **Door Supervision**

*Location, Capability, Collaboration*

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**This thesis is thoroughly dedicated to all those who have fallen victim to unprovoked violence in night-time establishments and to the handful of capable guardians whom I have had the pleasure of being supported by over a number of years on the door who had a genuine interest in protecting the vulnerable, you know who you are!**

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## **Abstract**

Borrowing from theory ranging from routine activities (Cohen and Felson, 1979) to Eck's (2003) controller concept this thesis focuses on two under-researched but growing aspects of criminology, making an original contribution to both. The focus is on rural crime in the night-time economy and the door supervisors who guard the venues within it. The multi-method approach which combines observation, interview, and questionnaire analysis enables recommendations for reducing conflict and effectively tackling violence and aggression in night-time venues.

The thesis first explores the relationship between location and drinking environment at 'Brassville', a rural research site and 'Horsefield', an urban research site. The thesis finds a striking similarity in the drinking structure and habits of rural customers when compared to urban customers. Severe incidents of violence were documented in Brassville, and although rural and urban violent crime rates remain significantly different, one rural area of the district in which both research sites sit had a higher rate of violence than urban areas over a thirty-four month period. Second, it explores capability among door supervisors (more commonly known as 'Bouncers' (Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister, & Winlow, 2003)) or 'place managers', following the introduction of the regulatory Security Industry Authority (SIA) in England and Wales. Capability, the ability to competently and efficiently carry out a duty, of guardians is identified as crucial to safeguarding the public, whatever the location. Interviews with door supervisors inform the discussion on capability and highlight the importance of providing door supervisors with effective and practical training, creating capable guardians. Finally the thesis identifies and compares collaboration between door supervisors and the police. By examining the benefits and limitations of such collaboration, the thesis concludes that the nature of these relationships is often temperamental, and structure is needed to improve them.

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**The night-time economy: *'an environment diffuse with various forms of disorder, and its clientele, attracted as they are by the promise, excitement, and excess, need to be controlled. This is why bouncers frame the doorways of the pubs, clubs and bars that lie at the core of the night-time economy's cultural and commercial reality'***

**(Hobbs, D., Hadfield, P., Lister, S., & Winlow, S., 2003)**

## Chapter One. Introduction.

Patterns of work and leisure in England and Wales have changed faster in recent years than at any time in history. Geographic mobility is altering the structure of the family and gender roles continue to evolve. The traditional role of men as breadwinners is declining and how we define masculinity has changed (Winlow, 2001). An aspect to traditional masculinity that has not declined, particularly among young men, is the role which violence can play in achieving status (Hobbs, 1995). However, even in this domain gender roles are changing with the emergence of the 'ladette' (a slang term for boisterous and crude social behaviour by females). The stage for routine violent behaviour is the night-time economy, which acts as:

'a readily identifiable 'rendezvous concept' or analytical lens, through which to explore a range of salient contemporary issues, including: an apparent rise in citizen concern regarding violence, incivilities and so-called 'quality of life' issues in the public realm; reconfigurations in the organization and delivery of policing and crime control; and the relationship between these themes and broader political and economic transformations' (Hadfield, 2008, 6).

This chapter explains the motivation behind the thesis and sets the scene by putting the night-time economy in context. In doing so, it identifies three core objectives amongst the three broader themes of location, capability and collaboration, and sets out an overall aim of proposing recommendations for reducing conflict and effectively tackling violence and aggression in night-time venues.

### **Background**

To analyse violence in the night-time economy one also explores violence and aggression in other arenas, mainly in young people. Examples which are far from routine are the 2011 riots in England and Wales and student protests in London. These illustrate a changing attitude to the police force:

'Where once we would immediately be drawn into the ideological frame of the capitalist state apparatus when hailed by a police officer (Althusser 1998), we are now more likely to feel inconvenienced by a mere public servant in a ridiculous hat who has attempted to address the insecurities of the self by taking an occupational role dependent on state-sanctioned power' (Winlow and Hall, 2011, 8).

What fuels violence in the night-time economy? Perhaps it is the contradictions inherent in contemporary life. Media has an all pervading influence on contemporary society, influencing standards of acceptability and desirability, particularly among the young. However, political truths and media messages do not align for many. People's expectations are fashioned by political misinformation and the wide-ranging effects of the media. Media-inspired dreams commonly cannot

be fulfilled, which creates frustration, hostility and anger (Merton, 1968). Aspirations have changed from traditional values towards those portrayed in celebrity culture, and young people 'get to know their rights but not their responsibilities' (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000, 93). Frustrations can then be played out in the night-time economy as people seek release from the mundane routines of the working week, and those in positions of authority who aim to control these spaces, such as the police and door supervisors, can become resented.

The night time economy provides an 'analytical lens' through which to explore such contemporary issues as violence and aggression. The venues which comprise this market depend on door supervisors who play a pivotal role in the successful operation of its activities. Although night-time venues are often chaotic and permissive (Hadfield, 2008; Ocejo and Brotherton, 2009), and often include criminals, drug users and dealers within their regular clientele (See *inter alia*: Measham, Aldridge, & Parker, 2001) door supervisors who guard entrances to venues can "redirect or limit the flow of patrons and limit access to certain persons and therefore have a distinct crime prevention advantage over facilities that are accessible to the general public" (Fox and Sobol, 2000, 434). Changing the behaviour of actors in the night-time economy may be difficult but door supervisors can 'regulate' and control access to the places they wish to frequent (Homel *et al.*, 1992, 692). Venues can try to guard against providing environments which are chaotic and which naturally harbour violence and door supervisors are playing an ever more crucial role in securing the night-time economy in light of decreasing police numbers. Further, they must do so amidst strict guidelines in the face of very violent and difficult situations (Pratten, 2007; Livingstone and Hart, 2003; Graham, Jelley, & Purcell, 2005). The hedonism of the night-time economy can of course be fun, but the mix of alcohol and excitement can be dangerous. The link between incidents of public violence and collective drinking and assaults has been described as 'complex and powerful' and menacingly include assaults which are 'unprovoked and unjust' (Tomsen, 1997, 100). Some pertinent facts:

- In 2005, Britain's night-time economy comprised of over 110,000 venues including 3,800 nightclubs (Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister and Winlow, 2005).
- Recently the British Beer and Pub Association has estimated fifteen million people use pubs every week (Simmonds, 2012).
- The night-time economy is a plethora of 'consumerism, carnival, inclusion and exclusion' (Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister and Winlow, 2003), where hedonism and disorder is 'normalised' (Tomsen, 1997) and 'dominated' by youth (Hobbs *et al.*, 2005). Youths are therefore a specific group of suitable targets with a high risk of victimisation. Interviews conducted in

New York, USA revealed that those who frequented bars were likely to be young and openly express anger (Quigley *et al*, 2003) whilst alcohol is described as the 'core commodity that attracts young people' (Roberts, 2009, 64).

- The United Kingdom Survey of Facial Injuries survey (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) showed that the fifteen to twenty-five age group suffered the greatest number of alcohol-related facial assaults and were therefore the most vulnerable. Men were at greatest risk of victimisation (79% of patients assaulted were male) and this increased (to 83%) with the use of bottles or glasses (8% of cases).
- Research from Philadelphia tells us that 43.6 % of violent crimes which took place, occurred at night (Ratcliffe, 2012, 209) and in the UK pubs and clubs hosted 21% of assaults, whereas most (43%) happened in the street (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) and night-time violent crime has continued to rise.
- The aforementioned survey also suggests 24% of facial injuries were caused by assault and 90% of facial injuries in bars and 45% of facial injuries in the street, were associated with alcohol consumption.
- The busiest period for alcohol-related injuries was found to be between 21.00 hours and 03.00 hours, coinciding with venue closing times - with a rise on Fridays and Saturdays – it is after all a “common observation” that offences in public occur “very disproportionately at weekends, and in or near places of public entertainment such as bars and clubs” (Bottoms, 2007, 542).
- In 2003, in the UK, almost half of assaults (47%) involved an alcohol-fuelled assailant and this is accredited to “premises’ overcrowding, alongside irresponsible alcohol service and the admission of known hooligans” (Pratten, 2007, 56).

## **Objectives**

Violence and the need for control has been introduced and exemplified above. Acts of violence can be unprovoked or planned, relentless or relatively minor, sporadic or patterned, unique or regular. Criminologists have studied violence in the night-time economy before, but the study of rural violence is rare and looking at rural violence in the night-time economy is rarer still. Studying rural door supervisors has never been the focus of a criminology study, certainly in the United Kingdom and so this thesis addresses an under-researched arena of rural criminology (Yarwood, 2001). The

author worked as a door supervisor for over four years before embarking on the present research, but the vision of completing postgraduate research into rural violence was born from a recreational break to Pitlochry, a small Scottish tourist town. Surrounded by forestry and situated almost thirty miles North West of Perth in the heart of the country, Pitlochry is famed for its river which boasts leaping salmon, and a traditional community atmosphere. During the daytime cafes and a distillery attract tourists, and a pleasant atmosphere is easy to find. At night in the summer months tourists bring hotels, pubs and shops to life. Pitlochry's main late-night entertainment consists of late pubs; one of which - *The Kingfisher* - has a disco and attracts a younger clientele. Despite the mix in age and gender of tourists in Pitlochry, *The Kingfisher* remarkably employed four heavy-set door supervisors despite its small capacity and this created intrigue which resulted in the first objective of this thesis:

**1. To examine the relationship between place and drinking environment, with specific comparison of the rural and urban environment.**

The heavy-set men outnumbered the town's visible police presence. Residents explained that the venue had been in the local press recently after being raided by police officers with sniffer dogs due to a suspicion of drugs on the premises. Theorising about the potential advantages of committing crime in isolated areas, or for criminals to maintain a low profile residing in such areas unnoticed (rural gangster hideouts were a focus of some early American rural criminology, for instance (see Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 34)) and further investigation is warranted. Domestic violence, agricultural crime, and drug cultivation and use are well cited rural crimes, and rural areas have been identified as strategic routes for the smuggling of drugs into key urban hubs in the United Kingdom (Barton, Story and Palmer, 2011). The social organisation which surrounds such enterprise becomes part of the local ecology. Furthermore, in analysis of the cause of American-based drug use some conclude there is: 'little difference between rural and urban environments' (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 81).

Recalling my experiences, from confrontation with serious known drug dealers to comforting a woman who had soiled herself and was covered in her own vomit due to intoxication, I know that 'doorwork' requires a niche set of skills to be performed effectively and legally. Obtaining a license to work as a door supervisor is relatively easy in England and Wales but it takes limited skill to stand in a door and shy away from conflict. From the outset of my employment I developed an appreciation of the need to be adaptable. From the first sight of a fight between two groups of aggressive men and judging the most effective moment and method in which to 'get involved', to the festival of gay and lesbian themed nights, and the organised chaos at music festivals, door work is a job with unusual demands. Such experiences are not occupationally unique, paramedics, prison

guards, soldiers and police officers deal with similar types of incidents of violence or the aftermath of violence - sometimes in conjunction with door supervisors - but with considerably more training and support as will be discussed in chapter eight. Having seen door supervisors shy away from conflict and bearing in mind the potential consequences of such a lack of action in isolated areas, the second objective of this research is:

**2. To explore the capability of door supervisors across different research sites.**

During my time working as a door supervisor there were occasions when I felt a sense of isolation from the police, whilst at other times the police response to dangerous incidents was reliable and speedy and police officers were positive towards the door team. Nonetheless the perception of remoteness from police support due to relations or resources - even at centrally located urban venues - was at times overwhelming. There is a discussion of the effects of isolation in current security literature by Mark Button (2007), but this focuses on loneliness of static security professionals (such as control room staff), or patrolling on one's own, but little addresses isolation in terms of risk management and so the third objective of this research is:

**3. To identify and compare collaboration between door supervisors and other agencies, including the police, in the urban and rural environments and to examine the associated benefits and limitations.**

Door supervisors and other private security professionals are integral to many night-time venues throughout England and Wales, particularly at weekends. Under the Private Security Act 2001 the government introduced the Security Industry Authority (SIA), a body which attempts to bring about change in the culture of door supervisors by regulating them and this is critiqued fully in the following chapters. Nonetheless, the role of door supervisors has not changed. They remain crucial to control and the provision of safety and security at social venues and can often be the sole measure in place to provide these services. Door supervisors are often described as difficult to access as their work is dangerous, so access, ethics and methodology are fully explored during the thesis.

**The Methodological Approach**

When setting out to write this thesis, it was clear from the start that it would not be possible to produce a purely scientific and objective piece of work due to my previous experience working as a door supervisor. However, this experience did provide a skill-set which enabled me to interpret and understand what was observed during the main research methodology, which was the direct observation. The limitations of the approach are discussed in chapter five.

The selection of what is to be recorded is subject to subconscious filters as with any research, but particularly with door supervision because it is an occupation characterised by physicality (e.g. Hobbs et al., 2003; Monaghan, 2002) and risk (for example Button, 2007). The practice of a lone researcher directly observing a dangerous culture, often in the darkness, necessarily entails limitations of subjectivity and involves reliability issues such as repeatability. However all observations were studied with conscious objectivity, being aware of one's position as a researcher, and there are many accounts of method analysis which were helpful in directing this process (for example, Winlow et al, 2001; Monaghan, 2002). It was crucial that the research remain as objective as possible in terms of both data collection and individual interpretations; interpersonal conflict and crime are often difficult to analyse (inter alia: Monaghan, 2002, and the seminal text *Bouncers* Hobbs et al., 2003).

The methodology section will critically analyse the choice of research methods in depth. It highlights the mixed methods employed throughout the research period, which draws largely from the qualitative tradition. The methods used were as follows:

- Forming the basis of two case studies, direct observation was conducted as part of Masters research at a small English town with around 3000 residents and direct observation was again employed as part of the thesis research at a large town of around 12,000 residents, thereby allowing the contrast of an urban and rural night-time economy. Contrast and comparison informs a discussion of the potential criminogenic influence of location and the research timeline reflects the structure of the Economic and Social Research Council 1+3 (MA/PhD) award which supports the research. Pubwatch and police meetings were also attended at both research sites, and an Upskilling Door Supervision skills revision session was attended by the researcher.

Relationships with many key contacts were formed over a number of years at both research sites, yet I argue this research does not amount to ethnography. Some definitions of ethnography include little more than prolonged participant observation. However, traditional definitions of ethnography describe intense study in another country or continent to one's own (Bryman, 2008) where a great deal of painstaking observation results in a unique description of a different culture. It traditionally represents a deep research process which often involves an immersion in the lifestyle of participants. Direct observation, it is argued here, does not represent this submergence in a culture. The relationship between observation and ethnographic study is further discussed using Gold's (1958) categorisation of participation and also a broader discussion of interpretation in chapter five.

- Four structured interviews with ex-door supervisors who worked in Yorkshire were conducted to inform the discussion of the capability of door supervisors. Although originally

designed only to inform the research, they developed to become core to the chapter on the capability of door supervisors, as they provided detailed descriptions, and strong and rich opinions.

- A self-completion questionnaire was distributed to door supervisors at both research sites, allowing direct comparison of primary data, and the results are presented in the themed chapters of location, capability and collaboration; whilst using a questionnaire as a research method is critically analysed in the methodology chapter.
- A review of the literature was undertaken, taking in a number of primary and secondary sources, news articles, UK Home Office publications, books, journal articles and official websites. Printed sources were identified via a search of various Criminal Justice and Criminology abstracts as well as references from published sources. This is presented in three themes as outlined below. Documents on UK drug and alcohol policy were particularly informative and the use of literature, including official documents, is discussed in chapter five.

### **Outline of Chapters**

Three main themes; location, capability and collaboration, dominate the thesis and directly explore the three objectives recapped below. These objectives and the methods employed to explore them are all directed towards a more general aim, which is **to propose recommendations for reducing conflict and effectively tackling violence and aggression in night-time venues**. The objectives are listed together below and are followed by an outline of how they are explored in the thesis:

1. To examine the relationship between place and drinking environment, with specific comparison of the rural and urban environment.
2. To explore the capability of door supervisors across different research sites.
3. To identify and compare collaboration between door supervisors and other agencies, including the police, in the urban and rural environments and to examine the associated benefits and limitations.

Chapter one has set the research and its findings in context. Chapters two, three, and four each review a specific area of literature relating to the core themes of location, capability, and collaboration. These chapters review what we already know about current issues, and further



introducing the key themes within the broader objectives outlined above. The literature review covers rural and urban locations and rural and urban crime. It explores the role alcohol plays in aggression and violence in the night time economy and current approaches to addressing this role. It explores, in detail, how guardianship can be used to mitigate the risk of aggression and violence occurring and escalating. Chapter five critically explores the research methods used, with specific focus on; direct observation, the structured interview, and the self-completion questionnaire.

Chapter six introduces the two case studies, one rural and one urban. Particularly serious incidents at the research sites, in terms of the level of violence and aggression involved, are identified and trigger significant discussion over the effect of place on risk management. Chapter seven explores socio-spatial aspects of violence and aggression in night-time venues, including effects of recent changes in work and leisure patterns and looks at the displacement of crime. Chapter eight focusses on the capability of guardians and identifies key attributes of competent door supervisors. The influence and success of the regulatory body which aimed to professionalise the security industry in England and Wales is critically examined and the opinions of door supervisors on the regulatory body and a host of other topics are examined. Chapter nine explores the benefits and limitations of collaboration across the two case study research sites and explores options for positive collaboration within Pubwatch schemes and in the introduction of specialist police officers to liaise with door supervisors. Chapter ten addresses the key aim of the thesis by suggesting ways forward to counter violence and aggression in the night-time economy, after recapping key themes and concepts.

### **Where to begin?**

First, the thesis outlines what rurality is alongside a picture of rural crime in England and Wales. Characteristics of rural isolation are contrasted with urban hubs and city centres and the idea of city centre anonymity is discussed. A discussion of nomadic people in rural areas explores the integration of outsiders to rural culture. Rural crime dominates the media when the ideal of safe village life relatively free from crime is challenged and night-time economy crime rarely features in the press, whereas most city centres are now under pressure to strategically monitor those who wish to indulge in the bars, pubs and clubs of their night-time economy. Valentine, Holloway, Jayne and Knell (2007) provide the main urban and rural comparison of night-time economy alcohol consumption in England to date, comparing rural Eden in Cumbria, with urban Stoke-on-Trent. Large security networks, improved strategic CCTV coverage, visible roaming police patrols and physical security such as door supervision cater to safeguard the masses in urban areas, whereas rural night-time economies seem to rely on more old-fashioned means of cohesion and accountability to keep people safe. By looking at different locations and economies in isolation and specifically the security of venues, this thesis explores “bouncers’ role in different bar types...catering to different clientele” (Roberts 2009, 66) and a different ‘concentration and mix of bars in the night-time economy’ (Valentine, Holloway,

Jayne, Knell, 2007, 73). Valentine *et al* (2007) call for research to pay attention to the 'specific consumption patterns (e.g. underage drinking) that develop alongside rural lifestyles' (36). To generalize risk across different night-time venues ignores lifestyle and demographical differences as well as differences in 'normative routine activities' (Fox and Sobol, 2000, 437) as will be discussed in depth. In order to follow suit with the minority of criminologists who have paid attention to the rural and who seek to "extend the scope of research on public responses to crime outside the (inner-city) metropolis and into the less well-trodden" (17), it is essential to identify differences and similarities with the urban night-time economy. There has indeed been a steady flow of academic and Home Office research about the urban night-time economy. Key Canadian research from the 1980's, Australian research from the 1990's and British research in the 2000's forms the historical platform of the following literature review. Although core research will clearly inform any debate, studying the night-time economy from a rural criminological perspective must embrace rural identity and move away from rural criminology as an 'antithesis for urban crime and social control' (Dingwall and Moody, 1999) and towards reinventing itself as a unique entity worthy of its own investigation. The first step is to acknowledge a rural identity: "rural people" following a "rural way of life" (as described by Woods, 2006, 5).

The literature review that follows explores rural identity, the identity of door supervisors and the identity which young people find through participation in the night time economy. It is split into three parts which address the three above objectives and explores current strategies which aim to reduce conflict in night-time venues. The first part describes location and rurality and its criminal setting; the second part introduces alcohol-related violence and approaches to it and the final literature review sets out a theoretical platform which explores routine activities, macro analysis of place and micro analysis of drinking environments.

## **Chapter Two. Literature Review Part One: Rurality and the Rural Location**

This chapter defines rurality and introduces rural crime in general and in the night-time economy. Potential isolation of victims and anonymity of offenders becomes crucial to the review and principles of inclusion and exclusion become important in the discussion of small economies. The identity of those who participate in the night-time economy is also central to explore the rural night-time economy and to differentiate between the night-time economies of rural and urban England and Wales. Interestingly research identifies unique concerns amongst young people who participate in the night-time economy and also unique attitudes towards youth drinking among parents.

### **Rural crime and rurality**

Rural crime remains 'under-researched' (Yarwood, 2001) and presents a 'major gap' in criminological research and this thesis hopes to foster interest in it but in a different context; 'Attention to context often requires researchers, who are understandably focused on particularities, to move outside their topic-based and disciplinary comfort zones' (Hadfield, 2009, 5). Marini and Mooney (2006) define rurality as a unique concept and a 'fundamental demographic fact of low population density, both a material as well as a socially constructed and meaningful difference associated with the rural in general and with rural economies more specifically' (92). Although cities 'have higher crime rates, [but] it does not follow that all places in cities have higher crime rates than all rural areas' (Wiles, 1999, X; also Dingwall and Moody, 1999). Furthermore, Moody (1999) discusses how rural crime in Ireland may seem 'negligible' (40) but remains a 'significant' problem to victims impacted by it (3). Not only are there differences between rural and urban landscapes but there are also differences within rural areas (Dingwall and Moody, 1999): 'within the countryside one finds different groups with very different experiences of crime and the criminal justice system' (4). Notwithstanding well-known limitations behind the creation of official statistics such as problems with their reporting and the 'dark figure' of crime, often exacerbated in violent crime, comparisons of rural and urban crime rates are readily available. In predominantly urban areas of the UK the rate of violence against the person in 2012/13 was 5.1 per 1,000 people higher (7.2 per 1000 people: 12.3 per 1000 people) than in predominantly rural areas (Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs, 2013). In all rural areas the rate of violent offences was lower than the average for England. In 'rural-80' areas (local authority areas with at least 80 percent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns; Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs, 2011) the rate of violence against the person was lowest (March 2012/2013).

Crime rates therefore form part of the identity of a place. Rural communities are further defined by the differing patterns of consumption and production across urban and rural boundaries, and

examples in the US are informative here of the idea of global shrinking in terms of how transport and communications have brought some geographical patterns together, blurring boundaries. Changes revolving around the blurring of rural-urban boundaries indicate ruralisation of the urban (as cities expand towards the rural) *and* urbanisation of the rural. Such adaptation is about societal and cultural change and not just changes amongst individuals and organisations, although 'Wal-marting' of rural American places has changed the landscape to a degree, with local stores closing as a result (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 39). Blurred boundaries are also evident in urbanised village centres, and ruralised city outskirts and Cloke (2006) gives the example of a mall complex in Canada set on rural ground containing both urban (such as a water park) and rural (such as a lake) characteristics (18). Here urbanisation refers to the trickling of urban culture into rural communities, rather than an increase in rural population.

### **Identity and the rural economy**

Cloke (2006) recognises three theoretical strands in identifying and conceptualizing rurality; functional, political-economic and social constructionist. The first strand views rurality functionally; as somewhere dominated by land and forestry, with small settlements 'which are thought of as rural by most of their residents', and which have a central 'cohesive identity' based on the respect of living in the rural (20). This identity serves to reinforce some rural characteristics thereby setting it apart from the urban, for example agriculture. Political-economic explanations of rurality see small rural areas governed by macro and national political agendas which 'operate on an aspatial basis' (20) diminishing the level at which rurality is recognised and fuelling the blurring of the urban-rural boundary. Global and local boundaries blur as 'the messages of Hollywood, MTV and Google mean that the idea of rurality as an isolated island of cultural specificity and traditionalism has become anachronistic' (19). Some local political ideology has remained identifiable and contributes to rurality, but crucially though rural research should lead using minor theories ('less totalizing', 'less judgemental', 'more fluid' (Cloke, 2006, 26)). Thirdly, and with a postmodern inkling, social constructionist thinking invites the study of 'how practice, behaviour, decision-making and performance are contextualized and influenced by the social and cultural meanings attached to rural places' (Cloke, 2006, 21). This is commonly discussed elsewhere alongside conceptualisations of the rural dream or 'idyll'. Rurality has become de-territorialised and replaced by 'cultural mappings' of rurality' (Cloke, 2006, 22) and this thinking directs research methodology as it recommends looking at the characteristics within a spatial arena from all perspectives including that of a place's actors, those living in it. Cloke (2006) also identifies a culturally-sided undertone in recent sociological writing about the rural which has, in some part, overtaken the line of conceptualising the rural around the social, but believes this has not had the same impact on rural research.

So, in many ways although a rural idyll exists it is difficult to explain the rural as separable from the urban, the suburban, or any other spatial form of the '*non-rural*'. The economy similarly is not separable from the political, the cultural, and the social, hence failing to acknowledge this could lead to 'fragmentation' (Marini and Mooney, 2006, 101). The rural economy and its adaptive nature help to sculpt what rurality is and Marini and Mooney (2006) suggest that, in the US, some transfer of consumption and production which initially moved from the rural to the city is headed back to some rural places but not others leaving a 'patchwork' of diverse economies. In the UK, an economic patchwork is identified by three main categories; 'rent seeking', 'dependent', and 'entrepreneurial' (Marini and Mooney, 2006). The 'rent-seeking' rural economy category is characterised by a lack of actual economic growth, rather a static type of industry (farming and mining are given as examples), and what is produced in rural areas is having less and less monetary worth due to the nature of ebbs and flows in consumer society. Some growth is actively discouraged in order to keep the aristocracy dominant and rural characteristics as part of a status quo, which can make the rural unattractive to investors. 'Dependent' rural economies rely on external sources of production and its accompanying employment. The further out into isolated communities the external source goes, the cheaper the employment cost. 'Entrepreneurial' economies use local heritage or culture and skills to engage with the consumer market through small businesses, often based around the tourist. These may attract attention, but are unlikely to gage the attention of large commercial enterprises, neither do they try to. Of course, not all rural communities are alike, and Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014) suggest of American rural areas that they are: 'changing as continuously and fundamentally as urban places' (2014, 82). The 'rural idyll' has though become part of the expectation of quintessential life in England and Wales and qualitative research into the demographics of different night-time economies can reveal important local variations (Hadfield and Measham, 2009, 28).

Immersing oneself into a rural lifestyle has become a middle class goal, escaping to the country in search of a better life; the 'inward migration of middle-class retirees and second-home buyers who are keen to fulfil their fantasy of escaping the city to live in rural isolation' (Valentine *et al.*, 2008). Ironically Jones (2002) worries that changes in routines include owning second homes in the country and greater movement between the urban and the rural threaten the very traditional dream or 'rural idyll' they seek.

#### *Exclusion from the dream*

It has also been suggested that inherent in this idyll is a compelling sense of inclusion and community which fosters an insider culture wary of outsiders. Some commentators suggest that elite groups within rural economies and communities attempt to control crime prevention activities and government responses to them and that it is 'important to distinguish between demands to reduce crime and demands to exclude activities or people that are threatening to elite rural ideals' (Mawby,

2011, i). Halfacree (2011) in his discussion of nomadic and Traveller people argues rural space should be seen as that which has been shaped by post world war changes in production, as a space which can reflect certain views (more than others). Rural people are social actors creating their own reality and spatiality, and so:

‘nomads can be seen as threatening every aspect of this spatiality. They can disrupt the predominant spatial practice, especially through ‘disrespect’ for private property; they can challenge the everyday lives of people in rural areas, showing an alternative way of living: and they can challenge the predominant ways in which the rural is imagined’ (Halfacree, 2011, 127).

Exclusion of undesirables may be inherent in some rural cultures. A study in Macclesfield, England found those who invested in small rural pockets were ‘inclined to protect it’, the adults of Prestbury village had invested so much ‘economic and emotional capital’ in living in a safe place, that they didn’t want it to deteriorate (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000, 115).

A key marginalised group at risk of exclusion in Yorkshire England, where the case studies in this thesis are based, is the large number of Traveller who have settled legally and illegally, but have often failed to integrate. In rural England and Wales the picture of how successfully Gypsy and Traveller people integrate with the wider community is complicated, as is their relationship with the police. There are reports of cohesion between Gypsy and Traveller people, and settled communities, however conflict exists over land use. Halfacree (2011) suggests that Nomads, Gypsies, and Travellers are outsiders vulnerable to exclusion, with the potential to upset both the way the rural is imagined and the way people conduct their everyday lives in rural areas. Action by authorities has proven to increase the divide in the past:

‘Gypsies and Travellers rely heavily on unauthorised encampments, both roadside and tolerated are commonly under eviction notice or fear of eviction, experience extensive racism and harassment, have poor relations with the settled community, lack access to and distrust services generally and feel discriminated against by them and have an ambivalent relationship with the police’ (James, 2011, 143).

It is not uncommon for Gypsies and Travellers to live in ‘poor, overcrowded conditions and under threat of eviction’ (138), sometimes on unauthorised encampments on the roadside or waste ground. James (2011) describes the lifestyle of Gypsies as ‘risky’. They often move in vicious circles in response to treatment by the authorities; ‘it is clear that Gypsies and Travellers are heavily reliant on illegal stopping places and consequently are subject to being evicted on a regular basis [they describe] the implications of such movements as detrimental to the health and welfare of families concerned’ (140). Such Gypsy and Traveller marginalisation, characterised by risk, can be ever more

transparent in the rural environment where they may seek to 'hide' but actually in such small close-knit communities they stand out (Garland and Chakraborti, 2004). Research summarised by James (2011) suggests that Gypsies are often forced to keep moving around, and are 'negatively affected' by such movement (141). James (2011) also draws attention to the difficulties in addressing such a problem. Often the natural remedy of providing good facilities in set locations for travelling communities does not suit the nature of Gypsy and Traveller communities whose lifestyle dictates that they are continually on the move. Evidence (James, 2011) is presented to support the finding that over recent years generally Gypsies and Travellers lack decent accommodation, suffer poor health and are not sufficiently educated, found to be a result of having been 'ignored and discriminated against by social services and public agencies' (138). Although the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) recognises the necessity for police officers to distinguish between Gypsy offenders and Gypsy victims, the majority of Gypsies have experienced racism and harassment by the wider community and this has had an effect on site location choice; 'Ethnic prejudice, rejection of others, fear of the stranger, anti-nomadism and the assertion of power through stigmatisation remain hugely powerful forces shaping everyday practices, representations and lives in our daily spaces' (Halfacree, 2011, 135). Furthermore police officers are 'most commonly associated with eviction and enforcement activity' (James, 2011, 142).

Exclusionary rural policing styles have been noted elsewhere too. Reactions to raves and hunting have been vicious and legislation to outlaw such activities, along with 'Traveller Watch' schemes, has maintained surveillance on out-groups. This is therefore 'exclusive rather than inclusive, emphasising a need to consider critically how the term 'community' is deployed by policy makers and practitioners' (Yarwood, 2008, 207). However there is sign of cohesion as James (2011) summarises findings from Gypsy and Traveller's needs assessments, which show that Gypsy and Traveller communities support the idea of local community police officers, as the wider rural community does (Mawby, 2011, i). With policy difficulties outlined, the discussion of exclusion is a recurring theme in the thesis, and its wider implications are clear.

Geographical patterns reinforce the concepts of the separateness of urban and rural identities. Rurality then, or the idea of it, is 'firmly entrenched in popular discourses about space, place and society in the Western world' (Cloke, 1996, 18) and those who populate it. The distinction of rurality is 'significantly vested in its oppositional positioning to the urban' (Cloke, 2006, 18) and its separation from cities as hubs of commercialism and industry. Yet, others (Bottoms, 2007) point out that the study of rural areas is 'suffused with urban preoccupations' (529). The review will now shift its focus to unravel the rural night-time economy, and to explore those who seek to be included in it.

### **The rural night-time economy**

Participation in the night-time economy is the 'night-time pursuit of leisure or work activities outside of the home and the housing of leisure events in the home' (Hadfield, 2009, 6) and requires governance. Hadfield (2009) describes security governance as a subset of governmental activities, which involve policing and regulation. Focus of such regulation and policing has 'almost exclusively' remained on urban and city areas between 6pm all the way through to 6am (Hadfield, 2009, 8) and studies have shown that 'all types of offences were found to rise' between three and six a.m. Babb (2007) explains this as a result of the change in opening hours towards a twenty-four hour culture in the UK and a rise in police enforcement on the streets at these times to deal with later closing times has been honed in on by the media. The expansion of the urban night-time economy has been well documented by Hobbs *et al* (2003), and crime and alcohol-related problems have arisen 'due to the rapid speed at which the alcohol industry was able to make large scale, mono-functional investments in specific localities' (Lister, 2009, 13). However the rural night-time economy has seen a decline over the last few decades as documented in research by Hobbs *et al* (2003) of 2001 findings as as many as six premises in rural areas were closing per week (the Countryside Agency). More recently there is 'significant spatial restructuring' whereby 'the increased number of venues opening in town and city centres is inversely mirrored by the closure of increasing numbers of rural and outlying urban pubs' and therefore crime and disorder problems associated with the night-time economy are most acutely found in large urban centres (Lister, 2009, 12). Crucially though Lister (2009) draws attention to public rural areas with significant night-time economies like market towns which are victim to alcohol-related crime and disorder but at which the 'regularity and intensity' of policing does not appear to be equivalent to those in city centres (12). Data, presented later on, suggests that small venues in a small town will have less structure and are more relaxed, and good verbal communication is important of those employed to safeguard it.

It is this type of difference in *context* in the night-time economy and the regulation of it that Hadfield (2009) describes as having received little attention, with Valentine *et al* (2008) and Girling *et al* (2000) making the most significant contributions to date. Hadfield and Measham (2009) also offer some theorising regarding the decline of footfall in some night-time economies which 'may be related to the economic downturn' as people start and end their night out later. Patrons may well be 'choosing to remain in community public houses and visiting centralized nightlife areas less frequently' (Hadfield and Measham, 2009, 28). Further research is certainly warranted and must have a theme of explaining high-risk youth drinking habits. Let us now turn to discuss alcohol and how it is used by young people in England and Wales.



### *Young targets and alcohol consumption in the rural environment*

Young people between sixteen and thirty-five years of age are the 'core consumers' of commercial leisure (Hadfield and Measham 2009), and the UK government identifies 'irresponsibility, ignorance and poor habits' (HM Government, 2012, 3) and an acceptance amongst young people of drinking to get drunk - supporting evidence of this has also been found elsewhere (Measham and Brain, 2005) - as a precursor to almost one million alcohol-related violent crimes and 1.2 million alcohol-related hospital admissions in 2010/11 for example (Chaplin, Flatley and Smith, 2011). There is evidence to support the notion of a change in routines and habits in terms of alcohol consumption and attitudes towards it. Those aware that they are drinking above government guidelines do not think they are risking their health, and few (18%) want to change their habits according to government research (HM Government, 2012, 21).

Alcohol consumption changes throughout one's life course; 'becoming a parent, divorce, bereavement, or a health scare may influence drinking patterns and can affect people in different ways' (HM Government, 2012, 21). There is also an element of 'social suicide' not to become involved in the (social) process of drinking alcohol through adolescence (Winlow and Hall, 2006) and so young people remain a group open to 'exploitation' in the night-time economy (Hadfield, 2008). Therefore schools, universities and relationships must become crucial in any strategy aimed at counteracting high consumption of alcohol. The Government's Alcohol Strategy hopes to avoid further development of a young generation who believe that you can't have fun without alcohol, and this ties in directly with the victimisation of young people. The government predicts that each year one thousand people in a community of one hundred thousand (one per cent) will become a victim of alcohol related violent crime (HM Government, 2012, 6) and Chaplin, Flatley and Smith (2011) identify the 'under 25s' category, known for high levels of alcohol consumption, as the age group with the highest risk of becoming a victim of violent crime. Research identifies urban areas as the central area for concern of youth alcohol consumption (Valentine *et al*, 2008) but the small amount of research into rural areas suggests a general acceptance of underage drinking.

Glendinning *et al* (2003) suggest that not only are rural youth subject to similar surveillance and problems of criminalisation as urban youth, but that the isolation found in these areas may intensify such matters as they stand out in their local surroundings. Interestingly rural residents in the study by Valentine *et al* (2008) did not express a 'fear' of binge drinking in their local area. Drinking alcohol was normal and consumption to excess a 'normal part of growing up' (34). In Cumbria, parents who participated in the study often saw their children's drinking as similar to their own in their youth and even adulthood, sympathising that there was often little to do in isolated areas. In a study in Macclesfield, England, findings were similar. A seventeen year old local male expressed frustration at a lack of night-time facilities;

‘the only problem in Macclesfield is that we need somewhere to go. If that club had opened and they had a under-16s night or something, then all they had to do was get a couple of bouncers and police and stuff on the front...’ (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000, 73).

Therefore, for young underage adults to drink at home or at the pub was not extraordinary. Geographical isolation may encourage feelings of sympathy towards children who cannot escape supervision by their parents, and importantly ‘the heightened level of concern seen amongst policy makers about antisocial behaviour and underage drinking was not generally reflected in the wider Cumbrian public’ (Valentine *et al*, 2008, 35). Valentine *et al* (2008) found that large towns in Cumbria commonly had interconnected kinship and friendship relations among revellers in the night-time economy which created a feeling of safety and a ‘one big family’ atmosphere, but this is likely to be dependent on the type of economy present in a small town or village. Consequently perspectives among alcohol-related crime and disorder were low on the local agenda (Valentine *et al*, 2008, 36). Similarities in Girling, Loader and Spark’s (2000) study in Macclesfield make clear that the intensity to which individuals identify with a discourse of a fear of local crime depends on a number of variables , and so:

‘does not merely arise from their direct or indirect experiences of victimization. It also intersects with people’s personal biographies, the sense they have of their place within prevailing social hierarchies and their resulting relationship to a particular geographical community’ (Girling, Loader, and Sparks, 2000, 84).

This forms part of the creation of the rural personality and shapes rurality. What was a concern to younger participants in Valentine *et al*’s (2008) study of Cumbria regarding alcohol-related crime and disorder in rural areas was personal safety and transport concerns in isolated areas. Even when drinking excessively, young people would make a conscious effort to remain in control in order to remain safe and not miss transport home. Along with the unique demographics of rural life, landlords and landladies act as guardians by watching over younger drinkers, a tradition which seems to have lasted generations in rural Cumbria. The urban night-time economy is different: ‘city centres offer young people relative anonymity to behave badly, in this rural research location although there is little or no formal policing of the remote rural night-time economy, young people are aware that in close-knit, small communities little passes unnoticed’ (Valentine *et al*, 2008, 38). This self-regulation is similar to that documented to be more widespread, geographically and into rural areas, by Hobbs *et al* (2003) decades ago in heavily industrialised Britain, and data discussed at length later in the thesis initially suggest that a lack of anonymity may make people behave well as they fear embarrassment if they become very drunk, for instance.

Valentine *et al's* (2008) research in Cumbria serves as a reminder that it is essential to consider differences in the night-time economy of the rural and the urban. We cannot presume strategies can be applied universally, nor can we judge a problem realistically without talking to whom it affects, as Valentine's (2008) research emphasises; 'the research highlights the need for rural researchers to pay attention to the specific consumption patterns that develop in the context of specific rural lifestyles both within the UK and in international contexts' (Valentine *et al*, 2008, 40). Similarly residents in the study in the small Northern English town of Macclesfield 'did not feel ... that anxious about crime' (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000, 159) and they summarise that there is more to the fear of crime than isolated accounts of violence. The authors state 'traditions of research that treat 'fear of crime' as a separate and discrete object of social enquiry and policy intervention are exhausted' (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000, 170). They are intertwined with wider social and economic factors; social hierarchy, geographical community, time spent in the community, children, economic input, not just purely an 'objective' risk (Girling Loader and Sparks, 2000). With this in mind, styles of policing cannot be provided under assumptions of criminal activity in rural areas, but must be guided by research into such factors and community approaches as discussed above.

### **Rural policing**

The countryside is historically 'fortunate enough to experience lower than average rates of reported crime' (Yarwood, 2008, 206) and consequently, between 1960 and 2000, rural crime and policing received 'little attention' from policy makers, academics or the police themselves (Yarwood, 2001). In an attempt to re-organise officer resources the police have recently been organised around urban rather than rural hotspots: 'police stations and houses were closed in rural settlements and their officers regrouped into urban locations that provided a central base from which to respond reactively to emergency calls' (Yarwood, 2008, 206). Although some 'trimming of the fat' was seen as healthy, this was a huge change to community policing in rural areas:

'By 1991 only 2% of parishes in rural England had a permanently staffed police station (Rural Development Commission, 1992). Following these changes, the police became more accountable to central government than their local communities (Smith, 1986). This strategy reflected a view that policing should be reactive rather than proactive in nature' (Yarwood, 2008, 206).

Yet, policing the rural is undoubtedly a demanding task due to the range of demographics encapsulated in some geographical areas which demand that:

'one [...] must balance efficiency against community interaction; local need against national policy; fairness with local sensitivity; and, above all, trying to achieve these over often vast areas with limited resources [...] the rural police, in relation to their urban counterparts, have less finances, support and time to achieve their goals. Further, rural policing appears to be

withering in many countries as scarce resources are focussed on urban places. The police officer's lot is not, therefore, always a happy one' (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011, 218).

There is a profound need to research the ways that policing is practised 'on the ground' in 'different rural spaces' (Yarwood, 2008, 215) and a correlation in the movement in routine activities by police forces away from rural areas means a change in the security of them, and in the night-time economy the deficit has been picked up by door supervisors:

'the era of The Police' as providers of a universal, routine presence in the everyday life of communities is drawing to a close, and that as the police become 'disembedded' [...] from local social relations, responsibility for the guardianship of urban space is rendered ever more diffuse and fragmented' (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000, 166).

With the loss of community-integrated rural British 'bobbies' (a slang term for a traditional police officer) who lived and worked in one particular rural area, Mawby (2011, i) describes how although perceptions of rural residents highlighted a difference between urban and rural policing, the 'indications' are that in fact in rural areas 'the police operate in broadly similar ways to their colleagues based in urban and metropolitan areas' (18). This is due to the prominence of centralised police stations, the growing use of patrol cars, and advances in technological communication, and the relative ease at which officers can be moved about often without having to be relocated (something not shared by larger countries) meaning the police are no longer 'marooned' in communities (18, 20).

Yarwood and Mawby (2011) in *Rural Policing and Policing the Rural* hope to go 'some way to foregrounding the importance of the police in the countryside to both academic study and the development of policy' (220). Currently rural policing becomes the focus of attention only when the media see an opportunity for moral panic or a flaw in the 'village = low crime myth' (Dingwall and Moody, 1999). Tony Martin, a farmer who killed an intruder at his farm, offers a clear example of such media attention (Dingwall and Moody, 1999) and the unique demographic challenges rural places pertain to crime and disorder. Mr Martin's defence of having; "little choice but to defend himself against repeated attacks to his property given that the police were too far away to respond effectively to emergency calls for help" (Yarwood, 2008, 208), certainly leaves an impression on the mind. This and a 'vociferous rural lobby' prompted the government to take action on the issue of rural crime and consequently 'a range of initiatives, supported by new funding streams and governmental structures, were introduced with the aim of improving the visibility of policing' (Yarwood, 2008, 209). However some of these responses aimed at increasing visibility were short-lived. Yet, 'rigorous, sustained and critical research' will ensure the rural stays in the consciences of policymakers (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011, 220 – 221). The absence of locally embedded police

officers in rural communities adds to feelings of isolation, but alternative solutions are not clear cut when budgets are squeezed. In rural Cornwall, England (Mawby2011, ii) conclusions were fascinating:

‘while local people supported the full range of plural policing options, they saw them as a second class alternative to the conventional public police. There is a real danger, then, that if rural areas become more reliant on, say, Special Constables or neighbourhood watch, residents will interpret this as evidence of a lack of commitment – by government and police agencies – and a lack of appreciation by them of the crime and disorder problems in the countryside’ (67).

So, supplying any old uniformed person isn’t the way forward in the eyes of the above respondents, and academics and police leaders alike must think deeper and harder to produce wholesome solutions.

## **Discussion**

The first part of the literature review has introduced essential key concepts which compare rural night and day time economies, and discussed the unique qualities of rurality in England and Wales. The night and daytime economies of England and Wales are a host for exciting entertainment, but when not managed responsibly the night-time economy especially can be a host for violence which we know disproportionately affects young people (mainly men) at busy times throughout the evenings, and particularly at weekends. From government figures, we can say rates of violent crime in rural areas are undisputedly lower in England and Wales than in urban areas, yet crimes which happen in rural areas have a significant shock factor as they challenge the dream of a peaceful countryside life. In discussion of rural crime, isolation and anonymity are two elements essential to the exploration of rural crime which may affect and also shape differing demographics and such differences are deserving of channelled attention and investigative research.

Examples from the US inform a debate around fluidity of urban and rural boundaries in England and Wales. A British study of Traveller communities was used to introduce the concept of rural inclusion and exclusion, discussed alongside macro discussions of space and place. Place is to be elaborated fully in the theoretical platform which follows in the third part of this literature review. Theorising around boundaries also inspires thinking about categorised identity. How our environment and political and cultural atmospherics in the night-time economy influences us dominates discussion of the English youth and their participation in small town economies, relying heavily on the work of Girling, Loader, and Sparks (2000), and Valentine *et al* (2008). Together these academics contribute some of the very few influential pieces of research into small towns in England and Wales which venture into the domain of the night. Rural attitudes of young residents differ to urban attitudes, as

do the priorities of young people venturing out to participate in the night-time economy. Safe transport for example is a great source of anxiety rather than the threat of interpersonal violence, due to the nature of using public transport in isolated areas. Guardians of young people have relaxed attitudes to underage drinking, as long as it is to an extent under their supervision and in the local area, Valentine *et al's* (2008) research suggests. The government's alcohol strategy at face value specifically targets young people's drinking and consumption habits and acknowledges with realism the social pressures and fashions of youth drinking in today's society. Although discussed at greater length in the latter two parts of this literature review, this first part has set the scene for the need for competent guardians in rural areas which are isolated, especially those which do not benefit from the easy parental over-watch of youth drinking.

The role of the rural police officer in rural England and Wales has changed significantly over the past few decades, and we have seen a demise of the traditional rural British 'bobby' on the beat. There is significant suggestion that policing practises centralised in urban hubs are generalised to incorporate rural areas, and technological advantages can amplify reactive policing whereas they should be able to enable some predictive and subsequent proactive policing. Some proactive policing is found in urban disorder operations which focus on weekend night-time consumers in city centres as will be discussed in chapter eight, yet the same focus is not typically afforded to rural areas. The media, reacting to the case of Tony Martin, produced post-event panic calling for a temporary solution but calls for citizen policing (Yarwood, 2008) were worrying.

### **Chapter Three. Literature Review Part Two: The Night-Time Economy**

This thesis investigates the management of violence by door supervisors and the police, acknowledging alcohol is a precursor to violent behaviour, particularly in men, but also in women. In this part of the literature review, the relationship between the night-time economy and identity is introduced and the role of alcohol as a catalyst to incidents of violence is outlined. Key macro and micro concepts of drinking environments are introduced, as night-time venues bring people together often in an excited state in a permissive environment. Macro analysis has a focus on large-scale social structures and processes and this thesis specifically discusses economies and work and leisure. Micro analysis has a focus on small-scale events and small groups or individuals and this thesis specifically discusses young groups of men, and the permissiveness of particular bars and pubs. The government's alcohol strategy is discussed alongside implications of alcohol, violence, and binge-drinking on health (particularly the health of young people) and engage debate around minimum unit pricing and banning orders. Significantly collaborative approaches to dealing with alcohol and violence are discussed and are suggested as potential practical ways forward, as it is crucial to acknowledge the importance of privately funded door supervision in the provision of security in the night-time economy in light of public spending cuts and recent austerity measures in England and Wales. It is important first to chart the most recent cultural changes in the night-time economy of England and Wales, which have led to the 'liminal' hedonistic carnival (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) now commonplace.

#### **Liminal identity and the growth of the night-time economy in England and Wales**

Documented since at least the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, intoxication in England is a 'recurring concern' (Measham and Brain, 2005, 263). Interconnected socio-psychological post-industrial changes are historically significant to alcohol consumption, as through the process of de-industrialization and the 'consequent fragmentation of traditional communities', we have experienced 'changes in patterns of activity based around work' (Hobbs *et al*, 2003, 21). An increase in liminal entertainment zones – 'seductive and alluring worlds of hedonism and carnival' (Hobbs *et al.*, 2000, 701) - is a 'fresh occupation' for study says Hadfield (2008). This has occurred throughout a period since the 1980's which has seen a decline in some traditional trades, and the night-time economy now employs over a million people in England and Wales (Hadfield and Measham, 2009) in pubs, bars and nightclubs and it is a 'culture dish for modern society' (Thompson, 2000, 11). The expansion of the NTE has brought with it significant potential for violence, public disorder and anti-social disorder and aggression (Hadfield and Measham, 2009). The introduction of CCTV represents for some a safer way of living. One hardened 'bouncer' (Freeman, 2009) has described the times we live in now as a more civilised way of life than the previous times when: 'all everyone seemed to be interested in was drinking as

much as they could and then fighting as many people as possible' (84), and he accredits this largely to the introduction of CCTV. Valentine *et al* (2008) document tough pro-active measures to curb anti-social behaviour in Appleby, a small town in Cumbria, England before they got out of hand by installing CCTV. The decline in traditional male-only beer drinking environments found amongst groups of industrial workers had an effect on informal control in leisure. Such informal control was based on a hierarchical structure of age and experience, which carried and warranted respect. In such an informal structure young workers underwent a form of life course 'apprenticeship' (Coffield and Gofton, 1994). Values, standards, and boundaries of life instilled in the workplace carried over into leisure time to young workers in 'spit and sawdust' working-class back street pubs (Measham and Brain, 2005, 267). In many communities this identity has since been lost:

'young people have lost some of the traditional structuring sources of identity that the industrial system of modernity provided, rooted in occupational stability, class-based communities, patriarchal nuclear family structures and an interventionist welfare state. In such circumstances society becomes increasingly fragmented and individualized. Collective sources of identity fade and are replaced by identities formed in the market, particularly the sphere of consumption' (Measham and Brain, 2005, 275).

These sources of structuring identity, which include 'signals' of respect and disrespect, have been found to shape 'interactions' between bouncers and male consumers (Tomsen, 2005). The 'muscular minders' (Hobbs *et al*, 2005) who control access to night-time venues therefore are a growing part of the professional protection armoury (Livingstone and Hart, 2003; Pratten, 2007, 88). They must attempt to tackle violence, aggression, and disorder apparently without the backup they once had in informal criminal networks due to stricter regulation - in theory at least - and without the "rough justice" documented in pre-SIA research (Winlow, Hobbs, Lister, and Hadfield, 2001, 358). Informal security alliances have been documented relatively recently however, in Glaswegian bars (Forsyth, Cloonan, and Barr, 2005), as has the use of extreme violence by door supervisors (Graham, Jelley, & Purcell, 2005), and some research suggests that the door culture separates door supervisors from the authority of the police and: "allows bouncers to wield great discretion in enforcing behavioural codes of their respective places of employment" (Roberts, 2009, 62).

Almost simultaneously with de-industrialisation there has been a growth in an 'expendable' style of work in the service sector work force (Winlow and Hall, 2006) and a change in leisure patterns. Such change in work and leisure patterns, and more dramatically the accommodation of the 'lager lout' have been largely credited to the Thatcher era, an era which brought 'change and a sense of disapproval which focussed on the evident individualism and materialism of youth' according to some (Measham and Brain, 2005, 264). Behind the news, the notion of alcohol hotspots around fast



food outlets, bars and pubs, and transport venues and their link to disorder is a focus (Hadfield and Measham, 2009).

The typical and communal model of a mixed-age male-only pub has declined and patterns of consumption have changed socially: 'the late 1980s onwards saw the gradual replacement of this traditional mixed-age, single-sex customer base with mixed-sex and single-sex, age-specific groups drinking together at weekends, leading to a growing differentiation of the alcohol market' (Measham and Brain, 2005, 265). As Measham and Brain (2005) summarise, 'it is difficult to understand the development of night-time economies in British towns and cities...unless one understands the central importance of consumption to modern economies' (275). Intoxication has long been identified as a form of 'ecstasy' (Weber, 1965) and a means of freeing oneself from the boredom of routine life, and the last few decades have seen a steady growth in the desire for and supply of a liminal night-time economy (Hobbs *et al*, 2003, 36). Britain's hedonistic night-time economy offers an atmosphere and environment in which to allow the loss of self-control to a degree. Rules of behaviour within these establishments are less clear and greater freedom is expected and given than is the case in some other environments (Van Brunschot, 2003; Roberts, 2009). Such liminal zones create an impression of being 'set aside from principal areas of non-liminal social life' (Roberts, 2009, 64), and an up-all-night ethic. In Spring 2012 there were 8,400 premises with 24-hour alcohol licences in force in England and Wales which is an increase of 600 from 2010 according to figures outlined by the Home Office (2013, iv, 1), and there were 87,300 premises with a late night refreshment license, which is up three per cent more than the 84,900 in Spring 2010 (Home Office, 2013, iv, 2). Pubs, bars and nightclubs made up eleven per cent of all these premises with 24-hour alcohol licenses. Although this thesis focusses mainly on alcohol, illegal drugs have a historical association with the night-time economy.

The 1990s rave scene, which brought with it a significant sub-culture of pleasure-seeking drug users and which has been extensively researched by Measham, is believed to have influenced a change in attitude, tolerance and behaviour relating to both illicit drug use and the normalization of recreational drug use and other weekend leisure consumption patterns (Measham and Brain, 2005). Cocaine Psychosis, with its potential side effects proves most problematic for door supervisors. It can cause a state of Toxic Excited Delirium where aggression is manic and unusual rather than simply violent. Toxic Excited Delirium demands excellent physical intervention skills by any guardian as sufferers can exhibit extreme strength to the point at which they damage their own limbs, putting their own shoulders out of place or damaging smaller bones of wrists, if they are restrained for example. *Safer Nightlife* (MacKintosh, 2012), the result of a case study of London's growing club and bar scene called *Project Eclipse* conducted by the City of London Drug & Alcohol Policy Forum, was praised for acknowledging that even well run venues can have a drug issue. Alcohol and other drugs

are common precursors to violence, and aggression and violence have endured the decades charted above, and lasted through generations. Violent people must continually be well managed, particularly in potentially permissive crowded spaces where intoxication is common, as afforded by the night-time economy. In order to do so, we must understand the aggressive psyche.

### **Male violence**

The combination of social and psycho-social analysis, and the cultural analysis of consumerism (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) is used by Ellis (*forthcoming*) to examine violent men, whose routines of socialisation surround sport and licensed premises. Men of working age, with histories of destructive key events through their life courses and who live in the poorest areas of the country, consume through such ventures and spend time in venues filled with other males where competition becomes rife and confrontation, no matter how seemingly trivial, offers up options of triumph or shame in the end state of win or lose. The potential humiliation and degradation of credibility through loss in battle, not reacting, or 'backing down', to some men unearths and acts upon previous trauma through the stages of a violent, traumatised, and underprivileged life-course. Economic downturn in de-industrialised towns forms both a traumatic constant among these stages which are marred with anger and shame, and an attack on one's self-identity, which affects engagement with the social world. As such an ability to deal with violence becomes crucially important to these men, as ignominious feelings can be overwhelming and overbearing – and the success of a win becomes so much more attractive than the alternative (Winlow and Hall, 2009). This need to win and prosper in such events offers a potential avenue for the explanation of pre-emptive strikes, and also unprovoked assaults - which unfold in the observations during this thesis. As with much violence in night-time venues, alcohol turns catalyst as violence is amplified by intoxication (Winlow and Hall, 2006) as is further explored below.

### **The macro – rural places and crime prevention**

Australian research of 'Armstrong' (a pseudonym), a town described as 'a Very Remote region of Australia' by Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010, 395) identifies how change in routine activity can create an environment for violence and aggression amongst local and transient worker communities in rural areas. The pressure of residents and non-residents living in close proximity and strenuous work routines act as precursors for violence in a mining community: 'this has manifold implications for the social organization of everyday life in the town and the region. For instance, rotating 12-hour shifts and irregular rosters inhibit participation in many community and family activities' (400). Changing patterns of work and leisure affect participation and consumerism levels, and foster the congregation of young intoxicated males in largely confined and often messy arenas, and offer explanation for the clustering of violence and disorder around peak times at (mostly night-time) leisure venues. In an English study male drinkers were found to drink more aggressively than women

drinkers when on a night out (Valentine *et al*, 2007). With concentrations of workers attracted by economic gain in the mining trade, comes the problem of managing male-dominated leisure participation: 'Greater proportions of young women leave these towns than young men. Their departure serves to further entrench a rough hyper-masculine culture' (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott, 2010, 399). Alcohol and awkward shift rotations, which intrude on stable community and family life, serve only to fuel boredom and the demand of long working hours and everyday drinking after work is well evidenced in many communities, and often at home (Valentine *et al*, 2007, 55-58). Drinking at home is rife in the UK, and occurs at a disproportionately higher level in the UK and Ireland than the rest of Europe (Lister, 2009), and there is also suggestion that heavy domestic drinking is becoming normalised. Rather than focussing on mere patterns of criminal activity, the research by Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) is a reminder of the need to focus on macro changes in socialisation and routine activities alongside local analysis. Fluidity of the transit of outsiders to the rural Australian mining sites; 'fundamentally challenges the idealized notions of imagined rural identity' (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott, 2010, 400). This signalling of a move away from the rural idyll and rural identity one expects to find in small communities is applicable to small northern British towns. Such towns have seen a change in routine activity, from steady employment in mining to unemployment, whereby hard work routines and financial stability are replaced by low income, and leisure time is filled with boredom and often blamed with vigour and anger on Thatcherite politics. In the Australian research, instead of reinforcing a rural way of life routine activities amplified the importance of work patterns, gender demographics, masculinity, and power and interpersonal hierarchies.

Drinking establishments were found to be hosts for male-on-male social hierarchies and power struggles and represented a release from the routine of work. Work stress seemed to be personified in aggression, violence and heavy drinking. Carrington, McIntosh and Scot (2010) summarise 'outside the workplace, the pub is one of the central social institutions for the negotiation of status' (400). This status battle is similar to the scene historically depicted by Hobbs *et al* (2003) in small industrial communities in England and Wales, where the man with the highest status of masculinity and toughness would emerge as a venue's old-school bouncer, profiting monetarily by their status. In England, the traditional leisure and work patterns of this period have declined as discussed, and a proliferation of drinking venues have arisen in many towns and cities, which may function to fuel excessive drinking (Valentine *et al*, 2007, 11), with routines of drinking in the night-time economy creating 'out of control' drinking circuits and alcohol consumption (Valentine *et al*, 2007, 21).

Carrington, McIntosh and Scott's (2010) observation that social disorder and violence are generally linked with alcohol consumption in *both* rural and 'metropolitan' areas, leads them to specifically identify a pursuit of carnival and excitement. They observe 'heightened sociability and escaping time

constraints' (Valentine *et al*, 2007) and escapism in simply 'being silly' (Valentine *et al*, 2007, 36), in the midst of strict and strenuous patterns of work as a factor in alcohol-related violence which crosses rural-urban boundaries, and this therefore informs decisions to employ guardians universally across night-time venues in rural and urban venues. Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) give the example of spilling beer, and eyeing up another man's woman as: 'symbolic of the wider spatial invasion by non-resident workers' (401). This therefore crosses geographical boundaries, being almost universal. However the isolation, boredom, and lack of female company in rural areas allow them to identify a link between male-on-male violence and remoteness (401).

In England and Wales, research has found that rural pubs offer an atmosphere which encourages inter-generational integration (Valentine *et al*, 2008) and this represents an approach to crime prevention which avoids the congregation of young people crammed into small places with the inevitable violence in accompaniment. In a recent review of policing in the night-time economy Lister (2009) even advocated attracting a wide mix of clientele to a venue as a method of informal social control itself. However the larger rural town of Penrith in Cumbria (Valentine *et al*, 2008) *did* adopt a post-industrial image and culture and had small clusters of night-time entertainment venues which serve alcohol and offered a drinking circuit as well as promotional offers aimed at the young. However small, a competitive circuit naturally sees a "competitive race to the bottom" of price and quality (Parsons, 2014), and successful small town *rural* night-time economies reinvigorate concerns over alcohol-fuelled violence as they push drink prices down and the offers and promotions become more common.

In its approach to urban economies there is evidence that the government of England and Wales is avoiding blanket strategies of designing-out crime instead dealing with venues on a case-by-case nature. For example, in 2014 the government of England and Wales invited submissions to benefit from a new scheme focussing on twenty Local Alcohol Action Areas, and received seventy-four proposals. The scheme hopes to use lessons learnt from other areas which have driven down alcohol-related crime. Results of this initiative are unclear but little funding, or new tactics, have so far been offered in order to facilitate the scheme. In tackling crime Hadfield and Measham (2009) have broken down restrictions suggested by the government in law as threefold; Person-Specific Restrictions, Place-Based Restrictions, and Venue-Specific Restrictions (including licensing conditions). Individual premises can be dealt with under The Licensing Act 2003 (which replaced legislation dating back to 1964; Hadfield and Measham, 2009). The four key licensing principles used in England and Wales are;

- the prevention of crime and disorder
- public safety

- prevention of public nuisance
- the protection of children from harm

In order to uphold these, the licensing act offers licensing officials the facility of conditioning licences (Lister, 2009). This is useful for controlling disorderly, troublesome, or troubled venues as new conditions could not be added to a (pre-2005) license unless as a result of a review of the license, for which there must be good reason and supporting evidence relating to these principles. This could only be done upon an official three yearly review previously. The Criminal Justice and Police Act (2001) also enables police to 'immediately close disorderly licensed premises' (Monaghan, 2004, 461). However Hadfield and Measham (2009) highlight the relative autonomy licensing officials and magistrates have in their pursuit of such cases and summarise that further intervening variables including culture and drinking, and policing differentiations as well as 'uneven' access to some infrastructure such as transport, have a role to play. Hough, Hunter, Jacobson, and Cossalter (2008), (here paraphrased succinctly by Hadfield and Measham, 2009) however have looked at whether the Licensing Act has brought about considerable positive change, and damningly conclude; 'overall the new legislation provisions had made little difference to rates of alcohol-related crime and disorder, despite the increased resources made available to the police' (30), but also that policing and transport management produced success.

### **The micro - chaotic drinking places and crime prevention**

It is widely accepted that managing places which serve alcohol is part of preventing violence (see inter alia Felson, 2002, 154). Bottoms (2007) highlights the commonsensical consequences of an expansion of the night-time economy: "deliberately encouraging an alcohol-fuelled night-time economy, typically focussed upon a small geographical area, and seeking to attract (in particular) young adult clients, is hardly an ideal recipe for an assault-free environment" (Bottoms, 2007, 569). In fact, the night-time economy in England and Wales has brought a change in routines of leisure centred on concentrated weekend drinking in pubs and clubs, and place is a 'building block' of routine activities (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995).

Drawing upon urban based literature, beyond binge-drinking, the creation of safer drinking places and environments (Roberts, 2009) has been labelled 'the primary goal' of research on barroom aggression in a relatively recent and thorough review of the literature (Roberts, 2009). Research suggests that social context has a 'direct effect' on incidents of violence in a venue (see Roberts, 2009) and one in five of all violent incidents now occurs in or around pubs and clubs (Lister, 2009). There are variations existent in atmospherics, driven by music and subculture genre, and adaptations are necessary to work in different venues. Rougher crowds, commonly cited as such as those attracted by drum and bass or hip hop nights for instance, highlight Roberts (2009) call for research into different places.

Although ‘anything in fact, could trigger a violent confrontation’ (Winlow *et al*, 2001, 543), designing-out crime remains a hot topic for discussion amongst researchers (see inter alia Felson, 2002). Research suggests a ‘convincing link’ (Roberts, 2009) between the perception of a ‘messy’ bar and the negative impression of the running of it by its staff. This can lead to a chaotic drinking environment, typically; ‘permissive’ and ‘shabby’ decorum, unpleasant, cheap and dirty surroundings within a venue, poor ventilation (Graham, La Rocque, Yetman, Ross, and Guistra, 1980; also Roberts, 2007). Such venues are also characterised by overt sexual activity, and swearing (Homel, Hauritz, Wortley, McIlwain, and Teague, 2004). Furthermore evidence suggests that some young men avoid bars known to be violent (Tomsen, 2005), yet permissive, chaotic venues attract problem customers who are inclined to act violently (Quigley *et al*, 2003). Researchers looking at drinking culture, place and micro environments (i.e. venues) as a means to tackle violent crime suggest ‘the greatest source of progress stems from recognizing that violence is goal-oriented and responds to cues from physical settings’ (Felson, 2002, 155). Research also suggests that social context has a significant role in the creation of unpermissive drinking environments and Measham and Brain’s (2005) study of three Mancunian drinking zones; Deansgate Locks, Canal Street, and ‘The Printworks’, concluded that a calming environment was prominent at The Printworks. This is a private and enclosed indoor mock-street setting and its design lends itself to being relatively easily and heavily surveilled by security staff and by Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras. This secure environment was not a characteristic shared by the other two locations. Situational factors such as CCTV and plastic glasses are all part of the design phase of a place (Felson, 2002, 158) and ultimately offer a ‘broad repertoire for preventing crime’ at relatively low cost and not impacting on rights and liberties (Felson, 2002, 162). Weber (1965) describes the experience of music as a form of ecstasy and research has found music to be a key factor in mood regulation (Saarikallio and Erkkila, 2007), and Rickard (2004) links certain types of music to heightened physical arousal. Loud and lively music, dance or pop music for example, invigorates crowds and the accompanying dancing means people will likely bump into each other (Felson, 2002, 152). Aggressive music, when turned off at the end of the night brings the night to a close (Hadfield, 2008, 440) but also leaves people hyped-up (Felson, 2002). This can then potentially be carried to fast-food outlets and taxi ranks surrounding popular alcohol serving venues. Significant research conducted in Australia by Homel, *et al.*, (1997) supports the link between happy hours, drinking circuits, and aggression, and group drinking is identified in a similar light:

‘When this form of hastened group drinking is in full swing, bar staff are most hurried and bothered. Empty glasses pile up around bars but cannot be washed in time. Bathrooms are soon crowded with drinkers needing to relieve themselves. Floors have wet patches, and are then littered with a flood tide of small mounds of empty beer cans or plastic cups that glasshops [collectors] fail to collect and place in large garbage bags’ (Tomsen, 1997, 96).

Measham and Brain (2005) identify 'shots' of alcohol - small glasses, usually 25 or 50ml of alcohol to be consumed in one go - as contributors to a chaotic drinking environment, not only due to the ease and speed at which they can be consumed, but by the efficient means by which they can be bought. These are often sweet-tasting and therefore appeal to a wide audience (Hadfield and Measham, 2009). Waitresses bring trays of shots to consumers, and thereby consumers avoid the slower and sobering process of queuing at the bar which could act as a barrier to the quick consumption of larger volumes of alcohol. Quick consumption of both shots and larger quantities of alcohol are part of the binge-drinking process. The consumption of shots also mixes different types of alcohol, with unsurprising consequences (Measham and Brain, 2005). Therefore although the government's MUP strategy was directed at pre-drinking, deals within venues have a massive impact too. This impact is directly linked to crime and researchers have been able to identify a heightened target suitability; 'drinks specials and discounts intending to attract female patrons may also encourage heavy drinking patterns and subsequently, increase the risks for personal or property victimization' (Fox and Sobol, 431).

A chaotic drinking environment, especially taken alone, is not the only factor indicated by research as having an impact on levels of aggression in participants of the night-time economy. In fact a number of commentators consider it likely that a mix of variables will heighten aggression in a venue. Yet a single variable can influence change (Roberts, 2009). During the late 1980s's and early 1990's, continuing on from the first exploratory research into violence in the night-time economy in the early 1980's, significant studies employing observers in bars (a popular research strategy for barroom analysis) present a list of factors which contribute to a violent incident or aggressive confrontation. Aggressive incidents which occur in venues, such as those described in research by Graham *et al* (2005) are exemplary and representative of typical incidents this thesis wishes to address; "'squaring off", appearing threatening, displaying anger/hostility, crowding someone, shouting/yelling, and violating personal space...pushing/shoving and restraining forcefully' (summarised by Roberts, 2009). In Australian research venue characteristics and demographics such as groups of male strangers, high boredom, and drunkenness (Homel, Tomsen, and Thommeny, 1992) fuel the fire while amongst the bouncers themselves some were found to be poorly trained and managed, relatively young and immature, and there was a negative impact caused by high staff turnover. A few years later, similar research in Sydney, Australia also alluded to the role of the following factors and their contribution to aggressive incidents; refusal of alcohol service to intoxicated patrons, and the presence of large bouncers and expectations of being able to deal efficiently with violence (Homel and Clark, 1994). In the United States research also pointed to the role of bouncers themselves in aggressive incidents - whether instigating violence or ignoring their responsibility to instil and then uphold house rules (Fox and Sobol, 2000). In Ontario, Canada observations discovered; refusing entry, agitated customers, and queue management by bouncers to have an effect on levels of aggression (Graham and Wells,

2001). English research on perceptions of drinking environments show the presence of bouncers, venue untidiness, and bar owners using force lead to negative judgements of a venue (Leather and Lawrence, 1995). More recent Canadian research maintains past conclusions about the presence of permissive bar staff and bouncers and their attributions to the instigation of violent incidents in night-time venues (Graham and Wells, 2003) as does recent Glaswegian research which also implied that many incidents could be attributed to a single bouncer (Forsyth, Cloonan, and Barr, 2005). In some cases door supervisors begin their shift part-way through a sporting or festival event where there has been no door control, and therefore monitoring reveller's intoxication levels will be left to the bar staff to perform alongside their other tasks. Further Canadian research which obtained a large volume of observational data indicates the role of the following in aggressive incidents in night-time bars; crowding, noise level, sexual activity, intoxication of patrons, along with large numbers of staff, unprofessional non-vigilant bouncers and severe behaviour by them (Graham, Bernards, Osgood, and Wells, 2006). Yet there is a significant counter-argument, as discussed above, as to whether door supervisors actually pose a problem and conclusions of focus groups have reported the contrary concluding; that they actually provide a feeling of safety (Tomsen, 2005). Others have concluded that the absence of door supervisors is more dangerous in creating a permissive drinking environment than the presence of problem door supervisors (Roberts, 2007).

Door supervisors are agents of control and a source of policing in night-time venues. They play a crucial role in excluding undesirables and therefore regulating consumption (Measham and Brain, 2005) and the space in which they operate, as Hadfield's (2008) study of London's exclusive and gentrified night-time venues exemplifies. To retain an exclusive client basis, clubs in London employ the tactic of using a pre-booking system in the later hours of the night (Hadfield, 2008, 431). This and other tactics show the responsibility of venues to tackle problems of disorder in the night-time economy. Police, door supervisors, and health professionals deal with the immediate aftermath of violent incidents in the night-time economy, as will now be discussed, but a broader responsibility naturally lies with the government.

### **Alcohol related crime and government policy**

The government's national alcohol strategy stresses the positive and important role alcohol plays in society (Hadfield and Measham, 2009), yet if we consider alcohol a stimulator, space a host, and violence a consequence, crime can be the result of alcohol consumption. The closure of roads to traffic in crowded urban spaces is an example of how the host can be adapted to lower the likelihood of people bumping into each other in crowded front-of-house smoking areas, or during large gatherings at festivals or sporting events. Of course not every encounter with alcohol in a space leads to violence. However let us consider a few facts, half of England's population consume alcohol once a week or less, but almost 10 million adults drink 'too much', with potentially lethal health



consequences, as well as costing the NHS around £2.7bn a year' (Home Office, 2013, iii, 1). The British Beer and Pub Association estimate that fifteen million people use pubs every week (Simmonds, 2012), and alcohol contributes to almost a million (44%) of all violent crime in a year (2010/11) (Chaplin, Flatley and Smith, 2011).

The government describes A&E departments as 'flashpoints' for drunks, although the NHS Constitution sets a basis for refusing to treat abusive drunks. Through the Community Safety Accreditation Scheme it aims to give some staff powers to issue Penalty Notices for Disorder (PND's) (which carry an eighty pound fine) or have police officers stationed in A&E departments. Furthermore, for the first time, from April 2012, 'local health bodies will be able to instigate a review of a license; this means that a hospital that is regularly dealing with patients at A&E as a result of alcohol-related violence at a particular pub will now be able to instigate a review of the license at those premises' (HM Government, 2012, 14). Health-related issues will also become a criterion by which a license application can potentially be declined. A study conducted by researchers at Cardiff University demonstrated that when hospitals share information with police about certain violent crime locations, a 'sustained reduction of violence-related attendances of up to 40%' can be achieved (HM Government, 2012, 15), and concludes that 'anonymised information derived from patients injured in violence can, when combined with police intelligence, be used to prevent violence to a greater extent than is achievable using police intelligence alone' (Florence, 2011, 8).

The potential for a successful public health model of tackling alcohol-related violence builds with continued input from the alcohol industry which commissions many studies into this area, showing a conscious appreciation of the importance of focussing on the negative fallout of alcohol consumption. But alcohol marketing strategies face a double-edged sword with responsibility if advertising and marketing of such products leads to irresponsible behaviour. Measham and Brain (2005) describe marketing strategies as increasingly targeted and sophisticated and identify key transformations in the process of post-industrial consumption. Re-commodification of alcoholic beverages, an increase in the alcohol strength of products over the last decade, alcohol-related lifestyle marketing, and popular design are all instrumental promotion factors in today's night-time economy in general (267).

The Government's Alcohol Strategy identifies three key points in relation to this; people consume more when prices are lower, marketing and advertising affect drinking behaviour, and store (supermarket) layout and product location affect the type and volume of sales (HM Government, 2012, 17). The alcohol industry can support local schemes such as Community Alcohol Partnerships (CAPs) and Best Bar None – an award scheme designed at raising standards in licensed premises through competitiveness in service delivery - and has pledged to increase the choice of lower

strength products in order to hit government targets of taking one billion units out of the market by 2015 (HM Government, 2012, 18). The government predicts this will lower alcohol-related crime. However sceptics of the government's alcohol strategy and its focus on binge-drinking identify a contradiction:

'liberalization of regulations governing the sale and consumption of alcohol exploit the economic benefits of the burgeoning night-time economy of British towns and cities ... [and] ... increased penalties for individuals and licensed premises attempt to regulate and constrain the perceived drink-related disorder and 'binge' drinking culture which allegedly accompanies the expansion of the night-time economy and leads to British cities becoming dens of drunkenness described as no-go areas to the over 35s' (Measham and Brain, 2005, 263).

In Measham and Brain's (2005) empirical study, on average respondents interviewed between 2000 and 2230 whilst on a night out with an average age of twenty-five were classified as 'binge' drinkers, according to the standard UK unit-based definition used in the study (six units of alcohol for women, and eight units for men). As pointed out in their research this questions whether the government's description, against that of some tabloid media, of binge drinkers as a minority of revellers is accurate. However it may be that the government's classification of binge-drinking (or 'sessional' drinking - Measham and Brain, 2005), which is drinking over twice the recommended daily UK government recommended amount on one day, is simply out of touch with modern drinking habits therefore lowering its usefulness. Measham and Brain's research alludes to this but does not go as far as to suggest any changes. Valentine *et al* (2007, 71) comment on the normalisation of binge-drinking in their aptly titled paragraph 'Mis-placed debate':

'Binge drinking, although technically referring to periods of episodic heavy alcohol consumption, has come in cultural terms to mean high levels of drinking by young people on the streets of urban Britain. This leaves many of those who consume high levels of alcohol in very different circumstances feeling unwarrantedly insulated from concern. In particular, many whose domestic consumption far exceeds Government recommended weekly limits, continue to regard their own practices as unremarkable'.

However, participants in Measham and Brain's (2005) study also displayed awareness of one's need to stay in control, even when heavily drinking, challenging the notion of a desire to lose inhibitions, and researchers (Valentine *et al*, 2008) have identified personal safety as an explanation for the will to remain in control, and to avoid becoming a target.

The UK Prime Minister, David Cameron, in *The Government's Alcohol Strategy*, outlined his party's thinking on alcohol-related violence. He stated that the problems of crime and disorder in Britain's

night-time economy are connected to 'binge drinking' and 'pre-drinking', or 'pre-loading' i.e. loading up with cheap supermarket alcohol before heading out for the night, and the concern is shared by "the trade view" (National Pubwatch, 2014). Binge drinking is of particular concern as it would 'appear to be associated with interpersonal assault' among young people (Lightowlers, Elliot, and Tranmer, 2014, 1207). We know that 'males, people at the younger end of the age range, and those that drink heavily in single episodes - especially the most frequent heavy episodic drinkers - are more likely to commit assault' (1216). The chance rises from a 1 in 20 chance of committing assault for non-binge drinkers, to a 1 in 5 chance for high frequency binge-drinkers. Rural agencies and services providers in England interviewed by Valentine, Holloway, Jayne and Knell (2007, 28) argued: 'that the issue of young people binge drinking is not confined to urban areas' and we have already seen that there is an acceptance of teenage drinking in very small rural communities. There is also evidence that the age of drinkers is more polarised in rural areas of England, with the demographic commonly including middle-aged participation in rural pubs.

Concern over binge-drinking also incorporates worries about a link between drinking cheap supermarket alcohol and domestic violence and this is a resurging problem for police in England and Wales. Today public drunkenness is 'still tolerated far more in Britain than in many other societies' (Hadfield, 2009, 5), and attitudes are favourable toward drunkenness more than most other European countries (Hadfield and Measham, 2009), which has a direct impact on societal informal control. Research (summarised by Lister, 2009, 7) suggests that binge-drinking in European Union countries is highest in Ireland and the UK, and this includes women. In Ireland in fact, drunkenness is viewed in a 'relaxed, non-judgemental, or even positive light' (Hadfield, 2009, 7) and such neo-liberal views have had an effect on attempts to regulate the industry (Mairead and Mayock, 2009). In England and Wales the government's alcohol strategy had hoped to deal with the 'epidemic' of binge-drinking by controlling the price of cheap alcohol with Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP):

'When beer is cheaper than water, it's just too easy for people to get drunk on cheap alcohol at home before they even set foot in the pub. So we are going to introduce a new minimum unit price...if it is 40p that could mean 50,000 fewer crimes each year and 900 fewer alcohol-related deaths a year by the end of the decade' (HM Government, 2012, 2).

Although Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) did not successfully pass through Parliament in England and Wales in 2013 media panic continues to surround binge-drinking in Britain (for example, Barnett, 2014). The most obvious criticism around MUP is the unintended consequence of targeting the whole population to cure the minority (Nearne, 2013). However a 2014 study by the Sheffield Alcohol Research Group (SARG) has responded using predictive modelling to support the claim that actually harmful drinkers with the lowest incomes would reduce their consumption the most (high income harmful drinkers would also drink less). Furthermore ten years after implementation, a

£0.45 minimum unit price was estimated to lead to “substantive annual reductions in mortality and illness related to alcohol consumption” (Holmes, *et al.*, 2014, 7). MUP however, it must be argued, does not tackle the root of the problem, in that some ‘do find drunkenness in itself a pleasurable state to be actively pursued’ and what cheaper way to do that than by sharing a bottle of spirits before a night out between friends, as is the norm in many Western social circles (for example sports teams and university peer groups). The National Alcohol Strategy hopes to change attitudes as well as culture: ‘growing official censure, policing and criminalization of immoderate consumption fits a broader governmental agenda not only to change the traditional British drinking culture of weekday restraint/weekend excess, but to criminalize the pharmacological pleasures of intoxication per se’ (Hadfield and Measham, 2009, 3).

David Cameron acknowledges that both the on and off licences are crucial in tackling binge-drinking, but was adamant that the strategy of minimum pricing would not hurt pubs. He went on to say that pubs may actually benefit by: “making the cheap alternatives in supermarkets more expensive” and promoting responsible drinking “by giving consumers a wider choice of lower strength products and smaller servings [...to take one billion units out of the market by 2015]” (HM Government, 2012, 2). The British Beer and Pub Association recommends and advocates the supply of weaker beer to pubs, currently the average beer supplied in 2012 is 4.2% according to research by the association (Simmonds, 2012). The government also aims to make it easier to close down ‘problem premises’, challenge irresponsible businesses, and strengthen powers to limit the number of licensed premises in a particular area (HM Government, 2012, 4). It plans to do this alongside a public health campaign advertising and informing people of the health risks of excessive alcohol consumption so that it becomes ‘no longer considered acceptable to drink excessively’ (HM Government, 2012, 4).

One wonders if the next government step in the England and Wales public health drive will be to take drastic, and potentially profit lowering public health schemes such as those applied to tobacco packaging, and smoking bans. We may see pictures of dishevelled livers on bottles of beer labels like cigarette packets, and posters of victim injuries positioned near key venues within the night-time economy, yet these stand in stark contrast to the realities of the celebration we are hoped to indulge our time and money in, in the night-time economy. Combining the health implications mentioned above with safety and security implications will illustrate the broad range of symptoms of criminal activity which exist, and which need to be diagnosed and tackled, in the night-time venues of England and Wales, and collaborative approaches may be well suited for such all-encompassing solutions. One must look towards generating empirically underpinned research which influences policy and directs possible ways forward.

## **Collaborative approaches to alcohol and violence**

To identify and compare collaboration of door supervisors and the police in different environments, it is crucial to first understand key differences which separate private security officials from police officers. In England and Wales, defining the public police in isolation is fairly straightforward. The public police form: 'a body of men and women employed by the state who patrol the streets, deal with crime, ensure order and who undertake a range of other social service-type functions' (Wakefield, 2003, 6). However Newburn and Reiner (2008), proposing a definition of *policing* for complex western societies such as the UK and the USA, warn against over-simplicity, offering a broad definition: 'an aspect of social control processes involving surveillance and sanctions intended to ensure the security of social order' (914). Conceptualising policing itself is difficult and is made more complex when we attempt to distinguish between public police and private security. Both public police and private security play a role in instilling and maintaining social order, and social order is something which, from a functionalist perspective, is essential for the survival of social systems (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008; Ritzer, 2008). The maintenance of order, in the context of policing, is a multi-faceted societal function '*directed* at preserving the security of a particular social order' (Newburn and Reiner, 2008, 913). Here, order related to crime and deviance can be differentiated from other forms of social control, for instance education and parenting. Although in England and Wales the police have ultimate responsibility for policing, it is often carried out by people and organisations 'other than the police' (Rawlings, 1995). Commonly we differentiate between public, and private policing or private security provision but caution must be applied if using these terms as distinct and separate entities. Some clear distinctions are now highlighted. The public police operate 'primarily' by conducting public policing duties for 'the public good', and private security officers primarily conduct policing of private areas for financial gain (Jones and Newburn, 1998, 244). Yet, a grey area exists; 'for many market security executives, market and public good rationalities are blurry and overlapping rather than discrete and mutually exclusive', and more frequently the public police are 'required to function in a business paradigm' (White and Gill, 2013, 78; 79; 86). The British Transport Police (BTP) are public servants but receive a lot of private funding from train companies, and further examples are easy to find and include prison officers employed in private prisons, and private custody officers in the public police (Newburn and Reiner, 2008).

A discussion, then, is ongoing over how public police and private security operatives in England and Wales are defined in relation to each other as they may share typical characteristics. Both act as guardians, and a debate continues as to the accurate estimation of numbers of private security operating in England and Wales. Debate surrounding the defining of the roles of public police and private security operatives is not particularly new, and in fact it is at least thirty years old (Shearing and Stenning, 1983). A debate was initiated by the fall in the public policing monopoly (Newburn and Reiner, 2008) and broadly speaking comes under what Jones and Newburn (2002) coin the

'Transformation Thesis'. The transformation thesis documents correlation in policing ratios. As ratios of private security to police increase a shift to prioritisation of private market and profit rationale in place of a desire to meet demands for public good occurs (White, 2014; White and Gill, 2013). Estimates suggest a rise in Great Britain from a hypothetical 0:1 to 2:1 ratio of private security to police (Jones and Newburn, 2002). However White and Gill (2013), support a cautionary approach to such figures. They suggest the rationality behind the public nature of some private policing, and the private nature of some public policing is informed by more than just mere estimates. They document how *both* the public police and the private security industry interact with business acumen and skills on one hand, but engage with a public duty for 'public good' on the other. White and Gill (2013) comment on the depth of the debate: 'rather than seeing a unidirectional shift from the logic of the public good to the logic of the market, we are in fact witnessing the complex intermixing of different policing styles and rationalities' (86). They also suggest a more realistic estimate of the ratio of public to private policing of just over 1:1 (77) and so the haze of defining public and private policing is prevalent but grey and other attempts (Loader, 2000) to induce clarity have been criticised by Button (2002) as 'porous'.

There is continuing support for the use of the terms 'public' and 'private' though, and when applied to specific examples they are 'useful distinctions' (Jones and Newburn, 1998, 28), and Jones and Newburn (1998) offer a realistic and definitive group of categories, which Button (2002) has evolved to increase their applicability to England and Wales. In England and Wales, the public police hold special powers through the office of constable, carrying official status. Public policing is state delivered, and *not* part of a market. It is funded by taxation, and everyone has a right to it – they simply ring an emergency telephone number. Newburn and Reiner (2008) also expand: the public police are called upon to undertake a 'bewildering' range of duties and tasks, and they do so in uniform, and carry weapons. Furthermore public police have legal and public accountability and reinforcement. Private security forms part of the private sector, in contrast, and is part of a market. Button (2002) warns against the term 'commercial' which has wider implications, but private security is funded by client-based fees, and functions through contractual relationships, without possessing special powers (Button, 2002, 19). The contractual emphasis here is contentious, especially when described interchangeably as conducive with 'partnership' as is often the case, as ambiguity surrounds shared common goals as some may exist around financial gain whilst others at the individual level do not. In reality, the rewards may be the variation between public police and private security although it may be a goal for them to work in conjunction. Therefore the term collaboration, with its focus on joint work, is a more appropriate term as it has less focus on narrow and joint goals.

Collaboration is a mixture of formal and informal agreements to supply the demand for a secure environment using a multi-agency approach, and is discussed in depth in the later chapter *Collaboration*. Benefits and limitations of collaborative approaches to violence in the night-time economy are also explored, specifically Noak's (2008) research addresses limitations, whilst empirical data from Wakefield (2003) supports five strands of positive collaboration over three venues. These are; responding to crime in progress, investigating crime, intelligence sharing, knowledge sharing, and 'partnership' working. They are discussed in chapter nine.

Lister (2009, 14) has advocated a multi-agency approach to violence in the night-time economy, and has suggested key policing ingredients for a safer night-time economy which include a number of suggestions, specifically; general proper governance of licensed premises and positive multi-agency collaboration on security and licensing issues, local intelligence generation, practice to keep crime mapping current, and greater understanding of 'human ecology', particularly drinking habits, and these will be revisited throughout the thesis.

Significant contact between licensing officials and licensees, and an appreciation of Criminology of Place with websites such as *Police.uk* allowing for the production of transparent statistical analysis and mapping of crime, and the continuation of research into situational crime prevention and Criminology of Place addresses many of these issues. Lister (2009) also advocates the introduction of 'door supervisor liaison officers', similar to the relatively new role of football liaison police officers who act as an intermediary between football clubs, fans, rival fans, and provide representation of the police force in research by Stott *et al* (2011). South Wales Police who were facing considerable disorder at some football matches have described how establishing a new approach to the problem based not on 'deterrence' but upon 'dialogue' produced self-regulation amongst fans and a greater respect for the police:

'As a first step towards this, they organized a series of meetings with the various relevant groups, including CCFC, the local authority and influential representatives from the RAMs [the Valleys of the Rhondda, Aberdare and Merthyr]. The feedback obtained by SWP from fans at these meetings led directly to changes in police tactics where they moved away from overt displays of their capability to use force. This 'dialogue-based' approach was seen by some [including fans themselves] as leading directly to an emergent sense of police legitimacy among fans' (Stott *et al*, 2011, 7).

Some safe alcohol strategy has been tested in England. The Southampton Safe City Partnership boasts success over its multi-agency and multi-angled approach to violence connected to the night-time economy (Home Office, 2013, v). Assets included; a bus as a focal point to care for those injured or vulnerable, volunteer Street Pastors who patrol the city centre at peak times providing

assistance to the injured or vulnerable, public health campaigns, road closures to allow pedestrian flow, weekly multi-agency briefings, taxi security marshals, and a 'Yellow Card' Scheme for anti-social behaviour. In this scheme, personal details are shared between licensed premises. If they receive a second yellow card, and a third, the person is excluded from venues for a year. The longevity of strategies designed to contain and reduce violence, disorder and aggression in the night time economy has been limited. For example in the Southampton Safe City Partnership the tangible benefits became less visible as the momentum of the project naturally subsided. The Australian Surfers Paradise project, one analysed and monitored in research by Homel *et al* (1997), found significant decreases in violence were the result of directed and well-implemented training and multi-agency co-operation, yet when the monetary and academic impetus into the project ceased the violence rates soared once again. The pre-project (1993) physical assault level was 9.82 per 100 hours of observation which dropped to 4.65 during the project's safety implementation and training phase (1994), before rising again to 8.34 (1996) post project violence levels (77). The project was only implemented in the first place due to 'continuing failure of formal regulatory mechanisms' (Homel *et al*, 1997, 84) and at least it showed change is possible although longevity is difficult. The project fully analysed a number of elements of Western night-time precursors to violence which are commonly discussed by media, politicians and researchers including binge-drinking, drinking circuits, and situational prevention measures, and security collaboration.

Any greater involvement of police officers in venue security would incur extra public cost, and so the importance of a multi-agency approach grows. It is both refreshing and promising that rural criminology is already at least discussing multi-agency approaches in rural environments. Changes in rural policing have been documented above. 'Partnerships' of security involving public, private and voluntary elements now form a key part of securing many night-time economies in England and Wales, which 'tend to remain state-directed' (Crawford, 2006). But what about this multi-agency, partnership approach? How do rural people feel towards private security professionals being employed to provide safety and assurance within rural night-time economies: 'Further systematic research is [however] needed on private security in the policing mix of the countryside to establish its true extent and whether it will, as in urban areas, play a greater role' (Yarwood and Mawby, 2011, 218). Yet, Valentine *et al* (2008) claim that the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 brought a fresh interest in multi-agency cooperation and collaboration to tackle disorder and violence in the rural night-time economy:

'The provision of rural policing reflects broader changes in the pattern of service provision and the performance of governance in rural Britain, namely that greater responsibility had been placed on local communities to work in partnership with other agencies to deliver local services (Woods, 2006). Consequently, policing raises wider questions about the changing



nature of decision-making and governance in rural communities and the extent to which police partnerships represent a new form of governance' (Yarwood, 2008, 205).

The extent to which change is a response to moral panics and rural protests reflects the socially constructed nature of rural governance (Yarwood, 2008, 205):

'While recognising the low visibility of the police and their remoteness from many rural communities, the [pre-1997] Conservative government's Rural White Paper emphasised that the solution to these problems lay with active, rural citizens taking greater responsibility for policing...When a lack of police became a concern for rural residents, they were expected to be good, 'active citizens' by volunteering for service in Neighbourhood and Street Watch Schemes or as Neighbourhood Special Constables. Although the social and spatial uptake of these schemes was sporadic in rural areas, they had the potential to improve police-public relations and feelings of security without unduly placing demands on police time or resources (Yarwood and Edwards, 1995)' (Yarwood, 2008, 207).

### **Reducing crime and disorder in the night-time economy**

The benefits of a multi-agency approach, according to The Portman Group - an organisation set up to provide a platform from which to monitor responsible alcohol standards - are shared action, delivery and vision, positive outcomes and the transfer of positive ideas and initiatives, and finally shared commitment and communication. The drinks company Diageo has a multi-faceted approach to responsible drinking, alongside campaigns such as DrinkAware. Diageo has established and funded wide-reaching alcohol awareness initiatives for under-sixteen year olds in schools, and poster and novel media campaigns around university campuses. They have also funded water coolers in a nightclub to aid hydration beyond midnight, and they sponsor and support voluntary night-time economy Street Pastors, and provide funding for police horses and taxi marshals at a major national sporting event (Baird, 2014). Such work, especially that which focusses on educating under-sixteen year olds forms part of a the wider public health model on tackling alcohol-related illness and violence, and reflects acceptance of one alcohol company to take responsibility for sensible drinking whilst promoting the benefits of moderate alcohol consumption, particularly to mental health. At the heart of recent Home Office campaigns such as the Alcohol Misuse Enforcement Campaigns, the very nature of a multi-agency approach raises important questions regarding 'the very nature and extent of cooperation, coordination, and oversight if the efforts of different agencies are to be harnessed in the interests of furthering public safety' (Lister, 2009, 3).

Community Alcohol Partnerships, Pubwatch, and other schemes designed at ensuring public safety show: 'a flourishing night-time economy can operate where excessive drinking is tackled consistently and robustly by business, the police and local authorities working together' (HM Government, 2012,

10). The Best Bar None scheme gives Designated Premises Supervisors (DPS) the chance to promote the safety and efficiency of their businesses (Lister, 2009) and fosters healthy competition with prizes awarded to the strongest competitor. The government quotes impressive figures of the Durham Best Bar None scheme which has increased trade, increased footfall (by 50%) and 'expects' an 87% reduction in violent crime (HM Government, 2012, 19). It should not however be forgotten that 'despite policy efforts to broaden responsibility, policing remains the liability of the state and police' (Yarwood, 2008, 212). Pubwatch and similar initiatives involve a 'dialogue approach' by police whereby multi-agency communication includes discussions with potential and motivated offenders. This has been seen to improve football policing relations and promote self-regulation in the South Wales Police study discussed earlier (Stott *et al*, 2011), as 'the increasing trust and 'compliance', and quality of intelligence along with the lowering levels of conflict over time allowed the SWP to withdraw resources from fixtures they had historically policed heavily' (14).

In order to emphasise and encourage sociable evening drinking earlier in the day, and thereby encourage the whole process to last longer with less fast consumption, the adoption of a Southern European model of smaller sized glasses and making half pint glasses fashionable, and more products with lower ABV is advocated. Lower ABV has proved successful in Spain where less than 1% beer has proved fashionable and is the "driver's drink". This could undermine traditional pint sales, but nonetheless drinking less for longer is the European model the UK strives for. However as pointed out by Nearne (2013) this misses a crucial point which is that the modus operandi for pre-loading in the first place is to save money by consuming high strength alcohol in large quantities quickly so that one does not have to spend money during the night out. This is something that has been popular amongst student markets for those very reasons for years. But even critics like Nearne (2013) remain positive: "beers and pubs are part of the solution to foster a culture of responsible drinking and not part of the problem". Nonetheless government hopes rest on multi-agency approaches to drive down crime and disorder related to alcohol.

The government is doubling the maximum fine for persistently selling alcohol to a person under 18 to £20,000 (HM Government, 2012, 12). There is also a focus on enforcing the offence of knowingly serving alcohol to a drunk, as there were only three convictions for this in 2012 (HM Government, 2012, 13). The research project undertaken by Southampton Safe City Partnership (Home Office, 2013, v), introduced above, demonstrated the positive effect that establishing a successful multi-agency strategy towards violence in the night-time economy can have on crime reduction.

Mawby's (2011, ii) exploration of neighbourhood watch programmes (which began in the early 1980's) reported that contrary to stereotypical perceptions of rural cohesion neighbourhood watch programmes in rural Cornwall were not as commonly found as in suburban areas of the county. One

explanation may be the perception of safety expressed by young people in rural areas (as in Cumbria), which may go some way to contributing to a lack of need for such programmes. Research examining the British Crime Survey shows that residents do not feel threatened enough to initiate the programme in their area in rural Cornwall. Few (29% of respondents) were actually active members, although a greater number would show some characteristics such as watching over a friend's house whilst they were on holiday (Mawby, 2011, ii, 58). Mawby's (2011, ii) research suggests that amongst survey respondent's suggested improvements to policing, more public police officers was a popular choice and more policing ancillaries such as PCSOs (Police Community Support Officers) and Special Constables, *and* private security were popular. "More Private Security" was towards the least in number of respondents in favour of the security provision of the following categories of crime prevention: car crime, burglary, violence, disorder. An increase in police officers on foot was top, followed by more police in cars, followed by community patrols and wardens. So, there was no evidence that the public were rejecting the public police and looking to alternative forms of policing instead (Mawby, 2011, ii, 65). Rather other options within the public sector, local community, and private sector were seen as second (or third) best. Other evidence (Innes and Fielding, 2002) suggests the public have demonstrated an 'increased willingness to accept these tasks' of public protection being performed by 'private policing services' (9). Yet, Mawby (2011, ii, 66) concludes what the public wanted was a return to their ideal of rural police services like in the past, where police were 'more tightly enmeshed in their local communities'.

#### *On-the-spot penalties*

Stanko and Hales (2009) argue for collaboration and place based crime reduction in their analysis of policing violent places:

'by Cultivating close working relationships between police and door supervisors in the leisure industry, improvements in transport, crowd control and the identification (and exclusion) of persistent unruly persons have led to a reduction in violence. A better understanding of violent places leads to an understanding of the more violent offenders' (5)

On-the-spot actions are available to address crime and disorder on the streets of England and Wales, particularly in known hotspots of crime. Person-specific restrictions include DBO's (1-14 of the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006), Section 27 (Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006) orders to leave an area, EMROs, and Penalty Notices for Disorder (PNDs). Available in England and Wales, PNDs are: 'civil orders, similar to antisocial behaviour orders, which can last from two months to two years. They are available through the provisions of the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006' (Home Office, 2013, i, 1). They are used in response to violent or public order offences and carry a fine of up to £2,500, and can be applied to prohibit people from entering licensed premises or consuming alcohol in public. However, at the same time as these were brought in (2005) the government ruled out a

state ban on drinks promotions in England and Wales such as ‘all you can drink’ and ‘happy hours’ – which might be construed as encouraging sessional consumption’ (Measham and Brain, 2005, 278) .

EMROs are part of an initiative able to restrict opening and closing hours of licensed premises, but also charge a: ‘late-night levy (‘the levy’) to contribute towards late night policing’ (Home Office, 2013, ii, 1). These orders allow licensing authorities to restrict alcohol sale in the whole, or part of an area between 12am and 6am if appropriate and if they adhere to licensing objectives’ (Home Office, 2013, ii, 2), i.e. the objective to reduce crime and disorder. However such orders increase administrative costs at a time, early in the morning, where sceptics argue relatively little profit is generated as nightclubs work for longer, for little extra benefit.

Although the extra powers granted to licensing officials and police in emergencies are a step in the right direction, these powers are only likely to be used under strict evidence of a persistent offender and are reliant on either serious crime or reporting by DPSs to appear on the police and licensing radar. What is advocated is that local economies are judged case-by-case and work with their local key agencies in order to create a successful but safe business model. Full evaluation of this is necessary to properly summarise the benefits and limitations of this approach, but initial trade feedback is not particularly positive and there is a consensus the government is pushing the same rather basic tactics year upon year (National Pubwatch, 2014).

## **Discussion**

Long identified as a means of escapism, and an indulgence in carnival with few limitations, the night-time economy has seen significant expansion in recent decades. Violence has remained a constant problem which the government must address using public and private resources, but recently there has been a change from the employment of the unregulated ‘bouncer’ to the regulated and checked door supervisor. At the same time there has been a decline of the social hub of the industrial man’s local pub in favour of liminal hedonism, characterised in the night-time economy by neon lights, promiscuity, intoxication and illegal substance misuse. Research of permissive drinking environments, for example a case study of Manchester, England (Measham and Brain, 2005), links the influence of music, venue surroundings, group drinking and drinking circuits and crowd control to the creation of places which harbour aggressiveness inexplicably. In contrast, exclusive gentrified venues are considerably more ordered and easier to control and manage.

There is a necessity to examine venues and locations independently when looking to make improvements across the rural urban spectrum of England and Wales. Moreover, in its search for action, the government of England and Wales has considered minimum unit pricing and fines and restriction orders, to encourage a move from binge-drinking towards a prolonged experience of

consumption based on a Southern European model. This comes amidst speculation over classifications of binge-drinking proposed in England and Wales. Yet the more promising suggestions for a safer future in night-time venues seems to be in the proposal for multi-agency collaborative approaches which involve police, volunteers, volunteer police agencies such as the Special Constabulary, safety agencies including Street Pastors, and alcohol drinks companies themselves. Such approaches are not dependent on DPS recognising and reporting issues of crime and disorder. Some of these suggestions have been tried and tested across the globe as well as in England and Wales, but many lack longevity, often due to resource and funding limitations which only allow for trial periods or short-term approaches. Awards ceremonies for safe campaigns foster healthy competition, whilst Pubwatch groups encourage intelligence-sharing and communication between the licensed trade and the police, and public health models seek to educate young people about the risks of intoxication and alcohol abuse. The police in England and Wales use officers to liaise with football crowds, and other subgroups, and Police Door supervision Liaison Officers could aid in integrating door supervisors into such multi-agency collaborative approaches and encourage further information sharing (Lister, 2009). Such approaches have proved successful in England and Wales already. Concerns vary across rural and urban night-time economies, yet it is clear that in order to succeed the government of England and Wales must initiate a change in culture. It must alleviate the desire amongst young people to over-indulge in brief escapes at the weekend, temporarily deserting the routines of Monday to Friday work, and this is clearly a cultural goal. Maintaining and improving the safety of the night-time economy is however situational, and the concept of training, capability and efficiency amongst door supervisors becomes vital, and is discussed at length in the final part of this literature review, and subsequent chapters to follow.

## **Chapter Four. Literature Review Part Three: Place, Guardianship, and Capability.**

A number of theories under the umbrella of criminology of place share a focus on the effect of a convergence of people in space and time (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Rock, 2007; Wikstrom, Ceccato, Hardie, and Treiber, 2010). This final literature review chapter will introduce the importance of risk, effort, and reward decisions behind committing a crime increases, and I discuss how instant situational measures can potentially counter the decision to take a risk - under the broad heading of guardianship. The research of Eck (2003) introduces the importance of guardianship to the maintenance of a safe environment for users of the night-time economy, and defines door supervisors as guardians amongst others such as the police. The modernising of the original theory of routine activities (Cohen and Felson, 1979) is introduced, as Fox and Sobol (2000) highlight the applicability of the 1979 theory to violence in bars and clubs today, and rural violence and chaotic drinking environments are given special focus in order to fully understand rural and urban similarities and differences which surround location.

### **Criminology of place**

Much of the original theorising around Criminology of Place comes from urban research and indeed many of its origins lie in inner-city Chicago. This thesis applies some of its principles to rural areas, for example analysis of offence-location and offender decision-making based criminological theorising, as: 'the criminological tradition has offered little of theoretical significance in its analysis of crime in rural areas' (Moody, 1999, 23). In *Bouncers*, Hobbs *et al.*, (2003) use accident and emergency statistics and trends in the emergence of urban licensed premises to evidence their conclusion that: 'lawlessness and violence in the night-time economy are of course concentrated in certain places and at certain times' (48). Working on the premise that the night-time environment can be manipulated to reduce the likelihood of offending behaviour Criminology of Place has been applied to the 'clustering of crime at small units of geography', or 'hotspots' including barroom environments (Braga and Weisburd, 2010, 65). Leading scholars (Reid, Frank, Iwanski, Dabbaghian, and Brantingham, 2014) offer a simple definition of a hotspot: 'places where crimes concentrate spatially at a point in time' (231). Ratcliffe's (2012) regression analysis found 90% of night-time violent crime incidents were located within 1,500 feet of a bar (311). In individual venues door supervisors play a role in the creation of permissive drinking environments if they adopt a relaxed attitude toward house rules or entry policies (Homel and Clark, 1994), and the link between permissive environments and aggression is well documented (Graham, La Rocque, Yetman, Ross, and Guistra, 1980) and is discussed in greater detail below.

In times of cuts to police spending and budgetary constraints in England and Wales what is crucial is the relative ease at which situational factors of micro-environments such as pubs and bars can be addressed, adapted, and changed (Roberts, 2009). Situational crime prevention (SCP), or altering the physical and social environment ('situations') in an attempt to reduce the likelihood of crimes being committed (Bottoms, 2007, 541), largely offers the best chance to minimize crime with minimal interference (Felson, 2002, 163). In the UK, in 2003, almost half (47%) of assaults involved an alcohol-fuelled assailant and this has been accredited to premises overcrowding, and irresponsible alcohol service (Pratten, 2007, 56). Studies have also identified other precursors to violence, all of which can be addressed; unclean and cheap surroundings, 'scruffy' patrons, patrons drinking too quickly, poor ventilation (Graham *et al.*, 1980), groups of male strangers, and high drunkenness (Homel, Tomsen, and Thommeny, 1992), and high levels of staff (Graham, Bernard, Osgood and Wells, 2006). On the contrary dining facilities facilitate gentrification and member's clubs are designed to segregate, control and allow for the creation of intimate spaces (Hadfield, 2008, 439). Door supervisors can be used to influence and regulate this environment. Within their power is an ability to control customers and to deter the unwanted, which can directly impact on the permissiveness of an environment and has potential to influence levels of crime from being committed and deter the 'hot venue' label.

Concentrations of 'hot venues', those venues with statistically high levels of violent or aggressive incidents, can contribute to hotspot policing priorities and skew neighbourhood crime rates. Technological advances in analytical mapping tools, and more accurate recording of the location of crimes by police (co-ordinates and grid references) in response to The Simmons Report on police statistics have helped to accurately locate hotspots (Maguire, 2007). Whether they are 'generators' of crime (i.e. they 'cause' it) or 'receptors' of crime (i.e. they attract it) (Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger, 1989) or associated with crime through other factors though remains in question. There is a fear that the targeted policing of hotspots may merely displace crime, and Fox and Sobol's (2000) research found that 'the routine activities of these hot spot bars contributed to a substantial amount of neighbourhood disorder and minor property damage' (446). As introduced above, Ratcliffe (2012) provides advanced quantitative analysis (change point regression) of 1, 282 bars in Philadelphia. He concludes violence is clustered within eighty-five feet of bars, and then dissipates rapidly: 'this ability to be more specific regarding a distance beyond which there is significantly less evidence of a correlation between location and clusters of crime can guide an initial triage approach for more strategic interventions' (315). This research paves the way forward for evidence-based policing and security in the night-time economy. So violence is not confined to the interior of a venue, and that it occurs outside of a venue warrants continued analysis of just how far it dissipates, in order to allocate policing. Ratcliffe (2012) also uses a control group (fire stations) to strengthen his solid finding. Madensen and Eck (2008) researched bars in Cincinnati and conclude bars are: 'relatively

autonomous microenvironments that are at least partially insulated from external neighbourhood levels' (117). Although Fox and Sobol (2000) found that night-time economy disorder can disperse into the immediate neighbourhoods which surround them as intoxicated patrons urinate in gardens, tip bins over, and cause a nuisance at taxi ranks and fast food outlets, we are warned not to overstate or overestimate displacement of crime where crime literally drifts to a new area. Moreover, Shapland (2000) argues that the risk of the significant or entire displacement of crime from one place or neighbourhood to another is low, due to 'wastage' (leaks in changing from one offending locus to another, or one offence to another) and 'friction' (the effort in moving the crime to another point) (113), as does other research summarised by Bottoms (2012). Braga and Weisburd (2010) found that *positive* crime prevention measures situated at 'hotspots' actually diffuse to the immediate areas surrounding them, and conclude 'it is time for police to shift from person [and reaction] – based policing to place-based policing' (31).

If policing is allocated too broadly it has the potential to infuse a fear of crime into neighbourhoods, and clearly has the potential to waste resources. Fear of crime within neighbourhoods has been the subject of a significant amount of research. The collective efficacy of a place, or 'mutual trust among neighbours combined with a willingness to act on behalf of the common good, specifically to supervise children and maintain public order' (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1998), is higher in rural than urban populations in the United States of America generally. This, along with densities of acquaintanceship, are characteristic of rural areas of America (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 5). Recent collective efficacy evaluations (Brunton-Smith *et al*, 2014) in (London) England help us to stress the importance of informal control and neighbourhood cohesion at the community level, concluding:

'residents living in areas characterized by a greater degree of interpersonal trust and social cohesion amongst neighbours, with a concomitant increased capacity for informally controlling disorderly behaviour, are less likely to worry about becoming the victim of crime and less likely to believe that violent crime is a problem in their neighbourhood' (518).

Collective efficacy does not form a broader contribution to this thesis though as although it is informative to some of the actions of those who participate in the night-time economy, its focus is narrowly based around neighbourhoods.

Calculations of risk, effort and reward as studied by proponents of rational choice (Clarke, 1980) conclude criminal choices are dependent on a setting. It is the setting and not the offender which is targeted in the lowering of crime. Offenders are assumed to assess potential benefits (e.g. lucrative targets) and possible costs (e.g. an enhanced probability of getting caught) (Bottoms, 2007, 541). The effect of exposure to specific places on criminal choice, propensity, and situation-related habits



has also been explored by Wikstrom *et al* (2010) who concludes the environment has a significant impact on adolescents who already have a high criminogenic propensity. When discussing choice in terms of financial gain, an adrenaline rush, and opportunism, it may seem suitable to ask why is it that not everyone commits crime, in order to gain? This point is argued historically by Hirschi (1969, 34), and indeed 'defence mechanisms are strong' for denying one's own crime potential (Felson, 2002, 18). But, Felson (2002) talks of a fallacy of the self-belief that one *cannot* commit a crime, and therefore making changes in the environment in order to lower opportunity presents a direct and positive approach. However, to assume that "everyone has a price" may not be completely true, yet we are reminded not to overstate the differences between 'active offenders and the rest of the population' (6), and therefore adapting place is a practical solution.

SCP in the night-time economy focuses upon both 'target hardening', i.e. defending objects, (Rock, 2007) and human surveillance, altering the moral and decision-making schema of a potential offender and has at its basis the premise that: 'it is easier to reduce opportunities and temptations than to change human dispositions' (Crawford, 2007, 881). Just as a thief may 'choose a "favourite" spot because of certain desirable attributes that facilitate an ambush, such as poor lighting and untrimmed bushes' (Braga and Weisburd, 2010, 67), exposure to a permissive bar environment may facilitate an offender's actions and impact on their criminogenic choices. Lively venues in rural areas have at least as much interest in and responsibility for 'target hardening' of places and reducing permissive drinking environments to deter aggression, as their urban counterparts. As will be discussed during the course of the thesis, they will not always have the resources available to them as commonly found in urban hubs. City centre economies have large security networks, CCTV coverage and visible roaming police patrols, and one could argue that employing adequate *preventative* measures, including physical security such as door supervision, in rural areas where the police are slow to respond is seemingly a priority. Picking up on comments from Freeman's (2009) autobiographical account of years as a door supervisor in Sunderland, England, CCTV changed the momentum of violence and aggression: 'Once CCTV cameras hit the streets, things calmed down a bit in town. People knew that they could no longer get away with the sort of things they got away with in the past' (130). He acknowledges they do not stop crime but highlights how they can deter violence in certain confined spaces like a nightclub.

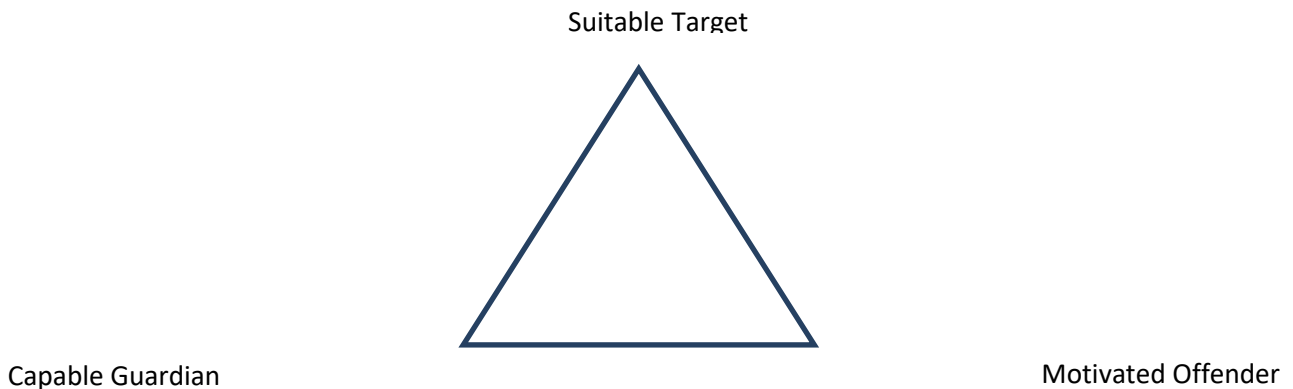
Concerns remain however for example over whether SCP measures will be used incorrectly to target specific areas or people, and a further concern raised by Hayward (2007) is whether SCP focuses too heavily on cost-benefit analysis at the detriment of deviant and 'pathological' explanations of criminality. Hayward favours macro socio-political intervention further arguing that rational choice reduces people to calculable inanimate non-creative objects. Garland (2001) argues the move away from social explanation was a fundamental step back for criminology as it de-moralises and de-

pathologises the late modern offender. Yet, importantly Hayward (2012) concludes that neither rational choice nor SCP is explanation enough on its own; a multi-perspective approach is needed. Still, the 'palette' (Shapland, 2000) of available SCP responses to crime continues to be its advantage. This chapter will now focus critically on the specific crime prevention role of professional guardians in bars, pubs, and clubs as a form of crime prevention.

Routine Activities Theory (RAT) was originally proposed by Cohen and Felson (1979). Routine activities theorists argue that 'the convergence in time and space of suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians may even lead to large increases in crime rates without necessarily requiring any increase in the structural conditions that motivate individuals to engage in crime' (Cohen and Felson, 1979, 589). Cohen and Felson's (1979) original proposal of routine activities theory was applicable to and emerged from theorising of both bystanders in public spaces and residents in their homes. They used the example of homeowners deterring burglary by their mere overt presence: 'we would expect routine activities performed within or near the home and among family or other primary groups to entail lower risk of criminal victimization because they enhance guardianship capabilities' (594). The defining of suitable targets is specific to the particular crime, and Cohen and Felson (1979) described the suitability of something as reflecting its value, as well as other factors including visibility, access (to a property for example) and daily activities (591).

Routine activities, strictly, are those activities that are defined by an individual's daily routines (Hollis, 2013) and offer an explanation of the work-leisure dichotomy in modern Western society. Applied to barroom aggression, RAT suggests an explanation for 'disproportionate' occurrence of night-time disorder at weekends, and 'in or near places of public entertainment such as bars and clubs' (Bottoms, 2007, 542). The night-time economy is now a part of everyday life especially for the young, and tangible activity in everyday life influences 'decisions' about crime (Felson, 2002, 35). The likelihood of criminal victimisation is greater when people engage in activities that increase the likelihood of physical contact between potential offenders and victims and where levels of supervision are low (Fox and Sobol, 435) (*see figure 1*). RAT assumes offender motivation.

Figure 1. *The Original RAT conceptual triangle*



Cohen and Felson (1979) first proposed RAT to explain US trends in household offences like robbery and theft, focussing on the role *ordinary citizens* can play as community guardians, and informal control agents. Researchers in England more recently concluded that the public perform an active policing role as ‘watchers’ in both urban and rural areas (Shapland and Vagg, 1987). Yet, RAT adapts clearly to crimes against the person – as found in night-time venues – and more clearly than theories of choice and opportunity per se to crimes against property (Bottoms, 2007, 542). In the night-time economy, analyses of confrontations caught by CCTV outside night-time venues have demonstrated the willingness of ordinary citizens to intervene in aggressive incidents in an attempt to de-escalate them even when those intervening were considered to be intoxicated (Levine, Taylor, and Best, 2011). Furthermore, in Fox and Sobol’s (2000) analysis, patrons who arrived at a venue as a couple or group offered guardianship to each other, while unaccompanied patrons appeared to rely on the ‘routine activities of the bar’ as informal guardianship (Fox and Sobol, 2000, 441) cementing the position of the door supervisor as guardian. Fox and Sobol (2000) applied principles of routine and guardianship to drinking patterns and social interaction in two bars; ‘North’ and ‘South’ arguing that ‘alcohol-serving facilities can redirect or limit the flow of patrons and limit access to certain persons and, therefore have a distinct crime prevention advantage over facilities that are accessible to the general public’ (434). North Bar had a lower count of predatory offending attributed to guardianship by door supervisors (447). The door supervisor has a key role in formal and informal guardianship in the barroom (‘barroom’ is used interchangeably with more quintessential definitions of bars, pubs and nightclubs).

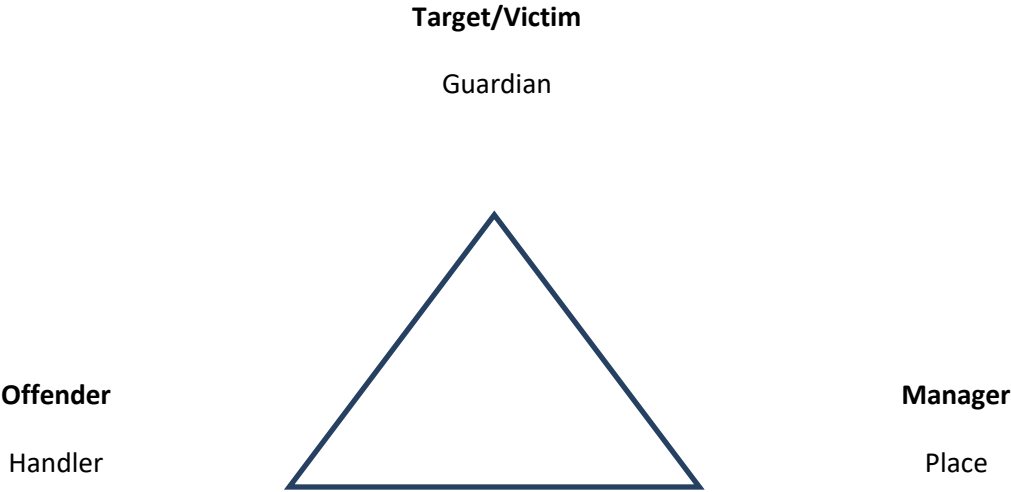
Within neighbourhoods, ordinary citizens play a role in creating a deterrence, as their presence adds a feeling that someone is watching, thereby heightening offender risk (Hollis *et al*, 2013, 66). What separates the role of ordinary citizens (as per the original routine activities framework) and police officers and door supervisors as guardians is two-fold, firstly ordinary citizens are ‘on the spot’, implying that public and private security officials are not, when a crime occurs. Secondly, it is not the

*intent* of ordinary citizens to prevent crime (Hollis Felson, and Welsh, 2013, 72). In fact this thesis assumes that door supervisors *are* 'on the spot' when a crime occurs, instead defining them as first responders and spotters, with broad control of their venue (especially the interior, largely unseen by the police) as is becoming more characteristic of private security professionals (Wakefield, 2005; Shearing and Stenning, 1981).

**Redefining Guardianship**

Although the authors of routine activities theory identified ordinary citizens as guardians, broadly speaking it would seem specialists such as door supervisors meet some of the criteria of a 'guardian' if not others. Hollis et al, (2013) describe 'prime guardians' as; people 'whose presence, proximity and absence make it harder or easier to carry out criminal acts' (67), and who act as a human deterrent (Hollis *et al*, 2013). Door supervisors also largely fit more recent and re-worked definitions of a guardian. In Felson's (2002) categorisation of guardianship it is by no means clear where door supervisors would fit into the category of guardianship, but his work with Hollis (Hollis, Felson, and Welsh., 2013) and his support of Eck's (2003) work serves to provide clarity as it depicts how the original RAT thesis although not originally designed to include professional guardianship has evolved. Incorporating intent, Eck's (2003) modernised crime triangle (Figure 2) relates types of 'controllers' (Felson, 1995), to the convergence in space and time of; the target or victim, place, and the offender.

Figure 2. *Eck's Controller concept*



'Controllers' serve to 'reduce the probability of a criminal event occurring' by control and prevention (Hollis *et al*, 2013), and include not only those ordinary citizens who have no intent to reduce crime, but 'place managers', and 'handlers' who do have the intent of reducing crime to each part of the prerequisites for crime. 'Place managers' are employees or owners who are in a place to supervise it.

Although Felson (2002) says that the *absence* of “guardians” should not be mistaken for police officers or security guards (21), Eck (2003) refers to the police as formal guardians, and confusingly Felson (2002) in the above article argues that the *presence* of ‘place managers’ including “doormen” is probably the most important (27). These are different to the more generic ‘guardian’ according to his research as targets do not need to be in a defined managed place or private space such as a bar to be under the watch of ‘guardians’ (for an obvious example the presence of a stranger/witness/third party in a dark alley). ‘Handlers’ such as teachers and parents can hope to influence the behaviour of offenders and as such act as a form of social control.

Recently some definitions of guardianship offered by Hollis (2003) have gone full circle and encompass all ‘controllers’, be they ‘place managers’ such as police officers and door supervisors, or ‘guardians’/ordinary citizens and add confusion not clarity. Guardianship can be defined as the presence of a human element which acts: ‘intentionally or not – to deter the would-be offender from committing a crime against an available target’ (Hollis *et al*, 2013, 76). Vague, but nonetheless door supervisors *are* controllers. They *are* place managers, and place managers are probably the ‘most important of all’ as the cues in a particular setting communicate ‘temptations and controls’ (Felson, 2002, 27; 41), and entry and exits warrant particular control (33). Their intent and purpose is to prevent crime, deter violence and aggression, manage this if it should materialise and in doing so reinforce any deterrent - and they do so using their physical assets as ‘principal gatekeepers’ of the night-time economy (Lister, Hadfield, Hobbs, and Winlow, 2001b). They have the ability to exclude customers based on dress code and intoxication for example. Radio links, including Pubwatch radios can spread this supervision across a town or city. However to exclude a person is not necessarily easy: ‘If we could all do it there would be more people working the doors than there are drinking in the pubs and clubs we protect’ (Freeman, 2009, 67). Without door supervisors there is a reduction in ‘the number of guardians that were capable of intervening in aggressive incidents’ which can be ‘problematic’ (Roberts, 2007) and aggression and violence can flourish. The ability of place managers to ‘modify environments and block opportunities for violence’ lies at the heart of this thesis (Madensen and Eck, 2008, 124).

Although many strands of criminology incorporate place-based theories which also focus on the victim and offender, routine activities theory is not universally popular. Historically it consciously shifted disproportionately the criminological focus from behaviour of an offender to spatial characteristics of an offence. Some argue this left the former unaddressed, as routine activities theory takes criminal inclination ‘as given’ (Clarke, 2002). Cohen and Felson (1979) advocate instead, the examination of the manner in which: ‘the spatio-temporal organization of social activities helps people to translate their criminal inclinations into action’ (Cohen and Felson, 1979, 589) by researchers and practitioners. Crime prevention techniques based around routine activities and

place do not wholly ignore the behaviour of offenders, rather they attempt to indirectly control it (Crawford, 2007, 873). Offenders are active and not all 'place management practices' have a positive effect (Fox and Sobol, 2000) and night-time places can be construed and perceived contrarily by those entering them (i.e. revellers) and those defending them (i.e. door supervisors) (Van Brunschot, 2003). Nonetheless place becomes a practical and adaptable control:

'While it is difficult, and perhaps not even desirable, to attempt to modify the routine activities of pub and club goers, it is far easier, and surely consistent with the broad considerations of the public good, to regulate the routine activities of the premises they frequent' (Homel *et al.*, 1992, 692).

Eck's (2003) problem-oriented approach to crime is practical, and such an approach is advocated by leading experts to devise police strategic assessments and planning tools (Chainey and Chapman, 2012). The problem-oriented approach is the most practical and efficient form of the proper analysis and prioritisation of intelligence and resources in police forces, and supports the growing emphasis on evidence-based policing, grounded in criminology of place and crime pattern theory (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993). Crime pattern theory has become broad as the work of the Brantinghams has continued for decades, and refers to the justification of occurrence of offences near offender residence out of familiarity. Entertainment centres form 'activity space' (Reid, *et al.*, 2014), which are part and parcel of routine activities, as we may expect of bars pubs, and clubs, and young people. Brantingham and Brantingham (1995) also refer to generators and attractors of crime. Generators are areas which attract large numbers for reasons which are not criminogenic, and attractors are areas which create popular criminal opportunities (6), and in general one would expect the night-time economy to both generate and attract although the latter definition is perhaps more natural. A bar may house plenty of opportunity for a fighter to fight (8). Moreover criminology of place informs us as to why 'the criminal justice system, the community and the family have appeared so ineffective in exerting social control since 1960' (Cohen and Felson, 1979, 605). Combining situational crime prevention measures and routine activities analysis, it becomes possible to hypothesise at the macro level about crime prevention, place, and changes in leisure patterns reflected by; trends of crime, globalisation, and consumerism, and particularly change and decline specifically in some industries in England (Rock, 2007) and to explore micro-locational incidents of aggression and violence in individual rural venues and crime prevention.

### **Capability**

So, the night-time economy, through a process of adaptation and evolution, has become a central feature of most cities and major towns in the United Kingdom and Hobbs *et al.* (2003) describe the growing challenge the police face in keeping it safe, and how the struggle for security and safety has led to a reliance on private security, something the police would fail to manage: 'unless the pubs and

clubs employed bouncers' (Pratten, 2007, 88) – for years an 'expectation' grew that door staff establish 'public order' (90). The provision of a guardian or guardians aims to deter violence and disorder, preferably by early intervention in aggression management, and efficient conflict management (*inter alia* Felson, 2002) to create a safe environment. However designing-out crime is an intricate challenge with mixed results, and change may be slow (Fox and Sobol, 2000), and it should not be assumed that simply placing a guardian at the entrance to a venue will immediately or effectively harden a target. The guardian must be capable, and if they are not the risk is that they become part of the problem (*inter alia* Roberts, 2009). Successful application of *capable* guardianship however will; harden a target, deter offenders, and create a safer drinking environment in both rural and urban areas (Fox and Sobol, 2000, Wilson, 2011). Vice versa limited supervision of consumers in the night-time economy has been demonstrated to increase the potential of the precursors of violence and contribute to a permissive environment where vulnerable groups (young men and single women) become more vulnerable. Guardians at the 'gate' to premises have a prime opportunity to manage a place by instilling order, pointing out house rules, making sure patrons are not drunk, or enforcing a dress code. They can also act as a control dealing with violence should it occur within a venue. The organised and effective management of conflict within a venue will also serve to create a long-term safer drinking environment, as seen in Hobbs *et al's* (2003) case study of Manchester, England.

From 2000 to 2005 Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister, and Winlow, collectively authored a number of publications which provided some of the most cohesive coverage of door supervision in the United Kingdom and this has not been repeated in such depth since (Hobbs, Winlow, Hadfield, & Lister, 2005; Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister, and Winlow 2003; Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister, and Winlow, 2002; Winlow, Hobbs, Lister, & Hadfield, 2001; Lister, Hadfield, Hobbs, & Winlow, 2001b; Winlow, 2001). This adds to the original contribution offered in this thesis. Since their writings the UK has seen a number of changes to the legislation surrounding door supervision, and a regulatory body - the Security Industry Authority (SIA) - now exists to control door supervision; with the hope of eradicating criminality, transforming the industry, and increasing professionalism (White, 2010, 142).

### *Security industry regulation*

The introduction of the Private Security Act 2001 and the Licensing Act 2003 are at the crux of discussions of capability of British door supervision. Capability is the ability to competently and efficiently carry out a duty. Efficiency implies the setting of a standard and therefore the possibility of falling foul of such a standard. The Private Security Act triggered the formation of the Security industry Authority (SIA). The SIA endorsed the label 'door supervisor' – in an attempt to re-brand the well-known 'bouncer', and brought with it changes to the way in which door supervision in England and Wales is controlled, bringing more scrutinised security (Criminal Records Bureau) checks and

harsher regulation. The term 'Bouncer' was 'synonymous with violence' (Thompson, 2000, 35) and a desire to rid door supervision of its stigma of criminal involvement (Jason-Lloyd, 2009, 361) emerged. The media-amplified image of the violent 'bouncer' and gangster was an: 'enduring folk-devil' (Livingstone and Hart, 2003), alongside an ignorance of the general public in doormen and door work (Thompson, 2000, 35). Research on the success and consequence of such regulation and its attempts to eradicate informal networks, questions whether the resulting commercialisation of security has negatively affected the standard of those employed within the security industry. In England and Wales the process from White Paper in 1999 to the 2001 Private Security Act, a New Labour partnership approach to crime and disorder, served to map out the future of private security (White, 2010, 139; 172) with its introduction of the Security Industry Authority as mentioned. The authority has been marred by negative media and poor performance statistics, characterised by 'false starts', and poor leadership (White, 2010, 144). The side-lining of company registration and the variability of the proposed training programme were serious issues from the start. From the intended transformation of the industry, the mere basics (such as processing licenses) became the central focus of this new authority. White (2010) summarises the poor performance of the SIA, initially at least:

'Although the SIA has positively impacted upon the profile of the industry it lost vital credibility during its early false starts, it failed to concentrate on what should have been its main priorities and it did not set training standards or Approved Contractor Scheme (ACS) entry requirements at a sufficiently high level' (152).

He concludes with a rather damning summary; 'It is in this heavily contested arena of unsatisfied ambitions and expectations, then, that the politics of private security sector is located today' (173). So, the success of the SIA to date remains debatable, and only a few examples of research in England and Wales post-SIA regulation have been conducted (Jason Lloyd, 2009; White 2010; Woolley, 2011) emphasising the original contribution the thesis offers. Research is split in its conclusions. Some participants perceive its in-depth training as a chore yet Jason Lloyd (2009, 363) describes its success so far as 'a vast improvement' on pre-regulation circumstances.

### *Training*

Practically, to become a door supervisor in the United Kingdom one must complete a training package provided by a number of approved contractors, often colleges. The SIA training package is 'relatively expensive' at a personal cost of over £200. This expense has been compared against its key limitations, as initially the training package did not contain coverage of how to even 'effectively restrain the aggressive customer' (Pratten, 2007, 90) although this has now been introduced. Research suggests that security professionals do not value the SIA training package and perceive its efforts as having had 'little difference' to the reality of the job (Pratten, 2007, 85), yet researchers



suggest some training is better than none, evidencing a relationship between untrained door supervisors and 'unruly behaviour' (Homel, Tomsen, & Thommeny, 1992). College courses and private training providers tip-toe around limited guidelines as the business of providing training booms. They offer successful course completion to those desperate to undertake door supervision potentially solely as a last resort to provide an income, rather than because they are identified as suitable and capable assets who can provide a safe environment for revellers. Research which puts this training under the spotlight is therefore crucial. The importance of providing efficient, directed, and practical training is however clear. Australian research, including the *Surfers Paradise Project* discussed above, demonstrates an increase in competence and professionalism as a result of specific training (Homel and Clark, 1994). Other research records improvements in attitude and conflict management abilities of those working in night-time venues (Graham, Jelley *et al*, 2005). The success of the Surfers Paradise Project was not long-lasting however, as funding was finite.

## **Discussion**

Crime and place are intertwined in both space and time. The seminal text on 'Bouncers' by Hobbs *et al* (2003) merely alludes to the importance of macro and micro applications of crime prevention and routine activities theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979) to explain aggression and violence in pubs, bars and clubs, but there is much room for the progression of such theories (for example, Fox and Sobol, 2000) in relation to violence in the night-time economy. Suitability of targets, capability of guardians, and offender motivation are key to routine activities theory. Offender decision-making, specifically choice and benefit (financial) versus cost (risk) calculation, are introduced and hope rests in Situational Crime Prevention, and the manipulation of night-time venues. Situational Crime Prevention provides practical methods by which to change environments, specifically permissive drinking environments, raising the accountability of disorder, and door supervisors play a huge part in providing control. Permissive environments refer to those scruffy venues in the night-time economy which appear poorly run and supervised, and which often have accompanying drinks offers to encourage the masses through the door, and host criminogenic activity rather than discourage it (Fox and Sobol, 2000).

So consideration of the understanding of how to influence violence and aggression in the night-time economy, by understanding what encourages and discourages it, has begun and the possibility of practically implementing such theoretical proposals forms part of the strength of this theoretical platform. There are weaknesses, but in analysing what works and what does not, in times of austerity in England and Wales, low cost place management practices (Fox and Sobol, 2000) give Designated Premises Supervisors (DPS (licensees)) options for change. Through this responsible approach, door supervisors and CCTV are two such practical changes which appear easy enough to introduce.

Low supervision affects levels of crime. The absence of guardians remains under-researched, and evidence suggests guardians enhance the safety of participants, and the presence of guardians at busy times is significantly advocated. Door supervisors, as gatekeepers (Lister *et al*, 2001b) act as guardians and 'controllers' whose intent it is to lower crime (Hollis *et al*, 2013) and more specifically they are 'Place Managers' (Eck, 2003) at a venue, and have the ability to instantly deter and manage crime and aggression. This therefore reduces the chance of severe prolonged attacks within venues, and the fostering of aggression.

## **Chapter Five. Understanding Door Supervision: The Methodology.**

This thesis is driven by concern at the level of violence and aggression amongst intoxicated young people in the bars, pubs and clubs of the night-time economy in rural and urban England and Wales, alongside a parallel goal of exploring the intricacies involved in handling and containing the people who commit violent acts. The people put in place alongside the police to manage these problems are door supervisors and their role as 'Place Managers' is to control the space they are paid to protect, and to filter unwanted people at the door acting as they do as gatekeepers (Felson, 2002, 27). Direct observations, under then cover of darkness, proved fascinating:

*'Door supervisors had called for police assistance at a nearby venue. With the police I began to jog towards the incident as we were supported by two mounted units, which proved a very surreal moment, as we pushed through crowds in the relative darkness of Horsefield's main streets, on this busy Friday night. On reflection this demonstrated the reality of the intricacy, scale, and detail and importance of the police operation which surrounds a night such as 'Mad Friday'*

(Field notes – Horsefield - Friday 23rd December 2011).

### **Research design**

The main research methods employed to create this thesis are the structured interview, direct observation, and the self-completion questionnaire. Documentary analysis and cartographical analysis were also utilised and all are discussed fully below. In this these methods underlying the thesis are critically analysed. Although control in bars, pubs and clubs is most usefully viewed as a social object - an institution almost – security is best explored through the social actions of the actors who participate in its creation. A constructivist strategy was employed using observations to explore interactions between customers and door supervisors, and to understand the demands of the work of a door supervisor also acknowledging the objectivity of the environment in which they work. To explore the work of these guardians it was clear from the outset that it was important to talk *to* them and not simply *about* them, after all their interactions within bars, pubs and clubs are based on their interpretation of events, and a multi-theory methodology was desired from the beginning. Second and third layers of interpretation can then be added by the researcher (Bryman, 2008), grounded in the previous literature outlined in preceding chapters.

Data was collected through direct observation during the thesis and may represent less of a personal account of the door supervisor's world than an ethnographical account of door supervision. An ethnography on door supervision, such as that conducted by Hobbs *et al* (2003) (and discussed by Winlow *et al*, 2001) involves a far deeper research process. Although an immersion in the lifestyle of participants was neither desired nor judged to be appropriate, naturalistic and direct observation were both practical and suitable for observing the sensitivity and unique environment of an

occupation involved with interpersonal violence - violence is after all a 'major part' of door supervision (Winlow *et al*, 2001, 546). Direct observation, though, does not represent the submergence in a culture, which was the traditional intention of ethnographers until the terms observation and ethnography became blurred in the 1970's (Bryman, 2008). Yet, a sound relationship was fashioned with contacts within; the police, the Best Bar None safer drinking scheme, police licensing, licensees, door supervisors, security company directors, and other night-time economy staff. Furthermore, direct observation does share ethnographical characteristics, for instance it is exploratory (Hadfield, 2008, 432), but alone is not representative of the active complete participation (Gold, 1958) which often accompanies ethnography. Yet, observations as employed by the researcher were able to describe the knowledge, beliefs, values, and behaviours of the group under study (also Down and Warren, 2008). Direct observation can be categorised using Gold's (1958) scale. As an 'observer as participant' the main role of the researcher is to overtly ask questions and investigate. The researcher does not practically participate in the principle activities of the culture or occupation he or she is following. The desired goal of direct observation is ultimately to provide a second layer of interpretation, as described above.

The deductive nature of this research allowed for the unfolding of the realities of activity in the rural night-time economy and comparative analysis of whether formal control dominates the rural night-time economy as it does the urban night-time economy. To ascertain whether door supervision is warranted in a rural night-time economy it is essential to visit a collection of venues in a rural setting, geographically small but still large enough to employ door supervisors. The obvious implication for the selection of a research site is that it could be difficult to find such a site.

Access was granted to Brassville by the 'snowballing' of contacts beginning at public community meetings, where the researcher was introduced to the local District Licensing Officer. Progress relied heavily upon goodwill of participants who fully understood the intentions behind the research and were able to introduce crucial contacts in 'Brassville' (a pseudonym), a small town in rural Yorkshire with a workday population of 2000. This led rather naturally to meetings with the police, and soon after with door supervisors, refuting claims that they are a secretive group accessible only via certain niche channels such as gyms (Monaghan, 2004). In fact academia was often the bind, as door supervisors had family and friends studying for degrees, or were themselves studying. 'Horsefield', the larger of the two research sites, with approximately 12,000 inhabitants has a town centre with numerous night-time venues and its greater district houses Brassville. Access to Horsefield was largely gathered through the licensing officer who introduced the researcher to key door supervisors in the town and the town centre Police Sergeant, and again progress relied on them being very receptive to active research, a sense of transparency, and ultimately their understanding of my goals. Those accessed during observations also participated in the questionnaire completion.

## Research methods

Methodologically the study is multi-faceted and triangulated. Using a mixed methodology which includes both quantitative and qualitative research methods is recommended by Bryman (2008) as an effective way to counter the criticisms of each. However, direct observation of door supervisors and police officers as they worked and observations at Pubwatch meetings can be identified as the core research method, which produced rich data. A questionnaire was distributed, a small number of interviews were conducted, and a literature review was conducted including document analysis of Home Office publications. Home Office documents are a secondary source produced after the event (Calvert, 1991), and provide relatively up-to-date information on night-time economy subject areas including drugs and assault and informed the above literature review, specifically the differences between the urban and the rural. Identifying key themes within these documents as part of the literature review proved useful in deciphering what the government is paying particular attention to in its approach to managing both violence and alcohol in the night-time economy and in identifying planned ways forward. Documents substantiate thoughts and questions, and the literature review provides an up-to-date backbone for most research (Coles, 1997). However to assume all documents are accurate and impartial is naive, and they also must be viewed critically as editors have the privilege of 'sanitising' such documents on behalf of their own agenda (Coles, 1997; Davies, 2001). Reflexivity therefore gained importance when interpreting such documents, as we interpret: 'in accordance with who we are' (Coles, 1997, 7). Cartographical analysis of police-recorded violent crime statistics in South Yorkshire was also analysed and presented using the QGIS computer programme.

- Four structured and succinct interviews were conducted with ex-door supervisors who had worked in Yorkshire and previously elsewhere. These were not door supervisors from either Brassville or Horsefield and were consulted early on during the empirical phase of the thesis, in order to influence direction and to gain an empirically based understanding of the 'trade view' of door supervision, and act as precursors for the questioning of participants during direct observations, but proved so insightful as to heavily influence the capability chapter.
- In the first phase of the observations twelve direct overt observations (around fifty hours) were conducted during weekends in 'Brassville' over a five month period, during which time significant relationships with the door supervisors were born. This took place during the pre-thesis Masters study allowing for detailed analysis and comparison within the thesis. In the second phase, and conducted alongside the writing of the thesis, seventeen overt observations were conducted (the bulk of which were over a period of five months) in 'Horsefield' during the night-time and at major horseracing and football events.

Although a dated phenomenon, football hooliganism still forms a 'significant political and practical concern' warranting the protection of private guarding at stadiums by security personnel in light of 'current pressures to reduce public sector spending' (Stott *et al*, 2011, 3). Observing horseracing events and football matches in 'Horsefield' naturally arose and formed part of a fluid research agenda, giving valuable insight into how a large security team functioned and managed space and crowds. Visits were made to 'Horsefield' in the daylight to attend meetings where crucial aspects of safety in the night-time economy were discussed with key players and included the Police Violent Crime Command Team, Pubwatch audiences, town councillors, licensing officials and door supervisors.

- I also undertook a one-day physical Intervention course - the *Upskilling of Door Supervisors* qualification.

This was in order to be given the most current physical intervention techniques and best practise, and to inform my understanding of training, for proper analysis of capability.

### *Observation*

The accompaniment of door supervisors was the main priority at both research sites. The lack of a police presence in Brassville prohibited any real police direct observation, whereas support from Horsefield's town centre Police Sergeant allowed for accompaniment of both door supervisors and police officers in Horsefield – often in the same observation shift – and gave a panoramic view of the town, difficult to otherwise achieve due to its size. The contrast of direct observation with door supervisors in Brassville, and considerable time spent with door supervisors *and* police officers in Horsefield, and the ad hoc nature of some of the observations in Horsefield, should not be taken as limitations to the methodology which underpins this thesis. Moreover these traits are reflective of the difficult nature of viewing wide-arching security operations as a sole researcher, and undertaking research which largely relies on the good faith of its participants. In the aforementioned meetings with local licensees, door supervisors and police officers, participants who had become used to my presence opened up, and stories and experiences filled potential silences. Natural opportunities to build rapport were instantly seized but were not always straightforward. One police officer 'Geoff' proved difficult to communicate with initially, but when trust was gained through finding common ground he was very helpful:

*Geoff's reputation precedes him. He was acting as Police Bronze Commander for the town centre tonight. He is straight talking and he acts and talks with a 'zero tolerance' manner. He took many smoke breaks and this gave the opportunity to speak to him borderline informally. I used the opportunity to add some humour and distance myself from his preconception of me as a member of the press, who Geoff was not particularly fond of.*

(Field notes – Horsefield - Friday 23rd December 2011).

Eventually the awkward turning of heads on arrival at meetings and in the research sites subsided and acceptance was comforting and the likelihood of an ‘observer effect’ therefore decreased (Norris, 1993). This is when the real benefits of overt qualitative research began to be felt. Comfortable relationships were built and information was shared voluntarily and seemed uncensored. The social explanation in the ‘thick description’ of this ‘rich data’ aids the creation, adaptation or adoption of appropriate ‘policy’, whether on a grand, meso or micro scale, and allows for the natural transformation of context-specific occurrences into interpreted accounts (Geertz, 1973, 17). The qualitative approach in search of such data has been applied to the private security industry in the UK (White, 2014), and other examples of such rich data collected by participant observations on dangerous occupations overtly and covertly has been considerable (classic examples include; Armstrong, 1999; Giulianotti, 1995; Hobbs, 1988; Hobbs *et al*, 2003; Holdaway, 1983; Norris, 2003; Patrick, 1973; Whyte 1955). These texts were consulted in the preparatory phase of the empirical data collection.

Having worked as a door supervisor for four years prior to writing the thesis the researcher’s profile was suited to conducting direct observation. Exploring the symbols of a subculture characterised by violence (Monaghan, 2004) by reflexively observing allowed for interpretative analysis. It was relatively simple to understand the subtleties of door supervision which other researchers may miss; a ‘subtle inference in speech, a particular form of apparel or quirk of body language, the requisite body size and baring’ (Winlow *et al*, 538), and to understand gaps and discrepancies in topics which are mentioned only briefly, as noted elsewhere (Down and Warren, 2008). This echoes Winlow and colleague’s (2001) sentiments: ‘bouncing was our ethnographer’s specialist area, and much of what he took for granted we were blind to’ (539). Observations are often fast-paced and ‘messy’ (Marshall and Rossman, 1989; Hobbs *et al*, 2003), and these field notes set the context of the environment in Horsefield:

“Geoff” was talking to a doorman about his actions. The previous week the door supervisor had ejected a female, but had then dumped her on the street to the side of his venue with her skirt ridden up to her waist, and her breasts revealed. This had been captured on CCTV and the door supervisor was being reminded of his duty of care by Geoff. A police officer, who later arrived on scene had covered her dignity. As Geoff was speaking to the door supervisor he was interrupted by a male member of the public. He had seen people fighting in the market place only 200 yards away. Geoff Reacted swiftly, but as we arrived the assailants had run off. A male victim, accompanied by friends, had been left with facial bruising and swelling around the eyes, and was dazed.

(Field notes – Horsefield - Friday 23rd December 2011).

At one point the male ‘identified’ me as the assailant which served to highlight the intricacies of research in this environment, and resounded with similar previous messy experiences of Button

(2007): 'Indeed I experienced [the] abuse myself when doing nothing more than standing next to a security officer observing the taxi rank when a drunken male shouted at me, 'who the fuck do you think you are, Michael Caine!' (142).

Recording what happens by taking notes is the 'raison d'être' (Fielding, 2001, 152). The joint benefits of these primary documents (Calvert, 1991) is most clear in the ability to record thought quickly and reflect back on it (Fielding, 2001). Yet these experiences acted as a double-edged sword as at times it was difficult to be reflexively emotive when witnessing intimidating situations for example as some of the onset of adrenaline activated by such situations has lessened over the years, for me. Those who have worked in violent settings are likely to build a resistance to the effects of it, or look for alternative work. It is clear that reflexivity is crucial in order to interpret events and for the researcher to analyse his own methods (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). Practically however decisions surrounding note-taking are important as they are often dictated by a situation (Calvert, 1991). Even though the research was overt every attempt to avoid taking notes in front of participants during overt observations was made so to avoid an observer effect, to protect the building of rapport, and to maintain a relaxed open and honest environment, and this decision was informed by Button's experiences of studying security officers:

'As I was known as a researcher it did not matter that I was seen to be taking notes, they were expecting it. However, one wants to blend in and taking notes in front of them could be off putting. Therefore whenever possible I would go for a break in the canteen or go to the toilet and write rough notes and reminders. I would then when the shift was complete write up the notes in greater depth' (Button, 2007, 26).

These advantages were weighed up against the obvious limitation of memory problems associated with storing mental notes (documented by Fielding, 2001) and considerable detail was included in the notes when I got back to my car and was able to write up. Practical issues were accompanied by ethical considerations and at times they were intertwined as is discussed below.

### *Interviews*

Interviews are guided conversations (Loftland and Loftland, 1994; Marshall and Rossman, 1989; Davies, 1999; Deutscher, 1983) but require 'careful planning' and 'skill', to be conducted efficiently (Button, 2007, 23; Mason, 1996) and are a key method for discovering attitudes, opinions and feeling (Fielding and Thomas, 2001). Interviews were conducted with four participants known to the researcher, and chosen under consideration of two criteria; firstly in accordance with their length of service as a door supervisor, and secondly in their competency as a door supervisor. This was characterised by the door supervisors being either exceptionally fit, trained in one or more martial art, lifted weights, or all three as research suggests that door supervisors who were most confident



and who appeared the least susceptible to intimidation were those who “worked out” (Sanders, 2005, 255). All participants, ‘Mickey W’, ‘Andy M’, ‘Josh R’, and ‘Otis R’, were given pseudonyms. All had considerable martial arts backgrounds and enjoyed some form of regular fitness training. Mickey W, Andy M and Josh R had been door supervisors for just under five years and no longer work in this capacity. Otis R was still employed as a door supervisor at the time of the interview and had also worked for a similar period of time. The intention was to identify those who had experience of working with door supervisors who had themselves gone through the SIA national training but no other means of regulation (such as the preceding county council registration).

The interviews were structured and pre-existing rapport made them comfortable to conduct. Although related social backgrounds between interviewee and interviewer ‘do not guarantee understanding’ (Davies, 1999, 100), it was easy to be direct and there was little reason to believe that the interviewees would be looking to impress me during their interview. Neither were they likely to be adversely led, i.e. an interviewer effect, although an unavoidable ‘mutual constructive nature’ underpins most interviews (Down and Warren, 2008, 11). The interviews therefore resulted in natural detailed conversation where underlying themes and attitudes were easily identified, as one finds in an unstructured interview but without the time-consuming introductions (Fielding and Thomas, 2001; Mason, 1996). The interviews were relaxed, but some formality was given to the situation as an audio recorder was present but participants seemed un-phased by this (also documented by Fountain, 1993).

Considering the interviewer has an active role in the interview process acting as a ‘reflexive...data generator’ (Mason, 1996, 41) and not a mere ‘data collector’, the benefits of interviewing a known interviewee are found in the alleviation of some of the more general disadvantages of interviews. The most relevant are outlined by Marshall and Rossman (1989): the interviewee may not be co-operative in various stages of the interview, may be unwilling to give the level of detail required for sound findings, or they may lie. The interviewer may not ask the right questions due to a lack of expertise or familiarity, and may show personal bias (83). The solution advocated by Marshall and Rossman (1989) to counter these weaknesses is to triangulate methods, i.e. to use multiple methods (Bryman, 2008., Mason, 1996), and this was considered when designing the thesis methodology which encompasses other methods, to limit the potential for any significant weaknesses in the methodology. Issues such as access, informed consent, and anonymity were arranged at a relaxed pace and proved respectful to those who as door supervisors have themselves little to gain by participating (Winlow *et al*, 2001). Difficulties have also been found choosing, for example, the location for interview and interviewing in the workplace is particularly problematic in some cases. It was possible to use the participant’s homes for this research (as suggested in Green, 1993). The interviews were particularly informative as to the theorising over the capability of door supervisors

and of a changing nature in door supervision, even though these concepts were not explicitly introduced, and similar unplanned results have been found elsewhere when sound interviews have been conducted with security officers (White and Gill, 2013, 80).

### *Questionnaire*

A direct comparison of the perspective of door supervisors who work in the rural night-time economy with those who work in the urban night-time economy was desired. The comparison explores a range of aspects of door supervision from the 'trade floor'. These focused on four areas; door supervision (motivation for undertaking employment, perspectives of the job), violence (why it happens, how to prevent it), at work (the threat and danger of working as a door supervisor), the SIA (it's benefits and limitations), the Police (perspectives and experiences of collaboration), and finally a few general questions about the door supervisor and the venue in which they work.

The questionnaire was designed on completion of the thesis literature review, which greatly informed both questions and answer options. The direct observations conducted prior to the design of the questionnaire also greatly informed and influenced its design and indeed creation. The questionnaire was piloted with four door supervisors, the interviewees, who were asked for comments on its acceptability, ease of completion, design, and relevance of questions. Changes were made to the layout, making the questionnaire more printer friendly, and extra space was allocated for elaboration of some questions. For instance, the term 'vertical drinking environment' (to mean a lack of seating) was assumed to be commonly used amongst door supervisors, however the pilot participants had not heard of the term, and therefore this category was elaborated to 'A vertical drinking environment (i.e. lack of seating)'. Also, questions '3e', and '3f' (see appendix two) which enquire as to the supply and use of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) were added.

### Sampling

Door supervisors were approached in both Brassville, and Horsefield. The sample was a (non-probability) convenience sample, a sampling method utilised due its ability to access potentially difficult subjects (Bryman, 2004, 100). Self-completion questionnaires were distributed by the head door supervisor in Horsefield who insisted the response rate would be greater if he distributed them, and in person by the researcher in Brassville. In Brassville eight questionnaires were distributed over two visits. Only two door supervisors were happy to complete the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher there and then. The other six claimed they did not want to complete the questionnaire whilst working in case their employer took a dislike to it during work hours, or because they wanted to take time to read over the questions in slow time. Rapport had not been built with these door supervisors, as they were not part of the original observation period where considerable relationships had been made. The response rate in Brassville was four, and in Horsefield it was

thirteen, and of course response rates are important as 'the lower a response rate, the more questions are likely to be raised about the representativeness of the achieved sample' (Bryman, 2004, 136). However the difficulty with response rates makes that collected even more precious, although realistically limits analysis to univariate analysis.

### Structure

Two types of questions were asked; agreement or disagreement was asked on a Likert scale of some questions grounded in literature in order to identify suggestions for improvement and literature evidenced enquiry, and tick box questions were also used. Some questions incorporated follow up questions, for example if participants were not provided Personal Protective Equipment, they were then asked whether they provided their own. Alongside age, experience, and gender, participants were asked to tick which category best describes the venue at which they were working currently (Pub/Bar/Club/Gentlemen's Club/Hotel/Working Men's Club/Other) (working men's clubs are members clubs once private and centred on hubs of industry, but their decline in England and Wales has led to the relaxation of entry requirements). Similarly participants were asked which category best described the location of the venue they were working at (Rural/Urban - City Centre/Suburban/Other).

### Administration

Self-completion questionnaires are fairly cost-effective to administer, the interviewer effect can be controlled, it is participant-friendly and convenient to complete. Partly this is inherent in an ability to read the whole questionnaire, in order to gain an overview, unlike interviews which are often secretive in the nature of their normally hidden questions (Bryman, 2004, 134). Self-completion questionnaire limitations lie in the factual nature of data gathered, whereby further probing is usually not possible, hence why it is employed here in triangulation with other methods. Questions must also be limited to a basic nature, with little complexity or deep probing. Attempts were made in the design of 'Door Supervision *Your View*', to specifically counter this criticism, by offering participants the opportunity to leave their details at the end for further correspondence. Literacy issues were addressed on distribution of the questionnaires as participants were offered objective assistance in completing the questionnaire. One has to accept missing data and any missing data is acknowledged in the results, but thankfully was limited. Overall self-completion questionnaires were ideal in providing for direct comparison between locations and across demographics, and the results were intriguing. The successful completion of Door Supervision *Your View* would not have been possible without continued support from key security agencies, designated premises supervisors (DPS's), and the door supervisors themselves, to which this thesis owes gratitude.

### *Documentary analysis*

Police recorded crime data can be geographically analysed as rates thanks to availability of Census data, and of course the crime data itself. England and Wales is broken down into 34,753 Lower Super Output Areas (2011 Census). LSOAs have a minimum of a thousand residents or four hundred households, and an average of 1500 residents. In the sphere of criminological geographical analysis, LSOAs are 'substantially smaller and more internally homogenous than the geographies that have been relied upon' (Sutherland, Brunton-Smith, and Jackson, 2013). Furthermore LSOAs are constructed; 'by grouping together households that are similar in housing type (amongst other things)' (509) and can inform us on such things as area 'Urbanicity', 'the extent of domestic land use, green space, population density and agricultural land in a given LSOA' (512). Combining 'Rural Village and Dispersed' Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA's) and 'Rural Town and Fringe' LSOAs, rural South Yorkshire crime rates can be ranked.

Police recorded violent crime statistics are examined to provide an overview of 'Brassville' and 'Horsefield'. Violent crimes are those where the victim is intentionally stabbed, punched, kicked, pushed, jostled, etc. or threatened with violence whether or not there is any injury. They include; Homicide, Death by driving, Corporate manslaughter, Grievous Bodily Harm, Grievous Bodily Harm with intent, Grievous Bodily Harm without intent, Aggravated Bodily Harm, Threats to Kill, Possession of Weapons, Harassment (Public Fear, Alarm, or distress), and Assault without injury (Home Office, 2011). The highest violence rates in South Yorkshire surround four urban hubs; Sheffield, Doncaster, Barnsley and Rotherham, with violence rates descending in that order. Unsurprisingly there is significance in the differences in rates of; violent crime, public disorder, anti-social behaviour and robbery rates in rural and urban South Yorkshire.

### *Cartographical crime analysis*

Cartographical analysis is used in the Location chapter to give a visual overview of violent crime in urban and rural South Yorkshire. Understanding geographical distribution of crime has become: 'vital to criminological knowledge and policing policy and practice' (Brunton-Smith, Jackson, Sutherland, 2014, 503). It allows insightful analysis to be uncovered. The interest in cartographical crime analysis has thrived throughout the last few decades, with some roots in the Chicago School of Criminology, and is now often at the fore of crime analysis.

Crime mapping analysis falls under a broader 'glocal' understanding of crime, which is fluid and crosses boundaries of space and place (see *inter alia*: Castells, 1996). The use of mapping by Criminologists has however been described as 'largely superficial and uncritical' and generally dominated by urban space (Kindynis, 2014, 222). However, the rise of crime mapping confirmed, empirically, that crime was not ordered geographically, but in fact was clustered and it's prevalence

has seen it adopted by police forces globally, and its technological parameters are constantly being stretched.

Although police in England and Wales have shown a degree of transparency by uploading their crime data monthly onto Police.UK (a website) this data reflects police recording practices, which have been heavily criticised only recently as one catchy headline suggests: *Police not recording a fifth of crimes* (BBC News, 2014) and are consistently failing in their accurate reporting of sexual crimes. It must be acknowledged that maps can be 'socio-political constructs, instruments of domination and government, and expressions of power and ideology', although of course this is not necessarily the case (Kindynis, 2014, 229). Cybercrime, white collar crime, and fraud are examples of fluid crimes which are difficult to map, as mapping them places them in a static place. Today mapping is 'central' to; risk analysis, to survey and track people, and to distribute resources (Kindynis, 2014, 226). However this can reflect a deflection or shift of responsibility from government (or the police for example) to other agencies. Also, maps do not – alone - offer explanation as to the motivation behind these 'decisions'. The Modifiable Areal Unit Problem (MAUP) is another well-known criticism of the spatial mapping of data whereby boundaries are arbitrary, affected by geographical shape and size, and accurate mapping of crime data ideally requires specific co-ordinates which somehow also offers a kind of anonymity to victims. Crime mapping often anonymises data by reducing the accuracy of the locating of a crime i.e. placing it at an intersection. This can skew the picture of crime in a specific place – specifically important to analysis of night-time venue crime - however such inaccuracies can be 'clipped' (Ratcliffe, 2012), and it is argued here that the benefits of cartographical crime analysis outweigh the limitations.

Maps, when used effectively, can enable criminologists to monitor the journey of crime and identify hotspots, or possible hotspots, and provide evidence to support police resource allocation and place based policing techniques are advocated by many leading scholars (see *inter alia*: Braga and Weisburd, 2010). They have, after all: 'long been used to document and analyse the experience and meaning of place and space' (Powell, 2010). They can therefore be powerful tools for social justice (Kindynis, 2014, 229) and can be made widely available to the general population through enterprises such as 'Google Maps'. The future of mapping looks exciting and may incorporate, acoustic, emotion, offender, and detainee mapping, and is likely to contain an element of interactivity. Much of the current progress, using the data which *is* available, focusses on the identification of hotspots for crime and disorder, and rather unsurprisingly these are often concentrations of night-time venues: 'certain areas may be considered hot spots insofar as they provide a context more likely to produce crime and deviant behaviour within definable spatial and temporal dimensions than other not-so-hot areas' (Fox and Sobol, 2000, 435). Needless to say this

will aid the police to deploy resources effectively and responsibly, but it remains a crucial question as to whether venues are crime generators or crime receptors (Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger, 1989).

### **Research ethics**

Researchers must consider the ethical repercussions of their research and these are largely generalised two-fold; around researcher integrity, and respect for participants (Button, 2007, 28). The latter of the two is particularly politically sensitive. Adhering to principles of anonymity (each aspect of the study is wholly anonymous, and this considerably encouraged participation especially amongst door supervisors) and informed consent is essential creating ethically 'right' research, and allowing participants the opportunity to be open (Button, 2007, 29). The empirical research presented in later chapters was subjected to a Research Ethics Committee (REC) review. Not all practitioners and academics share confidence in such bureaucratic processes and some describe REC reviews as a: 'hollow burdensome process, which requires the applicant to 'say the right things' and 'tick the right boxes' so they can engage in the types of research they regard as worthwhile' (Winlow and Hall, 2011, 12). However some ethnographic accounts, for instance involving covert observation, have proven to be highly controversial in terms of ethical issues, but nonetheless ground-breaking (for example Holdaway, 1983). Although some ethical issues in this study were lessened in severity due to the overt nature of the observations interviewee familiarity, and using questionnaire respondents from the research sites observed, in deciding whether to conduct the observations for the thesis overtly or covertly the advantages and limitations were considered. Covert research is by its very nature deceptive: 'work of observers who deliberately misrepresented their identity in order to enter an otherwise inaccessible social situation...is unethical' (Erikson, 1967, 367). Sometimes researchers proceed in search of the greater good, and some who have studied security in the night-time economy have chastised *overt* research, arguing that to accompany 'bouncers' while they work is 'inappropriate, potentially obtrusive, and unlikely to proffer data of sufficient depth and vibrancy' (Winlow *et al*, 2001). Nevertheless this thesis employed overt direct observation and the data presented throughout is derived from frank conversations with door supervisors who were more than happy to divulge details of serious and malicious incidents and welcomed debate on their dangerous occupation.

Moreover, overt research enabled the possibility to step back and disengage, to a degree, from the tunnelled subjectivity of responding to an incident by participation - if the researcher were employed as a door supervisor his ability to detach from the emotion of an incident may have been hindered. Overt research also removed some of the ethical considerations specific to door supervision, such as that of self-protection of the covert researcher (Winlow *et al*, 2001, 538), which have legal ramifications including defending one's actions to the police - something one researcher

documented in his research 'on more than one occasion' (Monaghan, 2004, 457). Researcher safety remained at the forefront of methodological decisions and planning.

It was crucial to obtain informed consent from those participating by completing the self-completion questionnaire, and the cover page of the questionnaire provided a space for participants to give written consent, and indeed this was mandatory. This was then separated from the rest of the questionnaire in order to maintain anonymity. The pilot questionnaires were also essential to ensure the questions were suitable, non-offensive and not overly sensitive. All interviewees were able to give verbal informed consent at the beginning of the audio recording, and all stated on the audio recording that they were happy to be contacted again should I wish to conduct further interviewees. All recordings were stored in accordance with university and ESRC guidance in suitable locked storage for the duration of the thesis research.

### **Limitations of the Research**

Although this thesis is based on a mixed-method approach which aims to produce rich data, as discussed above, there are clear limitations. Acting as a sole researcher limits the number of research sites which can realistically be visited in the duration of the research. Questionnaire and interview data result from relatively small samples. Unique demands on the distribution of the questionnaire made it difficult to gather a larger sample and interviews were not designed to form such a significant part of the methodology, yet the description of real-life events and the attitudes conveyed were hugely informative of the views of contemporary door supervisors and essential for inclusion. Furthermore, interaction with participants throughout observation periods provided excellent detailed accounts of events, past and present. Therefore although all analysis must be acknowledged as reflective of one urban and one rural site, it is of good quality and rich.

### **Discussion**

Quantitative data does not account for the circumstances which surround an event and lack the rich data described above and found more commonly in qualitative approaches to research, and quantitative analysis alone is likely to: 'fail to consider larger, conceptual issues' (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 29). Although laws which help us to analyse quantitative data are useful in producing results per se (Bryman, 2008, 538) one acknowledges Dingwall and Moody's (1999) suggestion that accuracy of police statistics must be viewed critically; 'as anyone who has used them will know, police-recorded crime statistics are full of blips and bloopers' (50). Also, one must guard against 'presenting the findings in a fashion unintelligible to all who have not passed advanced statistics courses' (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 29). Geographical Information System (GIS) mapping is utilised in following chapters to graphically represent violent crime rates across the research sites, producing interesting analysis. To summarise, qualitative methods including

observations and interviews enable the probing of incidents for explanation, to explore underlying factors, and to gather data with substantive richness to enable solid conclusions to be drawn, but the triangulation or mixture of methods is core to this study.



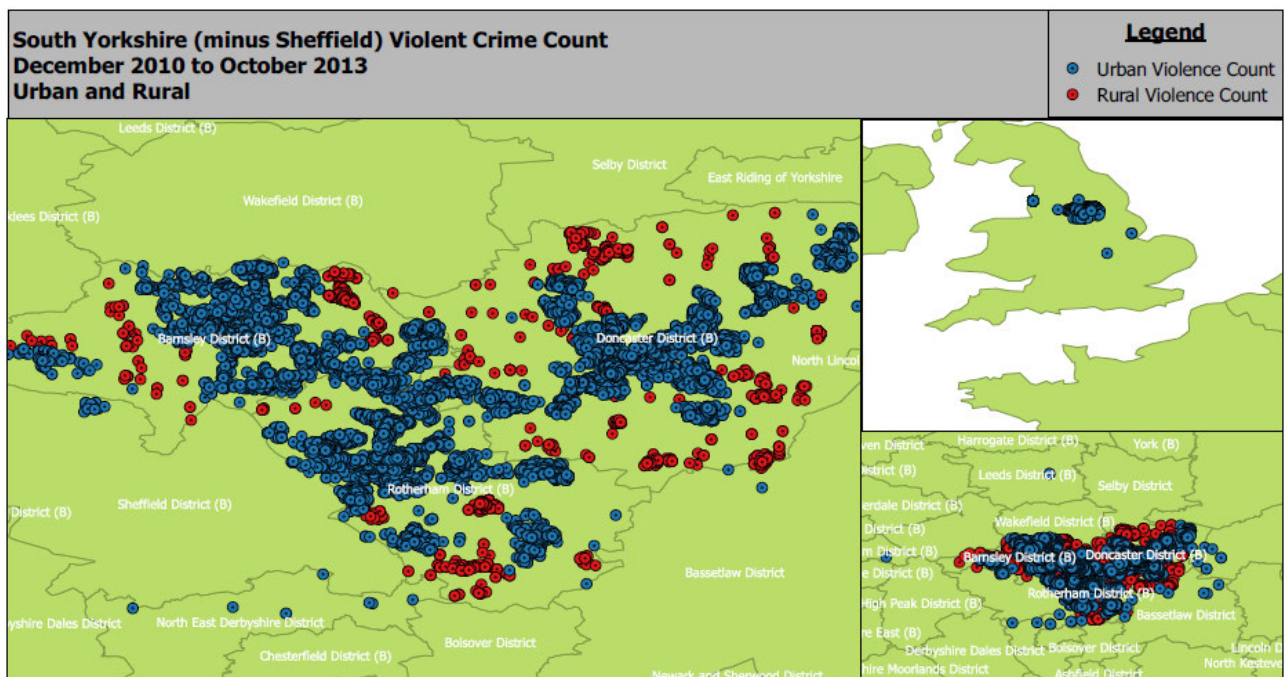
## Chapter Six. Location.

To explore the relationship between place and drinking environment, empirical data was collected during observations and analysis of the night-time economies of two research sites. One of these sites was a rural location and the other was an urban location. In this chapter, the violent crime data of the district in which both research sites sit is presented cartographically and key conclusions are drawn. Although the urban location seems to attract more serious criminals, similarities in the severity of incidents at both sites suggests similar routines of alcohol consumption lead to intoxication at both sites.

### **The case study locations**

Direct observation took place in two locations and these form case studies which are described below. A self-completion questionnaire was also distributed to door supervisors across both research sites with limited success, and a brief analysis is offered after the case study analysis. The questionnaire results are also revisited in later discussion chapters. 'Brassville' is a small rural town with a town centre workday population of around 2000, and 'Horsefield' is a large urban town with a town centre workday population of approximately 12,000. Both towns are situated within Horsefield's greater district area, which has a population of around 300,000. This provides for interesting direct comparative analysis. Police-recorded statistics provide background to the two research towns, and the below graphic displays the recorded violent crime rates across South Yorkshire (minus Sheffield) from December 2010 to October 2013. Urban concentrations highlight central hubs and the graphic demonstrates differences in sheer volumes of crime. Horsefield and Brassville fall within the area displayed. Violent crime data is then presented.

**Figure 3.**



The maps were produced using QGIS Software, and map publicly available police recorded crime statistics. Between December 2010 and October 2013, of a total of 22313 violent crimes in the South Yorkshire area displayed (which does not include the Sheffield district) 1480 - **6.6%** - were recorded in **rural** Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs). 1145 violent crimes were recorded in areas categorised 'Rural town and fringe', and 335 were 'Rural village and dispersed'. 20833 out of 22313 - **93.4%** - of recorded violent crimes were in **urban** Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs). 2529 violent crimes were recorded in areas categorised as 'Urban city and town', and 18,304 were in areas categorised as 'Urban minor conurbation'.

Crime data collection in England and Wales is progressing significantly (*inter alia*: Sherman, 2013), as it is globally. From 1 JUN 2012 to 31 MAY 2014, according to police recorded statistics (Force Intelligence Analysis unit, 2014), in the *district* of Horsefield:

- Just over **85%** of all Violent Crimes recorded by police in the Horsefield district were incidents of **Violence Against the Person**; with Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm (s. 47 Offences Against The Person Act 1861) and Common Assault accounting for almost half.
- As Violence Against the Person incidents include both alcohol-related and domestic violence, it is unsurprising that there is a greater risk of **victimisation** amongst **females** than among males, and the most likely demographic of females is **18 to 30** years of age.
- The count of Violence Against the Person incidents **rose** for all ages and genders between 2012/2013 and 2013/2014 (bar one age group: 71 – 75 years of age which had a constant and relatively low number of victims).
- As a whole (male and female), **White Northern European** (2<sup>nd</sup> 'Asian', 3<sup>rd</sup> 'Black') men and women **aged 13 – 45** were the most common **victims** with a further clear peak between the ages of 18 and 30.
- **White Northern European** (2<sup>nd</sup> 'Black', 3<sup>rd</sup> 'Unknown') **males aged 18 – 30** are most likely to become **suspects/accused** of Violence Against the Person crimes across the borough.
- 8.84% (157/2297) of *Non-Domestic* Violence Against the Person crimes were recorded in '**Licensed Premises**', but 'In The Street' remained by far the location most likely to host these crimes.
- Of the top ten streets most likely to host *Non-Domestic* Violence Against the Person crimes, **seven were in Horsefield town centre** and four are part of the recognised town centre drinking circuit. Brassville does not feature in the Police Recorded top twenty-nine locations most likely to host Non-Domestic Violence Against the Person crimes. 1.78% (27/1519) of *Domestic* Violence Against the Person crimes were recorded in a 'Public Licensed Place'.

### **The night-time economy in Brassville**

Brassville is a small rural town with a workday population of around two thousand and general population of three thousand. Brassville's rural status is defined under a 2004 Rural Observatory definition which amalgamates input from the Office for National Statistics (ONS), the Commission for Rural Communities (2007), and the UK government (DEFRA). Brassville is 'Town and Fringe – Less Sparse', which is rural, and is surrounded by areas which are; 'Village – Less Sparse', and 'Hamlet and Isolated Dwellings – Less Sparse'. Data gathered during direct observations and observations of Pubwatch meetings were collected during an empirical phase of a Masters dissertation (Wilson 2011; also Wilson, 2013) which preceded the beginning of the thesis as part of the Economic and Social Research Council 3+1 award, and are outlined in a more extensive analysis below and throughout the thesis. The MA dissertation uncovered early findings, but further analysis and comparison conducted as part of this thesis is new and unique. The MA dissertation, in fact, formed a conscious period of data collection in order to inform the thesis and what follows in this chapter is original analysis. The incidents discussed and their implications will be revisited throughout the following chapters.

Many English rural areas share characteristics of Brassville's vibrant night-time economy with its prosperous business acumen, healthy employment and attractive business potential, whereas others have: 'serious economic difficulties with declining towns, loss of younger people, high unemployment, low wages, and low investment' (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000, 73). These are often the more remote areas, and we are reminded that isolation 'can cause barriers to growth' (73). Such areas require resources and attention to improve skill sets and business development, and give advice to regenerate, and for the purpose of investment. Such assistance may come from all kinds of sources, such as The Prince's Trust, Lottery Funding and European pots of funding. Installation of broadband and mobile phone coverage remains incomplete in rural England and Wales. Market towns can however play a crucial role in broader area regeneration and can influence communities to thrive, although they can rely upon unique or niche products, architecture, art and buildings. Smaller market towns of 2000 – 10,000 people (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000, 77), almost certainly rely on good transport links and can act as a barrier to growth. Brassville has a good A-road entry network and is close to a significant motorway, and has been described as a 'dormitory town' as the road network provides the means for people to work out of town (Tuffrey, 2007). Although the economy is rather unique, the lure of intoxication at Brassville's night-time venues attracted typical incidents of disorder.

City centre bars are well established as common locations for aggression and violence, and this thesis shifts current focus away from the urban, and onto the rural night-time economy. In place in Brassville to prevent, counter, and contain aggressive incidents is a small team of four door

supervisors, and two roaming 'street marshals' who are tasked with the control of the doors of local venues and the public space in between respectively. Twelve overt observations of varying lengths of between five and seven hours were conducted at weekends over a period of five months. The focus of the research was three-fold; to explore the necessity for door supervision, to explore any relationship between police officers and door supervisors, and to explore causes of disorder in the rural town.

### *The necessity for door supervision*

Verbal threats and abuse were common in Brassville, but physical intervention or self-defence was uncommon. Prior to the study, some door supervisors known to the researcher had described village door supervision, or student venue door supervision as a 'retirement home' for city door supervisors and Thompson's (2000) autobiographical account similarly notes: 'I was even weaning myself off the door by cutting the amount of shifts I was working. No more nightclub work for me, just a couple of easy nights at an out-of-town local' (393). However verbal intimidation presented a *potential* for incidents of actual aggression, and the potential did turn to lived reality more than once during the observation period.

### Takeaway trouble

One particular incident, which the two street marshals 'Liam' and 'Russ' (pseudonyms) attended, highlight the potential for violent disorder in Brassville, and its vulnerability to visitors from outside the town causing problems. My field notes below, reported in Wilson (2011), outline what happened:

*On a so-far uneventful Saturday night at approximately 2345 – 2350 an incident occurred. At 2230, 'The Nightclub' and the 'The Wine Bar', the two busiest venues, were not particularly busy with thirty-nine and 134 customers respectively (I happened to have just done a count). A young gentleman at the nearby Indian restaurant had an argument with one of the men working there. During the dispute a threat was made which prompted the restaurant employee to respond with something such as 'why don't you come and find out', whilst wielding a knife. On hearing this, the young man backed out of the door and punched a small window through. The reaction was for the restaurant employee, along with between 'four to six' others 'wielding knives and skewers' [also reported by eyewitnesses to police at the scene] to chase the man out of the shop and down the street.*

*The chase was seen by two 'street marshals' 'Liam' and 'Russ' who intervened by restraining (remaining upright on their feet) the man who had punched the window through. This was in order to de-escalate the momentum of the restaurant staff and stop something potentially lethal from happening. I was stood with two door staff at a venue across the street as the radio call came in, and the pursuit came into view. One door supervisor, Liam, who I was with remarked as he walked across to the incident, that the incident was "nowt to do with us", "not our problem" and remarked that the restaurant does not pay for the street marshal service - part of the Pubwatch scheme. This followed on from an earlier conversation about the indifference of the authority of a lay person and a street marshal when patrolling the streets (as a pose to working on a door - where they are acting on behalf of a*

licensee). This highlights the socio-legally ambiguous position of the door supervisors and arguably more so the street marshals.

The restaurant staff retreated back to the shop when they saw the marshals intervening. The door supervisor I was with also returned to their door to ensure it was covered. I remained. After a few minutes a man came out of the nightclub across the road from the incident. He later identified himself as the uncle of the man who had punched the window through, and also a prison officer. When the street marshals had calmly told him what had happened the uncle was unhappy that weapons had been pulled. He began to march over to the restaurant removing his belt fully on the way, and began to wrap it around his fist. At this point one of the two street marshals took a stance with the palms of his hands outstretched in front of him and tried to talk to the man. At this point, approximately 2358, a police car pulled up. The nightclub door supervisor had called 999 using his personal mobile phone. Realising the seriousness of the incident the two police officers called for back-up. At 0008 a second police car arrived. Soon after a dog unit arrived, presumably as a response to the threat of weapons such as knives and skewers. The dog(s) were not taken out of the car, but could be heard barking. At 0016 another police car arrived, but left almost immediately with blue lights flashing, presumably to attend another call. Shortly after this a police van arrived. In total six officers, a dog unit, three patrol cars (but one did not stay), and a van arrived.

Once they had dealt with this incident, the police were on hand to immediately take control of an incident at the nightclub. A man had been refused entry and was being verbally abusive to the doorman. The dog police officer (without dog) approached the man quietly from behind and put him against a wall by the scruff of his neck and asked him to move on.

(Field Notes - Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2011) (Wilson, 2011)

The nightclub owner was impressed and thanked the police. Although the police response was good in the situation at the Indian restaurant, the response from the door supervisors and street marshals was *instant* and 'on the spot'. This stopped the potentially dangerous reaction of the restaurant staff, who quickly became motivated offenders, escalating into the use of the weapons they were carrying. Interestingly, the actions of the private security team may have been driven by moral obligation in light of the absence of an immediate police presence.

Key to the success of the security team in Brassville was the combination of experience and early intervention by the street marshals. Successful and capable actions are judged by their effect in calming seemingly escalating situations, and acting as a capable deterrent or potential 'control sign' (Innes and Fielding, 2002). The teams' confidence and experience gathered from time working at urban venues elsewhere seemed important. Most of the door supervisors who rotated through shifts in Brassville during the observation period had worked for a minimum of two years as a door supervisor. One had little experience, as he had just left the Royal Marines, and another had little experience of door supervision, and this showed as will be discussed shortly. Furthermore those door supervisors who were most confident and who appeared the least susceptible to intimidation were those who "worked out" (see *inter alia*; Sanders, 2005, 255). They were either exceptionally fit,

trained in one or more martial art, lifted weights, or all three (Wilson, 2011). Amongst these door supervisors a 'strong culture' of watching each other's back, 'particularly in the face of danger at night' (also found elsewhere: Button, 2007, 162), was obvious and built respect and trust. Experienced door supervisors stated that they did not take incidents personally.

In Brassville, experienced door supervisors recounted violent methods of dealing with troublemakers from their experience of city centre venues. This is where they learnt their trade and all had considerable experience which led to confidence in their capability. However, in the rural setting of Brassville where identification of *local* patrons is easy and door supervisor accountability high, they all showed greater *restraint*. When questioned about this by the researcher the most common explanation was that the conflict was not worth the hassle, and they commented they would look to extract themselves from a situation if they felt they were reaching a flash point in terms of their temper. Ultimately this seemed to reflect a greater maturity, and a combination of age and experience. The door supervisors were also conscious of the fact that there was little in the way of police presence to stop a prolonged conflict, although they remained resilient and confident after the above incident.

Brassville's security team consisted of an intelligent group of men who were openly aware of the legal hazards of their occupation. During the incident at the Indian restaurant, one of the door supervisors remarked that the incident was "nowt to do with us", "not our problem" and also commented that the restaurant does not pay for the street marshal service (i.e. is not a full member of the Pubwatch scheme) and Monaghan (2004) reports a similar legal awareness and effective intelligence with door supervisors being: 'discursively aware of the legal hazards' (465). Most knew the law surrounding conflict in detail reflecting good training and awareness, although more experienced door supervisors had learned such awareness by being questioned by police as suspects for potential wrongdoing in the past. Legal awareness seemed also to be a contributing factor to the absence of unnecessary displays of bravado or showing off in order to show off, which is found amongst some door supervisors. Some showed entrepreneurship in their appreciation of the legal repercussions of their behaviour, as although it is compulsory to display a valid SIA license whilst working as a door supervisor, one individual reversed his card holder (worn on the arm) so that his name and details were not on display, similar to 'learnt craft' documented by Monaghan (2004).

#### *Police officers and door supervisors*

In Brassville, a particular incident changed the dynamics of the cooperation between police, in their role as formal guardians, and door supervisors as place managers (Eck, 2003), and renewed trust and positivity in their collaboration. The incident was described to the researcher by both the venue

owners at a Pubwatch meeting and by the door supervisors during observations, and it had a significant impact on the structure of security in Brassville.

#### A coach load of bother

A coach party of intoxicated males arrived in Brassville and ran into a group of local youths, some of which were described as 'amateur boxers'. A large number of males were fighting in what transpired to be relatively large scale disorder. Both the police and door supervisors responded. The door supervisors and street marshals helped the police to restrain those individuals fighting, forming one team. The door supervisors described the events in detail. They assisted in restraining individuals in order to be handcuffed, and in separating the two fighting factions, using their experience of fighting to their advantage. A particular comment describes the proximity within which the two groups of guardians were working, as one door supervisor advised a police officer who had withdrawn his CS spray not to use it as the wind would blow it into his team's eyes, and this also represents composure under pressure. The door supervisors were subsequently commended in a communication from the Police District Commander, praising the security team for their efforts. The general consensus among the police that night was that they faced a potentially serious and unmanageable incident if it were not for the assistance of the door supervisors and street marshals, and severe injuries could have resulted. The comments of a Police Sergeant, who attended a Pubwatch meeting which followed, were exemplary: "things would have got very, very nasty in a short space of time. Some of these fellas were big fellas and just would not back down". The Sergeant proceeded to thank the door supervisors, concluding: "I'm assured if we'd have had more bobbies here we could have locked twenty up, but we simply ran out of handcuffs and cars" (Pubwatch June 2011).

The result of the formal guardian place manager collaboration in weeks following the incident was what the DPSs had been hoping for all along which was a greater police presence in Brassville, personified by two Special Constable (voluntary and unpaid) police officers. Before this the door supervisors, and particularly the street marshals, were assuming a private policing role. Licensees had expressed concern over potential isolation earlier in the year during a Pubwatch meeting: "We don't get a response from the police to be fair do we? We're on our own aren't we?" (The Wine Bar Owner, Pubwatch April 2011). He was not alone in holding these opinions: "If they [police] don't make a show from time to time these people are going to get to know they won't turn up" (Anonymous Licensee, Pubwatch April 2011). The Special Constable weekend presence had served to put these concerns at ease.

As well as the analysis of public and private collaboration this incident also resounds with a problem evident in urban disorder, and amplified by national media coverage - nuisance youths. Only, in this incident, it transpired (borrowing the terminology of Cohen and Felson, 1979) that local youths

carried the value worthy of making them suitable targets, and victim to provocation by the visitors who were motivated to offend in unknown territory. The local Police Sergeant, referring to the incident with the coach party, pointed this out describing the youths as a 'problem' for the police. The Police Sergeant said: "If we've got gangs of kids in centre of Brassville and they mix it with some of these i.e. a coach party, then they're very very vulnerable... they get yakking to these people who are out for trouble or whatever or they can actually cause the trouble" (Police Sergeant, Pubwatch June 2011).

With a small population, although busy, those attending Brassville's night-time venues had heightened visibility, and large groups of males were often discussed discerningly at Pubwatch meetings and during observations, by Brassville's Designated Premises Supervisors (DPS). Disorder from a small number of repeat offender local youths hanging around the streets after dark in a small old mill town in Northern England has been recorded in research as causing a 'landscape of fear' after dark hanging around the streets (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000). This was not the case in Brassville, but youths participating in the night-time economy were central to the local community as small crowds allowed for high visibility and theoretically accountability is heightened (Hadfield and Measham 2009; Glendinning *et al*, 2003), although travelling tourists proved very difficult to identify.

Valentine *et al* (2007) identify a small rural community, Eden, as a place where young people are almost encouraged by elders to participate in the local night-time economy where they can be subject to guardianship of landlords, and as boredom may make the alternative of underage street drinking more attractive: "levels of drinking amongst young people are heightened by the lack of alternative rural leisure opportunities" (40). Furthermore, in Eden binge drinking was viewed as an urban phenomenon amplified by the media. Valentine *et al's* (2007) research concludes: 'given the greater informal social surveillance in rural than urban areas young people exercise more self-governance, aware that there is less anonymity in the countryside than a larger town or city because most venues serve all generations' (33). It must however be acknowledged that Brassville's good road network and attractive tourist influx makes for difficulty in identifying offenders from outside of Brassville, exacerbated by a lack of CCTV.

Monaghan's (2004) observation of door supervisors at work concluded that 'the possibility of being arrested (and or instantly dismissed by the licensee) renders most workers highly reluctant to assume a public policing role' (467). Yet this was not the case amongst some of Brassville's security team who were often willing to use their skills in the public domain away from the door, especially prior to the establishment of a regular weekend public police presence. The issue of boundaries became a little clearer as the police presence grew after the incident with the coach party. Planted flowers, ropes, parasols etc all form a border marking the jurisdiction of a night-time venue (Hadfield,



2008) and it is unlikely that door supervisors are insured to act outside of a club, and not all door supervisors will be happy to consider acting outside of the confines of their venue (Thompson, 2000). Borders are broken at the end of the night by reducing the music volume and turning the lights up: 'control is ceded to the public police' (Hadfield, 2008, 440). The boundary may be used as a 'signal' of disorder (Innes and Fielding, 2002) in, for example, attracting police attention to a venue or detracting attention away from it by dealing with things in-house:

'Where violence does occur within the private space of a licensed premise, calls to the police are less frequent because licensees are not inclined to draw attention to their premises, and it is at this point that private security in the form of bouncers often emerges to police this public space' (Hobbs, 2000, 707).

In Brassville, following the incident with the coach party, some of the door supervisors were wary of the increased police presence. They were also conscious of comments made by customers regarding the negative signal the need for a police presence could portray. Roaming private patrols, on the contrary, attracted complimentary comments reminiscent of Noaks' (2008) research which found private security patrols were well received by the local community. This will be discussed fully later in the thesis. Patrolling or roaming is a vital part of the role in order to monitor fluid events and to increase chances of being at the right place at the right time, and experienced autobiographical accounts of door supervision support this claim (Thompson, 2000). It would seem that patrolling allowed the door supervisors to act as spotters with a panoramic view with eyes 'on the spot' and resulted in quick intervention to incidents around the town, and the precursors to these incidents will now be explored.

#### *Problems in the rural night-time economy*

A system of 'gentrification' (Hadfield, 2008) was clearly present in Brassville; engineered by the owners, managers, and licensees of the town, but enforced by door supervisors. Brassville's venue owners are wealthy, business-wise, and they share community focus. Whether this is genuine or for profit is irrelevant to the safety of customers in the town's venues, but community focus is one typical characteristic of rural areas in England and Wales (Woods, 2005). Yet, the consensus among the DPS's of the busiest town centre venue clientele was of a drift from the ideal: "I've seen an increase in larger groups of lads coming to 'Brassville'" (The Wine bar owner, Pubwatch April 2011). During one observation, a group of young males were queuing for Brassville's small (with a capacity of less than 100) nightclub in casual clothing including smart trainers, jeans and t-shirts. Further down the queue was another group, but dressed smartly wearing brogues, smart trousers and collared shirts. The owner of the nightclub remarked to the door supervisor and I that the first group were not welcome, but the other group would be allowed in. There was no signage to suggest the door policy and therefore the door supervisors were faced with a grim task. The group allowed in

were members of the local Polo Club and were known to the owner who was awaiting potential customers at the front entrance of the venue. Interestingly American research outlines ‘Powerful’ “old boys” networks which serve to ‘dominate and oppress’ women, found characteristic in rural areas of Kentucky, and blamed on organised hegemonic patriarchy (Websdale, 1998; Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 9). This decision puts the door supervisor in a difficult position, whereby they are asked to allow entry to a group, in full view of another group who have been rejected for unfounded reasons - which the door supervisor must then attempt to justify. A similar event further demonstrates the difficulty of implementing house rules which are not written down and displayed, and therefore applied universally:

*During the peak hours of the shift, the owner of The Wine Bar owner confronted James for permitting entry to, what he referred to as, a group of “scroats” [English slang for a scruffy young person]. They appeared scruffy and were intoxicated according to the owner. It was striking that these people would not have looked out of place in Horsefield, with its large crowds of casually dressed patrons. The Wine Bar Owner asked James and Dean to eject the males. One of the group took offence. During the altercation he took half-hearted, lazy swinging punches at Dean, more in an attempt to impress his friends than to do any real damage. By this time the street marshals had arrived in support. The street marshals, James, and Dean simply patiently avoided the punches as they were out of reach to connect anyway. They seemed un-phased throughout the incident and the group eventually dispersed. (Field notes – Brassville - Friday 8th April 2011).*

The lack of discretion given to door supervisors impacts on their capability, as they may not be able to find a worthy reason to reject a patron the owner did not want in. One of the least experienced door supervisors suffered from this, and could not conjure an excuse to not let a pair of young men in, and as a result they became irate as he persisted to say: “you just can’t!”. The door supervisor was embarrassed at his lack of professionalism afterwards, and one cannot help but surmise that this would not have been the case if one of the more experienced door supervisors had have been the one to intervene. But moreover, these accounts add to the negative accounts of door supervisors, and the perception that their actions are often ‘unjustified’ (Thompson, 2000; Freeman, 2009). If not managed well, situations such as these instigated by key players other than the door supervisors themselves, thereby diminishing the autonomy of the door supervisor, can create an ‘us and them’ mentality between door supervisors and customers.

The Pubwatch scheme can fill the void between ‘us’ and ‘them’ providing distance between the two in the form of a ban, yet in Brassville the scheme seems to weigh heavily on its local knowledge for its successful pursuit of offenders. The lack of CCTV cameras (other than the few statically positioned cameras on licensed premises) resulted in a reliance upon identification of offenders by licensees and local people such as bar employees. Recent rioting in England in 2011 has demonstrated the huge advantages of CCTV systems for the identification of otherwise anonymous faces (see *inter alia*; BBC News, 2011). The security company in Brassville trialled a head camera for the street marshals and

door supervisors to wear, which acts as a deterrent, clearly visible to those who may be looking to cause trouble and this was well received by door supervisors. The head or body camera is an increasingly popular tool in the police legal and situational armoury. However with people coming from further and further afield as Brassville's reputation continues to thrive, identification of captured images becomes a serious weakness, and enforcing a Pubwatch ban becomes increasingly difficult. The success of such a system also relies heavily on regular and consistent police cooperation and support in order to identify strangers, and a rigorous system of doing so does not yet exist.

As in city centre drinking environments a dress code and gender specific house rules (i.e. filtering out males to allow in more females) were used as techniques to filter patrons by the door supervisors at the request of the owners of Brassville's busiest venues; the nightclub, and the wine bar. This 'gentrification' - as well as providing a good atmosphere - does signal a proactive undertaking of a responsibility to tackle crime (Hadfield, 2008, 433) in line with greater licensing objectives, and Roberts (2009) suggests: 'permissive environments, or rather, bars known for their tolerance of antinormative behaviour, both encourage violent behaviour and attract violence prone patrons' (66). In some of London's elite venues, Hadfield (2008) found the desirability of some clubs heightens the exclusivity of the venue and justifies its ability to favourably select its clientele. Consequentially, those who are rejected are not necessarily at fault. As mentioned this technique can therefore cause problems for the door supervisors as it is highly discriminatory and in Brassville there were no formal signs and messages to which the door supervisors could defer authority. They relied on the manager's discretion, and good interpersonal skills became evermore crucial. So, maintaining the door policy is not a simple task. It should be acknowledged that to apply a dress code non-universally requires tact, resilience, and responsibility, which may be rare among inexperienced door supervisors. Furthermore there is clear potential for disgruntled customers to displace to venues close-by which have less strict entry codes and this may cause further problems. In Brassville, those refused entry to the nightclub would openly suggest going to the only pub which at the time of the observations did not employ door supervisors but opened as late as the nightclub.

The incident whereby Brassville's local Polo Club members were favourably granted entry in view of others who were being rejected above resounds with Hadfield's (2008) description of elite venues: 'private governance often functions to defend the social and economic interests of privileged groups...shaping forms of social stratification' (430). He concludes that in excluding potential customers, it is a select minority who are granted entry to such 'members clubs' (Hadfield, 2008, 433). This is beneficial for local people, but may aggravate passing trade, which is needed to boost the day and night-time economy in Brassville. This discussion of clientele links closely to cultural understandings of class, masculinity, physicality and subcultural meanings of identity and clothing.

Roberts (2009) presents evidence to support the idea that the absence of selection, filtering, and control at the door can facilitate aggression, and Hadfield (2008) suggests that: 'access controls serve to insulate the club's interior from the disorder of the streets' (437). There is evidence that some young men avoid violent bars – they filter themselves based on the reputation of a venue (Tomsen, 2005). In controlling entry and exits, on numerous occasions in Brassville the door supervisors expressed frustration during the empirical observation at their lack of: 'unfettered discretion' a key tool of negotiation authority and autonomy identified by Hadfield, 2008 (430). Alternative methods of filtering crowds include; Pubwatch bans (as in this study), controlling drink prices (Hadfield, 2008), lowering permissiveness of drinking environments by design (Hobbs *et al.*, 2000; and 2003, link permissive drinking environments to the exclusion of older customers), and funding deterrents such as CCTV, and capable place management.

To conclude, a number of findings emanate from the case study of Brassville. No conflict over the residence or (non) locality of the door supervisors was witnessed during the observation period or reported in conversations with the door supervisors, as reported in a study by Hobbs *et al* (2003). None lived in Brassville itself. Two particularly aggressive incidents highlighted the need for guardianship in Brassville, and highlighted the need for criminological study of both violence in the rural night-time economies of England and Wales, but also *different* night-time economies therefore building on the existing research base. Confidence and experience gained from working in the city centre was a common characteristic amongst the most effective door supervisors. Some had considerable experience of working as a head door supervisor in a large urban venue. Confidence was also boosted by a fitness and/or martial arts, and/or weightlifting background. Confidence resulted in restraint and resilience, which proved to be core attributes in anti-inflammatory conflict management, and implications of a link between confidence, experience, and resilience, and capability were quite clear. A key recommendation resulting from this data is to utilise experienced door supervisors as guest speakers during door supervisor training courses.

In exploring the relationship between the police as formal guardians and door supervisors as place managers it was clear that door supervisors often took on a public policing role in the absence of police officers, out of moral obligation. Yet, it took a major incident which demanded a reliance on door supervisor's physical intervention capabilities to boost the police interest in door supervision, and in increasing target safety in Brassville. Brassville's 'street marshal' system brought a mobile and panoramic view to the town, but did not lead to unnecessary confrontations, seen in other studies where door supervisors roam within venues. When carried by street marshals, a head camera enabled the panoramic view to be captured and recorded, aiding the capturing of local offender data, but the Pubwatch scheme in Brassville relied heavily on local knowledge for the identification

of the data in the absence of suitable official data sharing protocol. The lack of a central CCTV system was ever-present in the minds of the Brassville's Pubwatch attendees.

A key 'bone of contention' identified during the observations in Brassville was the attempt of Designated Premises Supervisors to control the door and the flow of patrons into their venue, using the door supervisor as a tool to do so. Dress codes were a key tool in selecting one's clientele when applied non-universally. Venue manager discretion in Brassville may have reinforced the 'gentrification' of some of the venues in this affluent town which resulted in conflict between the door supervisor and customer, which was difficult to manage and could be frustrating. If a venue wishes to implement fair door policies, these should be clearly displayed at the entry point on signs. Some door supervisors commented that they hoped for unfettered discretion. Problem youths visiting the town centre were also identified by local police officers as a nuisance on occasion in Brassville.

Much can be taken from the successful security collaboration in Brassville, yet co-operation has weakened since the original empirical data was gathered due to deteriorating relations between the security firm and the nightclub, over an incident where a door supervisor controversially deployed handcuffs as a means of detaining an individual – a matter which is currently at the centre of a local legal debate. This demonstrates the temperamental nature of some collaborative relationships. This dent in the town's status quo seems to have had a detrimental effect on the aura of the town. It takes little, it seems, to 'rock the boat' in this small community where owners of venues appear omnipotent and, as Madensen and Eck (2008) observe, poor management experiences and decisions can have a cumulative effect, lasting through generations of management teams and owners (117).

### **The night-time economy in Horsefield**

Horsefield has a hub of three central streets lined with pubs, bars and clubs, surrounded by a range of eateries, shops and a shopping mall. Over fifty hours of data was gathered during direct observations, and subsequent 'pop-ins' included attendance at Pubwatch meetings, Police Violent Crime Meetings, and licensing meetings. The data presented was collected with the aim of direct comparison with findings from the MA study of Brassville which are recapped within the thesis in conjunction with an ongoing interest in the role of location in guardianship. Horsefield is a large urban town, and significantly larger than Brassville. Therefore comparison allows for contrast of structures, and the observation of similarities and differences in events which take place in the night-time economies of each town, as there is a town centre workday population difference of 10,000 between the towns. Both Brassville and Horsefield are geographically located within the borders of Yorkshire's dominant horseracing community: the focus of a recent study by Sheffield Hallam

University (Lawless and Wilson, 2011) and some of the activities observed in both towns were related to an influx of visitors attracted by the sport.

### *Observing violence in Horsefield*

The methods of observing the two towns differed slightly as there was no real police presence in Brassville apart from the occasional car patrol, whereas in Horsefield there was a significant policing operation. In Brassville, through the Police District Licensing Officer, the opportunity of accompanying head door supervisors and police patrols was available and lasted over a period of six months, and contact remains with key players in the town. In Horsefield the accompaniment would sometimes focus on door supervisors at venues throughout the town including pubs, bars, clubs, and sports stadium. Whilst at other times accompaniment was mobile, in vehicles, with the town centre policing team. Thorough access had been acquired therefore, and this was generated through the building of informal relationships, rapport and significant selfless commitment from participants within the police and security arena. Both mobile patrolling with door supervisors in Brassville, and roaming patrols with door supervisors and police in Horsefield consciously achieved the same goal. The goal was to go behind the scenes of the violent crime statistics, and gain a panoramic viewpoint of both towns in their entirety. The town centre security was unique in both towns. Researching Brassville during fifty hours of research for the MA study allowed the accompaniment of street marshals who were constantly moving between venues monitoring the public streets in between, and occasionally help drunken people to find their way, or calming aggressive individuals down. Researching Horsefield in this manner explored door supervisor and police perspectives on the same issues in the same shift.

Studying Horsefield also offered an insight into racecourse/race day security, in response to the study by Sheffield Hallam University, which estimated that all sources of Yorkshire racecourse's revenue amounted to slightly over £68m in 2009, and the total economic impact of racing in Yorkshire in 2009 (including non-racing activity) amounted to around £219.8m (Lawless and Wilson, 2011). Furthermore almost two-thirds of revenue and relevant expenditure occurred at York and Doncaster racecourses in this year, and both had the highest prize money in Yorkshire (York the most). Doncaster racecourse also hosted the most fixtures and races in Yorkshire. A racing festival in Horsefield in 2013, over three days brought estimated crowds of up to 28, 000 (14 SEP 2013, Horsefield, Field Notes) over the course of a weekend. This brought travelling tourists into the area, which boosted the local economy hugely and some venues relied on it during the summer, yet it brought incidents of local (insider) vs tourist (outsider) tension. An increase in standard incidents was also clear during the festival, as the field notes depict, outlining a typical event the police officers and door supervisors were asked to deal with during a racing festival. Between 1730 and 1830 on the eve of a race event (on only one town centre street) five incidents of males fighting passed over

the police radio airwaves, reminiscent of the scenes of a Mad Friday – a traditionally busy and sometimes violent celebration just before Christmas where many work parties enjoy the night-time economy as many workplaces break for the festive period the Friday before Christmas day. It did appear thereafter however that early intervention and arrests, along with natural dispersal of tourists, meant that the duration of the night thereon was relatively calm:

*The police car in which I was travelling attended one of the incidents. On arrival a door supervisor had a cut mouth and a large swelling to the side of his left eye from a punch to the face. It transpired that an intoxicated female had assaulted a female member of bar staff. The bar woman had been left with severe facial injuries including cuts. When the door supervisor intervened and attempted to restrain and eject the female offender, her boyfriend took dislike and ended up fighting with the door supervisor. Other incidents in this period, which came in over the radio included groups of males fighting”.*

(Field notes – Horsefield - Saturday 10 September 2011).

The large events and the attendance at various meetings provided the means to meet some of the seventy plus door supervisors employed in the town. In Horsefield, the observations took place not only in the town centre but also at a racing venue, and a football stadium. Contrary to rivalry documented in other research (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) it was clear that exemplary top-down inter-agency co-operation among the three main security firms in Horsefield has fostered and trickles down to inter-venue support during weekly Friday and Saturday night ‘carnival’ (Hobbs *et al*, 2003). These firms then looked out for each other and provided a system of backup if incidents became serious, replacing informal criminal networks documented in Hobbs *et al*’s (2003) research. Brassville was not so fortunate as to have any more than the six or so individuals working of a night and only occasional police support until the presence of a regular special constable weekend patrol. However the lack of police may have influenced the anti-inflammatory techniques used by many of the experienced door supervisors in Brassville.

### *The town*

One head door supervisor, ‘Shaun’, gave his perspective on how the town had changed over his three decades working there, and how its door supervisors had moved with these changes. He described how in years gone by he would invest in particularly cheap T-shirts to work in and carry a spare, in the expectance of getting the one he was wearing ripped or blood-stained. Yet he acknowledged that the town had been through a period of change. He put this change down to a number of things including a shift in routine leisure activities of workers resident in the surrounding local mining towns coinciding in greater situational crime prevention measures lowering the options for disorder by raising accountability and the likelihood of getting caught. Shaun described how in years gone by groups of male miners would participate in Horsefield’s night-time economy in large groups in order to meet local women and unwind after the week’s work, but this routine did not endure the decline of the mining trade. Of course a postmodern cluster of young men and women visit night-time

premises at the weekend seeking hedonism and in doing so they become suitable targets. However the attraction of largely self-regulated miners represented a *hardened* demographic of young men, at a time before CCTV and police surge operations as they exist today. A similar situation has been extensively documented by Hobbs *et al* (2003) in other working class northern towns as: ‘de-industrialization, and the consequent fragmentation of traditional communities, has led to the erosion of clearly structured, class, and work-based life patterns (Beck, 1992; Pakulski and Waters, 1996)’ (Hobbs *et al*, 2003, 21). Shaun specifically attributed a shift towards more manageable violent behaviour to big brother style CCTV, and a regular police presence in the town centre at weekends. Research suggests the general public are that familiar with CCTV now that individual cameras go unnoticed but most of us expect them to be present in busy commercial or leisure centres (Goold, Loader, and Thumala, 2013). Horsefield benefits from a regular police presence at weekends and therefore the door firm Shaun co-runs employs its most competent staff during the week when the police presence is at its lowest. Weekday trouble has been documented elsewhere from the ‘old school’ door supervisor perspective: ‘Monday nights were a pain in the arse. They were always good for a fight. Yes, really!’ (Freeman, 2009, 87). Similarly Thompson (2000, 58) describes a vicious battle and an attempted bottling (an assault using a glass bottle as a weapon, commonly to the face or head) on a run-of-the-mill Wednesday night. With naturally decreased participation in the night-time economy during weekday evenings in Horsefield, licensees apply drinks discounts to attract a young student crowd from local colleges. What Shaun has described in the implementation of high visibility policing and the introduction of CCTV is the slow introduction of successful ‘target hardening’ making the choice to offend less attractive (Crawford, 2007), and he advocates *consistent* guardianship determined by awareness of ‘hot’ times. Cementing the idea that CCTV can be as incriminating as it can be an omnipotent guardian angel, during the observations in Horsefield I was invited to view a number of incidents of violence which proved difficult to justify both morally and legally. One door supervisor became involved in a fight which began with an even delivery of punches and kicks from both door supervisor and aggressor, but ended up with the door supervisor choking out his aggressor only to then leave him slumped on the floor unconscious. No effort was initially made to put him in the recovery position. Another scene captured a door supervisor leaving a female who was unconscious slumped on the street outside his venue with her skirt ridden up and her breasts revealed, with no effort to address her welfare or dignity, but there was a consensus that these were the outliers as such, and police officers and security managers dealt with these incidents immediately, and displayed what appeared to be genuine concern.

As outlined above, door supervisors are sought-after by place managers (Livingstone and Hart, 2003); the commodity is safety and the demand stems from licensing ruling, violent incidents, and the fear of them (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000) in a time when police budgets are being squeezed. It is sensible to suggest that as a period of public spending cuts in the UK continues, door supervisors will



continue to supply the night-time venue demand. Therefore the study of multi-agency co-operation here and elsewhere is essential. In general Horsefield boasts a positive police and private security relationship both in peacetime (for instance crowd control, and responding to accidents) and in war (aggressive incidents and conflict management), and the discussion which follows will explore the cooperation in Horsefield further.

#### *Urban differences - beyond Horsefield*

In comparing Brassville and Horsefield a number of similarities and differences emerge. The mere presence of a regular police beat on a weekend is something which Brassville was only getting used to at the very end of the observation period there (the two Special Constables patrolling on Friday and Saturday nights). This was a reflex to incidents where police had been outnumbered and subsequently endangered. On the contrary Horsefield is in the process of fine-tuning the positioning of its weekend police presence. This process is constantly reviewed, emanating from the impact of economic crisis which has left police resources in England and Wales stretched and small private businesses struggling to be able to afford 'professional guardians' beyond their minimum obligatory quota set out in licensing conditions. This has led to a number of interesting tactics by police officers in Horsefield including strategically positioning empty police vans outside of key venues so they are noticed by revellers and making the police presence seem more expansive than it is. This tactic was regularly employed on weeknights when at times as few as two officers were deployed to patrol the entire town centre.

An interesting and surprising similarity in both Brassville and Horsefield was the inability, at times, of licensees, police, or door supervisors to identify local offenders. It would seem wise to infer that a rural economy with its way of life would attract a regular clientele, and an urban economy would be rife with anonymity. Although many patrons *were* well known in Brassville it was at times of great concern to Brassville's night-time workers that tourists and commuters, attracted by local specific attractions or horseracing events at nearby racecourses, who caused problems in the town were difficult to identify. So, although Brassville has an economic interest in attracting outsiders to boost both its day and night-time economies, their presence at times would often upset the status quo. Horsefield had regular troublemakers and clientele who were *as* easily identifiable and recognisable to Horsefield bar staff, licensees, and door supervisors, as those 'locals' who were known as regulars in Brassville were to its night-time economy workers. For example, in Horsefield on one occasion during the observation period, the perpetrator of a nasty assault which left a female with severe facial injuries was quickly identified on the venue's CCTV system by bar staff. This resounds with comments from a door supervisor about the northern English city of Sunderland – 'Because Sunderland is a relatively small city, it has groups of people from different places that become known to you' (Freeman, 2009, 119) - and repeat offenders of course spring to mind here. Similarly a group

of Horsefield's youth football hooligan element referred to the town centre Sergeant by his surname which is also his nickname, (Field Notes – Horsefield – Friday 14th January 2011), and a 'dialogue-based approach' has been proven to foster relationships between motivated offenders and guardians in football related violence. Such an approach can lead to softening of police tactics, and an increase in quantity and quality of police intelligence around hooligans.

Of huge significance, the incidents that occurred during the period of observation in Horsefield were not dissimilar to those in Brassville. As a sole researcher the accurate counting of incidents was not plausible and therefore not desired and this is discussed in more detail above in the methodology section of the thesis, but general observations were noted and the atmosphere at each research site was easy to absorb and record. Verbal abuse against door supervisors was common in both towns, as was the verbal threat of physical abuse. Actual physical abuse though was uncommon during observations in both towns and in the accounts gathered in field notes. The aim, rather, was to compare how severe incidents got when they did occur, and the conclusion which quickly surfaced was that when incidents did occur they had the potential to be on the *same scale* in terms of severity of incidents and potential for large-scale disorder, and nature.

The shipping of outsiders into local towns may boost the economy at sporting events or festivities but this has also been at the core of serious incidents in both Horsefield and Brassville, seemingly boosting the number of motivated offenders. Amongst the after party of Horsefield's annual horseracing event (in September 2013) I accompanied the town centre Sergeant in his vehicle as he responded to a call of a fight involving local people and a coach full of visitors. On arrival witnesses reported that one man had been badly beaten by a number of a coach party who had 'jumped' on him. The suspected aggressors were thought to be on the coach, which the police had stopped from leaving Horsefield. It was parked metres from the incident. The coach load transpired to be visitors to a local golf tournament and from Sheffield, a Yorkshire city. The police found it difficult to deal with the number of potentially aggressive males and adopted a sensible approach. They took pictures of all those on the coach in order for the CCTV to be viewed closely, and police vehicles escorted the coach out of Horsefield. Suspected offenders could then be contacted at a later date. This resounds with an incident which occurred in Spring 2011 in Brassville documented above whereby a coachload of revellers travelling to a racing event had stopped off to enjoy festivities but were highly intoxicated and became involved in an altercation with a group of local youths who happened to be amateur boxers or of a similarly skilled fighting background. A serious incident ensued and police were forced to deploy their incapacitating spray and batons to fend off aggressors, whilst relying heavily on the assistance of the experienced door supervisors to control the brawl. In both accounts, the presence of outsiders created an unusual volume of dangerous aggressors.

### *Gangs – an urban problem?*

Horsefield's sheer footfall attracted by sporting events and occasions brought about a noticeable change in the atmosphere creating a vibrant night-time scene characterised by 'carnival' (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) and policing had to be carefully planned with this in mind. One particular observation in Horsefield though seemed overwhelmingly sinister, and that was that there is a greater modus operandi for notorious criminals to visit a large urban town such as Horsefield rather than a smaller one such as Brassville. In Horsefield certain genres of music and venue themes attracted key criminal players and gang members (similar findings were reported by Hobbs *et al.*'s ethnographic study of Manchester, 2003). During one observation in Horsefield an altercation emerged between a group of gang-members - later identified as suspected members of Manchester's notorious Gooch Gang (Sky News, 2009) - on one side, and door supervisors and police officers on the other. In dealing with these potentially dangerous people the older old-school 'bouncers' present were instantly confident and took the lead in the situation alongside police officers. Also, recent improvements in police and private cooperation provided an effective joined platform for dealing with the gang. The suspected gang members were dealt with by the police officers and door supervisors, using unorthodox policing tactics including; asking the men to leave via a discreet rear exit, withstanding considerable verbal and physical threats and confrontational body language, and a decision not to closely escort their exit out of town so as not to give them an audience to act up to. Similar anti-inflammatory 'special measures', or what Braga and Weisburd (2010) would call 'innovative' crime control, have been reported by Hobbs *et al* (2003), and the incident is outlined in the following field notes:

*The main incident that occurred concerned some black youths thought to be from Sheffield. The group had entered a venue. One of the group of five was known by venue staff and was on bail. Among the group two men were clear leaders. One was tall, about 6 foot 2 inches and of sizeable muscular build. Another was slightly taller, at around 6 foot 3 inches. This taller man clearly wanted to use his overshadowing presence to attempt to intimidate the door staff and police. Accounts of how the suspected members happened to be in the venue varied from person to person (door supervisors, licensees, and police officers) but they had used the main entrance to gain entry. The door supervisors did not recognise these men from previous incidents. The group had been identified as a problem by venue staff and the decision was taken to ask them to leave. It was clear that the door staff either knew they had to, or wanted to, involve the police. It had previously been explained to me by police officers that it was normal for door supervisors to make police aware of ejections, albeit this was a fairly informal procedure. It was explained that this meant the police were there to receive and quickly deal with those who had been ejected, and therefore stop the need for potentially damaging restraint or the use of physical force.*

*After a few minutes of deciding what to do, somebody suggested that the back door be used to eject the males, as it was positioned on a lower (than ground) and secluded level of the club. It would be difficult to drag them out through the busy club if they were to resist. Police officers were initially positioned at the front door to the venue. It therefore seemed unusual to invite the men to leave via the back door. However the congregation of police officers at the front door resembled a welcoming committee and avoiding this seemed to be part of the plan.*

*The decision was made by police officers, using radios for the purposes of being discreet, to use the back exit. When the police officer whom I was shadowing arrived at the back of the venue the ejection was underway. The door supervisors had managed to summon the men to the back exit and had begun asking the men to leave. They were conversing just outside of the back door in a caged smoking area. The males were verbally abusive, threatening and attempting to intimidate the door supervisors. It must be said that in this situation the police and door supervisors both used different tactics to that used in other incidents I observed.*

*These young men were asked to leave, and physically blocked from their intended route of handrailing the building to end up back at the front entrance, led by a Police Sergeant putting his body in their path. The point is that the young men were allowed relatively unchallenged to verbally threaten the door staff with assaults (flicking an officer's hand off their shoulder etc), death threats, and general intimidation.*

(Field notes - Friday 31<sup>st</sup> December 2011 - New Years Eve)

The police response was explained in full to me afterwards. I decided to quiz the Sergeant further. He had sympathised as the men had just bought a round of drinks when they were approached and asked to leave the venue, before drinking them. However it transpired after the event that in fact the £160 bottle of champagne they were allowed to leave with (unopened) had not gone through the till, it was stolen from behind the bar. A further explanation for the non-confrontational method of policing was that the number of officers it would have taken to safely detain that amount of youths was not available, and with limited resources available it was essential to avoid escalation of the already hostile incident. When the incident had de-escalated and the men had walked away, still shouting threats, the police saw the males roaming the town centre whilst patrolling in a car. Yet on advice from a police inspector the police officer driving the car was ordered to drive on quickly so as not to provide an audience for the gang to show off to. From a de-escalation perspective the actions of the police and door supervisors were highly effective. Yet a string of offences took place which were not addressed, which risks empowering the gang, who were free to move on to a different location, and some police officers seemed aggrieved by this. A zero tolerance approach would have taken a number of officers off the streets, and may have amplified potential reprisals against licensees, door supervisors and others. However in terms of public safety these men, aggrieved at the night's events, were free to patrol the streets of Horsefield and interact with the other revellers thereafter. The police officers involved admitted the situation was unnerving. One remarked afterwards: "did you not see that all the officers had their gas unclipped?". Other incidents with the same police officers but different customers had resulted in restraints, arrests, and a zero tolerance approach. Similar incidents of intimidation of the public or the police by revellers often resulted in a Section 27 Order, which bans the person from a certain area - identified with a map - for a chosen period of time or a worse sanction. It was thought that the gang members would return to settle scores with door supervisors at the venue but most likely not that night. To the researcher's knowledge, no further incidents involving the men occurred that night.

However they left a mental mark. The incident remained talked about for days, including at a football match I attended the following weekend, where the same door supervisors who dealt with the incident were present, and later in the month at a Pubwatch debrief. Door supervisors made informal enquiries which uncovered the potential affiliation with the Gooch gang. Their modus operandi is to visit small cities or large towns targeting customers in venues, stealing phones and wallets, and stealing drinks and bottles from behind the bar, and gradually expanding a trade of drug-selling. Therefore, early intervention was on the forefront of most of the door supervisor's minds. Gang members are less likely to find the same appropriate size of client-basis to sustain their business interests in smaller towns and villages. Neither are they likely to find the same potential for the anonymity provided by large crowds attracted to lively music venues. Anonymity of a gang is difficult unless tactics of stealth such as splitting up are employed, which would prove difficult the smaller the venue size. At a subsequent Pubwatch meeting it appeared apparent that the Pubwatch scheme, as a potential regulator of situational crime prevention measures, was not as effectively utilised as it could have been. It could have been used as an information sharing forum to distribute photographs of the individuals from venue CCTV, or to formally warn other venues of the potential for repercussions or further criminal activity in the town. It was not, although the incident was briefly mentioned.

#### *Young Traveller men –an urban problem?*

In England in January 2012 there were 18,750 Gypsy and Traveller caravans, a slight increase (up 400) on the previous year. 1500 Gypsy and Traveller caravans were based in Yorkshire and Humberside, and around 100 of those were 'Unauthorised sites'. The other (approximately 1400) were authorised (Communities and Local Government, 2012). Young Traveller men in Horsefield were often involved in disorder, and door supervisor's apprehension over the fighting ability, and fortitude in numbers which often lead to toughened Traveller gaining reputations in cities and towns is well documented (for example Stylianou, 2013). One of Horsefield's experienced ten year door supervisors, 'Harvey', explained the door supervisor perception of young Traveller men. During the 1980s and 1990s threats by young Traveller men to door supervisors would often be settled by pre-arranged fights, and in Horsefield these had occurred recently. Young Traveller men participate in Horsefield's night-time economy in large numbers and can dominate space in venues without rigorous control by capable door supervisors. They were not always a threat to door supervisors however, as conflict would often involve inter-rivalry between Traveller factions and this is revisited later. This rivalry may be hosted by night-time venues when individuals were intoxicated, however young Traveller men often prefer to settle scores in private, away from the authorities and the public eye, Harvey told me. The numbers in which young Traveller men congregate were of significant *potential* threat to door supervisors nonetheless, and over his time on the doors Harvey had sought to interact with key players in the Traveller community in order to encourage elders to settle disputes away from the

night-time economy. Few incidents which occurred with any severity during the observation periods on a Friday or Saturday night were thought to concern young Traveller men. Yet, traditionally English and Irish Travellers have strong links to horse-racing and at the racing festivals in Horsefield they were often involved in disorder. Fifteen Travellers were dealt with by police, and ejected, for fighting at a local racecourse during observations (Field notes, Horsefield, 14 SEP 2013). Although this would equal major disorder in Brassville for example, a police operation to contain racing disorder was in full flow, so this incident did not pose a major concern. Experienced and capable door supervisors had also learnt, Harvey explained, to be cautious not to exclude young Traveller men for tenuous reasons, as in doing so they are open to equality and diversity critique. Crime reduction practices including entry codes and systems must also be cautious to avoid the dissemination of powerful local dictators within the night-time economy (Mawby, 2011). Inclusion, however, requires trust and positive interaction with agencies including the police (Halfacree, 2011), and exclusion has been evidenced amongst Traveller communities in England and Wales (James, 2011). Although Brassville does not suffer from problems of disorder with young Traveller men, interestingly friction between Traveller and non-Traveller communities in rural areas may be exacerbated due to a compact environment, characteristic of rural environments (Garland and Chakraborti, 2004).

## **Discussion**

In Brassville, incidents highlight both the need for door supervision in a rural town, and the need for the criminological study of rural, and different night-time economies. That incidents do occur in such severity and with such potential as those documented in urban night-time economy research sits in contrast with; the idea of a rural idyll (Mingay, 1989a), and the idea of a stereotypical cosy community, especially that of quintessential England, where common values are shared and conflict is rare (Dingwall and Moody, 1999). Rare conflict may be, but also on the same *scale* as urban disorder they may be in terms of weapon use and numbers of people involved in an incident, and as discussed above bars which are able to provide; 'adequate protective measures' (Fox and Sobol, 2000), are likely to lessen the motivation of offenders and are more likely to deter criminal behaviour.

Research by Ratcliffe (2012) indicates a critical area within 85ft of a bar whereby problems of crime and disorder occur, and after which problems dissipate rapidly. In the district of Horsefield we saw that 'In The Street' remained by far the location most likely to host non-domestic violent crime, and much more likely than within licensed premises, supporting Ratcliffe's (2012) hypothesis. In Brassville, street marshals showed a clear presence in the town centre in and around venues and in the space between, until all venues but the nightclub had closed, and they did their best to disperse people from the town centre. They did so amongst legal and moral ambiguity.

In Horsefield 'innovative' crime control measures (Braga and Weisburd, 2010) are adopted when police cuts have left the level of guardianship low, and in dealing with gangs. Horsefield's security bosses employ their most capable door supervisors throughout the week when fewer police officers are expected on shift. Such shifts most resemble the old days of door supervision, according to one 'old school' door supervisor. Change, and applications of routine activities theory to the night-time economy by scholars such as Fox and Sobol (2000) aid the debate around just how capable 'professional guardians' need to be in different micro-locations (Bottoms, 2012) across both the town and countryside.

Incidents of violence documented during the observation periods in Brassville were not stereotypical agriculturally based, or in-fighting based among locals. In fact the mixing of locals with groups of outsiders caused the biggest problems either on the streets or on entry to a venue. However, the Wine Bar Owner in Brassville and Liam, a door supervisor with considerable experience, identified a style of reserved guardianship demanded by the rural night-time economy and a sense of not unnecessarily rocking the boat full of intoxicated tourists as essential in light of a small or non-existent police presence. That offenders in Horsefield were identifiable to bar staff signifies locality in what could be presumed an otherwise anonymous large place. Whereas outsider tourists travelling into Brassville from outside, attracted by local attractions and events, signified anonymity in a small town where deep-seated local knowledge may have been presumed. Travelling tourists to both towns, inspired by a popular horseracing timetable throughout the year, bring together an increased number of motivated offenders and suitable targets, requiring adequate capable guardianship. In Horsefield this is in addition to potential disorder from specific problems of gangs and the potential problem of young Traveller men. Thankfully in urban areas, the police supply largely reflects the demand at big events. However the level of provision does not transfer to Brassville. Further research regarding the rural journey to crime (Costello and Wiles, 2001) is warranted. So far, differences between urban and rural night-time economies, and similarities are clear and these are worthy of further study as Roberts (2009) advocates further study of different economies. Gangs and Traveller men may be an urban problem, and identification of offenders in small rural towns may be difficult, but similar disorder was evident in terms of the potential severity of violence. Further study of unusual rural environments would further inform the current debate, and exploration of rural Scotland or small towns surrounding military bases would prove interesting places to start.

## **Chapter Seven. Violent Crime and Aggression in Brassville and Horsefield.**

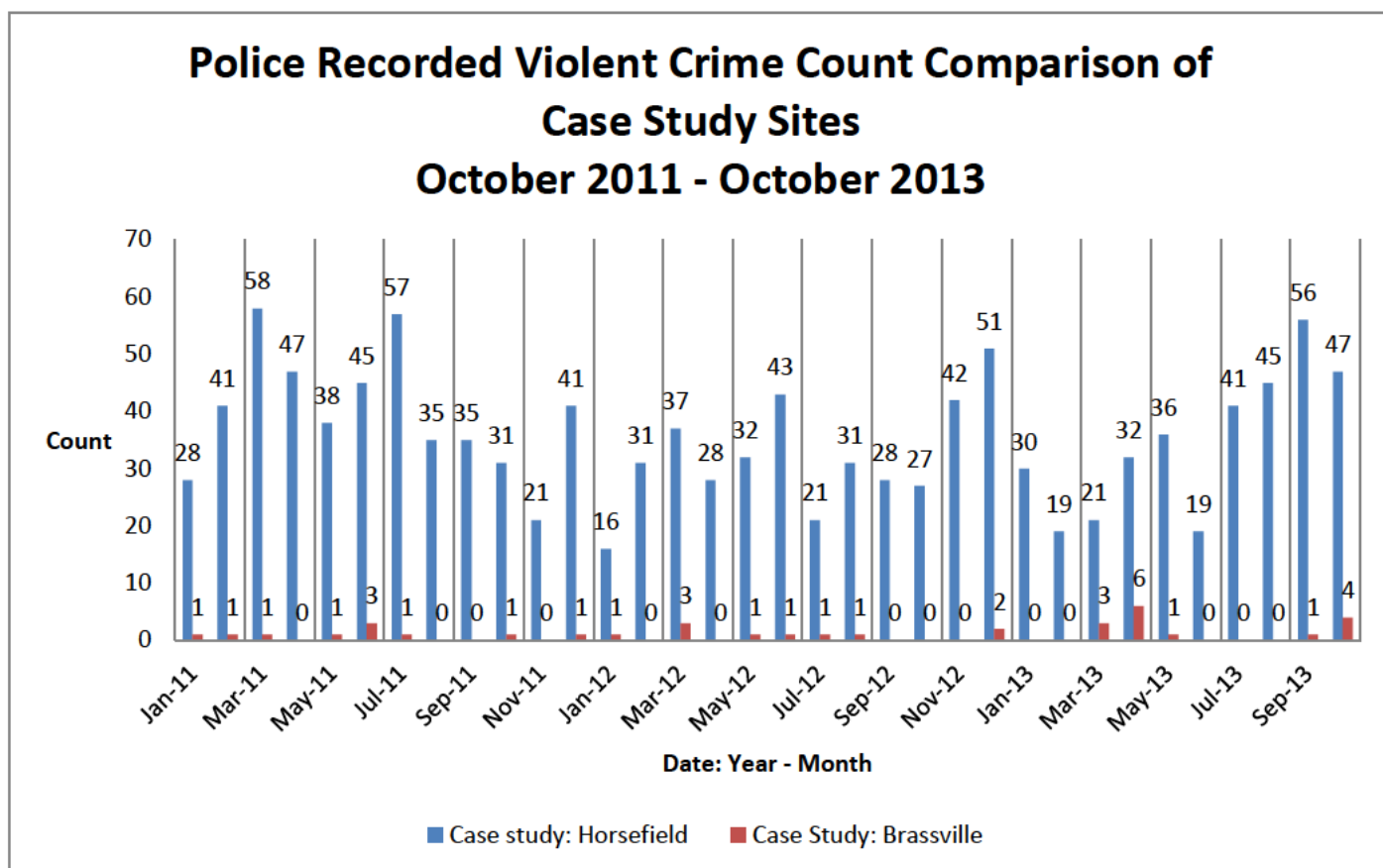
The chapter will examine the relationship between place and drinking environment and implications for crime and disorder, highlighting the demand for careful social and spatial analysis of the provision of policing and security, whilst identifying a rural violent crime risk specific to the night-time economy. In the small community of Brassville, seemingly 'one-off' incidents served to instil fear into DPSs, and serious unpredictable incidents served to strain police resources. Police recorded data of violent crime rates proves insightful, and during the chapter we look back to prominent Australian research by Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) on rural work and leisure routines. This research outlines the significance of masculinity and socio-spatial macro analysis of the rural night-time economy and drinking environments. This research is used to examine the extremes of isolated rural violence in order to inform the exploration of the empirical data collected in Brassville and Horsefield. The importance of situational crime prevention to manage such routines is emphasised, and this becomes crucial in an isolated environment. The chapter begins with an overview of police recorded statistics of Brassville and Horsefield.

### **Violent crime**

The following chart displays counts (not rates) of police recorded violence in both the rural town centre Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) and urban town centre LSOA research sites between October 2011 and October 2013. Police recorded statistics here allow; identification of particularly violent months in the selected period, the recording of trends of violent crime in the city centres, and direct comparison between sites. It is widely accepted that the actual number of violent crimes may be greater than the number recorded, due to the construction of crime statistics.



Figure. 4



NB: 17% (16.85%), (204/1211) of Violent Crimes in Horsefield occurred during this time: "On or near Nightclub". No Violent Crimes in Brassville were classified as such.

NB: Police recorded violent crime in England and Wales includes; Homicide, Death by driving, Corporate manslaughter, Grievous Bodily Harm, Grievous Bodily Harm with intent, Grievous Bodily Harm without intent, Aggravated Bodily Harm, Threats to Kill, Possession of Weapons, Harassment (Public Fear, Alarm, or distress), and Assault without injury (Home Office, 2011). These are different to crimes recorded as violent by the British Crime Survey, which impacts comparison.

The figure graphically displays the sheer demand of violent crime in urban areas on police and other agents of control, including place managers in the night-time venues. However, to compare violent crime at the research sites it is vital to compare violent crime rates. The following table displays violent crime rates in Brassville and Horsefield and confirms that urban and rural police recorded violent crime rates are different, and indicates higher rates per 1000 population in the urban site, than in the rural site. This table uses 2011 Census Workday Population Density data of the urban research site Horsefield LSOA (12,456), and the rural research site Brassville LSOA (1821). Workday Population provides a realistic estimate of population including visitors, essential for town centre areas. Above, the violent crime category is outlined, but it must be remembered that the rural night-

time economy has problems with anti-social behaviour and under-age drinking in its night-time economy also (Valentine *et al*, 2007, 28).

In thirty-four months, one month did see higher rates of Police Recorded Violent Crime per 1000 population in Brassville town centre than in Horsefield (highlighted below), suggesting it is likely that there is a link between chaotic drinking environments and large groups of young intoxicated males. However these figures must be explored with significant caution. None of the violent crimes in Brassville were reported by police as being ‘On or near nightclub’ and it is assumed that this category encompasses other licensed venues. There is only one nightclub in Brassville, but there are a number of pubs. Furthermore violent crime statistics released publicly do not differentiate between violence linked to the night-time economy, and say incidents of domestic violence in nearby homes. Also, Horsefield town centre has a number of fast food outlets in its immediate area, which are known to accommodate late-night disorder (Girling, Loader and sparks, 2000).

**Table. 1**

<b>Date</b> Month-Year	<b>Brassville</b> <b>Violent Crime</b> <b>count by month</b>	<b>Brassville LSOA Violent</b> <b>Crime</b> <b>rate per 1000 Workday</b> <b>Population (1,821)</b>	<b>Horsefield</b> <b>Violent Crime</b> <b>count by</b> <b>month</b>	<b>Horsefield LSOA Violent</b> <b>Crime</b> <b>rate per 1000 Workday</b> <b>Population</b> <b>(12,456)</b>
<b>Jan-11</b>	1	0.5	28	2.2
<b>Feb-11</b>	1	0.5	41	3.3
<b>Mar-11</b>	1	0.5	58	4.7
<b>Apr-11</b>	0	0.0	47	3.8
<b>May-11</b>	1	0.5	38	3.1
<b>Jun-11</b>	3	1.6	45	3.6
<b>Jul-11</b>	1	0.5	57	4.6
<b>Aug-11</b>	0	0.0	35	2.8
<b>Sep-11</b>	0	0.0	35	2.8
<b>Oct-11</b>	1	0.5	31	2.5
<b>Nov-11</b>	0	0.0	21	1.7
<b>Dec-11</b>	1	0.5	41	3.3
<b>Jan-12</b>	1	0.5	16	1.3
<b>Feb-12</b>	0	0.0	31	2.5
<b>Mar-12</b>	3	1.6	37	3.0

Apr-12	0	0.0	28	2.2
May-12	1	0.5	32	2.6
Jun-12	1	0.5	43	3.5
Jul-12	1	0.5	21	1.7
Aug-12	1	0.5	31	2.5
Sep-12	0	0.0	28	2.2
Oct-12	0	0.0	27	2.2
Nov-12	0	0.0	42	3.4
Dec-12	2	1.1	51	4.1
Jan-13	0	0.0	30	2.4
Feb-13	0	0.0	19	1.5
Mar-13	3	1.6	21	1.7
Apr-13	6	3.3	32	2.6
May-13	1	0.5	36	2.9
Jun-13	0	0.0	19	1.5
Jul-13	0	0.0	41	3.3
Aug-13	0	0.0	45	3.6
Sep-13	1	0.5	56	4.5
Oct-13	4	2.2	47	3.8

To inform the discussion on violence and aggression in Brassville, the following field notes depict typical incidents directly witnessed during observations. These accounts delve specifically into the mind-set of the door supervisors who participated in them. ‘James’ – a pseudonym - was an ex-Royal Marine Commando who explained to me that he had left the armed forces due to injury and was still very much of a military mind-set. He worked static security in the day. James was confident and un-phased by physical conflict: “that’s not the bit I don’t like”, he explained. It was the boredom that James did not like, and he also found the anxiety and adrenaline which accompanied the build-up of non-physical confrontation (rather than the realities of a fight) uncomfortable. Dean was a very large door supervisor at over twenty stone. He had worked in Sheffield as a door supervisor for five years before working in Brassville, and he had followed in his father’s footsteps in his career choice:

*James was working at ‘The Wine Bar’. A male whom the door supervisors later recognised as being from the neighbouring village to Brassville, approached James at the door. Entirely unprovoked, the male came closer and closer saying he was “gonna fucking have you [James], and your fucking family”, undoubtedly fuelled by drink and James’s position as a door supervisor. This seemed out of the blue and reinforced James’ earlier sentiment in discussions that night that he had his wits about him all of the time, using skills including his peripheral vision to stay on the ball. He referred to the use of skills he had learnt in the military surrounding situational awareness, and how these proved useful in the role of a door supervisor. During our conversations at the front door of The*

*Wine Bar, James was extremely aware of his surroundings and pointed out vehicles which had caught his eye that I hadn't noticed were there. If cars crawled past the venue for example, especially with tinted windows, he would move closer to the door frame "just in case".*

*In dealing with this man, who was clearly highly intoxicated or under the influence of something - as he was swaying all over - James showed extreme patience and tolerance letting the man rest his face on his chest in an attempt to intimidate him by encroaching in his personal space, and an obvious threat now was from a head-butt. The man did not intimidate James, and instead James used this opportunity to quietly call a 'Code Amber' on his radio. Code Amber means an incident is occurring and backup would be useful, but that the incident is not serious (a Code Red). At no point did James lose face or lose his control, although he mentioned he had in past incidents. The presence of a head door supervisor and another street marshal, responding to the radio call, was enough to make the individual back away. James was unsure of the man's motivation, other than the explanation in his eyes – the pupils were pointing away from each other (a sign of intoxication), and he was barred from the local area, and was a known trouble-maker in the neighbouring village. That this man was unknown to the door staff beyond the little aforementioned information meant they could not rule out him being a "big fish" in the neighbouring village.*

(Field notes – Friday 8th April 2011, Brassville, Field Notes).

The above incident supports Tomsen's (1997) claim that assaults in the night-time economy can be 'unprovoked and unjust' (100), and door supervisors in the questionnaire analysis have identified intoxication as the greatest prerequisite to violence. But moreover it outlines the intricacy of such incidents, the need for a toolbox of solutions and constant dynamic risk assessment of a situation. It also reiterates the de-escalatory calm that comes with experience of conflict management, which in this case came from exceptional training in the Royal Marine Commandos. Another observation shift brought another confrontation between door supervisor and patron:

*There was a call to a pub just down from the main street. 'Daz' had called for assistance, 'Dean' and 'Russ', the street marshals that night, had responded. Two males and two women were outside a venue. One male was being abusive to the landlord who had asked him to leave and had called Daz via radio. The male used many obscenities, and had also called the landlord "an alcoholic". When the abuse escalated inside the venue between the patrons and the landlord, Daz intervened and ushered the man away from the door without physical contact. Russ supported Daz verbally. The men were eventually convinced to move away, and their wives followed. On this occasion the police arrived towards the end of the incident when the patrons were outside, and proceeded to question the patrons. The police had been informed of the incident via radio link with the street marshals. Seeing the incident through, Daz called the men a taxi from outside 'The Wine Bar'.*

(Field notes – Saturday 20th August 2011 – Brassville).

Incidents in the rural town of Brassville seemed typical of any incident which involves intoxicated young men and women in licensed premises who had had too much to drink, and are reported in previous research on urban landscapes, and there seemed little which was unique to the rural setting of these incidents. Just as Brassville's day-time economy was not rife with crimes concerning hunting, hare-coursing, and theft of farm machinery or animals, its night-time economy was not rife

with fighting farmers, or ongoing feuds, but moreover friction existed when the night-time economy became full, literally, with very drunken people (highlighted by door supervisors in the questionnaire analysis). As we go on to discuss, making assumptions about rural problems should be avoided, and empirical research is therefore crucial.

### **Macro place, micro drinking environment: rural Brassville and urban Horsefield**

A small selection of scholars has been calling for years now for more research into rural crime (Dingwall and Moody, 1999; Bottoms, 2007; Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014), as urban research leads the combined study of the social and spatial dimension of life in cities (Dickens 1990; Bottoms, 2007, 529), and so for some time rural criminology has been; ‘suffused with urban preoccupations’ (Bottoms, 2007, 529). Rural criminology has been marred by the ‘long-established’ criminological truth that crime rates are higher in urban than in rural areas (Cressey, 1964). Crucially, Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014, 17) suggest that over focus on the urban by academics, policy makers and the media can give the public the perception that ‘little crime occurs’ in rural communities and that they are very different entities.

Rural areas *can* have higher rates of crime than urban areas (Wiles, 1999, X), as the rural homicide rate in Canada demonstrates (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 11), and the increasing prioritisation of macro level issues such as immigration, organised crime, and terrorism continue to drive media and agency focus away from the rural but for extreme cases, even though for example unemployment is a contributing factor to the emergence of militant right-wing, anti-government groups in rural America (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 86). As discussed, in the United States, research suggests the ‘rural = no crime myth’ is amplified by media portrayal of ‘horrification’ and ‘pornification’ in rural areas (horror films like *The Texas chainsaw Massacre* for example), and so giving ‘real’ issues of crime and violence a: “conscious disguise” (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 19). In England and Wales a brief focus on the rural was reinstated in 1999, when farmer Tony Martin was convicted of the murder of an intruder at his residence. The incident seemed typical of the epitome of the isolated rural threat: ‘Martin argued that he had little choice but to defend himself against repeated attacks to his property given that the police were too far away to respond effectively to emergency calls for help’ (Yarwood, 2008, 208)...’. The Martin case and a vociferous rural lobby prompted the government to take action on the issue of rural crime. Consequently a range of initiatives, supported by new funding streams and governmental structures, were introduced with the aim of improving the visibility of policing in rural areas’ (Yarwood, 2008, 209). However some of these responses aimed at increasing visibility were short-lived, and certainly have not lasted recent austerity measures. Yarwood (2008) concluded ‘The focus on locality appears to be leading to the policy spotlight moving away from rurality once again’ (214).

However scarce, research comparing alcohol consumption in urban and rural night-time economies in England and Wales is hugely informative, and research by Valentine, Holloway, Jayne, and Knell, (2007) offer a rare direct spatial comparison of crime by comparing the urban hub Stoke-on-Trent; with the rural hub of Eden in Cumbria. Their conclusions suggest:

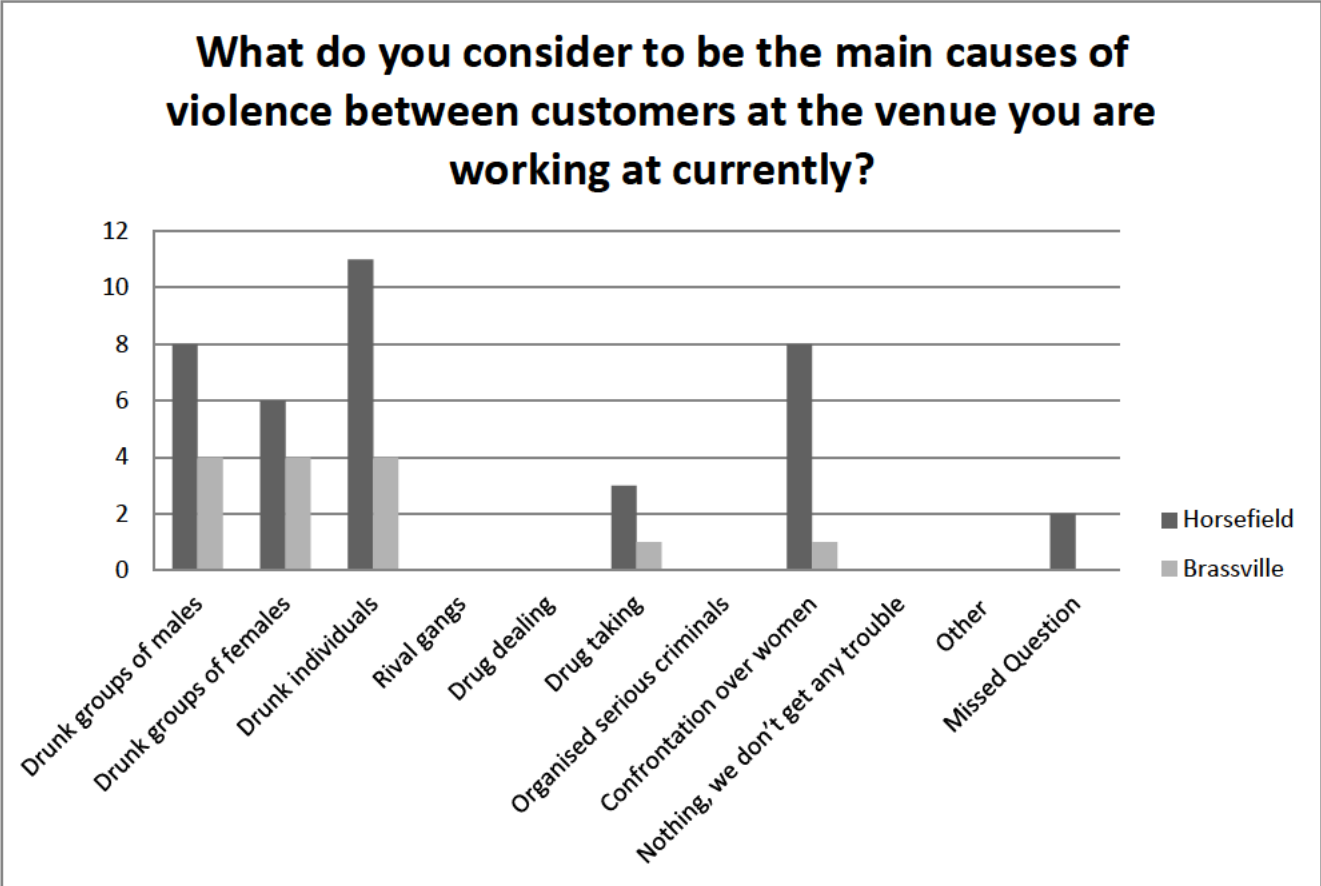
‘Drinking cultures are not uniform across the country. Rather as the urban and rural case studies presented in this report demonstrate they are complexly embedded in wider historical, socio-economic and cultural contexts...as such there is a need for more recognition of the way national alcohol strategies might be interpreted differently or have a differential impact upon specific locales’ (73).

They also note a lack of evidence with which to develop ‘place-specific initiatives’ (73) whilst the decline of the rural pub, defined by the closure of vast numbers of rural venues in recent years is well documented (Lister, 2009, 12; also Hobbs *et al*, 2003).

Situational crime prevention measures provide methods to address problems of disorder in night-time venues in England and Wales at the micro level, and boast an ease with which to practically implement. Presented in this chapter, analysis of routine activities offer macro explanation for causes of aggression, violence and disorder and internationally rural scholars advocate ‘linking the micro and macro’ to analyse crime, by considering the: ‘localized expressions of structural inequalities and segmentation, along with networks in which people live, work, and play’ (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 27).

Carrington, McIntosh and Scott’s (2010) study, discussed earlier, found in true Marxian fashion that separation and divide existed between rural workers, and owners and managers in work and leisure activity, and subordination of workers to owners and managers was clear. More significantly, primitive social hierarchies and power struggles surrounding male honour, which would often rear in trivial conflict over women, were found to be inherent in displays of violence and aggression, and exacerbated by alcohol. Our earlier discussion of male violence informed us that anger and degradation are met with humiliation and shame. Consequently, the need to avoid losing a challenge by winning it instead can dominate situations. Analysis of the self-completion questionnaire, presented in the figures below, revealed door supervisors overwhelmingly indicate that the urban and rural research sites suffer from the same problems. Alcohol and drugs are key precursors to violence **between customers** in their venues. Both rural Brassville and urban Horsefield door supervisors agreed that; drunken groups of men, drunken groups of women and confrontation over women, and drunken individuals are the main causes of violence between customers where they worked, supportive of Ellis’s theorising. Drug taking was also a main concern (NB: participants were given the opportunity to indicate more than one answer).

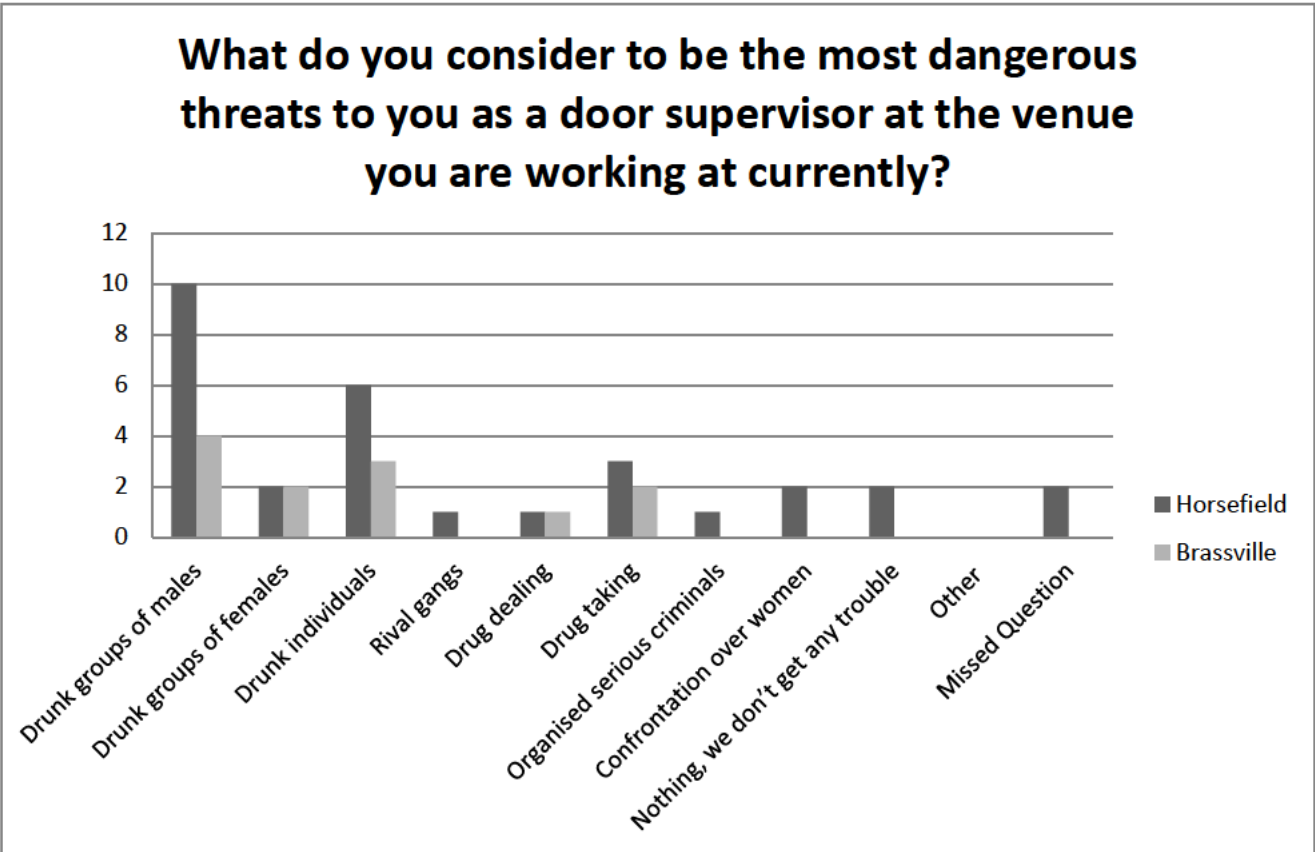
**Figure 5.**



Power conflicts are exacerbated but not created, by alcohol. That issues are amplified by alcohol helps the understanding of disorder by those from communities which do not promote alcohol consumption. Such communities are often excluded in theorising around problems of disorder in the night time economy (Valentine, Holloway, Jayne and Knell, 2007, viii), and there is suggestion that such communities find alternative entertainment away from the night-time economy (Valentine *et al*, 2007). In the Australian research, hierarchies separated locals from visiting workers or ‘outsiders’. Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) suggest these transient outsiders may be scapegoats, and mask the real problems of working hours, job dissatisfaction and the lack of extravagant leisure facilities, which all make for mundane routines. Baumgartner’s (1988) research suggests those moving into an area knowing they will not be long term residents lack the interest to actively participate in it, and informal control may be less effective as a result. Tension between local insiders and marginalised or self-marginalised groups results in strain, and is often accompanied by ‘challenges to masculinity’ (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 39). Considering the above discussion of male violence and Ellis’ work, there is nothing to suggest that the reaction from an individual male or groups of males, to a perceived challenge would be treated any differently should it come from a door supervisor. When asked what the main threat was to themselves door supervisors were most concerned about groups of males and later interview discussions describe

how the most daunting situations are often where door supervisors are outnumbered by aggressive males. Horsefield respondents also identified organised serious criminals and rival gangs as dangerous threats, and literature on both of these contributors suggests that the urban environment is more likely to play host to both of these groups. Brassville respondents did not identify with these potential contributors, as illustrated in figure six below. Participants were given the opportunity to indicate more than one answer.

**Figure 6.**



Crucially then, challenges to honour and masculinity are not separated by boundaries, geographical or otherwise, and dealing with drunken groups of males in isolated conditions where door supervisors can be overpowered is as essential to consider, address and plan for in rural environments as it is in urban environments.

In such isolated tough communities as that researched by Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) introducing accountability of potential offenders through guardianship and crime management leaps up the agenda in order to instil control, and prevent chaotic scenes. Generalisability of Australian mining communities to the rural night-time economy of England and Wales has some limitations, but underlying principles surrounding male-on-male violence evidenced by the questionnaire analysis share similarities in the range of research conducted by Tomsen (1997) and Hobbs *et al* (2003). However, future research into unique rural places for example towns which support Scotland's oil

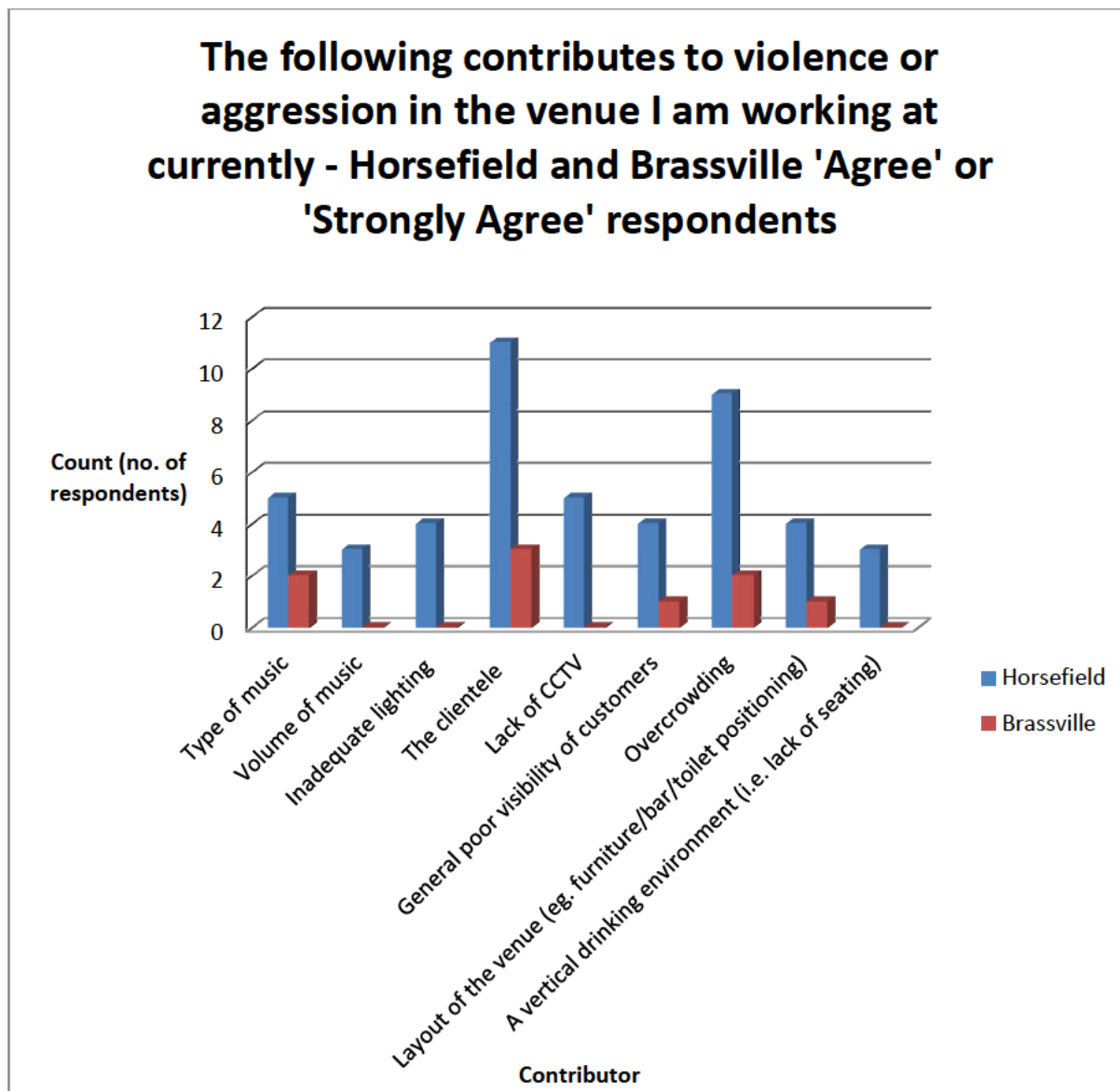


industry, or military towns across the United Kingdom would prove insightful. Furthermore, both the Australian research conducted by Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) and the American research conducted by Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014) are likely to have progressive significance in coming years to criminology in the UK, as they both focus on patriarchal violence in the rural home, and the pre-loading trend in alcohol consumption will no doubt increase the rate of violence within the home amongst young males and against women.

### **Drinking environments**

Madensen and Eck (2008) found decisions of Place Managers can create violent environments (inadvertently) and bar themes and the clientele they attract are a key consideration for owners and managers (Madensen and Eck, 2008, 119) as are themed nights which can attract an audience who require particularly focussed management. Developing safer, and less chaotic drinking environments is crucial for the safeguarding of the general public who venture to the night-time economy for a drink or a dance (Roberts, 2009). There are also wider implications for lowering the drain on the emergency services and the National Health Service in England and Wales by creating less chaotic drinking environments. Licensees may also lose their target audience, of young males, if they let their reputation deteriorate (Tomsen, 2005). Weberian thought (1965) identifies intoxication as a form of ecstasy and an escape from the boredom of routine life but Homel and Clark (1994) identify the violation of rules by patrons as a major cause of aggression. The Australian Surfers Paradise Action Project (Homel, Hauritz, Wortley, McIlwain, and Carvolth, 1997) identified drinks promotions, happy hours, and drinking incentives, and the resulting binge drinking, and 'downing' or 'necking' drinks (Tomsen, 1997) as precursors to night-time economy violence (38). Fox and Sobol (2000) discovered that young males may not be the target audience of drinks promotions. They argue succinctly that 'drinks specials and discounts intending to attract female patrons may also encourage heavy drinking patterns and subsequently, increase the risks for personal or property victimization' (431). Although violence can occur in the surrounding areas of venues and on public streets, it is essential to look at the interior controls of licensed premises to ensure they are providing a responsible drinking environment as 'messy' bars can create a negative perception (Leather and Lawrence, 1995) and a rise in actual violence. Tomsen (1997) observed a lack of food, and seating as contributing to such an environment. The above theorising was highly influential in the design of section 2 of the questionnaire which focusses on the precursors of violence within venues. The self-completion questionnaire results suggest the main drinking environment factor which contributes to violence or aggression in Horsefield and Brassville's venues according to door supervisors is the clientele, followed in both areas by overcrowding (see figure 7 below). We are reminded here that Pratten (2007) has clearly accredited alcohol-fuelled assaults on premises overcrowding and irresponsible alcohol service, in his research.

Figure 7.



Overcrowding, which causes an increase in the potential for the convergence of motivated offenders and suitable targets, was a clear second contributor to violence, after customers themselves. A lack of accountability, through CCTV overwatch, was also rated highly by respondents, implying that CCTV has a key role in guardianship. The popular response of participants that type of music is a contributor to violence and more important than such things as venue layout or lack of seating, supports an association between emotion, mood, arousal, and music. This supports research outlined earlier (Rickard, 2004; Saarikallio and Erkkila, 2007; Stephens, 2005). Stephens (2005) cited Eminem as an example of a music artist, who produces music which: ‘encourages violence and hatred’ (25). This clearly sits music as a precursor and accessory to aggression. We are unable however to differentiate by results presented above whether aggression is influenced by lyrics, the crowds attracted by certain genres of music, or artists as role models. However one interviewee,

'Andy M' expected more trouble at events which attracted a certain genre, and suggested drum and bass music was a problematic niche due to the clientele it attracted.

If music is played so loud that people cannot speak then, research suggests, body language may be misinterpreted and eye contact may lead to conflict (Valentine *et al*, 2007, 23). This was not highlighted by questionnaire respondents as particularly significant. However, the qualitative research helps to fill the gap here, as in Horsefield a particular cluster of venues in an indoor mall compete for customers by playing loud music which gets louder through the night as the competition grows. Door supervisors have found this highly detrimental and communication is difficult. There are also links between music, club environment and drug-use and dealing. Some venues by their design do not discourage drug-use (see *inter alia*; Measham, and Hadfield, 2009; Hobbs *et al*, 2003) and although comparisons of alcohol and drugs in the night-time economy may imply a greater involvement of alcohol in violence than most drugs, drug dealing is accompanied by nasty crime often with an element of organisation.

When door supervisors were asked what the main threat to **themselves** was they indicated customer drug dealing was a problem, and this did not feature in responses to the question which asked about the precursors of inter-customer responses. Effects of drug use including Cocaine Psychosis, as described in an earlier chapter, can make individuals tremendously strong and difficult to physically restrain. It is essential not to generalise drug use in Britain's night-time economy, as different drugs and different subcultures within the broader clubbing culture have different symptoms and effects on behaviour. However, when one considers that some rural Americans are at greater risk of substance use and abuse than urban Americans, the significance of drugs in the rural night time economy also becomes clear (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014, 69) and global similarities must be at the forefront of new research in the UK.

The speed at which high volumes of alcohol can be consumed is another part of the design of a venue which can be controlled (Measham and Brain, 2005) and although the design of venues is monitored by licensing officials, this has not formed the centre of large campaigns like supermarket pre-drinking and minimum-unit pricing has. Poor guardianship and management of house rules in licensed premises by door supervisors has also been found to contribute to a chaotic environment (Forsyth, Cloonan, and Barr, 2005; Fox and Sobol, 2000; Graham and Wells, 2003) as has poor queue management and control of entry points (Graham and Wells, 2001). As discussed, other research suggests the absence of door supervision is more likely to cause a chaotic drinking environment (Roberts, 2007) and both the data presented in this thesis, and the grounding guardianship analysis support this. This thesis has begun to paint a clear picture of customer safety where capability of guardianship must not be assumed, and must be critiqued. Providing a fun environment which

attracts young people with money to spend, but which does not promote or tolerate predatory victimization of patrons is undoubtedly difficult but: ‘...Routine activities and place theories appear to offer a reasonably good model for understanding these spatial and temporal influences’ (Fox and Sobol, 2000, 446). Control is critical as the original routine activity theorists stressed: ‘If controls through routine activities were to decrease, illegal predatory activities could then be likely to increase’ (Cohen and Felson, 1979, 589). Generally the mere presence of suitable targets and an absence of capable guardians can lead to: ‘large increases in crime rates without any increase or change in the structural conditions that motivate individuals to engage in crime’ (Cohen and Felson, 1979, 604) and this argument is fully explored in the capability chapter. Bottoms (2007) suggests that some targets are particularly suitable in being: ‘repeatedly attractive to different offenders, acting - unknown to one another - on the same set of cues’ (Bottoms, 2007, 550) and therefore situational crime prevention measures are essential to offer some form of protection to these targets. Permissive chaotic venues attract problem customers who are inclined to act violently (Quigley *et al*, 2003), and recalling the findings of Measham and Brain’s (2005) study of three Mancunian drinking zones; Deansgate Locks, Canal Street, and ‘The Printworks’ - design, guardianship and CCTV work in providing comparatively safe environments in which to drink. CCTV can have an effect on the level of crime at a place, but also on resident’s feelings of personal safety, as will be discussed alongside concerns over displacement.

In Horsefield, 109 cameras operate within the borough with 42 in the town centre and a team of eight staff monitor these twenty four hours a day, seven days a week. Footage can be held for 28 days when not immediately used for prosecution, in which case it can be held for longer, and a centralised Police Communication Centre monitors photo intelligence. As of March 2012, 2620 evidential disks had been produced in the prior thirty months. Camera operators hold Pubwatch ban images and central cameras rotating on their raised stilts can have an anti-escalatory effect when pointed out to aggressors by police, as risk and punishment outweighs reward. At Horsefield’s football stadium about 90 cameras cover all areas inside and around the ground and are observed by three people during a match. Zoom facilities make these highly useful tools in capturing incidents and monitoring potentially hostile situations which look as though they may become violent (29 Oct 2011, Horsefield, Field Notes). CCTV is crucial in the design of a venue (Felson, 2002, 158). In Brassville the roaming street marshal service rented a body-worn camera, and found it acted as a deterrent for trouble. In England, the Metropolitan Police Service began a trial of 500 body-worn cameras in May 2014 as a reflex to the shooting of a young male which led to widespread rioting across the country. The filming of participants of the night-time economy is advocated as a ‘calming measure’, which serves as a reminder of accountability (Valentine *et al*, 2007, 22).

## Displacement

Displacement refers to the shifting of offending from one place to another, but scholars warn against merely labelling a venue as a hotspot for criminal activity. This is of 'limited use', and instead there have been calls for further insight into risks of the features of a venue, such as 'the physical layout, patron mix, and social atmosphere of the bar' (Fox and Sobol, 2000, 436). Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) suggest that closure of one venue would only lead to the displacement of issues of crime and disorder to another, and their focus therefore was increasingly shifted to CCTV and adequate training and supply of capable guardians across all venues.

It became clear that one pub in Brassville, the only lively venue which did not employ door supervisors, was a potential hot venue for troublesome clientele due to its lack of guardianship. Those who were rejected from other venues would state openly that their plan was to go to the unguarded venue – 'The Wheel'. The Wheel was not the only venue to not have door supervisors, but was the only lively venue which clearly wanted to attract young people and succeeded in doing so, and opened later than most venues. The presence of door supervisors at all of the other busy venues caused this displacement of crime. So it appears that one hot venue was the victim of crime displacement 'wastage' in Brassville, and this finding therefore amplifies the need for adequate physical security measures at *all* lively venues within an area, as in Brassville it only takes a small number of determined individuals to cause a real problem.

*When altercations, or maximum capacity, or dress codes left patrons unable to gain entry to The Wine Bar or The Nightclub in particular they would often challenge the decision, hang around, or begin another altercation, but they would have to eventually leave. One venue, 'The Wheel', acted as a sponge for all those rejected. It had a late disco, and no door supervision and was therefore susceptible to displacement of offenders or potential offenders, whilst producing the most popular permissive drinking environment in the town. The pub, after persistent nagging from Pubwatch members at meetings, eventually signed up and agreed to pay for radios. With these radios they could be alerted of refusals at other venues.*

*The reluctance of The Wheel to supply door supervisors left it as the only busy venue which attracted young people, but which did not have guardianship, and was received by the street marshals with distaste. The door supervisors patrolled close to the venue naturally, and some - including 'Russ' - felt a moral obligation to talk to the bar staff and check on how things were going. 'Liam' thought this above and beyond his duty however. He did not want media coverage of Brassville door supervisors or street marshals involved in any trouble in a venue at which he viewed as "bound to have problems". The association with such a venue could portray a negative image of the door supervisors themselves. In a sense this highlighted the ambiguity of the street marshal system. Although for 'public good', how far was any moral obligation to stretch? Similarly 'Liam' was worried about assisting females, or intoxicated persons, who may wish to complain about their treatment – albeit the intention was to help them. In reality drunk people who come to in a dazed state can be very confused.*

(Field notes – Brassville – Friday 15th April 2011).

A thorough analysis of the impact of displacement of crime was difficult as The Wheel offered no accurate recording of crime, and police statistics in Brassville suffered the aforementioned MAUP, beyond general streets and street intersections. Furthermore, mapping of rural crime may not effectively acknowledge cultural variances of territories (Cloke, 2006) which vary in demographic, and a 'boots on the ground' approach to rural research is clearly preferred. However, the empirical qualitative research again filled the void. During the observation period, a vicious and entirely unprovoked attack at The Wheel on New Year's Eve 2011, whereby a man was left with a serious brain injury after being punched to the floor, suggests that the victim was a suitable target and supports Tomsen's (1997) finding that disgusting unprovoked attacks do occur. A man was arrested and the incident was covered extensively by local media, and the pub was closed. It is now reopen under new management, a new name, and its doorway is now framed by two door supervisors at weekends.

Therefore after identifying possible causes of crime, one goes full circle, looking again towards micro level situational crime prevention measures, for the way forward to contain and deter crime and avoid simply attempting to arrest one's way out of a problem. Designing-out crime, managing space within and immediately outside of venues, becomes crucially important and door supervisors fulfil an important role as place managers. The 'first generation' of environmental designing-out of crime was flawed by suggestion of displacement, but second generations of design based crime control highlights the need for collective and community focus and 'community level activity' on crime control. Success in Pubwatch and multi-agency collaboration and information and intelligence sharing in both Brassville and Horsefield suggest an efficient path is being paved for positive intervention in night-time disorder and violence, although improvements in official data sharing are necessary.

Brassville Pubwatch members were keen to counter potential problems at The Wheel by campaigning for centralised CCTV, although their campaign failed to really get off the ground in 2011. But members saw CCTV as being the key situational crime prevention measure for their protection, and this sits in contrast with other rural research which suggested that CCTV cameras can spoil the image and aura of the quintessential English village (Girling, Loader and Sparks, 2000), and Brassville may therefore suffer from a fear of crime, encouraged and housed by its night-time economy. Finally, one must acknowledge Valentine *et al's* (2007) research which suggests that community initiatives including CCTV may reflect elite interests rather than genuine community concern.

## **Discussion**

This chapter has pulled together findings which inform macro and micro explanations of socio-spatial crime analysis to directly address a key objective of this study by comparing crime and disorder of

different environments. Police recorded data of violent crime rates show that one of thirty-four months proved to be more violent in Brassville than Horsefield, drawing our attention to resource allocation and planning. Clientele are the primary contributor to a violent drinking environment. Groups of intoxicated males are a primary and significant threat both to door supervisors and between customers, and a link between chaotic drinking environments, large groups of young intoxicated males, and aggression in the small town at the heart of this study was evident.

Global research has been presented which substantiates how change in routine activity can affect violent crime in the rural night-time economy, and how changing patterns of work and leisure affect participation and consumerism levels. The study of a rural Australian mining community informs understanding of the conduct of alcohol, masculinity, honour, and boredom in leisure activity. The need for situational crime prevention is once again emphasised as the closing of venues due to violence was found only to shift trouble around in this rural area. Part of situational crime prevention measures, place managers employed to safeguard the public can affect levels of violence in bars. Effective interior design and control of premises is crucial, and CCTV raises accountability within night-time venues and the public spaces in-between, although CCTV was lacking in Brassville, Horsefield boasts an extensive and visible network of cameras. The dealing of drugs can also impact on violence within venues, but alcohol is likely to remain the focus of research for the foreseeable future. Moreover the reader should be left in little doubt that an increase in motivated offenders and suitable targets in crowded licensed premises causes problems and requires adequate management.

Just as mapping of crime and identifying hotspots has influenced surge policing operations, hot venues are a focus for district licensing officers. It became clear that one pub in Brassville, the only lively venue which did not employ door supervisors, was a hot venue for troublesome clientele due to its lack of any guardianship, and its subsequent inability to filter its customers at the earliest stage at the door. Those who were rejected from other venues would state openly that their plan was to go the venue as it had “no bouncers”. The presence of door supervisors at all of the other busy venues caused this displacement of crime. So it appears that one hot venue was the victim of crime displacement ‘wastage’ in Brassville, and this finding therefore amplifies the need for adequate physical security measures at *all* lively venues within a small drinking circuit. What is involved in ensuring door supervisors are capable when carrying out their duties is explored in the next chapter.

To address the displacement of crime to the immediate area outside of venues, criminological focus should remain on curbing opportunity for risk-taking, and reducing the rewards gained, and controlling club entry whilst providing capable guardianship for potential suitable targets. It is worth reminding ourselves of the effect of alcohol in permissive or chaotic drinking environments. The

number of motivated offenders naturally increases (Clarke, 1980; Bottoms, 2007) in a space where inhibitions are lost, tempers fray, and adrenaline levels rise, and overcrowding was identified by door supervisors as a major contributor to violence (figure 7). In such crowded situations, Felson's (2002) theorisation seems prominent, as he perceives the difference between offender and non-offender to be narrower in these situations than we feel comfortable to admit, as challenge is met with displays of bravado.



## **Chapter Eight. Capability.**

This thesis has routine activities theory and criminology of place at its core, and supports the hypothesis that the convergence of suitable targets and motivated offenders, and the absence of capable guardians will increase the likelihood of criminal activity. To explore the capability of door supervisors across different research sites this chapter will utilise interview and observation data. Capability refers to an ability to competently and efficiently carry out a duty. Efficiency implies the setting of a standard and therefore the possibility of falling foul of such a standard. Data will first be used to explore the demand for capability by asking door supervisors what violent situations have demanded of them. Current training mechanisms of door supervisors in England and Wales will then be examined, with a view to suggesting improvements. Finally, examples of capability in practise will be presented to highlight those including Liam, one of Brassville's door supervisors, who are getting it right.

Moreover, this thesis provides support for the presence and ability of guardians to be 'on the spot' at the time of crime as spotters preceding an act of violence, a point of contention among the theorising of one of the original theorists of routine activities theory (Hollis *et al*, 2013). With successful CCTV monitoring, positive cooperation between place managers including door supervisors and bar staff and licensees, and effective placement of door supervisors at vulnerable or notorious points within a venue, door supervisors can go some way to creating their own opportunity to instantly successfully manage conflict. Combining resources and utilising collaborative approaches will be discussed in the next chapter, but first this chapter will argue that capability is a universal necessity which crosses all geographical and demographical boundaries, as safeguarding the public against aggression and violence must come first.

### **The experience of violence**

Interview data of 'Josh R', 'Andy M', 'Mickey W', and 'Otis R' presented in this section of the chapter will account door supervisor's perceptions of violence, and will highlight a very real need for capable guardians at night-time venues in England and Wales. In identifying capability, one must study the reputation of 'old school' bouncing, which the Security Industry Authority (SIA) hoped to eradicate. Old school bouncers are those who conducted their business for over a decade or so, and who have seen a less regulated night-time economy than that which currently exists. This section will then look at examples and descriptions of incapability, and of those who do not get it right. Later, observational data will be incorporated into the discussion to present a broader picture of how to go forward, and address weaknesses in current practise.

Violence is a “major part” of a door supervisor’s “culture, self-identity, and working environment” (Winlow *et al*, 2001, 546) as documented in previous chapters. In moments of terror in pubs, bars and clubs where verbal dialogue is near impossible but physical intervention is required, Winlow *et al* (2001) summarise the potential need for physicality: ‘the notion of some omnipotent superman gently escorting to the door an adult who is intent on inflicting physical damage on staff and customers is a fantasy’ (Winlow *et al*, 2001, 159). Violence is part and parcel of the job of a door supervisor: ‘it’s second nature’ and can be vital in order to remove a person from a venue (Freeman, 2009, XVIII; 69) or in breaking up those already fighting: ‘You can’t make an omelette without breaking eggs in the same sense that you can’t stop two gangs fighting in a bar without having to use force in one way or another’ (Freeman, 2009, 282). Security and criminality are ‘grounded upon the same core resource, violence’, and the link between door supervision and organised crime is well documented (Hobbs, 1995; Hobbs, 2005; Morris 1998; O’Mahoney, 1997; Pratten, 2007). Door supervisors can act as *a* or *the* barrier to notoriously nasty gangsters or serious criminals or equally dangerous ‘wannabe’ gangsters and criminals. This may not be a simple task, and the risk of reprisals and repercussions can be high. Furthermore, offenders may be skilled fighters. Thompson’s (2000), autobiographical account also remarks that ‘so many’ young men ‘these days’ are into a fighting art themselves (309).

The three autobiographical accounts discussed in this thesis (Stylianou, 2013; Freeman, 2009; Thompson, 2000) inform the discussion on violence. For door supervisors, violence often manifests itself as mental anxiety over; consequence, failure, success, humiliation, and comebacks (Freeman, 2009; Thompson, 2000, 381). Fear triggers adrenaline, manifested in physical characteristics including leg shakes, sweat, and voice waiver (Thompson, 2000, 392) if the incident involves a ‘build up’ (Stylianou, 2013) therefore allowing time for adrenaline to be experienced prior to an incident. The moment you put your fear on display is ‘the moment they know you can be beaten’ in the words of an experienced door supervisor in his autobiographical account (Freeman, 2009, 66). Yet, along with the income and comradeship, adrenaline stimulation can prove addictive. It was common for the authors to face physical challenge on the door, which they considered they may lose. As the observational and interview data will illustrate, accounts of teams of; rugby players, gangs, local ‘hard men’ and football hooligans prove to be some of the most demanding situations to tackle. The witnessing of very violent incidents, for example a ‘glassing’ (where a glass, or parts thereof are thrust into the body of another) or a beating is documented in autobiographical accounts, but a degree of desensitisation to it by door supervisors is also acknowledged. Confrontation with a weapon or the witnessing of the brandishing of a weapon was also documented and was commonly ‘the weapon given to everyone who enters a public house, a beer glass’ (Thompson, 2000, 461). Pictured below (Picture. 1), kindly released by a door supervisor I worked with for a number of years, is the bloody aftermath of a ‘bottling’ attack which enables one to visualise the reality of violence as

a door supervisor working in 2010. The pictured door supervisor was 'bottled' by two males, who approached from behind and without warning, and he has a significant scar on his scalp as a result.

*Picture. 1*



The attack was retaliation for his refusing them entry to his venue. The two males had then entered the premises via an unmanned emergency exit and attacked him. I was keen to find out whether the door supervisors in Brassville and Horsefield had encountered weapons either recently or in their entire careers. The questionnaire analysis revealed that 41.7% of urban respondents had 'occasionally' been threatened by a person with a weapon whilst working as a door supervisor in the last year, whereas no rural respondents had. When asked if they had faced a weapon in their entire career, 58.3% of Horsefield's respondents said yes occasionally, and 25% of Brassville respondents also gave this response. The violent nature of employment as a door supervisor is quite clear therefore, and the element of capability is crucial for self-protection and the protection of the general public, working in Horsefield and Brassville, and further afield. Only 41.7% of all Horsefield respondents, and 50% of all Brassville respondents recall they are 'always' provided with Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), suggesting a relaxed attitude towards the potential dangers present in these environments. Body armour and other PPE can be provocative and escalatory at certain venues and can affect the reputation of a venue as supply implies demand, but a relaxed attitude toward personal safety of those we ask to protect us must be avoided.

Door supervisors who had a lengthy career often had successful experiences of fighting, cemented in boxing and martial arts. Facing a physical conflict where they or their team were strongly outnumbered was 'part and parcel' and occurred more than once in their time as a 'bouncer', during which the thought that they might lose a battle was very real. A single door supervision shift can though be characterised by monotony interspersed by adrenaline and excitement similar to shifts worked by police officers. In fact in some cases such as that documented in a Canadian study,

security officers were identified as 'more likely' to be involved in 'dangerous incidents' than local police officers (Rigakos, 2002). Door supervision is described by Felson (2002) as 'hour upon hour of boredom, interrupted by moments of sheer terror' (4), and interviewees were most emotive and descriptive of the divide in capabilities when they discussed real incidents which required real action. When asked when he was pushed out of his comfort zone in terms of dealing with aggression and violence, 'Mickey W' gave the following example of a 'dodgy situation':

*"It's probably best if I give an example, when I was working at a pub where there was - were only two of us there, there was a group of about thirty males who were being aggressive and loud in the pub, they'd come in in dribs and drabs rather than all in one group so we weren't able to stop them. They, when we asked them to leave, they were argumentative about it, eventually some of them left. Then when two more of them, two of the younger ones, came out one of them was very drunk and the other one said to the very drunk one about to smash the doormen in the face, which I heard and I confronted him about this. He then got aggressive with me and we ended up fighting. I knocked him unconscious and the other doorman grabbed the more drunk customer who was trying to punch me at the same time, and knocked him unconscious. We then got rid of them but about fifteen of the other people involved in that group came out walked past us, turned back on us, started throwing punches and throwing pint glasses at us, so that's an example of a dodgy situation because you end up with fifteen people against two of you plus you've got more of them in the pub behind you and these people are willing to use weapons and throw things at you and they're out, they've got this group mentality where they spur people on and they're up for a fight with anyone that gives them that opportunity because they feel they're untouchable because there's a group of around thirty of them". ('Mickey W' Interview)*

Mickey's account resounds with the responses to the questionnaire at the research sites, presented earlier (see figure 6), as door supervisors expressed concern over groups of men causing problems in their venue. Being outnumbered can be very frightening. Furthermore the danger of the consequences of challenge to male honour is clear here, as the discussion of the research of Ellis (*forthcoming*) alludes to. 'Andy M' described the most dangerous and serious incidents he faced - which he also judged to be when he was either outnumbered or equally matched in terms of number:

*"It's the moments whereby there's violence, and you find yourself removed from the group really and you know that it's just yourself that you are relying on, are probably the highest adrenaline points. But I think you can get adrenaline and you can get that level of excitement not in a positive way but you know just sort of feeling of something's not right or something's going to go. Even from very little things from confrontations, whenever something's uncertain I think that's the point where you start to be a little bit more alert or aware and it kicks in a little bit. So that's at one end of the scale and then at the top end of the scale are the events that I'm talking about whereby you know some guy is confronting you because his mate is being pinned on the floor behind you, everybody's dealing with another person individually or punches are being thrown and those are probably the highest adrenaline moments that you get". ('Andy M' Interview)*

'Andy M', discusses the added potency which accompanies both dealing with offenders, and the familiarity of violence among troublemakers:

*"The worst time I think would probably be when it's violent and you've got a group who are not motivated by violence, but used to it and act as a unit. It's when you've got a group of people that are acting like a unit, the numbers are fairly evenly matched, that's when you think I've got to be at my best here, otherwise you're in trouble. And I think those kind of groups are typical of people who are pedalling drugs for example. So they've got people that are watching for the security and the police, and they got people who take a backseat and the people who you are dealing with are at the front of it aren't necessarily the ones who you've got to be watching. So that's when I've felt most threatened". ('Andy M' Interview)*

'Mickey W' gave an example where he was called via his personal radio to an incident where a colleague had been knocked out, which also outlines the potential severity of incidents he has been involved in;

*"I suppose when 'Sid V', one of the security at [Venue Z], got punched by a...involved in a group fight where the people were as I described... The sort of people who could fight, didn't mind fighting and he was unconscious, there weren't many security, our security staff there, and when I got to the incident those that were - apart from a couple getting involved those that were - were just stood around doing nothing looking a combination of frightened and confused. You know they just opened the door to let me out (laughs) to go and get involved on my own, and I was going out into something I didn't know what I was even going out into. Potentially I thought 'Sid V' had been stabbed because all I saw was him on the floor with blood coming out of him like hunched over, so I thought I was going out into that". ('Mickey W' Interview)*

Andy M further describes the added potency of organisation, a dangerous element in conflict in which the door supervisors often take the upper hand:

*"It's when there's that bit of organisation and there's that element of we've done this before we've seen this before, you know what we're going to do in this situation, that's when you have to be a little bit more focussed I think". ('Andy M' Interview)*

Although violent incidents are actually 'relatively infrequent' (Sanders, 2005), the central focus here is the ability of door supervisors to act accordingly when necessary. The purpose of documenting the violence experienced by door supervisors is to identify the skills and abilities necessary to counter the threat of aggression and violence, or manage it when necessary.

Monotonous shifts can serve to be therapeutic in offering the opportunity for door supervisors to talk about incidents of violence, and reinforce a sense of masculinity (Woolley, 2012). This may afford an amount of desensitisation to violence (Hobbs *et al.*, 2003, 59; Monaghan, 2004, 469) and an almost 'sixth sense' for violence (Thompson, 2000, 318) and highlights door supervisor's proximity to danger: 'just as bouncers had to engage in violence, they also had to witness it with alarming regularity' (Winlow *et al.*, 2001, 545). The need for proper aftercare is discussed later in this chapter.

When talking about capability in isolation, the accounts of the reputation of 'old school' bouncers are informative. Capability was often linked to notoriety and the ability to de-escalate violence by

reputation alone, and this should not be ignored in a discussion of the capability of current door supervisors. During the industrial era and before the proper regulation of the security industry now present in the UK, the pub bouncer would likely be the locally known hard-man of a town or village (Hobbs *et al.*, 2003, 243). What we find today manning the doors of pubs and clubs represents a culture change to a climate with less obvious informal criminal networks than previously found. In his account of years as a head door supervisor, Freeman (2009, 70) stated that his network in 'his' town could resolve situations more effectively than the police and with no violence. In fact his 'name or presence' could 'stop' a fight (71). The concepts of reputation and capability are interlinked with the 'old school' style of 'bouncing', and sit in sharp contrast to some of the door supervisors attracted to the industry purely for financial gain as will be discussed below. Reputation has been described as the 'most potent device' for a door supervisor (Hobbs *et al.*, 2003, 145) and makes the job easier: 'After all, if their job is to refuse entry to those who appear unsuitable and to ask customers to leave if their behaviour is inappropriate, then their jobs are made easier by such views' (Pratten, 2007, 85). An autobiographical account of door supervision in London supports this:

'I don't have to stand on the door and say, 'Sorry, mate, you've got jeans and trainer on,' I have other blokes to do that. I can usually just sit at the bar and observe whats goin' on. And once the word gets round that Stilks is at the bar, there isn't any trouble. That's the kind of control it takes years to learn and build up' (Stylianou, 2013, 124).

Although this account is of a hardened career door supervisor, elements of the force of reputation were found in the empirical data of this research. What emerged during interviews was a sense of a stereotypical 'old school' image of the door supervisor as a multi-faceted beast based on personality and attitude:

*Door men used to be locally respected hard men. And because they were locally known and respected the majority of people would know who they were and would know that it wouldn't be worth causing a problem because they knew that person had a reputation and was capable. Whereas now with the introduction of the badge [an SIA identity badge, which must be displayed at all times] it kind of gives people who shouldn't be doormen the confidence to say they are doormen and try and do the job purely because they completed a course which doesn't test your ability to be a doorman in any way. It just is basically a tick box to say you have learnt bits". ('Mickey W' Interview)*

Reputation was often linked to physicality and 'bottle' (a slang term for courage). A local hard man with a reputation for violence is something: 'the local criminal fraternity was always able to provide' (87), but with attempts to de-criminalise UK regulation the question arises of whether the level of security provided for the public decreases. Door supervisors, following their training guidelines, are taught to 'switch' if a confrontation escalates and persists. For example a 'switch', where one door supervisor relieves another whilst that other sinks into the background, is ideal for situations when frustration becomes directed at a particular individual and not the general situation. The rationale is

to take the person away and the aggressor loses interest. 'Marvin', one of Horsefield's head door supervisors, described times when the mere threat of 'old school' action could help to defuse a persistent customer, and discusses the switch:

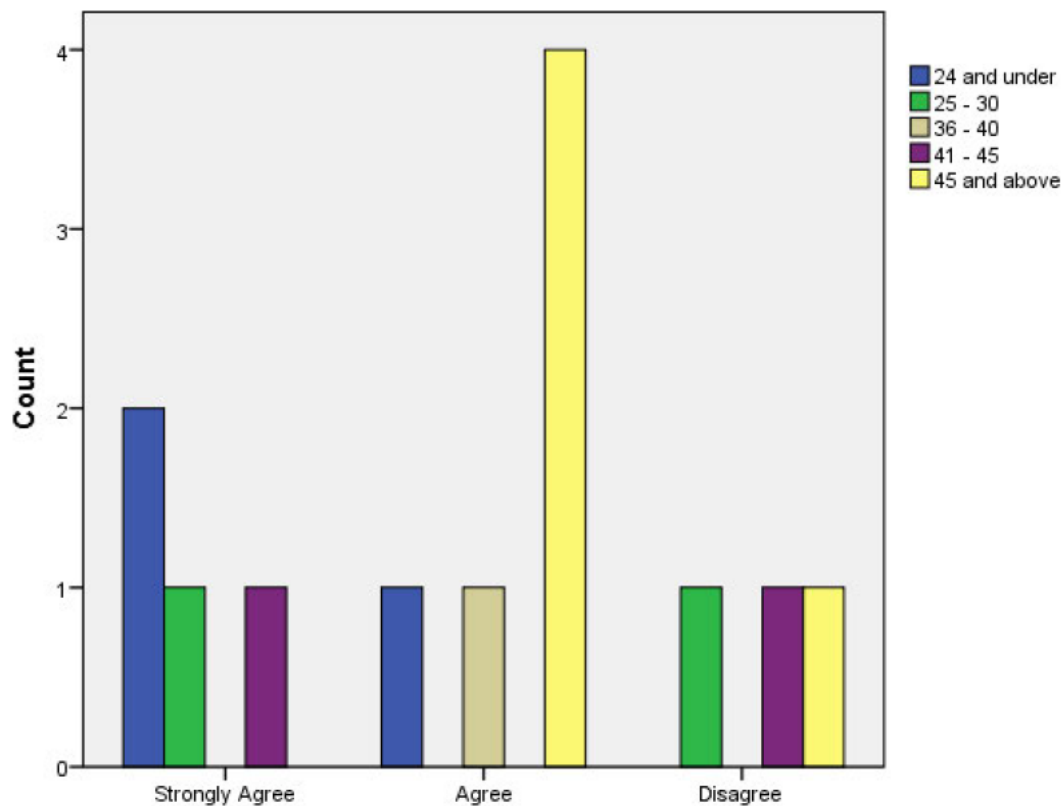
*An incident had occurred weeks before the observation shift whereby Marvin had switched with a door supervisor who had been dealing with a frustrating 'kid' who was persistent in verbally abusing a particular door supervisor. But the switch hadn't worked and Marvin simply took the abuse and it persisted. After twenty minutes, and the man speaking to Marvin in a way he "doesn't even let his daughters speak to him" a scuffle ensued and Marvin dragged the guy away by his foot. Knowingly on camera he exaggerated his movements so that it was clear he wasn't trying to hide anything or bully the 'kid'. The guy returned and Marvin ended up giving him a 'gentle bitchslap'. The man still persisted and the only thing that did the job was frogmarching him to a space where Marvin was able to 'convince' the 'kid' that they were then off camera (they weren't) and threaten him with a hiding off camera. After this he dispersed.*

(Field Notes – Sunday 8th April 2012 - Bank Holiday Sunday)

This data accounts for the weight 'old-school' methods of door supervision hold, and problems of situations where revellers wish to chance an altercation with the 'new breed' of incapable door supervisors knowing they can provoke them. There are clear consequences for the safety of the public and the divide in capability is therefore hugely important. The self-completion questionnaire results are interesting, and indicate that, of all of Horsefield and Brassville's respondents, a majority of 47.1% 'disagree' that 'There is no longer a demand for the 'old school' style of bouncing', and a breakdown of response by age is represented below in figure eight.

**Figure 8 .**

**The ‘old school’ stereotype of a bouncer is no longer a reality crosstabulation with age.**



At the youngest end of the Horsefield respondent age continuum 66.7% of all 24 and under participants ‘disagree’ that ‘there is no longer a demand for the ‘old school’ style of bouncing’. Amongst the highest age group of respondents aged 45 and over, 20% of all respondents ‘strongly agree’ and 40% ‘agree’, presenting an obvious divide in correlation with age of urban respondents. Some empirical accounts of older door supervisors do not match this trend, and it may be that some Horsefield respondents have misinterpreted the question, as three quarters of Brassville respondents had been door supervisors for between five and ten years and all ‘disagree’ that ‘There is no longer a demand for the ‘old school’ style of bouncing’. However, it may be that younger door supervisors feel they fit the old school model, whereas in fact the older generation have seen real change for the better. Again, of all Brassville respondents the lowest age category was 31 – 35, and responses for this age group were split evenly between ‘agree’ and ‘disagree’, whereas all respondents 45 and above (which represent the rest of the participants) ‘disagreed’ with the statement.

Ultimately, there is an acknowledgement that a new breed of door supervisor has evolved, and more so amongst those who are older and are more likely to have experienced it. The SIA aim of



improving the stigma of bouncing may therefore be succeeding, however door supervisors remain highly critical of its implementation as we will discover later in the chapter. Knowing how violent door supervision can be, and how effective reputation can be, let us now explore interview data which begins to inform us of what exactly it is that door supervisors are finding frustrating about those qualifying as door supervisors through the SIA regulatory scheme. Interviewee 'Mickey W' became a door supervisor at a club in the later stages of his university career and this triggered a conversation about the tactics used amongst larger teams of door supervisors, and which clarified his concept of a 'proper' doorman:

*"I saw a lot of staff there so there were, weren't often times when it was a one-to-one fight or you were in a very dangerous situation, because you had a lot of backup, and you were mostly dealing with students but I also got to see that there were times when you did have to act as a 'proper' doorman, and that's when you could really tell the difference between the people who are really capable of working as doormen in my opinion compared to those who aren't, and when it really comes down to it can't deal with the reality of a situation of where they could actually get hurt". ('Micky W' Interview)*

Andy M also commented on this topic:

*"... and it's just trusting them not to walk away or to just turn a blind eye or just lose their minds in a situation, i.e. get carried away or just freeze and do nothing, you just want them involved and quite focussed on the task...if you're going to take a beating it's better to have a beating spread out between two people than that all being on one person...and just you know you don't have to be a fighter or a brawler to just lay some hand on someone, pull someone off you because sometimes that's all it takes". ('Andy M' Interview)*

Similar comments were made by interviewees in a study by Button (2007), working at the leisure complex, Pleasure Southquay; 'there are a lot of people working for Pleasure Southquay who have never seen a fight let alone a dozen blokes fighting with bottles flying overhead...How no one has ended up in hospital is beyond me' (140). I wanted to explore further what 'Mickey W' saw as a situation in which 'proper' doormen would be more capable than their inferior counterparts:

*"When it comes down to it and you could be faced with you alone dealing, having to deal with one or two or three people, and other people are having to deal with one or two or three people. It's very different to when you've got two students ... and there's about six doormen to separate them and restrain them it's not really in the same league and I think it allows people who I would consider aren't the right mentality and physicality to be doormen to try and assert their authority, and they get excited about... they think they can act as doormen. When in actual fact there was no possible danger to them they were just grabbing the leg of someone who was already being restrained". ('Micky W' Interview)*

'Mickey W' discussed how his size and physical prowess (at sixteen and a half stone and of considerable muscular build) meant other door supervisors were keen to get him involved in an incident:

*"I was one of the bigger, physically bigger capable and more intimidating doormen ... So in a situation where something really happens I think I was more expected and relied upon to go and do something, which perhaps some of the smaller less experienced staff wouldn't be able to do and wouldn't want to do". ('Mickey W'*

Interview)

Martial arts and the realities of conflict became a crucial factor in the discussion of capability amongst door supervisors as outlined in my previous research (Wilson, 2011), and in the criteria proposed above: *A lot of people who haven't experienced the horrors of real fighting imagine it to be like celluloid fisticuffs, with a hero, a baddie and tomato-ketchup blood* (Thompson, 2000, 427). 'Otis R' had a similar view to that of 'Mickey W' above. With experience of martial arts incorporating; Mixed Martial Arts, Brazilian Ju-jitsu, kickboxing, Muay-Thai, and boxing he is six-foot eight inches. His comments were exemplary:

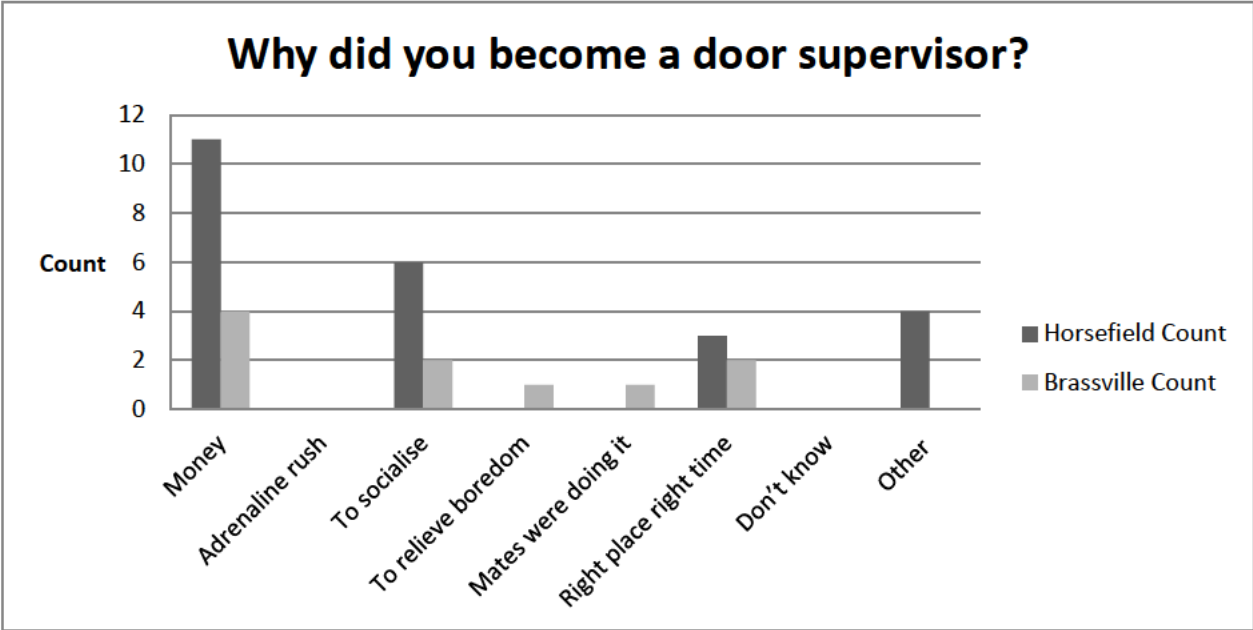
*"They tend to look to me for answers whenever it kicks off, wouldn't put themselves in situations where they could deal with it themselves, it would be every single time... "I need you over here, I need you over here because if I go over the guy isn't going to take me seriously or I can't handle that guy". Well if you can't handle the guy you shouldn't be doing your SIA in my opinion. Things happen for a reason and you need to be able to cope with that. A lot of the staff as well who do the SIA don't continue the training, they don't do martial arts they don't continue physical intervention. If you don't continually train you're going to lose the skills you learnt in that course".* ('Otis R' Interview)

He went on:

*"I just think some of the people who I have worked with who get their licences from the SIA should never ever in my opinion have got the badge. A lot of them don't know, haven't been in a situation themselves, they don't know how to respond to the situation. They're basically relying on numbers rather than quality of staff".* ('Otis R' Interview)

At the extreme, Pratten's (2007) research, which incorporated interviews with door supervisors, found they had heard of door supervisors seeking employment as a door supervisor but then leaving: 'as soon as they found out what it really entailed' (89). Their interest in door supervision had most likely been overly driven by the desire for money, and we can see from the below figure that this is the overwhelming motivator towards door supervision employment. The questionnaire analysis demonstrates that income was a factor in the employment of Brassville and Horsefield's door supervisors.

**Figure 9.**



‘Josh R’ perceived many door supervisors to be in it solely for the money:

*“I met a mix of people ... a lot of the people I worked with were kind of similar age, similar kind of personalities, got on well with them, and similar kind of motivations for wanting to be in the job. They were in the job for a bit of extra cash really and that was it ... I’ve met some people that were, that did kind of aspire to, the exact kind of image or perception that I had before”. (‘Josh R’ interview)*

Freeman’s (2009) autobiographical account gives further credibility: ‘There’s a lot of people I’ve seen who think that working the doors is going to be easy but, once they get there and something kicks off, you can see them panic’ (66). In his book, Freeman shows understanding of such reaction but talks of the exclusivity of those capable of performing the job well, succinctly stating ‘...not everyone is suitable for membership’ (56). He illustrates his thoughts with an example where door supervisors reviewed an incident on their own CCTV only to find a door supervisor ‘cowering in the corner’ and states rather matter-of-factly: ‘That was the end for him’ in terms of his career prospects (122). Stylianou (2013) described the ability to get involved without hesitation as the ‘first rule for any good bouncer’ (123).

Horsefield town centre is run by a number of door supervision firms which generally shared a good level of cooperation. One of the major security firms is run by two business partners ‘Shaun’ and ‘Marvin’. I talked in detail with ‘Shaun’ about traditional ‘bouncers’. He and his business partner ‘Marvin’ expressed genuine concern over the eighteen to nineteen year old “kids” doing the job at the minute. Shaun illustrated his views with an estimation that 80 per cent of door supervisors would not or did not get involved in those occasional large brawls that do happen. Marvin told me

about a female door supervisor who had shaken off original gender-related stigma attached to such a male-dominated career simply by being relied upon to be there when it 'kicked off', i.e. to react with 'fight', not 'flight'. I was told that although she was a big woman her main strength was her 'bottle' not her physicality. These conversations set the scene for what Shaun believed constitutes an effective door supervisor. Put simply, it was often simply not running away and Shaun's sentiments resound the opinions of the interviewees. 'Mickey W' said; *"it's better to have someone who's not that great watching to see whether someone is going to punch you in the head from behind than nobody to watch you"* (Mickey W interview). Shaun was an admirer of those door supervisors whose ethos motivated them to get involved, even if only to watch for random revellers who may wish to 'stick the boot in' to him from outside his vision when he is grappling with someone, or someone who brings a bottle at his head from behind. His experience has taught him that this happens from time-to-time, and he had seen this behaviour towards both police officers and door supervisors, and presumably participation of such aggressors was motivated by wanting to feel part of the action and adrenaline. Shaun and some of the other 'old-school' bouncers worried about a time in years to come when the "old heads" were 'gone' (Field Notes: 8 April 2012, Bank Holiday Sunday):

*So, a big guy at a bar decides he does not want to pay for a drink. He will have clocked the two skinny young doormen guarding the entrance on the way in, and when they approach –seeing them as no threat- he'll tell them to go away. If they do not have the "old heads" to then get involved then the customer then runs that venue. Shaun described how this is happening already even in big cities such as Leeds and Manchester.*

(Field Notes - Sunday 8th April 2012 - Bank Holiday Sunday)

Shaun believed that this change, and loose parenting or single-parenthood, and the loss of the traditional 'bobby' signified 'a lack of guardianship' in the English night-time economy. He reckoned the 2011 August riots in England, sparked by the shooting of a young non-Caucasian man in London, were an example of the devastating result of such lack of appropriate guardianship. Shaun commented on the youngsters standing on doors who "couldn't put a fag out" (referring to the ability to 'put' an aggressor out of the venue by ejection), explaining that currently there are enough 'old heads' to support the youngsters when necessary, but that when his generation of door supervisors is no longer around he envisioned a dangerous situation.

Shaun had a strong opinion on the nature of door supervision and had seen some interesting changes in how the job was conducted over the decades he had worked in this role. Shaun saw training improvements brought about by the training scheme of the SIA as having had minimal effect on the way door supervisors dealt with situations. In fact he thought the physical conflict training he did personally with his friends and colleagues pre-SIA was much better, largely because it was significantly more physical. He found it quite bizarre that the SIA hadn't focussed on this more, and had to reactively and retrospectively introduce physical intervention modules to its curriculum. The

next section of the chapter, on training, will review these and other current training mechanisms and practise, and critically examine how they hope to produce capable public guardians. It will then suggest how to improve training mechanisms and practise.

## **Training**

In his autobiographical account, Stylianou (2013) documents how he was asked to run a door on account of his capability and the proposal underlines the discussion of capability here: 'all we've got is a lot of badged people that have done a doorman's course, but they ain't got no experience. They don't know how to run a door from the front line. Wondered if you could help out?' (241).

The SIA introduced a training package, which is run through approved contractors. When door supervisors were asked their opinions on training throughout this study, they were most emotive about legal and physical training. Door supervisors are taught; the legal implications behind trespass on 'their' premises, the rules of self-defence in Common Law, the authority to use force as per the Criminal Law Act 1967, and the implications of the use of force under The Health and Safety at Work Act 1974. The Human Rights Act (which covers liberty and the law), and legal duties under The Reporting of Injuries, Diseases and Dangerous Occurrences Regulations 1995 (RIDDOR), are also covered and The Employment Rights Act also guides door supervisors on attack in the workplace. The self-completion questionnaire results suggest that the majority of both Horsefield and Brassville respondents were confident that they fully understood the legal guidelines behind employment as a door supervisor (38.5% of Horsefield's respondents 'agree' and 38.5% 'strongly agree', whilst 75% of Brassville respondents 'agree'). Yet, as discussed earlier, their legal position when acting outside of a venue is ambiguous. The use of force is informed by the loosely defined concept of "reasonable force" (under Section 3(1) of the Criminal Law Act England and Wales 1967). This is not unique to door supervisors but nonetheless contributes to their 'precarious legal position' (Monaghan, 2004). The criteria of the Human Rights Act, that any use of force must be necessary, reasonable, proportionate, justifiable, and accountable, places ambiguity on discretion but is not different to that of other security officials including police officers. Under self-defence legislation in England and Wales door supervisors may issue a pre-emptive strike, yet in the presence of CCTV evidence this may prove difficult to legitimise as they continue to fight off a poor reputation.

Within the duration of the thesis a door supervision meeting was set up in Horsefield by police officers to deliver a police force created presentation entitled *Safe and Lawful Door Supervision*. This recapped; the nationally accredited Decision-Making Model, threat assessment, dealing with criminal evidence, legal powers, the 'pre-emptive strike' and indeed 'what is "reasonable" and this represents a positive collaborative step which highlights joint ambitions for a secure night-time economy (further discussed in the next chapter). Door supervisors are granted no extra legal powers or

support than the average citizen and they remain unprotected by the Police and Criminal Evidence act (PACE) 1984. PACE offers police officers guidance and additional information if they are accused of an offence. So whilst police and door supervisors often use similar techniques of crime prevention including; 'verbal warnings, banning notices, photographing of suspects, and use of search' (17), they do not share some of the protective measures against their actions in a world of growing legislative pressure and culture of 'blame and claim'. Improvements to knowledge have been brought about by the SIA, yet it remains that door supervisors tread an 'ambiguous' and 'precarious' line of legality if they become involved in physical conflict (Monaghan, 2004), and in his autobiographical account one door supervisor called himself 'a policeman but without any written law' (Freeman, 2009, 284). This ambiguity covers the broad spectrum of situations door supervisors can find themselves in and has been criticised in the past as having no 'readily available codified document that outlines the full range of legal tools available to all security officers' (Button, 2007, 21). This has changed, and door supervisors are thoroughly informed of legalities in the SIA course. However, for example with information sharing of photos, which Rigakos (2002) describes as a 'prominent example' of private and police 'partnership' we see that; 'many of the powers of the legal tools of private security officers rest on the consent of the individual and without it – even in situations where there might be a legal right - security officers are often reluctant to pursue action for fear of litigation' (Button, 2007, 14).

Despite some improvements, the self-completion questionnaire results suggest that of all Horsefield and Brassville respondents a majority agree with the statement 'The quality of door supervisors has not improved since the introduction of regulation by the SIA in 2003' (23.5% of respondents 'strongly agree', and 29.4% 'agree'). Amongst the lower respondent age groups levels of agreement were relatively mixed, but amongst the 45 and above age category a significant 42.9% of all respondents 'strongly agree' and 42.9% 'agree'. Specifically, the scheme has been criticised at first for an 'absence of first aid training and any element of self-defence'. Police 'sources' suggested in the early stages of regulation that offering 'any physical techniques could be dangerous' (Pratten, 2007, 88). Physical intervention aspects have recently been added to the process of gaining a door supervision license in the UK. Prior to this, interviews by Pratten with door supervisors found 'none could understand the absence of any demonstration of physical skills, for they were all well aware that, in the end, they might be attacked and would have to fight' (89). A physical intervention module has since been incorporated into the SIA training course, and covers crucial scenarios of handling an aggressive person or persons including, for instance, deadly positional asphyxia. If a person is restrained on their front for example, pressure on the diaphragm causes pressure on the lungs, breathing is restricted, and a person can lose consciousness and die. This was the case in an incident involving private security guards employed by the UK Border Agency to provide assistance in ferrying a man out of the country. The man had to be restrained and died of positional asphyxia, which was

ruled in court to be an unlawful killing, or manslaughter (Casciani, 2014), later to be cleared on appeal. I undertook a 'Physical Intervention and Upskilling Door Supervision' qualification, consisting of a study day, in order to be able to discuss current physical intervention strategy. Of note this course has since – in January 2015 - been upgraded from one to two study days. Dynamic risk assessments are covered and provide practical and mental structure in the lead up to an incident of aggression, and responsibilities following physical intervention which are equally crucial are covered. For example, placing somebody in the recovery position following an incident where somebody is left unconscious can be a life-saver. Despite these educational aspects of the course its benefits seem to have missed the mark somewhat due to the unrealistic nature of some practical interventions particularly where physical conflict is likely to be in full swing. Restraints and holds are basic, self-defence practises are marred by media sensitive approaches to violence, and there is little instruction on dealing with offenders who are continuing to be aggressive whilst on the floor. Grappling techniques would address such issues, but are often deemed too complicated, or unnecessary. Yet, the self-completion questionnaire results suggest 61.5% of Horsefield respondents would like extra training in personal safety (and 25% of Brassville respondents). Suggestions were largely around further and progressive physical training such as that mentioned. We already know that traditionally door supervisors have been criticised for using physical force to assert control within licensed premises (for example Lister, 2009), but the *context* of conflict must be considered, as the ability to fight may be the 'number one attribute' for a door supervisor to supply a secure environment (Roberts, 2009; also Monaghan, 2002; Winlow *et al*, 2001). 'Andy M' was particularly critical of the SIA scheme:

*"it's very easy to sit there, tick boxes, and do multiple choice questions but putting somebody in the situation where you can see things, hear things you know, every sense- smell, just the feel of it the adrenaline. What are you like when adrenaline kicks in? Because literally some people just can't handle it"* ('Andy M' Interview).

Referring to the multiple choice written test, Pratten's (2007) interview data concludes: 'They all felt that the training and exam questions were sensible enough, except that logic always seemed to prevail' (89) whereas in reality 'they knew that this was not the case' (89). Indeed, the methods of the SIA training testing hit BBC News headlines in 2015 for their poor administration and invigilation. 'Andy M' succinctly remarked during his interview about the original failings of the SIA's failure to appropriately include physical intervention in its curriculum; *"there's nothing that qualifies you in terms of can you handle a confrontational situation"* ('Andy M' Interview). 'Otis R' went further and commented on the false confidence inspired by the physical intervention aspects now provided during the SIA training course:

*"In reality someone who's done the course that's just the beginning of it, that's maybe 5% of what they need to be doing on a day-to-day basis, or a week-to-week basis in order to protect themselves but more importantly also to protect other people. You're in this role to protect other people as well as yourself... you are not fulfilling your job if you think the certificate and the badge is going to protect you".* ('Otis R' Interview)

The SIA has undoubtedly had *some* success with its 'clean-up' of the occupation introducing Criminal Record Bureau (CRB) checks for door supervision applicants. During the interviews conducted as part of the background research to this study, mixed feelings were evoked and 'Josh R's opinions were conducive with a mixed perspective:

*"Before the SIA, people literally turned up and just do the job and it's not, I'd say it's not rocket science but to be good at it there's a bit of skill involved. The regulation of who holds a license and who can be in that position I think is good again, but I'm sure there are some loopholes in it as I've met people that shouldn't have had licenses and I'm pretty sure have criminal records and still have licenses so I don't know how effective it is".* ('Josh R' Interview)

Of course many security officers and door supervisors are highly capable and effective in their roles, and most door supervisors encountered during this study believe that some training is better than none, but 'Otis R' believed his martial arts experience offered so much more:

*"Oh it [martial arts training] helps yes. It definitely helps. You can tell as well, the people who put the effort in and train, put the effort in to go the gym and to look after themselves in comparison to those that don't have the badge and think they're going to be fine and dandy, with just having the badge on their arm. It's a shame, they are an accident waiting to happen in my opinion".* ('Otis R' Interview)

'Mickey W' begrudgingly accepted that "shirt-fillers", or "doorstops" (slang terms used by door supervisors encountered to describe those who did not play a proactive role when at work) had a role to play regardless of their fighting potential. Research by Roberts (2007) supports such comments:

*'While the ideal situation would be to have an adequate number of trained, professional bouncers and doormen patrolling barrooms, findings from the present study suggest that even the presence of a substandard security staff, or rather, a security staff that is behaving badly (e.g., drinking on-the-job) may be better than no security staff at all' (441).*

Such debate is crucial in light of Pratten's (2007) finding that licensees have been found to have qualified as a front line door supervisor with the SIA merely in order to fulfil the security role themselves (89). One might infer from the feelings expressed by the interviewees that although this provides a presence which is better than none, this lack of capable vigilance over customers in night-time venues puts the customer at risk. 'Mickey W' believes there is weight in a 'strength in numbers' philosophy no matter the capability – any backup is better than no backup - as does 'Andy M':

*"They [inexperienced door supervisors] aren't useful in a one-on-one fight but if there's a group, if there are about six, seven or more of them and there are a group of two people that can fight it's just more people to help you restrain them and it's just more, a physical presence which just might make the customer who's causing a problem think twice. And also, although I don't consider them particularly capable, it's better to have someone who's not that great watching to see whether someone is going to punch you in the head from behind than nobody to watch*



*you, which is what happens a lot at [pub in a local town] where there's two of you working and you may have to go and deal with two sets of things at the same time so you're split up. So, although I would've preferred better staff at the venue I would prefer to have a lot of less good staff than no staff". ('Mickey W' Interview)*

What is most alarming though is perhaps self-completion questionnaire results which suggest that, of all respondents, a majority (50% of Brassville respondents, and 61% of Horsefield respondents) believe that door supervision has become more dangerous since the introduction of national regulation by the SIA in 2003. These opinions suggest an urgent shakeup is required, and the door supervision trade needs strengthening, and suggestions for change within this thesis aim to address such issues. 'Josh R' criticised the regulator's ability to regulate, but he also went on to discuss the capability of those who take the choice to become a door supervisor, and he recommends a slow structured introduction to door supervision beginning in calm environments and then moving onto more demanding ones:

*"If I had a kid or something that wanted to get into it – which I have no problem with – I'd get them to do the course then work up gradually, do festivals first, do a quiet door, you know somewhere with a good team. Then go off and do a pub if you wanted to go that way. That's not practical for a lot of people because you do the job for money so it's not practical" ('Josh R' Interview)*

The idea of progressing through different stages, ferocities, and intensities of door supervision is sensible and raises questions about the quality of security provided to the public and the support provided between colleagues where concentrations of inexperienced door supervisors are employed: if you "lose your bottle when something kicks off you are putting your partner in serious danger" (Freeman, 2009, 56). Although some evidence of progressive employment exists, it warrants further research but examples where large numbers of inexperienced door supervisors congregate include large events like festivals or big sporting events including the recent London 2012 Olympic Games. Demand is high and experienced door supervisors may be unable to escape from their regular work. Although such events will often have smaller 'reaction teams' which carry the weight of experience and skill, more research is needed into the judgement of capability criteria in different working environments.

There is autobiographical support of this kind of view in the relevant literature; 'Nowadays you can do a course and get a certificate saying you're a doorman, but that's no substitute for going through an old-fashioned apprenticeship' (Stylianou, 2013, 35). To experienced door supervisors being able to 'read' people was crucial, read their actions, and predict their likely actions: 'I saw that look in his eyes, a look of someone whose dignity has been shaken but who is ready to come roaring back' (Stylianou, 2013, 95). Freeman's (2009) memoirs demonstrate that from the first shift, door supervision could be fast and furious and further suggest the need for a staggered introduction to potential violence; "The first ever night I ever worked there was a big fight kicked off and we

instantly bonded. We were back to back in the thick of it". Using such experienced door supervisors as guest speakers to talk about the realities of door supervision would certainly be beneficial to the SIA course, adding realism, and hopefully bringing forward the decision of those who are not prepared to actively address violence and aggression not to complete the training.

Finally then, in terms of training, exposure to violence highlights a noticeable lack in a support structure for those who suffer the effects of witnessing violence. The British Armed Forces have taken the lead on occupational trauma management in response to the management of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The British Armed Forces train Trauma Risk Management (*TRiM*) practitioners to assess military personnel. Potential sufferers are invited to take part in an informal interview which establishes how they are coping; "the process is repeated after a month and a comparison of the outcomes is made, allowing early identification of those who may be having problems so that help can be given early" (British Army, 2014). Perceptions of the participant are sought and typically feelings of sadness, anger, guilt, shame, fear, memories and disappointment are probed. The outcome will often be signposting to specialist agencies, with the aim of restoring balance long term focussing on relationships and routine amongst other things such as diet and sleep. Other agencies in the UK, including the civilian police, have adopted the TRiM programme in response to officers witnessing traumatic events but nothing similar exists in door supervision despite the demand to deal with violence.

### **Capability in practise**

This final section of the chapter will discuss examples where door supervisors have acted competently and efficiently, without falling foul of basic standards, and are getting it right. Frustrations are clear. Security officers at a shopping centre, Pleasure Southquay, outline a dichotomy of ability; '(Pleasure Southquay) should treat us with more respect, there are some that deserve, others who don't. Mutual respect to make you feel better. We tend to get tarnished with the same brush as 'brainless idiots' (Button, 2007, 140). What follows immediately is a discussion of some of the memoirs of one of Brassville's clearly competent and confident door supervisors, Liam, whom I discussed the trade of door supervision with at length. Liam worked in Brassville but had a long career working in popular venues in Sheffield city centre and his experience of both urban and rural violence is relatively unique. His memoirs are fascinating and their rich detail serves to pull together the themes already discussed in the chapter alongside a general account of capability in practise.

Upon introduction to The Wine Bar owner in Brassville, at a meeting in March 2011, he was keen to discuss my research and door supervision more generally. When we got into conversation The Wine Bar owner referred to city centre door supervisors as 'crowd controllers'. However he explained he

wanted a little more from rural “bouncers”, describing Brassville as “about as rural as you can get” and resounding Wood’s (2006) notion of rural identity. The Wine Bar owner’s estimate of police response to an incident in Brassville was twelve minutes away – “not a long time”, he said. He was happy to pay his door supervisors £16 - £17 an hour whilst paying his bar men and women only £6 to £7 (the questionnaire analysis showed that the majority of both Brassville and Horsefield door supervisors felt underpaid). The Wine Bar Owner, considering his venue particularly rural, specifically requested “older door blokes” from his security provider, although he leaves the interview process to the provider. He wanted door supervisors who were conscious of CCTV, as they could easily find themselves, he explained, under investigation if for example CCTV displayed aggression by door supervisors at the front door without footage of the original altercation inside the venue. He wanted them also to be street smart in other ways, in what they wore for example in winter, smart hats and big coats, therefore presenting a professional image at the front of his venue. He and a friend, ‘Lucas’ - who was having a coffee with The Wine Bar Owner as we arrived and happened to be an ex door supervisor - also agreed that in rural areas door supervisors needed to be able to talk to people to prevent fights. Together they mocked door supervisors who could not read body language and who would as a result wait for the first fist to be thrown. They believed this was impractical when dealing with hardened fighters, including young men from the travelling community. The pre-emptive strike, they implied, could be a useful, legal tool. The Wine Bar Owner would also put his best door supervisors at the front of house, as their communicative skills were essential. He thought this was especially important in rural areas. The Wine Bar Owner described ‘Liam’ as his best door supervisor.

Being introduced to myself as a researcher on my first observation shift in Brassville, Liam said very little, but had a prominent aura of authority. From the second shift onwards, possibly when he had observed me and judged my intentions to be acceptable, we began to talk. Liam is of stocky build and around five foot, eleven inches. It transpired he began working as a “bouncer” many years ago when he was lighter at around ten stone, aged 19. When he started (at the recommendation of a friend) he asked to be put on the roughest door – and was sent to a venue in Barnsley, South Yorkshire. In this venue there was no radio contact between door supervisors, only a blue light above the main bar to call for reinforcement. Liam described how some of the door supervisors he had worked with at the venue often did not see the blue light as they were not paying attention, but: “chatting up a bird in the corner”. His motivation for asking for a rough door was not wanting to get three or four years into his career only to then find out what “bouncing” was actually all about. So in suggesting a progression ‘through the ranks’, as identified earlier in the chapter by ‘Josh R’, it may be that progression should indeed not be too slow.

It was instantly clear that Liam was very articulate and intelligent, but also open and willing to communicate his experiences across to me. Many of Liam's friends who were door supervisors had come across weapons in their work including knives and guns, he frankly said. He enjoyed talking about his memories and experience of working as a city centre head "bouncer" of a nightclub in Yorkshire which was very popular in its prime. His fondness of talking about it came from the camaraderie, trust, and closeness he and fifteen other door supervisors shared during his time at the club. Many of them, years on, remain close friends and Liam outlined times when they had quite literally saved each other's lives, and these were largely times when door supervisors had begun a confrontation without support and were therefore alone, or when faced with weapons. Liam had also put his life in the way of a customer's life. Liam described a time when a student had an altercation - outside of the venue at which he was working - with a driver who got out of his vehicle, reached into his side draw and pulled out a knife which Liam motioned with his hands was about eight inches and another six inches on the handle. He intervened and saved this man's life as the driver: "was going to do him".

Liam described his move away from city centre door supervision to rural door supervision in Brassville, and he was motivated by a number of things. Liam had taken a job offer from an old friend, and was happy to take a step toward retirement from door supervision. He has a regular and relatively secure job working on hospital security in the day time which gives him a regular wage. As James had said, and as discussed above, Liam was highly conscientious of the potential repercussions of some of the altercations he had had, and those that he continued to experience through his job as a door supervisor. Liam checked his vehicle routinely, and would take different routes home on a regular basis. He explained that in the past he had had "dodgy people" after him at various times who had considerable reputation. Liam described the physicality of the job, and described an important shift in popular martial arts. Liam participates in Brazilian Ju-Jitsu and Judo and performs to a high standard. Through his observations he has seen a shift in young male youth culture from boxing to mixed martial arts (MMA) over the past two decades. MMA is controversial for; its few rules, and for the allowed use of elbow, head, and knee strikes alongside traditional methods of fighting like kicking and punching. MMA is fashionable with the age and gender group who are most likely to frequent night-time venues and therefore poses a direct threat to door supervisors. Liam described how he had seen doormen run away from fights and does not understand why they do the job. Liam was highly conscious of the legal powers, the physical intervention techniques, and potential repercussions from falling foul of regulatory 'code'. He expressed frustration at such impractical ties to conducting a difficult job effectively. For example he described an incident whereby a door supervisor in a West Yorkshire venue had refused entry to a male at a venue, with good reason. The refused patron threatened to set the door supervisor on fire. The threat was not taken seriously, until the refused male returned with a McDonalds cup full of petrol and a match. He

proceeded to throw petrol on the door supervisor and attempted to strike the match. The door supervisor struck him, and subsequently lost his license to work as a door supervisor.

Liam had some incredibly plausible and detailed memoirs of his time of working in the city centre. He had described incidents of disorder, or “battles”, with off-duty police officers, gangsters, and he had both good and bad experiences of working in collaboration with police officers. He talked of an era, through the 1990’s, whereby police officers would not attend calls from door supervisors at his venue if guns were mentioned - instead the incident would be monitored from CCTV control rooms in order to build a better case against the assailants. He also described an incident where *he* had been arrested after a fight with five assailants, who were not arrested. These things he found bemusing, but he had gotten used to expecting little from the police, and he had been arrested on a number of occasions; including three times for Section 18 Wounding with Intent under the Offences Against the Persons Act (OAPA) 1861. However he wanted to see better collaboration, and although his trust of the police remained waivered, he encouraged positive relationships and saw potential benefits.

Liam had, in the past, preferred rougher clubs as he did not have to switch on and off as he did in the rural environment depending on the clientele with which he was engaging. In rough venues, he remained switched on throughout. In Brassville, whilst patrolling as a street marshal, he may have to talk politely with someone making ‘small talk’, but be interrupted only to have to run to the other end of the town to attend to a fight. Liam’s effective intelligence, although brutal, demonstrates an understanding of his role and he ensures he is capable. Liam was involved in a confrontation with a male who was tall and muscular, who overshadowed his own physique and who had a reputation for being dangerous. Liam, in order to remove this man from the club, pretended he could not hear the man talk as he responded to questions, and asked him to go to somewhere where he could hear properly. Through this trickery Liam ushered the man close to an exit where he had support from fellow door supervisors. However during the ushering, one of the other door supervisors who was assisting Liam made a mistake. He said, whilst ushering: “right you’re leaving”, before getting to the destination where the man could be properly managed. They were left in a confined corridor leading up to the exit when the patron became aggressive in response to the comment, clenched his fists, puffed his chest out and began to breathe heavily whilst adopting a fighting stance. As he did so he told Liam he was the European Kickboxing Champion and that he was: “going to have him”. Liam reacted. He pretended he had not heard the comment, and asked him to repeat this. He got as far as “European...”, when Liam punched him, knocking him unconscious to the floor. Liam explained his actions. He had hit the patron as he had recognised and read all the signs of aggression, and knew the man was going to attack him. He did his best to deliver a knock-out pre-emptive strike as he knew that even with his fellow door supervisors, they may have been defeated if they had have

'battled' "toe-to-toe" with him. When judging potential clients, those employed in dangerous occupations will naturally look for signs of reassurance of trust, which cannot be measured how one measures age or gender, for example (Hamill and Gambetta, 2006). In judging intoxication and potential for trouble amongst clients, New York and Belfast taxi drivers look for; transparency, for self-absorbedness over inquisitiveness in conversation, candidness over shiftiness, and friendliness and calm over aggressiveness and agitation (Hamill and Gambetta, 2006 31). The more experienced judges will often have moved from gut feelings, to instinct and street wisdom. Hamill and Gambetta (2006) suggest taxi drivers "epitomise" quick pressurised decisions driven by monetary profit also faced by 'bouncers', customs officers and police officers (32). Liam certainly had a process of spotting trouble. The key for him and other door supervisors I met, was to get an early look at the potential motivated offenders. The door supervisors in Horsefield and Brassville would often refuse entry to somebody, and it was only when I questioned them on their rationale that they would explain that they had been monitoring the individual who had, for instance staggered out of a taxi thirty metres down the road, only to pull themselves together for the all-important interrogation at the door. Of course, previous incidents or reputation was always considered by door supervisors - if known - and street wisdom would often lead to door supervisors expressing whether they thought an aggressor would return with friends or weapons to retaliate after being defeated in battle. In my experience they were often correct.

Liam's experience of success in incidents in which he thought he may come out worse gave him confidence. It had also allowed him to make decisions as to intervening at the right time in an incident, and he had learnt tricks to de-escalate situations. If he had experienced these for the first time in an isolated rural environment, the results may have been disastrous for him and his team. Furthermore if he had not built this confidence, his authority and capability as a door supervisor may have been seen as a weakness by aggressors, and ultimately could have put the patrons of a venue he was employed to protect in danger. His maturity meant that even with his significant arrests, and some notoriety he was able to act as a gentleman, and mascot of The Wine Bar in affluent Brassville.

Liam's accounts were humble and gripping, and he had a genuine interest in protecting others, and considered himself as being equipped with the toolset of conflict management and physical intervention to be capable to do so. Research has found that teams of ex-soldiers have been employed to deal with specific problems, that unorganised and less capable door supervisors could not control (Pratten, 2007; Hobbs *et al*, 2003). In Manchester this was the response to a spiralling territorial dispute, for example (Hobbs *et al*. 2003). The ex-soldiers were employed due to their military training and lack of affinity to the local area criminally or geographically, this amounted to a unique capability. They could therefore remain detached and de-sensitised to local disputes. When asked for their model of an ideal door supervisor, 'Mickey W' and 'Andy M' described key attributes

which are informative as to why ex-soldiers were able to adopt a capable approach:

*"I suppose I thought that the ideal bouncer had to have the right sort of balance of; ability to communicate, as well as the physical capability to back up anything they needed to do, and have the guts to get involved in something if needed."* ('Mickey W' interview)

*"...Effective communicator, you know being able to sort of calm people down and keeping a cool head in what can kind of be a high adrenaline situation, being quite safety conscious and probably leaving some of your prejudices at home as well, and being you know treating people equally with respect but also demanding that respect for yourself as well. And I guess on the physical side of things, it is probably dwelled on too much, but as long as you're someone who is willing to get involved if you need to then I think that's all you can ask of anybody".* ('Andy M' interview)

'Mickey W' had a preconception of amateurism of door supervisors before becoming one, due to meetings with those who did not look the part at a venue he had frequented whilst at university. The importance of looking the part has been highlighted in previous research (Winlow, Hobbs, Lister, Hadfield, 2001). Before this 'Mickey W' had little involvement in the night-time economy and little exposure to door supervisors:

*"there were, weren't often times when it was a one-to-one fight or you were in a very dangerous situation, because you had a lot of backup, and you were mostly dealing with students but I also got to see that there were times when you did have to act as a 'proper' doorman, and that's when you could really tell the difference between the people who are really capable of working as doormen in my opinion compared to those who aren't, and when it really comes down to it can't deal with the reality of a situation of where they could actually get hurt?"* ('Mickey W' interview)

Observational periods at Horsefield's football stadium were borne naturally as the key players in the town centre were keen to showcase their operation there. Also on show was an obvious divide between 'proper' and capable door supervisors, and marshals or other incapable door supervisors. The 'proper' door supervisors were dressed in black suits and most were heavy set. They would number around twenty at a football match and would stay largely out of view, although the head 'black suit' would roam. The 'black suits' had proved their worth- an ability to stand, fight and to advance (which can be counter-intuitive) in the face of large numbers as is often found among football hooligan elements. Marvin explained that their purpose was reactionary and they remained out of view (often positioned well into the shadows of fire exits) due to the presence of television cameras filming some matches, and so as not to antagonise any fans or become a target for abuse, as is commonly found at matches. During observations at a football match in September 2011, at one point during the first half I turned 180 degrees in between two stands at the ground:

*Standing behind me, so as not to be captured on live televising of the match, were fifteen 'black suits' alongside police spotters and other venue marshals. 'Black suits' were the 'proper' door men. As Marvin explained, of his 75 (approx) staff at the stadium, there were about forty which he could trust to actually fight. This did not surprise me from my own experiences of door work, whereby out of numerous staff I knew only a handful could be trusted*

*to stand their ground and fight. Contrary to stereotypical thought it was often those who were trained to a basic standard of non-streetwise martial arts, or big guys who could not be relied on, and would purposely get lost in the shadows. Those who trained constantly in an applicable martial art to what they may come across on the job were most reliable, regardless of physical size.*

(Field notes – Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> September 2011)

The 'black suits' were mainly door supervisors from town, and many had regular gigs in Horsefield town. These black suits looked the part physically, with broad chests and some weathered with battle scars. They often stood in sharp contrast to the elderly or teenage stewards in their fluorescent jackets, and looking the part forms a strand of what we know as the typical 'bouncer' (see *inter alia* Winlow, Hobbs, Lister, Hadfield, 2001). Despite this the researcher learned early in his own career not to underestimate people in the security industry as martial arts, street fighting, or boxing experience are often hard to spot but can be devastating assets if backed by a confident fighter. However Marvin's estimation that only around half of his staff were there to act physically if necessary, was unsurprising. Consequences of a lack of capable guardianship are all the more real at football grounds where, although the panic over football hooliganism in the 1980's and 1990's has subsided to a degree, 'firms' (a term used to describe a gathering of football hooligans) of men are still willing to fight (Armstrong, 1999). At Horsefield's stadium, police officers confidently identified football banning orders as a key factor in a reduction in violence. Thankfully the threat of being caught and banned from future attendance seems to restrain even the hardest of individuals. This seems an excellent realisation of the bindings of rational choice and its implications for crime reduction. The following account uses field note data to outline the practical use of the black suits:

*During the first half of the match Marvin disappeared and came back with the news that twenty-five to thirty away fans had not entered the seating area to watch the game but had remained in the bars under the concourse. Mental panic set in over the intentions of this group who had paid considerable amounts to watch the game but did not intend to take their seats. I presumed the sheer number of 4,500 away fans would have intimidated me, but it was this small group of men which seemed more daunting solely due to their unknown intentions.*

*A few minutes prior to half-time security staff, mainly 'black suits', ventured into the covered bar areas of the stadium to man their various positions at the front of expected queues. The twenty-five to thirty estimate was fairly accurate and these men looked highly intoxicated, dressed in expensive clothing such as 'Barbour' quilted jackets, jeans, and 'Timberland' or other branded boots. Perhaps more worrying though were those among the crowd who **didn't** look intoxicated. Individuals who are struggling to remain upright, even if they have a menacing aura in other circumstances, struggle to carry weight in terms of potential physicality. One relatively sober individual seemed to have purposely caught the eye of 'Fred' - a head doorman in the town, and minder - and during conversation was calling him a 'fat bastard' in what Fred described as a 'bit of banter and rapport'. However there seemed to be little jest to the exchange. The punter was not smiling. Fred leaned into the conversation talking to the punter breath-on-cheek and the conversation did eventually seem jovial but from my position it initially seemed like provocation. However Fred continued to remain un-phased and was pushing the funny side of any comment that came about. After a minute or so, Marvin went over and Fred turned his attention to a marshal signalling him over.*



Senior door supervisors had highlighted the intoxicated males as a potential problem however with forty black suits at the ready (an expensive choice on behalf of stadium security management) and a significant police presence which could be called upon, the crowd was outnumbered. An excellent system of surveillance maintained by those in a purpose built control room with CCTV, and manned by 'Silver' Commanders of the police force, was in place to monitor the ground throughout matches. Nothing eventually came of the group who had not actually watched the game, but it was difficult to relax around them. Throughout the time they were in the bar, Fred and Marvin made a significant effort to engage with them and 'build rapport', and it could be the case that this paid off. The 'black suits' seemed genuinely unintimidated by the possibility of a violent altercation – which undoubtedly is a difficult fear to mask. Less capable individuals, if they lose their nerve, are at fear of being dominated and overrun and could not effectively manage a place. Asked what he thought the motivation of these 'lesser' individuals was for entering into employment as a door supervisor, 'Mickey W' replied:

*"I think they're doing it for money but they also like the idea of, to be able to say that they are working on security but I think in reality when, if it came down to them having to take on somebody who can actually handle themselves in a one-to-one situation, most of them wouldn't know what to do and would panic or close the door or wouldn't react in the right way. Yes, I think often they think that they would react in the right way but really they wouldn't. I've seen it, people not getting involved when they should, just looking confused and not knowing what to do. "(Mickey W' Interview)*

Interestingly, a similar divide was visible amongst police officers in Horsefield. From field notes of an observation shift on New Year's Eve 2011, conversations with police officers working in Horsefield town centre - particularly efficient and competent police officers - described a 'changing nature' of door supervisors, in the police force (also White, 2010). A recurring conversation amongst officers from Constable to Superintendent was that of the 'new breed' of 'cops'. This new breed came in two irritant forms; the new recruit who was not street-wise, and those who had a few years' experience or more but were not sufficiently robust to tackle town centre disorder and did little to improve their skillset. On one occasion just before Christmas 2011, a Police Inspector, who had just taken over the responsibility of Horsefield town centre safety, hoped he would be able to address this very problem during his term. A monthly police operation, which brings officers from across the county to surge Horsefield town centre brings Safer Neighbourhood Team police to the frontline of disorder where they are expected to police crowds of intoxicated revellers. Town centre police officers commented that these police officers are more used to dealing with community disputes than face-to-face disorder. The direct impact on the relationship between door supervisors and police officers is discussed later. During the observation shift on New Year's Eve 2011, although the Bronze Commander/town centre Sergeant had asked in all three briefings for the police to interact with door

supervisors this was not obviously happening during the patrols observed. On the contrary, officers had to be asked to stop standing together in huddles and chatting amongst themselves by their seniors. 'Geoff', an acting Police Inspector in Horsefield that night, expressed concern that the riot and crowd control tactics were unnatural to Safer Neighbourhood Team police officers. 'Geoff' was concerned also that Safer Neighbourhood Team police officers would often shy away from arrests, straying too far from zero tolerance policing, and too far towards the other end of the continuum.

It is crucial that discussions of RAT and SCP in the night-time economy are thorough and direct but one must also acknowledge that human surveillance is influenced by psychological as well as environmental factors. At times door supervisors do not behave in a manner which discourages aggression (Wells, Graham, and West, 1998) whilst some become offenders themselves when dealing with incidents (Roberts, 2009), but what is crucial and reflective of the above comments is the sentiment that door supervisors must be adequately trained and must be selected for their willing, but also for their quality and capability. They must subsequently then be trained and nurtured to be able to deal with all manner of incidents, as this is what the job will demand of them, and this must include aftercare.

## **Discussion**

This chapter has outlined the potential dangers for door supervisors, to themselves and the people they are employed to protect, if they are not providing a capable service. Some capability comes from having some experience of physical conflict, for example through martial arts, and beyond the limited physical intervention techniques delivered on the prescribed course. The questionnaire data suggested a new and less capable generation of door supervisors is evolving. Moreover, older and capable door supervisors are not looking for superheroes, but they are frustrated by those who are paid the same wage, but are not willing to get involved when aggression and violence take a nasty turn. Because of this, some older door supervisors predict dangerous times ahead as the new breed of fresh-faced door supervisors replaces hardened door supervisors. It is haunting that door supervisors are faced with weapons in their work, but the most worrying finding of the questionnaire, voiced by a majority of both urban and rural respondents, was that door supervision has become more dangerous since the introduction of the SIA training scheme.

Some evidence supports the efforts of the SIA and there is a consensus that the SIA is heading in the right direction, but has many more miles to cover in terms of providing its door supervisors with a programme toward efficient capability. Acting on the warnings of Horsefield's head door supervisors that a generation of old school door supervisors will soon be no more, such a programme could, for example, see experienced door supervisors talk about the realities of the job on the initial training course, as guest speakers. Also, it could see inexperienced door supervisors attached on official

placements with experienced door supervisors.

Furthermore a tier system of suitable introductory venues for initial employment could make progression into the occupation more structured and provide a more capable door supervisor at each stage of his or her career. However it is sensible not to prolong such progression unnecessarily. The limitations of legal protection under which door supervisors operate have been highlighted, and one must acknowledge these when expecting door supervisors to take any action away from the immediate grounds of the venue they are employed to protect. Finally, the lack of trauma management among those asked to witness violence frequently needs addressing urgently, and military models are likely to be the most appropriate for adoption as they are trialled and tested, and utilised by other agencies.

## **Chapter Nine. Collaboration.**

This chapter will explore collaboration between private and public guardians in the urban and rural environments, and examine the associated benefits and limitations, drawing on the earlier review of the literature. A number of incidents discussed in the previous chapters have demonstrated the close proximity in which the police and door supervisors operate. This chapter will address the overall aim of the thesis by advocating a collaborative approach to managing violence and aggression, but will also identify complexities with this approach. Private security is now big business, and its growth is well documented by leading academics such as White (2010).

### **Place managers and public guardians**

Private policing, under its new regulatory system in England and Wales remains in a complex and 'grey' state, as both public and private security drift into the role of the other at times, particularly when securing the night-time economy. The limitations and benefits of the police as public 'guardians' (the presence of a human element which acts - intentionally or not – to deter the would-be offender from committing a crime against an available target: Hollis, Felson & Welsh, 2013) and private security 'place managers' (employees or owners who are in a place to supervise it: Eck, 2003) working side-by-side as 'controllers' (those who serve to reduce the probability of a criminal event occurring by control and prevention: Hollis *et al*, 2013) are discussed below. This is crucial to inform debate around the future of such collaboration in times of increasing austerity which has seen the public sector squeezed ever more tightly. The discussion below is empirically supported by the direct observation undertaken as part of this research in Brassville and Horsefield and the self-completion questionnaire distributed at both sites.

The concept of security is of growing significance, and the importance of sharing policing functions related to security between public, private and voluntary domains is ever increasingly acknowledged by Criminologists (Wakefield, 2003; Jones, 2007; Noaks, 2008, 156; White, 2010, 3). Broadly speaking, to provide security is to protect from threats, and such protection is delivered through a variety of medium: 'a central feature of security provision is therefore future orientation, in that its main concern is to reduce the potential for current or future harms' (Jones, 2007, 844). Providing for security also provides for the facilitation of liberty, and by nature involves a social collective, making trust and identity important social factors within its provision. Although post world war two security expansion in the UK has been well documented from initial interaction between the Metropolitan Police and private security provider Securicor (White, 2010), the real expansion of the private security industry has proved difficult to accurately measure (Jones and Newburn, 1998), not helped by the plethora of private and public policing overlap. It is clear however that the commercial

provision of staffed security services, security equipment, and investigatory services in the UK, and more so in North America has grown substantially in recent years (Jones, 2007, 847). The growth of 'mass private property' such as shopping centres and entertainment hubs incorporating, for example, cinemas and bowling halls, shares a large proportion of responsibility for such expansion. This has occurred partly in response to the demands brought about by the onset of a change in daily routines of the societies of work and leisure in many western, developed countries; 'many citizens increasingly live, work, shop and spend their leisure time in these commercially owned and governed spaces, rather than in the traditional public sphere' (848). The change in leisure activities of work and leisure, combined with the growth of the night-time economy in England and Wales, facilitates the crowded convergence of people with similar routines in a space, at a time when those in an age-group most likely to be victim to violent crime are available to participate. Ultimately private security guards are involved in the protection of infrastructure, the policing of 'mega-events', and conducting anti-terrorist surveillance activities (White, 2010, 3), and door supervisors are role specific security guards for licensed premises in the United Kingdom. They are specific place managers. Door supervisors work alongside the public police and other private agencies, such as CCTV operators, and the concept of a multi-faceted guardianship approach to policing in the night-time economy will now focus specifically on the situation in England and Wales.

### **The nature of collaboration**

Collaboration is a mixture of formal and informal agreements to supply a demand for policing, and security, guardianship and protection provision, using a multi-agency, and multi-faceted approach. Formal agreements may underlie policing agreements, but levels of influence, cooperation and information sharing may be directly influenced by informal relationships. Wakefield's (2003) analysis of three sites; a Shopping Mall, City Mall, and an Arts Plaza (some of which housed bars, pubs and clubs), which employed private security officers to manage day-time entertainment hubs and door supervisors in night-time venues empirically informs collaboration research in England and Wales. Across all three sites largely positive and effective public-private working collaboration were found, although there was variation in degree of success. Wakefield's research will inform the below discussion of boundaries, risk management and the potential benefits and problems with collaborative guardianship between public police as guardians and private security place managers alongside key findings from Brassville and Horsefield.

Discussing public and private guardianship collaboration raises legal and moral questions over boundaries of space and responsibility and private security officers, especially door supervisors who are asked to use their bodies to intervene in aggression, will often face problems with insurance and legal defence if they act, injuring others or themselves outside of their immediate - mostly private - place of duty of care. Place boundaries, for door supervisors, are often marked by; the queue

outside a club, metal barriers, the front door or other gates, or decorations (Hadfield, 2008). Hadfield (2008) also provides a detailed discussion of the door supervisor's boundaries and their representation of control. The boundary in a night-time venue is fluid as it is broken at the end of a night (turning the music off, raising the lights), and this signals a handover of control: 'control is ceded to the public police' (Hadfield, 2008, 440). CCTV also provides a method of visually crossing boundaries and this can enforce information sharing across public and private spheres, and estimates of CCTV cameras operating in Britain today number around four million (Norris *et al*, 2004; Newburn and Reiner, 2008). Wakefield (2003, 200) found security staff did become involved in incidents out on the public street if they felt morally obliged to and this was also apparent during the observations in Brassville as described earlier whereby altercations in the street were likely attended by patrolling street marshals. Boundaries would be crossed in Brassville for "the right reasons", and Wakefield (2003) summarises the sharing of boundaries in her research in the following way: 'the territorial boundaries that divided the police and the security teams did not appear to limit the agencies in performing their respective duties' (217- 218).

The management of criminogenic risk is crucial to the wider management of the security of the public – the aforementioned social responsibility - and the need for security risk analysis is simple, as discussed by Garland (2001). Criminogenic risk can be managed, as discussed in earlier chapters by; situational control measures and the deterrence of offenders. For example; it is essential to employ guardians (see *inter alia*; Fox and Sobol, 2000), ensure those guardians are well trained, and ensure CCTV is utilised to monitor the safety of potential targets. Such limiting of the suitability of targets is advocated by routine activity theorists as we know (see *inter alia* Hollis Felson, and Welsh, 2013). Fox and Sobol (2000) provide, with empirical support, the example of safeguarding women leaving night-time venues alone, and improving the capability of guardianship remains vital (see *inter alia* Homel, Tomsen, and Thommeny, 1992). The management of risk is switched between public police and private security at times as discussed above. The public police may safeguard private spaces, and security guards and door supervisors may safeguard public places, however and moreover, in the arena of security ultimate responsibility for risk lies with the public police whether in public or private space, as public police hold greater power and authority and are in the: 'pivotal role as co-ordinators of information pertaining to risk' (Noaks, 2008, 158).

The evidence provided by Wakefield (2003) supports five strands of collaboration over three venues, and they are: responding to crime in progress, investigating crime, intelligence sharing (counter-terrorism, police drugs dogs), knowledge sharing (including 'real-time' radio contact) and 'partnership' working (Wakefield, 2003, 200). Furthermore similarities between the duties of a security officer or door supervisor and a police officer were clear, with a base in 'home risk assessment through intelligence gathering' (218).

Although ultimate responsibility for risk management falls with the police, *immediate* risk management at a venue lies with the door supervisor and licensing objectives ensure Designated Premises Supervisors carry out risk assessments of their venue in conjunction with the public police and licensing officials. Door supervision forms policing provision that is 'client-directed', specific, and serves the interests of private employers (Shearing and Stenning, 1983; Hobbs *et al*, 2003). The responsibility of door supervision is steadily growing in England and Wales, not least with the introduction and strict enforcement of the four licensing objectives (the prevention of crime and disorder, ensuring public safety, prevention of public nuisance, and protection of children from harm (Scottish licensing objectives also include protecting and improving public health). The protection of children from harm creates pressure to police underage drugs and alcohol consumption vigorously, as well as 'driving down' violent crime. Yet a battle has emerged as official attention from licensing authorities and the police which accompany the proper implementation of the licensing objectives may be unwanted, and can lead to a 'self-help' approach by licensees who experience disorder (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) in Horsefield. This research suggests that when problems which related to the licensing objectives persist in a venue, rather than raising problems externally with the police, attempts were made to deal with them in-house in order to maintain a good reputation. However, looking at collaboration at the research sites, the questionnaire data tells us that door supervisors interacted with police in rural Brassville, just as they did in urban Horsefield. When respondents were asked how many times they had liaised with the police in the last year, the self-completion questionnaire results suggest 69.2% of Horsefield respondents had liaised with the police about an incident at the venue at which they were working, between two and ten times in the last year, compared to 50% of Brassville respondents. 30.8% of Horsefield respondents had liaised with police more than ten times in the last year, compared to none of the Brassville respondents, which has implications for both isolation and collaboration. Ensuring one is not falling foul of licensing legislation can though restrict the multi-agency approach and limit collaborative resources available to solve problems of violence and disorder at venues, and so prevent proper early intervention. This was clearly vocalised via unhappy grunting from licensees at Horsefield's Pubwatch meetings. Licensees take risk and utilise the efficient door supervision network in Horsefield to protect their venue. In Brassville however there was a favourability and reliance on police attending incidents in order to maintain a safe reputation. A lack of detection of a licensing objective problem therefore delays the onset of government approaches to violence and disorder including DBO's (Drinking Banning Orders) and EMRO's (Early Morning Restriction Orders). These field notes outline the intricacies and severity of some licensing issues in Horsefield:

*Geoff, a police officer, during an observation shift threatened to shut down a venue for having one door man covering the entire venue, when its licensing condition stipulated it was to have four. Acting as Police Bronze Commander, he had the power to do this and the licensing officer was also present. However Geoff was more*

*annoyed upon enquiry when the door supervisors "bare face lied to him", stating that only two door supervisors were required, that the other was inside the venue, and until a certain time when two more would arrive only one was required. There was not another door supervisor inside, there was one - him. Geoff had only approached the venue as there had been an incident whereby a group of males had thrown chairs inside the venue and the door supervisor, the man in question, had been assaulted. A door supervisor from another venue had reacted to the radio call and came to assist. It was this door supervisor that was the supposed second employee. Geoff was concerned for the doorman's welfare as he was operating alone, but also legally was posing a risk of heightened crime and disorder. Geoff spoke to the licensee and gave her thirty minutes to resolve the situation by getting four doormen in place. In the end and due to Geoff getting caught up in something else, she had sixty minutes and managed to get four additional badged bodies on top of the original one. The threat had worked. (Field notes – Horsefield – Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2011).*

Licensees may be offered voluntary closure if they breach conditions of their license. If they refuse then closure may be enforced by a Police Inspector almost instantly, and the case is rushed to court. Court action is needed to reverse the closure. Similar powers are used to force premises to close at notorious football matches (local derby events for example), and due to the court involvement cannot be reversed even if the match is cancelled.

Pubwatch is a voluntary collaborative forum attended by police, licensees and door supervisors in England and Wales to discuss problems and achievements in the local night-time economy and most towns have one. With the above questionnaire analysis in mind, there were some indications of a self-help approach at Horsefield's Pubwatch where *licensees* were confident in being outspoken about the chances of getting "shut down" if they raise issues. Ultimately, local governments can face a dilemma if there are violent incidents which do not project a healthy outlook of a place, and may even create an obstacle between the police and other agencies of government (Hobbs *et al*, 2003; also Bottoms, 2007). Resolution to such issues vary 'from place to place' (Girling *et al*, 2000; Bottoms, 2007): 'This is an important point, because scholars who are particularly interested in 'globalization', 'late modernity', and the like can display an unfortunate '*insensitivity to place*' (Bottoms, 2007, 568).

The observations conducted as part of the build-up and actual research of this thesis found that although often positive, working public-private relationships between door supervisors and public police officers were temperamental and rested on a few key individuals. In Horsefield the individuals central to efficient communication and information sharing were one of the head door supervisors (Marvin), the town centre Sergeant, and the Licensing Officer. Licensees and other junior door supervisors were reciprocal to this and crucial to information sharing. In Brassville, a major contention arose if the local beat police officer was unavailable to attend monthly Pubwatch due to work patterns or holidays, or other work. The opportunities for face-to-face interaction seemed especially crucial in Brassville as they were so rare.



In Wakefield's (2003) study, The Quayside Centre Association, an initiative of voluntary information sharing, provided the forum for the shopping centre to provide a: 'formal basis for information sharing that could be followed up with co-ordinated and targeted surveillance by means of the shared radio system', and to allow the collection and dissemination of information with a focus on known offenders (212). The association's meeting was attended by over twenty stores, the centre's security management, and police officers, and the meeting allows for the sharing of photographs of offenders, and the establishment of a database of offenders. Licensed premises have a similar initiative in Pubwatch. In Brassville, if a police officer did not attend the Pubwatch meeting due to shift pattern or whatever, there was no obvious medium through which to vent frustration or question police night-time economy related matters. This only served to add to a feeling of isolation; "we're on our own aren't we?" the wine bar owner once said, to nods of agreement. Some officers however would attend such meetings during their time off or rearrange shift patterns to ensure participation. Similar to the situation at all three sites in Wakefield's (2003) research where the collaboration was a success an emphasis on reciprocal information sharing was clear: 'a small number of personal contacts appeared to drive the working relationships that existed between the police and security and management staff at the three sites' (199). Furthermore, alternative street briefings held by police in Horsefield, designed to centralise the police operation effort whilst showing visibility to the public by being held in the street, were ad hoc and ineffective as the door supervisors were inevitably already on shift, or not yet on shift when they occurred. Street briefings are though a sensible practice, but demand organisation and management.

Crucially good relationships in Horsefield and Brassville were cemented on little more than police officers taking the time for 'tea and a chat', reminiscent of the role played by the traditional community beat officer in England and Wales, and 'excuses' for such informal meetings were legitimate, often surrounding licensing issues and enquiries in Horsefield. It is crucial to evaluate the performance and future potential of the private security industry in parallel economic and political discussion (White, 2010). Multi-agency approaches to crime and disorder which include volunteers and door supervisors have significant benefits in a time of austerity - where police budgets are being cut by 20 per cent over four years (see *inter alia* White and Gill, 2013) - and public resources are increasingly limited with a shrinking police force in England and Wales (Lister, 2009). In light of decreasing police resources to swarm neighbourhoods with generous amounts of officers, it is vital to look elsewhere. Noaks (2008), although discovering exemplary *negative* collaborative work between public and private agencies, recorded positive feedback from neighbourhood recipients of community private security patrols (92% of prescribers were satisfied at the job the private security officers were doing) (162), and liked being able to offload grievances over anti-social crime (as a pose to more serious crimes). Yet, interestingly the self-completion questionnaire results suggest 61.5%

of Horsefield respondents 'agree' that the need for door supervision is underestimated by *the public*, whereas 50% of Brassville respondents agree.

The focus of community policing, it has been concluded, is 'working for and with' the community whilst 'downplaying' policing as a set of activities 'imposed' upon the community (Newburn and Reiner, 2008, 929). More importantly community policing offers the opportunity for communities to prioritise local problems and see (or appear to see) a reaction to these individual problems. This stands in stark contrast to vehicle-based response patrols. Moreover this resonates with suggestions of collaborative policing which advocates proactive monitoring and maintaining neighbourhoods at the heart of 'Broken Windows' experiments in 1980's America (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Such theorising was highly popular, initially at least. Although recognising their limitations, many residents saw private security as a first point of contact in Noak's (2008, 163) study as private security were often 'on the spot', acting as spotter and guardian, and a deterrent in lowering crime. A third of residents were dissatisfied with the role of the public police in comparison; "we never see them", one commented (165). There is evidence to support a growing acceptance by public policing of private security provision (White, 2010, 59) and the public police have had an active part in the emergence of a vast private security sector, however the success of multi-agency approaches relies on a number of factors. These include positive relationships between the agencies involved, and must be built upon basic human communication which naturally fluctuates as relationships blossom and wither. Positive collaboration is therefore subject to the realities of time management, and deep-rooted preconceptions and public police stereotypes of door supervisors may prove stumbling blocks, as in Horsefield and explored below. 15.4% of Horsefield respondents strongly agree and 38.3% agree that the need for door supervision is underestimated by *the police* compared to 25% and 25% of Brassville respondents, respectively and so there is work to be done to improve relationships. However, those involved in successful collaboration can reap significant rewards.

### **Benefits of collaboration in Brassville and Horsefield**

Benefits of successful policing and security collaboration were reciprocal for the public police and private security officer participants in Wakefield's (2003) study. At the shopping centre, for example, security staff claimed a 'good working relationship with the police, with 'shared common values', and a lack of friction, stating: "there's no 'them and us" (196). Informal agreements based on little more than voluntary and mutual support benefitted police in terms of CCTV footage sharing in the prosecution of a crime for example, and benefited private security guards in intelligence sharing as police had better access to data. Formal engagements at the sites involved Police CCTV Liaison Officers, and notably these officers added formality to otherwise informal agreements. The local police could benefit financially if involved in the delivery of training to security officers, which also functioned to strengthen the relationship. White and Gill (2013), who analysed interview data, found

a desire amongst private security officers to internally 'legitimate' their trade (78), finding that they were keen to participate in multi-agency training schemes such as *Project Griffin*. The project, in 2004, was a police led training initiative in London, whereby joint work and training delivered by the police left security officers feeling 'value in being valued' (84). The police were happy to boost collaborative and joint work and of course a natural side effect was a better trained 'arm' of the 'police family' who were efficient, cost-effective and resilient (85). In Horsefield, Marvin identified himself and his company as an arm of the police a few times during observations. Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister, and Winlow (2003) also perceive combined training as beneficial in the intelligent decision-making around summoning police assistance (188), and comments from interviewees on capability and the limitations of poorly trained door supervisors become prominent in this discussion.

Wakefield (2003) recorded that Police Architectural Liaison Officers could offer advice to security managers, which included environmental risk assessments, in the hope of 'designing out crime' (Clarke and Mayhew, 1980). A mutual collaboration over serious crimes (rape, suicide) was reciprocal in evidence presented by Wakefield (2003), and characteristic of success was a sound two-way communication system whereby police would notify security staff at the shopping centre or the mall, for example if a dangerous offender had been seen in a public location nearby. Consequently security guards were then more vigilant acting as the 'eyes and ears' of the police, on the spot. Security officers at the shopping centre were also used as police backup, which Wakefield attributes to successful relationships which had: 'taken care to establish' (204). Even in Noak's (2008) research on a failing public-private collaboration, which will be discussed shortly, a positive was the ability for police to gain intelligence from private security officers on the ground (159).

So, the success of this collaboration, where private security officers were presented as an extension or arm of the law in terms of manpower and intelligence sharing, was attributable to the efforts of only a few police officers. Successful co-operation and collaboration was likely if police officers or private security officers had first-hand experience of the job of the other. For instance, one police officer in Wakefield's (2003) study used to be a member of the Special Constabulary (the volunteer police force of England and Wales) prior to working in the private security industry, and so had good links with the (mall) police team (also Wakefield, 2008). One commercial centre manager was a former police officer. Success seemed to rest on a mutual knowledge and accurate understanding of the role of the other, leading to sensible requests for assistance for example. This was also found in later research by White (2014), who analysed Lincolnshire police's privatisation of Force Control Room and Custody facilities to G4S (a global security company). Ex-police officers employed by G4S were keen to work for the public good over a drive for domination of a financial market (although tension remained amongst non-management workers). Some security officers in Wakefield's (2003) study expressed a will to contribute in the fight against crime as motivation for their employment. A

'cop culture' has also been historically documented in private security, with 'commonalities' arising from similarities in the conducting of both private and public policing roles in an 'advanced industrial liberal democracy', and characterised by 'notable authority and danger' (Reiner, 1992).

Such danger and potential for danger was clear in both Brassville and Horsefield and a number of initiatives created a toolbox to use in the night-time economy to allow as many police officers to remain on the streets as possible. Such initiatives inform the overall aim of the thesis to propose recommendations for reducing conflict and effectively tackling violence and aggression in night-time venues. At both research sites positive relationships were present and often hinged on the success of information sharing forums, and also benefitted from the subsequent imposition of bans and expulsion orders or bailing. For police in Horsefield, Street Bail offered a labour-reducing method of dealing with minor disorder, or disorder which requires further investigation at a later date. Police, under rules of street bail, can take suspected nuisance-causers out of town, and bail them to attend a police station, often later that same week. This saves on time and resource-intensive arrest processes and procedures. If they were intoxicated, and could not understand the scheme, they would need to be arrested. Venue bans provide a method of preventing crime and providing security in large public spaces. When enforced by door supervisors however, legal boundaries are pushed and liberty is impacted by those other than police officers (although ultimately supported by law). However, bans implemented at football grounds have proved useful in preventing persistent or serious offenders attending matches and becoming involved in hooliganism or other public order, and are enforced by both public police and private security officers and liaison officers. Dispersal orders, distributed by police officers under the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 Section 27, which ban individuals from re-entering a designated place (e.g. a central cluster of nightlife venues) for a designated period of time, are another example of initiatives directly useful to police officers working in the night-time economy. During observations, door supervisors play a part in enforcing this ban, acting as the eyes and ears of the police and of course door supervisors have the ability to ban persons from entering designated premises. They will in most cases be supported in their enforcement of such bans by the police. Bans in such public spaces and private spaces for public use have huge implications for liberty and the notion of citizenship (as discussed by Jones and Newburn, 1998), and require adequate risk management. Negative interactions between door supervisors and police in Horsefield were also evidenced during the observations, alongside positive interactions. Surrounding Section 27 use, due to the impact on liberty, police officers explained frustration when door supervisors would attempt to order them to issue these saying "he needs a section 27", or "get him out of town". However on another occasion an individual who was on a Pubwatch ban, and had been given a Section 27 order for disregarding his ban and venturing into the town centre, was identified by door supervisors who alerted the police, thereby reinforcing their actions.

One of four Brassville respondents agreed that the police can be relied on to support door supervisors, whilst another one disagreed and the remaining two were undecided. However, as incidents outlined in the case study of Brassville demonstrate, the success of private and public collaboration in dealing with large incidents in a rural area, and the close proximity in which the two can operate successfully, directly boosted police input into the security of the night-time economy. The resulting additional resources in the form of two Special Constabulary officers each Friday and Saturday night were welcomed in reaction to the identification of the potential for dangerous incidents in this small town. A serious incident of disorder was only curbed by the employment of door supervisors. Incidents outlined in the case study were also exemplary of the crossing of boundaries of public space by private officials, motivated by a sense of duty. In Brassville observations were conducted alongside a team of four door supervisors, but also two roaming 'street marshals' who patrolled the public area in between licensed venues between 1900 and 2330, and it was concluded that part of the success of the security team was a combination of experience and early intervention by the street marshals. Mobile patrolling of the public streets did not lead to any instigation of incidents during the observation period, although other evidence supports an increase in disorder when mobile patrols are conducted *within* venues (Homel *et al's* research, 2004). On the contrary, mobile patrolling offered a panoramic view and a fast reaction to incidents, resulting in early intervention in Brassville.

Contentions were present though amongst some door supervisors conducting mobile patrols. Let us be reminded of the beginnings of one incident described above, where street marshal Liam remarked that an incident he had heard via radio was "nowt to do with us", and "not our problem". Supporting his opinion, he commented that the venue in need of assistance was not paying for the street marshal service. The service was paid for through the Pubwatch scheme and demanded a monthly fee for door supervisor support and radio provision. Monaghan's (2004) empirical research on door supervision is of relevance here. He comments: 'Reflexive workers, enacting 'the cautious body' were discursively aware of the legal hazards attendant to using (non-commercial) force outside licensed premises, whilst 'old-time bouncers'...may fight in the street in order to negate masculinity challenges and pursue carnivalesque pleasures' (465). In this particular incident in Brassville the street marshals did attend; Liam following a more enthusiastic marshal – Russ. Russ was enthusiastic to get involved whilst Liam felt morally obliged to support his colleague. Collaborative work in Brassville signifies that police and door supervisors do not have 'unified rationalities' but that they do draw from a mix of market and 'public good rationalities' to guide their actions (White and Gill, 2013), and share elements of culture in relation to their motivation for undertaking their relative roles. There may be a wider picture too, as this highlights a moral as well as an economic approach to crime and disorder by private sector businesses (also White, 2010). It was noted however, that the extra uniformed public police presence of the Special Constabulary officers however was coldly

received by some of the door supervisors as they believed it could lead to the perception of a necessity for police patrols, making people anxious as they ponder over what has demanded it and fear increases.

Although frequent frustrations remain on both sides of the metaphorical divide, examples of effective co-operation between door supervisors and police officers were evident in Horsefield, supporting the findings of Wakefield's (2003) study. Practical positive collaboration was evidenced during the direct observations in Horsefield:

*In one of the town centre bars I accompanied police officers who had been called to an incident where a young man had fallen, knocking a woman's glass out of her hand on the way down. The glass had smashed and landed underneath him. The resulting cuts were deep and he had suffered significant blood loss, which was also a sign of what transpired to be a head injury. Door supervisors and police officers worked almost automatically to set a cordon, and pave a path for the inbound paramedics. The cordon was largely provided by door supervisors who used their bodies as a perimeter. The door-staff at the venue also left two guys on the front door, who had come across from another venue to cover, reacting to the radio call for assistance. Therefore control of the entry to the venue was maintained at all times, and the door supervisors were able to continue to monitor who was entering and leaving the premises and to direct other emergency services as the police continued to work with paramedics. The control, maximised by high visibility police and black jacketed door staff, appeared highly professional.*

(Field notes – Horsefield - Friday 23rd December 2011).

At an annual sporting event in September 2013, a scuffle broke out involving rival members of the travelling community local to Horsefield and the details of the night are outlined in the following field notes:

*During the eve of the event Horsefield was busy. An initial argument had fizzled out when members of rival groups had been ejected from a bar in front of observing police officers. The police officers I was accompanying responded, ensuring the groups dispersed in separate directions. However a van carrying members of one faction of the argument emerged not long after driving through the town centre. The van slowed and its occupants debussed the vehicle and began brawling with the rival group in a car park near the venue they had previously been ejected from. Out of my view as I was stood a few yards away talking to Fred, one of the door supervisors, Sgt Sheriff reacted- calling for backup as he did so. Fred reacted so quickly I didn't realise he had left as I looked over my other shoulder. The brawl gathered momentum and initially Sgt Sheriff was acting alone, outnumbered, and the brawlers persisted in his presence. If it were not for the presence of Fred, who was backed up by other door supervisors who were patrolling the city centre, Sgt Sheriff would have been acting alone as his own backup was a few hundred metres away on another street. The rival Travellers were dispersed after throwing punches and vocalising threats to meet up in a more private venue to finish the feud – a tradition amongst some Travellers. Fred remarked it was only due to the police involvement that he bothered to move: "Only cos' I saw Sgt Sheriff in there that I went over. I would've left the fuckers to it if it weren't for that".*

(Field notes - Annual racing festival Saturday 14th September 2013)

The Travellers were not arrested, and later on when the adrenaline had left the systems of those involved, over coffee the licensing officer who was present at the scene but whose role prevents him

getting involved interestingly took Sgt Sheriff to task over not arresting the brawlers. He jovially mentioned that non-Travellers fighting so clearly in the street would have been arrested. Sgt Sheriff pointed out that it would have done nothing as no charges would have been pressed by the fighting factions as this is unusual in Traveller culture, and repercussions - as were threatened amongst the fighting groups when split up - would have been delayed rather than prevented. Fred reckoned they would fight the next morning and knew a likely destination for such an event. Others disagreed as the Travellers were heard saying that they would get their fathers involved and it was believed that the fathers would have little interest in pursuing the altercation.

There is a working collaboration between door supervisors and the police in central Horsefield which seems effective and the above incidents are exemplary, although the collaboration hinges on a few persistent and passionate police officers and dedicated work by the police licensing officer. At the very least it is a mutually supportive collaboration. Radio communication between; door supervisors working for different companies, Designated Premises Supervisors (DPS), head door supervisors, police officers, and licensing officers assists this relationship practically during incidents and at busy periods. It was clear that it was a challenge to plan and predict unknown attendance at large events, and door supervisors in Horsefield did well to organise their manpower in the shadow of highly organised police systems. In 2011 there were two "Mad Fridays"; Mad Friday 1 (16<sup>th</sup> December 2011) was staff Christmas party time, and Mad Friday 2 (23<sup>rd</sup> December 2011) was also busy being the day before Christmas Eve. Neither proved to be particularly 'mad' in terms of numbers or incidents of disorder, but had to be overstaffed just in case. It was generally agreed that no days over this particular Christmas period were busier than the usual busy Friday or Saturday. High taxi prices and the economy in downturn were thought to be to blame (Field notes – Horsefield - Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2011 – 'Mad Friday'). Good collaboration also saw last minute planning in conjunction between town centre police officers and senior door supervisors in order to prevent and deter confrontation and conflict at the earliest stages, and the following concern was raised regarding a bank holiday Sunday not judged by door supervisors to be accounted for in police resourcing:

*Strangely enough the police, far from planning to provide an Op 'Crocodile' cover, had planned for a normal Sunday contingency of zero cops on the streets. It was only intervention from Marv and Sgt 'Sheriff' in the week leading up to the Easter weekend that a 2/3 strength 'Crocodile' team was agreed*  
(Field Notes, Horsefield, Sunday 8th April 2012, "Bank Holiday").

But in 'peacetime', sharing a coffee at particularly calm and quiet periods clearly had a positive effect on collaboration in Horsefield. Also, the presence of the 'black suits', described in detail in the previous chapter, provides an interesting insight into security provision in the large town which demands collaboration due to the footfall at events. The size of the security operation demands that

the leading security companies in the town work in collaboration to police large events (which sits in contrast to rival 'bouncer battles' as discussed - Hobbs *et al*, 2003). So, when the footfall in the Horsefield area rises, the onus on efficient collaboration is heightened significantly, but challenges remain.

### **Challenges of collaboration in Brassville and Horsefield**

Contention arose in Wakefield's (2003) empirical research if the police were seen to be slow in attending an incident at one of the venues, or not considering a crime significant enough to attend at all. The self-completion questionnaire results suggest amongst *all* Horsefield and Brassville respondents less than half (41.2%) agree/strongly agree that the police respond to serious incidents which they know involve door supervisors quickly. Police attendance at a situation is of course resource-intensive, and police assistance may only be necessary in order to pursue a prosecution, rather than to de-escalate or detain a person or persons causing problems, as these tasks can be undertaken by security staff. To free-up security officers at the detriment of typing-up police officers is unlikely to be the most sensible option in light of the wider function the public police can perform. This is especially significant as evidence has demonstrated that in some cases poor manning procedures of the security staff may have contributed to a reliance on police assistance which reinforces the need to suitably train door supervisors to act as *capable* guardians as discussed earlier, and this contention was least documented when knowledge of the police role by private security officers was good. As discussed, a particularly negative account of guardian collaboration is presented by Noaks (2008). A community safety programme invested in by both public police and a security company, resulted in friction and a poor working relationship: 'There was an apparent unwillingness on the part of the public police to acknowledge any role for private groups and a situation of stand-off in relation to active co-operation' (160). This resulted in mistrust and an inevitable breakdown in communication. Stylianou's (2013) autobiographical account is exemplary of the complexities which can result if public and private relationships are poor or begin to deteriorate:

'If the police turned up during one of the brawls outside, you'd be in for a right questioning and maybe get nicked if they saw all the blood on your fucking clothing. This was when we had the idea of swapping the bloody jackets with the bouncers inside who were wearing clean ones. After a particularly nasty fight you'd have to run inside and swap your jacket before the Old Bill arrived' (106).

In Noak's (2008) account each agency complained about the other, and saw the other as having considerable weaknesses. White (2010) identifies poor regulation as a factor in poor relationships between door supervisors and police. White (2010) argues the incompetence displayed in England and Wales during the initiation of the SIA hindered the relationship between private and public policing. The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) initially 'showed signs' that it would become



a central stakeholder in the SIA, but: 'this optimistic beginning did not continue for long' (149). The 'false starts' involved in the initiation of the SIA meant it 'could not come close' to gaining the status and power of the Home Office or the police: 'it could not be viewed by everyday citizens as a credible guarantor of the public interest' (White, 2010, 154). White (2014) realises the public are affected by stigma surrounding private security in the UK, viewing it as a 'tainted trade', second to the police (1018). Interestingly public support for the SIA remains, with the public agreeing that there is a potential to legitimise the industry – all is not lost, but it is set back from original targets. In Noak's (2008) research the result was poor communication and subsequently: 'little immediate potential for working together' (166). Noaks (2008) concluded that the lack of 'joined-up thinking' was detrimental to the success of the partnership (166) and so a 'significant gulf' existed between the two agencies (167). Senior police officers put some failings down to a lack of formal policy regarding; 'active liaison with private security groups' (161), and from this it is suggested that there are a lack of specialists to plug the gap between private and public police, as is found with Police Architectural Liaison Officers or Football Liaison Officers in their various disciplines. Police Door Supervision Liaison Officers could fill the potential gap in communication but also ensure the private security officers have an obvious point of contact for collaboration queries, thereby practically bridging gaps across boundaries.

Following an observation shift with door supervisors at a football match in Horsefield, I accompanied door supervisor 'Harvey', as he worked the front door of a nightclub. Managing the front door is usually a slot reserved for the more experienced and capable door supervisors, as aggression is best confronted and controlled there. Those whose capabilities are unknown or their experience limited can expect to be positioned inside (Hobbs *et al*, 2003). The main door is the most sensible place to engage in confrontation as rejection is far easier than (the realities of) ejection in a dark, crowded interior where professional and effective verbal communication ability can be weakened. The night of a relatively well attended football match in September 2011 was fairly calm but busy. Harvey is a very articulate individual, and extremely aware of the socio-political debates surrounding his profession. Harvey and I were interrupted mid-conversation at the front door of the venue he was guarding by an aggressive male, who was then refused entry. The situation escalated quickly and the male, seemingly unjustly, spat directly at Harvey. Harvey responded by getting hold of the man by the scruff of the neck and using his body weight to hold him away from himself, until assistance arrived from his colleagues and the police, the details of which are outlined in the following field notes:

*'Harvey' and I were interrupted mid-sentence. He had noticed that a customer was being aggressive to another in the very confined smoking area at the front of the venue... Harvey saw what was happening and went over to the confrontation. He used his body as a wedge between the two arguing customers which the aggressive male took*

*distaste to, turning his anger towards Harvey. The man was not of a particularly large frame but he was slightly taller than Harry. Harry seemed un-phased by the physical presence of the man and tried to de-escalate the situation by taking steps away but the aggressive male kept on at 'Harvey', who had by this time informed him that he would not be allowed to re-enter the venue. The escalation grew and 'Harvey' called on his radio for assistance (the other two doormen had ventured inside to conduct standard checks, and only 'Harvey' and I were in close proximity to the incident). The male heard this and began to mock 'Harvey' remaining 'in his face'. As more door supervisors came to assist from other venues who could see the altercation unfold at the main door the male became overly aggressive and he began to spit as he was talking. It was difficult to see exactly what triggered the spitting, but the aggressive male spat in Harvey's face and had a string of white foamy saliva running from his lip to his chin, and it was clear what had happened. As a reaction to the initial spitting Harvey had grabbed hold of the man by his neck or collar to create a gap between them and was assisted by other door men from other venues in doing so. The police, three of whom were positioned immediately opposite the venue across the road, reacted and assisted in detaining the male. In hindsight the door supervisors reacted with considerable restraint considering the physical disgust, embarrassment, and health risk of being spat on. No fists were thrown and the door supervisors worked together to safely overpower the individual.*

(Field notes - The night following 'Horsefield' Vs Anonymous Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> September 2011)

Being spat at was not a common gripe but it can be a consequence of intoxication, drug use, or can be used a tool to intimidate. At one point it seemed a possibility that 'Harvey' may vent his anger on a less deserving customer post-event as he continued his shift. He didn't and explained that when he got worked up, it was "there, then, and done with", and that he quickly calms. This was reassuring and the night passed without further incident. Harvey seemed unsure about whether to press charges. 'Marvin', one of the head door supervisors, had explained prior to this incident that injury claims were seen as soft among door supervisors. However fellow door supervisors who had come to Harvey's assistance were vocal and determined in advising Harvey to press charges. The unwritten rule of remaining silent seemed to be acquitted in light of an incident involving spitting which seemed to defy all moral codes of conduct.

Harvey's colleagues remarked after the incident that he had acted with considerable restraint but police officers who eventually responded to the incident treated him with clear suspicion, and his account of the way events unfolded with caution, despite their positioning in clear view of the incident albeit on the pavement opposite. On this occasion the police infuriated the door supervisors by suggesting their reaction had been over the top, in light of a strong consensus amongst the door supervisors that spitting is the lowest of the low in terms of assault, and that their actions involved only legitimate restraint. Several door supervisors who had eventually been involved were asked in general conversation with me whether they would rather be punched or spat at, and all replied that they would rather be punched. It was the health risk associated with spitting, and its cowardly but degrading nature that were the justification. The reaction of the police resounded with an earlier conversation between the researcher and Harvey that night. He expressed frustration at police

officers who would react to incidents between customers and door supervisors in the final stages of a conflict which had turned sour, rather than proactively intervening to help to avoid the situation escalating even when they were witnessing its progression. Harvey's underlying point was that if the police officers had rapport with the door supervisors, as the Urban (Town Centre) Safer Neighbourhood Team had, then mutual support, was very natural. It was suggested that, in the aforementioned incident, as the observing police officers had no affinity with the door supervisors involved, it was unsurprising that the incident was allowed to escalate. This meant door supervisors had a greater likelihood of being implicated in the use of violence. Yet police officers were happy to retrospectively thoroughly investigate the incident. Freeman (2009) documents, in his autobiographical account of working as a door supervisor for over a decade, how when he was arrested he was not always put in handcuffs as he had a good working relationship with the police, and Thompson (2000) – a door supervisor who worked through the same era - documents being *invited* to attend for police interview to save arrest. Thompson (2000) in his memoirs of working on the door describes some police as “friends” (but “hated” others) (132).

Harvey believed that frequent rotation of police officers as part of *Operation 'Crocodile'*; the town centre police surge operation conducted over Friday and Saturday night at least one weekend of the month to tackle violent crime, and cuts to policing budgets had led to policing by officers unfamiliar to the intricacies of specific demands of controlling the night-time economy, and problems with identifying known troublemakers. In Horsefield, recognition of offenders and the success of multi-agency collaboration was only sustained through continuity of town centre police officers who made their roles interactive. Door supervisors had more regular slots in the town centre due to the nature of their organisation, but they were not the most persistent attenders at Pubwatch meetings; the primary source of spreading police intelligence of offenders, including photographs. The police were not used to the door supervisors and vice versa, and the perception of door supervisors was that many police officers seemed to carry little motivation to invest in such relationships outside of a practical arrest, and door supervisors were for example frustrated that Horsefield town centre police officers hid their lapels, which contained their identification number (Door supervisor meeting, Horsefield, Monday 19 March 2012). This and subsequent problems faced by the lack of the ability amongst police officers to identify known faces around the town suggest commitment, fluidity and continuity are crucial to the success of multi-agency collaboration and it was suggested that police officers who lack the familiarity of working in the town centre may be motivated merely by overtime into the early hours of the morning.

To further successful collaboration and to tackle limitations in training, the use of schemes such as the Community Safety Accreditation Scheme (Home Office, 2011), as discussed by White and Gill (2003) offer Chief Constables, under the Police Reform Act 2002, the autonomy to grant extra

powers. The power to issue Fixed Penalty Notice Orders has, for instance, been granted and can specifically target disorder (under the 'Power of a constable to give a penalty notice under, Chapter 1 of Part 1, of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 (fixed penalty notices in respect of offences of disorder)) and can be given to private security guards and other agencies (Travis and Mulholland, 2008). Such powers have been used in a number of different areas for a number of different purposes, from hospital security officers in Cambridgeshire and council wardens in Cheshire, to traffic officers in Kent, and (sixty-nine) security officers in one security firm in Hertfordshire. South Yorkshire's - the stomping ground of this thesis – constabulary does not take part in the initiative. Although trialled by security officers in England and Wales already, schemes like this need careful safeguarding (Wakefield, 2005, 534), critique and proper continual review which is currently not available. One positive effect already documented however is one of 'connecting private security actors with a variety of public good rationalities' (White and Gill, 2013, 88), and giving private security officials responsibility, and a: 'significant degree of state-sanctioned legitimacy' (Crawford, and Lister, 2006, 170). There is of course scope to amplify the blurring of boundaries, to negative or positive gain, as discussed above. If private security workers are presented to the public as 'state-deputised actors', fulfilling their role for 'public good' as well as natural financial gain, this could represent a way forward (White, 2010, 177) as security businesses – like G4S - would be pulled more and more in line with servicing the 'public good'.

## **Discussion**

This chapter has introduced security, the police and policing in England and Wales, before developing the concept of policing in England and Wales by assessing the benefits and problems of collaborative work between two factions of Eck's (2003) 'controller' concept; public guardians, and private place managers. Difficulties in accurately measuring the growth of the security industry have been outlined, and the blurring of boundaries of collaborative work is discussed alongside ambiguity over public and private 'policing' roles. Button's (2002) research gives a working categorisation of public versus private public safety provision in England and Wales, and ultimately advocates the longevity of these terms, based around involvement in the market, and the motivation for security provision. It is clear, in research presented by Wakefield (2003), and in the empirical results of direct observation in Brassville and Horsefield that collaborative work is temperamental, and far from guaranteed, and Noaks (2008) presents research which is an example of the latter.

Again resounding Wakefield's (2003) findings, in Horsefield relationships between public police and private security were fluid and rested on the work of a few individuals. Hard work by these individuals could be easily undone by the presence of police officers with little personal investment in the local area, shipped in for surge operations from neighbouring smaller towns and other areas of responsibility. Similarly, Valentine, Holloway, Jayne, and Knell (2007) identify the claim that: the

police can only react to specific incidents, swarming units...to deal with flashpoints (21) (also, Hobbs *et al*, 2003). Instead continuity and commitment is required for successful multi-agency collaboration, to build trust and familiarity from the bottom up, rather than resting on a top-down approach which hangs on the actions of the few. Although a full evaluation of Pubwatch is not offered within this thesis, it is clear that Pubwatch serves vital functions. It can be a valuable asset for collaboration boosting, and providing face-to-face interaction between; door supervisors, Designated Premises Supervisors (DPS, License Holders), and the police in England and Wales. Face-to-face interaction, and also specialist interest from the public police toward private security could be boosted by the introduction of Door Supervision Police Liaison Officers to improve information sharing which rests on a few individuals in Horsefield. Not only could these officers boost the benefits of Pubwatch schemes, they could relieve the workload of Licensing Officers, who cover entire districts, and provide a point of contact for all door supervisors. Moreover the discussion of Pubwatch schemes and the bans they endorse emerged from the outlining of the benefits and problems associated with collaborative work in practise. Collaborative work can also benefit from joint training, and evidence has been presented which highlights the positives of official training of private security officers alongside the public police, and the sense of worth this gives door supervisors (see inter alia Hobbs *et al*, 2003). Specific examples from observations in Horsefield demonstrate that poor relations of trust can hinder collaboration, and poor relationships can snowball (Noaks, 2008). This is amplified when the pressure on DPS's to meet licensing objectives can mean that a self-help approach is taken, employing in-house prevention measures, and not bringing problems to the attention of the police or licensing objectives at the earliest opportunity.

Observations in Brassville outline police reliance on door supervision in a rural area in Yorkshire, where, in one incident, major disorder was only prevented by the immediate and on the spot reactions of door supervisors and street marshals who acted as spotters. This incident triggered a change in public policing in the local area, whilst a question remains over the legitimacy of the patrolling of public streets by private security personnel. Door supervisors are aware of their lack of power outside of their designated premises and the immediate vicinity, and may be reluctant to cross boundaries of space purely for the purpose of 'public good', although evidence suggests that discretionary decisions made on the spot may result in the crossing of such public-private boundaries. If boundaries are crossed there are huge implications for liberty and the social control of the general public. If public streets are to be policed by private security officers then their accountability requires adequate protection, and a tightening up of the current ambiguity found in the physical intervention legislation discussed in the previous chapter. Only then are we likely to escape the hesitation Liam understandably displayed in Brassville, as described above. Additional powers have been granted to private security officers in England and Wales, as part of the Community Safety Accreditation Scheme, but this application is sporadic, police force specific, and

requires further research. Although the public police and private security have at times been in conflict, characterised by competitiveness (White, 2010, 176), they also share common values and some share the common goal of supplying the moral as well as the actual demand of security and protection to the ordinary citizen, but how widespread this motivation is, needs further research. Public police, although outnumbered by their private counterparts, retain ultimate responsibility for risk management in night-time economies, due to their status and legal grounding. We must however continue to look at other models of security. The British model of collaboration sits: 'in an acute period of flux in which a radical new system of pluralised security provision is overlapping with a traditional, state-centred system', and it can undoubtedly learn from other systems of security across the globe (White, 2010, 178).

## **Chapter Ten. The Night-Time Economy Today. The Conclusion.**

This final chapter initially summarises the findings of the thesis before discussing fundamental arguments and recommendations which address the overall objectives and aim of the thesis: to reduce levels of violence and aggression in the night-time economy.

### **Summary of findings**

Chapter one outlines the motivation and the key themes of the thesis as well as its broad structure. Chapter two reviews current literature on rurality in England and Wales and further afield, and highlights the under-researched nature of rural crime. Key concepts were introduced, including specific risks and threats to consumers within night-time venues in England and Wales. It is made clear that crime rates are generally lower in rural areas than urban areas but it is also clear that one must be informed and mindful of violent crime in any night-time economy where potential offenders and victims congregate. Key concerns in existing research are isolation and anonymity in rural areas and the inclusion and exclusion of potential revellers. Furthermore, research on small English towns has identified problems unique to rural economies including safety on public transport and relaxed attitudes of parents towards underage drinkers (Girling, Loader, and Sparks, 2000; Valentine *et al*, 2008). In the doorways of the night-time economy the door supervisor's role as filter, controller and guardian grants them authority, and the chapter concludes that although some research is critical of the professionalism of door supervisors, nonetheless they can play a pivotal role in maintaining a safe drinking environment.

The second part of the literature review in chapter 3 sets the scene of thriving night-time venues in England and Wales, referring to Hobbs *et al*'s (2003) provocative research on the hedonistic pleasure and carnival which the night-time economy fosters. This chapter also addresses the successes and failings of recent attempts to regulate and de-criminalise "bouncers". Reduced enthusiasm for Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) is apparent despite its history as the favoured alcohol strategy of the government of England and Wales. The aspiration remains that drinking patterns in England and Wales can replicate and reflect a Southern European model of prolonged consumption of small volumes of alcohol in a relaxed manner. This is a sharp contrast to the notorious current British model of binge drinking commonplace in venues in England and Wales, whereby young people drink to get drunk. However, the literature reviewed in this chapter suggests that the strengthening of multi-agency collaboration and simultaneous public health campaigns represent a more achievable solution. The closing third of the literature review is presented in Chapter four which explores key contributions and the demographics of the night-time economy alongside crime and place. Modern theorists have revisited the original Routine Activities Theory of acquisitive crime presented by Cohen and Felson (1979) and applied its key concepts to violence and disorder in night-time venues

which concentrate on young people in relatively confined spaces where aggression can thrive. Such permissiveness in drinking environments is also influenced by music, venue surroundings, group drinking and drinking circuits and crowd control. In contrast, exclusive gentrified venues were highlighted as considerably more ordered and easier to control and manage. Furthermore, a review of Fox and Sobol's (2000) research highlighted the vulnerability of unaccompanied young females particularly those who left premises alone. Door supervisors are clearly well placed to undertake a supervisory role in the absence of the potential victim's own friends. The role of door supervisors as guardians was discussed in the detailed redefining of the guardian concept, heavily influenced here in the work of Eck (2003).

Chapter five critically discussed the research methods employed in the production of the thesis, which include the interview, the self-completion questionnaire, and direct observation. Document analysis and cartographical analysis were also critically discussed. Chapter six explored location, and described case studies of both 'Brassville' and 'Horsefield'. The case studies were the result of fifty hours of direct observation at each site. This chapter introduces empirical findings, including questionnaire and observation analysis. In particular, two very aggressive incidents in absence of police support highlight the need for capable guardianship in Brassville. They highlight the need for academic and associated research interest in isolated communities. On revisiting Brassville the temperamental nature of collaborations unfolded as relationships in the town had deteriorated. Exploring Horsefield facilitated a comparison with Brassville and it was clear that the policing demands on the town centres were different and greatly affected by town size. In particular, events in Horsefield attracted large crowds.

Police-recorded crime statistics set the scene in chapter seven. The chapter then examined the relationship between place and drinking environment and the effects on violent crime and aggression. The demand for substantial analysis of the provision of policing and security were highlighted, combining macro and micro explanations of socio-spatial crime analysis from the UK and further afield. Change in routines of work and leisure were documented in a study of an Australian rural mining community where a link between alcohol and escapism is clear. The chapter illustrates that door supervisors in their role as place managers and spotters provided a crucial situational crime prevention measure, and that CCTV is a must in security provision in night-time venues. Displacement of crime emerged as a crucial theme in the wider picture of security provision in a collection of night-time venues in a comparison of Brassville and Horsefield. It is important that the potential for violent crime can linger in the immediate vicinity of a venue.

Chapter eight explored capability using observational and interview data. Confidence and experience were noted as core assets of capable door supervisors at both research sites and confidence was of



key importance in a profession which directly deals with conflict. Also, evidence was presented to suggest the efforts of the Security Industry Authority (SIA) have been successful and have overcome preliminary failings, but that improvement must continue. The SIA needs to enthuse door supervisors, some of whom remain extremely critical of its practical value. Many of Horsefield's door supervisors raised concerns over a new generation of colleagues who lack capability and the correct motivation to complete their role to a high standard. Nonetheless interview data suggest that those less capable can still provide vital over-watch during incidents.

Chapter nine explored collaboration, focussing on positive aspects as well as the limitations of collaboration and collective training between door supervisors and the police and the ethos this promotes. A lack of detail in the monitoring of broad patterns of the security industry in the United Kingdom was highlighted, such as its growth. The temperamental nature of collaborative work and the thin thread on which relationships often rest were discussed, supported by previous research (specifically Button, 2002; Wakefield, 2003; Noaks, 2008). The benefits of a comprehensive Pubwatch scheme in bringing together different agencies were outlined, and Lister's (2009) call for Police Door Supervisor Liaison Officers echoed, whilst the reactive nature of policing in times of increasing austerity was acknowledged. A resulting reliance on private agencies was also acknowledged. The role of the door supervisor as a spotter for both actual trouble and as guardians who seek out potential troublemakers was again reinforced throughout this chapter and door supervisor's concerns over accountability were also prominent.

### **Implications of findings**

The findings of the thesis are six-fold. They can be categorised under the following headings; the training of place managers, the striking similarity in the drinking structure and habits of rural customers when compared to urban customers, the impact of outsider culture in the night-time economy, crime displacement in the rural night time economy, and the potential severity of violent incidents in rural venues, whilst rural and urban violent crime rates remain significantly different. They are discussed below in turn after a recap of themes prominent to the thesis.

Research conducted by Valentine *et al* (2008) offers the only substantial comparative study of the rural night time economy in England and Wales, and Girling Loader and Sparks (2000) offer a comprehensive insight into the night-time economy of a small town in England, but neither approach problems of disorder specifically from the point of view of door supervisors. Whereas Hobbs *et al* (2003) offer a thorough academic inspection of door supervision - before the introduction of the Security Industry Authority regulatory body - but narrow their focus on urban hubs across England and Wales. This thesis used interview data to explore door supervisor's experiences, and explored violence and disorder at two research sites; rural Brassville, a small "Rural Town and Fringe"

dormitory town, and urban Horsefield, a large hub, and over fifty hours of observation were conducted at each site over the duration of the ESRC award. Responses to a self-completion questionnaire at both sites were also collated, as well as attendance at various meetings including police violent crime and Pubwatch meetings.

Going out and drinking to excess is popular amongst young men and women in today's society and participation in the night-time economy represents a shift in routines of leisure from communal post work drinking to binging before even leaving one's residence in order to reduce costs, with a lifestyle activity target of 'weekend escapism' (Hollands, 1995; Hobbs *et al*, 2003) and getting as drunk as possible. Chatterton and Holland (2001, 9) succinctly summarise the scale of this change, and in doing so identify the necessity for combining micro environmental and situational, and macro societal analysis:

'... 'growing up' in many Western countries has been significantly extended due to dissatisfaction or exclusion from the labour market, increased participation rates in further and higher education, lower marriage rates and greater dependency on the family household. This extended adolescence has fuelled an array of consumer lifestyles and identities beyond those traditionally identified as 'youth' (2).

Although important for the study of change, youth transition studies have been criticised for not encompassing leisure and sexual transitions (Hollands 2002), and the relationship between leisure and sexual transitions and music and alcohol consumption are key to the night-time economy.

Official statistics inform us that, although victimisation amongst men is common in the night-time economy, females aged 18 – 30 were most at risk in the district in which both research sites sit. Fox and Sobol's (2000) research highlights the great importance of the role that door supervisors can play in a venue to safeguard women, and monitoring their movement as they leave, or by directing lone females towards a taxi as we are reminded that almost 9% of non-domestic violence against the person in the Horsefield district is recorded in licensed premises (along with a small percentage of domestic violence crimes). The consumers of mainstream popular culture which 'dominate' (167) western night-time economies remain characterised distinctly by both sexes. Although male mainstream fashion has moved on from 'Ben Sherman shirts, spikey hair, and black shiny shoes' (Hollands, 2002) the violent spaces in the night-time economy continue to offer a microcosmic opportunity to observe youth culture as young people are transitioned into the 'real world' (164) of sex, drugs and alcohol. Aggressive men are characterised by their "hyper-masculine" violent and drunken behaviour (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, 4), and this was all too clear during observations in both Horsefield and Brassville. Aggression can be caused by alcohol induced disinhibition; 'a weakening of the normative constraints which usually lead to the avoidance of aggressive

behaviour', and is amplified through increased physiological arousal, stress, irritation, and frustration caused by heat and crowding in bars, pubs, and clubs (Crisp and Turner, 2010, 269). Whilst bars, pubs and clubs have been forced to become more female friendly (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, 4) women's participation in the night-time economy can be catty and openly promiscuous (Hollands, 2000b) also evidenced both in the media (in 2014, for an extreme example, the actions of a young British girl performing oral sex on twenty-four males in a club for a free gift in the holiday resort of Malia captured on film sparked outrage when leaked to the press via social media: Bell, 2014), and in accounts of door supervisors here.

Those who fall outside of mainstream popular culture are largely catered for in larger night-time economies (*inter alia*: Measham and Brain, 2005; Hadfield, 2009) whilst the unemployed or welfare-dependent are often excluded (Sibley, 1995; Hollands 2002). As discussed, current UK government strategy has proposed MUP in supermarkets, envisioned as a means to tackle excessive pre-loading prior to participation in the night-time economy, yet as harmful drinkers with the lowest incomes would reduce their consumption the most (Holmes, 2014) the realistic role MUP has in tackling problems of intoxication in the night-time economy becomes hazy. In place of MUP then the significance of initiatives aimed at educating future generations acknowledges the huge contribution to the night-time economy by young people, and highlights the need for a shift in attitude to acknowledge the pursuit of excitement and exhilaration without alcohol, but also for definitions and theorisation around binge-drinking to remain current. As the urban night-time economy expands and austerity in England and Wales continues, the necessity for macro and micro analytical research to focus on the consumers and potential targets in its space steadily increases: "It has been mooted that as employment and career prospects have become harder to obtain for many young people, leisure consumer identities have become more central to youth identity today' (Hollands, 2002, 159).

By approaching macro and micro research questions surrounding youth and club culture from a spatial perspective one can account for urban and rural, and regional and national differences, and thoroughly acknowledge both restrictions imposed through, but also opportunities offered by, leisure routines whilst exploring life activity of those: 'situated in different labour markets, education systems, communities and local attitudes' (Hollands, 2002, 168). Within the thesis a practical approach to crime has taken precedence, focussing on the act itself rather than the social institutions which surround it, supporting Coyne and Eck's (2015) distancing from 'the sociologically minded criminologist [who] is examining possible causes that are spatially and temporally distant from the moment the potential offender makes a choice' (14). This forms part of Coyne and Eck's (2015) wider argument to exchange rational choice for situational choice in the study of crime. Such semantic difference, they argue, better accounts for and factors in irritability, impulsivity, self-control and decision-making, which can act as a precursor to aggression in crowded environments. The

importance of guardianship to govern that moment or deal with it immediately has dominated this thesis. Crucially Coyne and Eck (2015) draw the conclusion that small changes in situations can, although albeit not with 100% of crime, have a 'general effectiveness' (24). In short, anything that deters the committal of a crime by a person needs to be as instant and immediate as whatever motivates the person to commit the crime, and the role of door supervisors allows for instant intervention and deterrence.

Focus on the social aspect of socio-spatial criminology is inherent in the analysis of target suitability in crowded night-time spaces. Well-presented, clean and expensively finished venues offer a chance for all those who engage in the night-time economy to experience a real or false lived reality of social mobility and a certain plasticity of identity, and the gain of status through consuming expensive drinks, and dress simply abiding to a few principles of self-presentation, at the beginning of the night. Gentrification in the night-time economy does, however, raise the onus on owners, licensees and door supervisors to present an attractive and safe environment in which to consume. Hollands (2002) recognises that when change is transitioned through the night-time economy it can represent a microcosm of broader cultural change, and historically in a shift from traditional class culture to modern individual 'mix and match' lifestyles (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, 13). Moreover, this thesis encourages further research on two significantly under-researched topics; dangerous occupations and rural criminality, and a number of recommendations are made below. Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014), write of criminological study:

'through the endless retesting of data with new methodological twists and turns that do little to advance knowledge, and the developments of overly specialized theories, pint-size in scope, which add jargon but little else...Rural criminology is one area whose development is young enough that this need not occur' (98).

And so, what has been offered in this thesis is a 'boots-on-the-ground' approach which adds meat to the bones of recorded crime statistics. It enables reflection of the problems faced by door supervisors and explores the unique experiences they encounter, as they serve to manage and control their places of work, dealing as they do with dangerous people and dangerous situations, with a requirement to remain in a degree of readiness for attack. Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014) warn 'the myth of rural homogeneity is a long-held assumption that continues to hinder the development of rural crime research' (7), and comparative rural research into specific places is crucial to broaden our understanding of the rural night-time economy. One of thirty-four months was to record more violent crime per 1000 population in rural Brassville town centre than in urban Horsefield town centre. This re-iterates the danger of assuming rural safety, whilst also reminding us of the importance of looking at rates of crime, not mere counts, and crime mapping can bridge gaps in the understanding of the wider picture locally and nationally. With the support of the comparative

questionnaire analysis and an extensive literature review, one can confidently conclude that groups of males causing trouble in and around pubs and clubs is certainly not an urban phenomenon, and direct observations in Brassville outlined similarities in the types of disorder found in Horsefield and in fact their leisure makeup was not dissimilar, as both had drinking circuits and comprised of environments which attracted a young clientele.

In its exploration of the capability of door supervisors, this thesis has examined common multi-agency collaborative practice and specific criminogenic demands of location, and documents how pivotal these factors are in maximising the theorisation of the safeguarding of revellers in the night-time economy. The comparative analysis of location, capability, and collaboration are infused below into six conclusions which bring the thesis to a close. The conclusions are followed by recommendations which address the overall aim of the thesis which is to propose recommendations for reducing conflict and effectively tackling violence and aggression in night-time venues:

#### Location

1. The thesis finds a striking similarity in the drinking structure and habits of rural customers when compared to urban customers.
2. There is an impact of outsider culture in the night-time economy.
3. Crime displacement in the rural night time economy is a crucial factor in security analysis.
4. The potential severity of violent incidents in rural venues is high, whilst rural and urban violent crime rates remain significantly different.

#### Capability

5. Providing effective training for place managers is crucial in producing capable guardians.

#### Collaboration

6. The nature of collaborative relationships is often temperamental, and structure is needed to improve such relationships.

#### **Location**

One of the objectives of this thesis was to examine the relationship between place and drinking environments with specific comparison of the rural and urban environment.

*The thesis finds a striking similarity in the drinking structure and habits of rural customers when compared to urban customers*

Brassville has a number of quintessential pubs, intermixed with a small number of popular and lively venues which form a drinking circuit more commonly associated with the urban night-time economy. The merge of popular age-groups within rural drinking venues has long been documented but in Brassville, as in many *urban* towns, what is presented is more a milieu of drinking venues which together forms a drinking circuit happy to attract a young demographic. The microcosmic drinking economy in Brassville, surrounded by its vast rural landscape, has become one which thrives through tourism of both its day and night-time economies. Such an existence of urbanised rurality (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014; Cloke 2006) is accompanied by a turbulent mix of outsider and local clientele, the blend of which served to create problems of crime and disorder – some serious and involving weapons. Such an urbanised rurality lacks both the provision of police more common in urban clusters of night-time venues, and the state security governance – such as centralised CCTV - found in larger urban towns (including Horsefield). The ‘blurring’ of spatial and geographical boundaries (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014; Cloke, 2006; Marini and Mooney, 2006) in the ‘urbanisation’ of rural Brassville’s market *also* reflects its ‘entrepreneurial’ nature, as night-time venues successfully attract outsiders (Marini and Mooney, 2006) but retain a rural identity and thereby resist large demographical change. However Brassville’s night-time market is liable to being hassled by groups of males in search of intoxication but who’s ‘beer tokens’ allow its owners to thrive, a devious friction faced by all kinds of licensees no doubt, and in cities these may be ‘squeezed out’ in the shadow of dominant large brewers (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, 15). Finally, in Brassville’s vibrant mix of clientele, there is potential for outsiders to become excluded through gentrification.

*There is an impact of outsider culture in the night-time economy*

Problems of violence in Brassville included warring youths, with locals pitted against tourists who, on one occasion, appeared to be competent fighters and Brassville door supervisors expressed concern at the growing popularity of Mixed Martial Arts amongst their clientele, meaning the potential of confrontation with a skilled fighter had potentially grown. Problems with outsiders were exacerbated in Brassville, for example, when a licensee was selective of clientele allowing entry at will and taking away the autonomy and discretion of door supervisors, and without the support of a displayed door policy, and this caused problems for the door supervisors. Of course this could limit the discretion of door supervisors, but offers fair selection nonetheless. In this situation the *experienced* door supervisors excelled nonetheless. Hadfield’s (2008) study suggests pre-booking and significant gentrification of venues allows for control of London’s exclusive venues for example, but clearly this is a fine art to get right.

Although a full evaluation of Pubwatch is not offered within this thesis, it is clear that Pubwatch serves vital functions of communication between ordinary citizens and official agencies and is a therapeutic forum through which to discuss shared grievances. It can be a valuable asset for centralising collaborative effort, providing face-to-face interaction between door supervisors, DPS, volunteers and the police in England and Wales. In Pubwatch in Brassville, concern at outsiders and particularly those who visit the district's racing venues was raised vocally and unequivocally and often had a common theme of protecting one's environment against threat. The Pubwatch scheme in Brassville relied heavily on local knowledge for the identification of offenders and potential offenders at the heart of their problems, in the absence of effective official data-sharing protocol, and with its influx of tourists this proved problematic and the lack of a central CCTV system was ever-present in the minds of the Brassville DPS's during Pubwatch meetings. Images were captured during a trial of door supervisor's body-worn cameras, which was discontinued due to cost and was only ever supposed to be a pilot, but identification of offenders from these and venue cameras without access to police databases was near impossible and. Police data sharing was marred by limitations of monthly meetings which offered the chance for licensees to offload retrospective crime queries after gaps of four to five weeks. Future research on information-sharing forums must focus on official data-sharing agreements between police and door supervisors, as advocated in other research into the security industry (Wakefield, 2003). In making such observations, one again supports quintessential entrepreneurial descriptions of Brassville's rural economy and function recognised by Cloke (2006), and rural markets often rely on their own traditions for success. Brassville however certainly faces challenge to its cultural and social identity at night. Furthermore, one warns against the 'rural = village' label where the notion that youth drinking is harmless falls into the identity of small tourist towns and market towns. Small thriving towns and market towns, as in Valentine's (2008) study of Penrith (England), have potentially bustling and vibrant nightlife akin to what is expected in urban areas. These places are thought of as wholly rural by their residents, but such labelling must guard against assumption, especially in determining deployment of police and security resources, and in the midst of the decline in the British bobby which has encouraged policing to generalise its urban tactics to rural areas (Mawby, 2011, i). Any distribution of resources must also properly account for footfall (Hadfield and Measham, 2009), and analysis of workday populations is essential to properly account for visitors.

Outsiders clearly pose a threat in Brassville. In Horsefield, despite the stigma of a brutal fighting tradition amongst male Travellers, although the Traveller community caused some problems in Horsefield, experienced door supervisors were keen not to discriminate against them and instead displayed sensitivity towards Traveller culture. In fact door supervisors employed a de-escalatory tactic of keeping lines of communication with Traveller elders open. Australian research (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott, 2010) was informative at looking at excessive drinking in an isolated community

and how this influences routines. Visiting mining workers represented outsiders who were recognised to have driven local women away and caused tension with locals, as their excessive drinking habits formed a leisure routine aimed at escaping from tiring hours and mundane work routine in the mines. Displacement was evident in this remote area whereby the forced closure of licensed premises did not dissuade crime and disorder, instead pushing it on to another venue.

*Crime displacement in the rural night time economy is a crucial factor in security analysis*

The identification of 'hotspots' or concentrations of crime (Braga and Weisburd, 2010) at the micro level, focussing on incidents *within* night-time venues is not publicly available in police-recorded crime. The category 'on or near nightclub' is not specific and so differentiation between within-venue crime and crime just outside of a venue is difficult as door supervision companies are notoriously poor at keeping accurate records of crime within venues. Often they do not view threats and minor physical altercations as criminal, although these can culminate in the build-up of a criminal profile, or of a particular repeat offender. Accounts of violent incidents from security companies at Brassville and Horsefield's Pubwatch meetings were partial and sketchy, and often played down the serious events documented in this thesis. One lively venue in Brassville did not employ door supervisors during the time of the observations. Revellers rejected from other venues would state openly (often in attempt to spite the door supervisor who had rejected them) that their plan was to go to 'The Wheel' as it, "had no 'bouncers'". This naturally shifted the potential for unmanaged violence to the venue creating a permissive environment with an increased number of suitable targets and motivated offenders, and an absence of capable guardians to control entry and exit. That there were no door supervisors at The Wheel, and that the licensees did not want to employ any, meant the accurate recording of incidents at the venue was near impossible and displacement difficult to accurately record. Yet, in vocalised threats and the critical incident on New Year's Eve in 2011 where a male was severely injured, it was clear that the potential for displacement of crime in Brassville amplifies the need for adequate physical security measures at *all* venues, and to plug gaps. There are crime generators and crime receptors as we know (Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger, 1989) and entire displacement of crime from one neighbourhood to another is uncommon, but the displacement of potential offenders from guarded venues to non-guarded venues formed 'wastage' (Shapland, 2000) in Brassville as The Wheel became a receptor for crime. A dangerous situation was created where the permissiveness of The Wheel was amplified by crowdedness, confused by loud music, and risk increased through a lack of guardianship controlling access and managing the interior and Ratcliffe's (2012) research must be borne in mind. A proactive response can spread to the immediate surroundings and we know that after 85 foot of Philadelphian bars the risk of violence decreases rapidly. Target suitability was allowed to increase over time in Brassville, and culminated in the serious attack on new year's eve just outside of the venue (within around 20 feet by police and media accounts), which was to be the trigger for a review of the venue's licensing conditions and its



commitments to the licensing principles, which enforced the presence of door supervisors, and ultimately triggered a change in management.

*The potential severity of violent incidents in rural venues is high, whilst rural and urban violent crime rates remain significantly different*

Also addressing the objective of examining the relationship between place, and drinking environments when reflecting on the empirical data collected it is quite clear that door supervisors play a critical and indispensable role in both Brassville and Horsefield. In Brassville they specifically fill a potential void in the bigger picture of security provision and isolation and anonymity were crucial factors in security provision in both Horsefield and Brassville. In light of a lack of a regular police presence (which was later instigated in response to a separate incident) during a serious incident in Brassville, it took up to thirteen minutes for police to respond to a call of a threat of weapons, in which time it was essential for the door supervisors who were 'on the spot' to work as a team to manage the dangerous situation. In Horsefield door supervision firms relied on each other for backup during the week when the police presence was small or non-existent, and collaboration between door supervisors formed an informal network of support, and so private manpower was crucial to safeguard the participation of revellers in the night-time economy of the town.

In the larger town of Horsefield one may have assumed that anonymity is common, yet repeat offenders were recognised by bar staff and door supervisors, and a persistent approach to repeat offenders through Pubwatch bans is advocated, and could follow the success of lowering football disorder in and around stadiums in an approach which leans more on 'the carrot' than 'the stick'. In this case the carrot is entry to venues, and therefore participation in the night-time economy along with friends. The festival of a sporting or large social event, like the horseracing in the Horsefield district, which increases potential collisions between motivated offenders and suitable targets and so amplifies the requirement for adequate capable guardianship, makes extra research regarding the journey to urban and rural crime (Costello and Wiles, 2001) essential.

The detailing of severe incidents – including incidents with coaches of visitors in both research sites, and the deployment of weapons - allows for the conclusion that there is a link between chaotic drinking environments and large groups of young intoxicated males, and violence in small towns. In fact questionnaire data allows us to identify groups of intoxicated males as a leading cause of violence between customers in *both* Horsefield and Brassville, and the leading perceived threat to door supervisors at their venue in Brassville and Horsefield. One unique urban problem was gangs, and it was generally agreed by door supervisors and police officers that rural venues were less attractive to organised criminals or unorganised gangs than urban venues due to the volume of

potential customers for drugs, opportunity for petty crime, and the variety of music and subculture, found in urban hubs.

### **Capability**

No matter the location, those put in place to safeguard the public must be capable. There has been a significant campaign by the SIA to de-criminalise and cleanse the reputation of “bouncers” in England and Wales, not least by re-naming them “door supervisors”. In order to deal with all manner of incidents door supervisors must be capable.

#### *Providing effective training for place managers is crucial in producing capable guardians*

Capability of guardians is crucially important, and ex-professional soldiers have served to be an exemplar of successful capability in previous research (Hobbs *et al*, 2003). Observations which inform the thesis found confident, professionally restrained and calm approaches to violent disorder came from those who showed self-discipline and controlled aggression elsewhere. For example in their fitness, or martial arts or weightlifting capability, or – and particularly evident amongst rural door supervisors - through experience working at tough (urban) venues. Interviewees suggested a progressive approach to door supervision, although personal accounts of those judged highly capable – such as Liam - suggest this should not be too prolonged. A programme of progression through stages and tiers, and types of door supervision employment, however, seems sensible and could see inexperienced door supervisors attached on recognised placements as additional employees next to experienced door supervisors in order to grow their confidence and get assimilated with the realities of the job. To employ an additional apprentice door supervisor has cost implications but reflects a shift in the way people are recruited into the job, from informal friendships (Hobbs *et al*, 2003) to completion of college courses and subsequent employment at sporting or music festivals. Offered to the apprentice is the opportunity to say the role is not for them, without putting the public in danger. A clear divide was present, in the minds of the interviewees that large events such as music festivals form the lower risk of a continuum whilst notorious city nightclubs and bars, and rural venues have substantially greater risk of escalation towards uncontrollable situations. Questionnaire data also suggests door supervisors were acutely aware of their legal position, and so much so that some of the older generation of door supervisors I came across feared this may eventually cause hesitation and overwhelming restraint, and some naturally found it frustrating.

Previous research (Jason-Lloyd, 2009) has found the SIA’s scheme to be underperforming in providing the skills and confidence necessary to adequately prepare for the role. In the words of interviewees there was a significant and dangerous difference between “proper door supervision” and “shirt fillers”. One head door supervisor in Horsefield estimated that only half of his staff would be any use if required to actively intervene with physical conflict, and interviewees accounted door supervisors

who would express that they didn't want to get involved in any real trouble, or who had cowered at the sight of it. However those door supervisors less capable still have a role to play in the peripheries of any battle, and their observational skills could be critical. Once again the benefits of initiatives which throw resources at problems – the training of door supervisors (in Australia) – were to be unsustainable for any significant length of time due to funding. Local training offered to Horsefield's door supervisors and organised by the town centre Police Sergeant was relatively sustainable (financially) and offered follow-up training, not otherwise offered by the SIA regulatory body. The SIA has however introduced physical intervention training, although it has been criticised by door supervisors and academics for not introducing this from the onset. Almost all questionnaire respondents who wanted extra training elaborated that they wanted further and more realistic physical training. Research by White and Gill (2013) also cements the necessity for this kind of research, which they found gives those participating a feeling of value. Furthermore door supervisors are asked to deal with and witness violence daily, yet no trauma management is offered after the event, and door supervisors must be offered the opportunity for professionals to identify early problem signs of trauma including feelings of; sadness, anger, guilt, shame, fear, bad memories and disappointment. Door supervisors subsequently can be signposted to health services.

There is legal scope to further door supervisor's powers to issue penalty notices for disorder, for example, but moreover collaborative joint training between public guardians and place managers in England has proved successful (White and Gill, 2013), and offers door supervisors a sense of comradeship and cohesion with police officers at relatively low cost. These could even form part of Pubwatch. The police in Horsefield run door supervisor meetings, and offer presentations on their powers, and skill recaps. This is crucial in the shadow of evidence which tells us that poor relationships can snowball (Noaks, 2008) and is deeply pertinent if a self-help approach is adopted by DPS's - discussed openly by them during Pubwatch meetings - in response to problems of crime and disorder which contradict licensing objectives. A self-help approach, remaining in-house, offers little chance to provide official resources to counter problems before they become serious. Finally, through constant longstanding joint training delivered in collaboration with the police, as in Horsefield, one can hope to avoid the short-lived benefits found in successful accounts of the sound training of door supervisors in Australian research (Homel, Hauritz, Wortley, *et al*, 1997).

Experienced door supervisors should be encouraged to attend Security Industry Authority events and regulation courses as guest speakers in order to disseminate their experiences and thereby inject reality to the somewhat stale SIA regulation course, and the lack of a physical intervention module at the offset remains absurd, although this has now been implemented. This recommendation is directly influenced by interviews with door supervisors who identify a lack of capability amongst some door supervisors, which is partly due to such high demand for manpower as industry in England

and Wales shifts, but also represents a softer approach to door supervision brought about by the tightening of regulation of criminal records of those who apply to become door supervisors. There has no doubt been a shift from the 'old school' door supervisor, whilst there is little evidence to suggest that those wishing to cause problems in venues of the night-time economy are themselves any softer. This thesis has not assumed guardian capability, but has explored capability from the eyes of the guardians themselves, and leading scholars have called for such investigation into capability (Ratcliffe, 2014). In regards to the training of door supervisors it is important to note that those working in Horsefield benefitted from a varied toolbox of conflict management due to increased accountability in terms of CCTV, a tool with particular success in the UK (Reynald, 2015; Welsh and Farrington, 2009), and in times of increased regulation whereby their actions are highly visible, recorded and scrutinised. For door supervisors in Brassville, a vast toolbox of conflict management skills was essential in light of irregular police support or visibility, which meant confrontation was often better avoided altogether, although the professionalism of the majority of door supervisors working there made them advance into adversity rather than retreat. Confidence and experience gained from working in the city centre was a common characteristic amongst the most effective door supervisors in Brassville, who knew when to use each tool to the best of its ability.

In exploring the relationship between the police as formal guardians and door supervisors as place managers (Eck, 2003) it was evident in Brassville that door supervisors often took on a public policing role in the absence of police officer patrols, out of moral obligation, thereby; 'connecting private security actors with a variety of public good rationalities' (White and Gill, 2013, 88). Yet, although responsibility implies a legitimacy (Crawford, and Lister, 2006, 170) Brassville's door supervisors were acutely aware of the ambiguous insurance and legal position when they acted outside of the immediate grounds of the premises in which they performed their role. For instance, on their approach to the men wielding knives and skewers, Liam expressed concern. However one must highlight the conclusion of White (2010) which grows credibility in times of budget cuts to police forces in England and Wales, that if private security workers are presented to the public as 'state-deputised actors', fulfilling their role for 'public good' as well as natural financial gain, this could represent a way forward (white, 2010, 177). Security businesses would be pulled more and more in line with servicing the 'public good'. Brassville's roaming 'street marshal' system brought a mobile and panoramic view to the town leading to the centralisation of their active 'on the spot' presence of place managers and spotters contrary to the presumed more passive role of door supervisors in crime prevention (Hollis Felson, and Welsh, 2013). This did not lead to unnecessary confrontations, seen in other studies where door supervisors roam within venues.

## **Collaboration**

Identifying and comparing collaboration between door supervisors and the police in urban and rural environments, and examining the benefits and limitations was a specific objective of this thesis. We know that collaborative approaches to reducing violence in the night-time economy have been successful and the model of the Southampton Safe City Partnership guided the thesis. It benefitted from volunteer assistance and an all-encompassing security provision across the city including transport and fast food outlets, as well as pubs and clubs. To recap, prior to its introduction, midweek student genre specific nights were policed solely by police officers with no other agency input. The Safe City partnership included a safe haven bus, Street Pastors (volunteers with links to local churches who are there to be a point of contact to revellers with minor issues, freeing up police time), public safety messages, road closures, taxi marshals, and anti-social behaviour warnings (based on a card system). Assessments of these interventions showed impressive results; with a 67% reduction in all violent offences linked to the NTE, a 22% reduction in hospital emergency department admissions for assault during peak night times, and an increased number of people saying they felt safe in the city (Home Office, 2013, v, 3). The approach represents a grass-roots collaboration which can be mimicked country and police force-wide and could provide a more formal approach to Brassville's roaming patrols, and Horsefield's informal door supervision self-supporting employment network. As part of any approach to disorder in rural and urban town centres, this thesis echoes Lister's (2009) call for designated police officers allocated to liaise with door supervisors. This would offer benefits: 'not only of crime reduction and detection, but also of control and oversight' (4) serving as the official intermediaries between public guardians, and private place managers (Eck, 2003). In summary, this thesis has identified benefits of successful informal collaboration, and significant limitations linked to its absence.

### *The nature of collaborative relationships is often temperamental*

Although temperamental at times, changing from warm to cold from month-to-month or even week-to-week, healthy relationships dominated Horsefield's collaboration and rested on informal communication between key players in the police and door supervisors in Horsefield, and the influence of such a relationship should not be underestimated, especially during busy periods, and has proved valuable elsewhere (Wakefield, 2003). It was a recurring gripe amongst door supervisors, characterised by particular incidents that a lack of consistency gave way to an impersonal approach to door supervisors by the police, where they were treated with caution by police officers. In fact surge operations brought in neighbourhood police teams not as familiar with the routines of town centre public order and who were not able to; for example, recognise persistent night-time economy offenders or the door supervisors. With familiarity comes rapport and trust as part of soft crime prevention. However the questionnaire analysis was informative, as door supervisors at both research sites felt under-valued by the police. With police budgets constantly being wrung dry,

private security is unarguably playing a vital role in the night-time economy. Examples throughout the thesis put door supervisors 'on the spot' during times of trouble, and characterises them as spotters. One way to address consistency of communication nationally at minimal cost is to task police officers with extra liaison duties to form a bond and line of communication between door supervisors and themselves. As previously mentioned we know that unnecessary boundaries between public guardians and place managers existed if the two agencies did not know each other. Professional relationships involving 'face time' aided in breaking down such boundaries and shift cover and rotas should be carefully managed by police leaders to provide enough liaison officers to uphold continuity and to challenge the temperamental nature of informal collaboration. This would also serve to foster links and rapport that allowed for proactive collaboration rather than the reactive collaboration. Such an initiative demands little extra resource or funding, and is an ideal arm of a collaborative approach which seeks a mixture of formal and informal agreements to supply a demand for policing, and security, guardianship and protection provision, using a multi-agency, and multi-faceted approach. Formal agreements may underlie collaborative work, but levels of influence, cooperation and information sharing can also be directly influenced by informal relationships. Police leaders must encourage police officers to engage with door supervisors at a casual level as well as through formal training sessions, in order to foster positive collaborative working relationships.

One also echoes the need for a prolonged approach to safe drinking, through education which targets the young, as funding for such approaches is all too often short lived, and we know that the benefits rapidly decline when financing runs out. Situational prevention such as strict and displayed door policies at venues and public health material such as posters are relatively cheap to implement and the outlook of such approaches is optimistic as such approaches directly uphold the licensing principles which govern English and Welsh venues. It is clear that practical and easy-to-implement solutions to combat night-time disorder which come at minimal cost to licensees and which incorporate sponsored situational crime prevention and include venue design (efficient queue control which allows early sight of potential offenders by door supervisors, and video recording measures which raise accountability) represent a common sense way forward. Lister (2009) advocates multi-agency support in data-sharing and general communication and collaborative forums. These allow ideas and directives and approaches to counter violence to be shared and deliberated upon and they are critical to break barriers in any multi-agency approach, and this thesis presents evidence which fully supports a collaborative approach which improves capability of door supervisors across the board.

Whilst exploring the capability of door supervisors across different research sites, the necessity for door supervision to professionally discourage violence and actively provide a safe environment was clear. This was amplified in dangerous incidents and unique events, including unprovoked

confrontations between door supervisor James in Brassville and Harvey in Horsefield, and identified young intoxicated and aggressive males as particularly motivated offenders. Moreover, throughout the thesis and in its conclusions here, empirical data collection and extensive literature review is supported by robust recommendations for improvements in safety in the night-time economy. These largely centre on training and collaboration, and a duty of care for the door supervisors who police venues.

### **Key recommendations**

This study reflects one the first forays into comparative analysis of door supervisors dealing with violence and aggression in rural and urban night-time economies in contemporary criminology and certainly so in the UK. It has generated rich, high quality self-report and observational data on violence in the night-time economy in Britain from the door supervisors who are often closest to it. But it has also been a small study, examining and comparing just one rural and one urban location. Care therefore needs to be taken in generalisation of the findings and their extrapolation into different contexts. Nevertheless, the fit of these findings with the small extant literature on security and door supervision in Britain's night-time economy lends confidence to them. The following recommendations are therefore made, bearing in mind these caveats but also with a faith that they reflect well the circumstances of Brassville and Horsefield, two very typical British locales.

1. This thesis suggests Pubwatch in Horsefield and Brassville serves a purpose of community, but can increase a sense of isolation if police officers are unable to attend due to shift patterns. Some police officers even attended in their own time in order to uphold continuity and rapport. The substantial improvement of information sharing agreements beyond that which current exists, and which allow licensees to quickly identify offenders is recommended, by using technology and information systems and concrete data agreements to build a suitable database to be collated and populated concurrently, and consistently, by police. As such the significant limitations of offender identification without centralised CCTV must be acknowledged and addressed. DPSs would benefit from the Pubwatch scheme's ability to identify offenders and quickly set in motion the process of banning them from their venues with consistency, and the danger of not doing so particularly increases in a rural economy which faces a regular influx of tourists. So one must not presume local knowledge of offenders in rural areas, and anonymity in large urban spaces, as tourism and repeat offenders can upset this.

2. This thesis suggests a constant review of small town venues which do not supply door supervision must be continued as there is significant potential for problems to displace from a venue which employs capable guardians to one which does not. However, it was clear that The Wheel in Brassville become a safe haven for disorder by not providing adequate place management and public

safeguarding. This thesis also advocates caution against the myth that small towns are problem-free and deserve only reactionary policing, when in fact seriously violent incidents were documented and are initially controlled 'on the spot' by door supervisors who are active spotters, and furthermore analysis of crime (especially comparison) must incorporate visitor populations and crime rates. Clarification should be offered on the role of door supervisors in public spaces between venues, as roaming street marshals were conscious that they were treading a precarious line of legality when acting outside of the immediate vicinity of their venue or when acting in the spaces in between venues.

3. The need for door supervision during weeknights at busy venues must not be underestimated as this is regularly when police provision can be at its lowest, or feel that way in a town centre. At such times door supervisors rely heavily on each other and centralised situational crime prevention techniques including CCTV, and appropriate and detailed signage, is crucial if venues wish to avoid unnecessary confrontation over factors such as dress codes on entry. There was however evidence to suggest a licensee may *not* wish to avoid selective filtering, especially in a community of rural licensees with a fear of outsiders. Door supervisors are left to deal with the unnecessary consequences.

4. Experienced door supervisors should be encouraged to attend SIA events and initial regulation courses as guest speakers, to inject both a sense of reality and to share their experiences of employment to those who are looking to undertake the role. They would also advise on a slow progression into door supervision. This would see apprentice door supervisors shadow more experienced door supervisors in addition to a venue's quota. To reduce cost this could be an unpaid agreement with the apprentice over a designated number of shifts, and regulated by the SIA. Without this, there is a risk that incapable door supervisors find their feet whilst on the job, at risk to the public. If the financial burden of such an implementation were too great this could be targeted at those who have clearly struggled during the initial regulatory course, and as such they would be given an 'at risk' pass, until successful completion of the shadowing - common in many forms of employment.

5. A lack of trauma management for door supervisors, who witness violence anywhere on a continuum up to very frequently, is unprecedented and must be immediately addressed fulfilling a duty of care.

6. Collaborative training benefits door supervisors, by increasing both their knowledge and encouraging a sense of worth and identity alongside police officers, and selected serving police officers should be designated the role of Police Door Supervision Liaison officers, with the



responsibility of ensuring a point of contact is accessible (particularly during night shifts) in order to combat problems of continuity of collaboration in small and large towns.

### **Final thought**

Ultimately, rural violence and the need for public protection and continued risk assessments must not be underestimated, nor should the small towns which contribute to the rural night-time economy in England and Wales be assumed to be significantly different to the larger urban night-time economy in terms of their night-time establishments and the clientele they host, although policing demands are understandably manipulated by sheer footfall. I will re-iterate that no matter the location, those put in place to safeguard the public must be capable. I can surmise that to a great extent the door supervisors met in the course of producing this thesis were intelligent, motivated people who were all too aware of their duty to keep the night-time economy safe, and their support of academic study was to prove the success of empirical data gathering. However some took no interest in the prospect of academic interaction, and I was privy to CCTV footage of acts of wrongdoing which were hard to justify. But these incidents were the most extreme, whilst the observational study was swamped with interactions with positive and professional door supervisors whose ideal shift was a quiet one where no violence or aggression was encountered, and the money earned was therefore easy money, and who had a moral obligation to perform a duty to the best of their ability, even if this meant straying from obvious physical boundaries. Furthermore, albeit extreme, alternatives to the employment of capable place managers have been documented in research on bars to include 'chaining a large dog behind the bar', and 'keeping a pool cue in plain sight and drawing attention to it if patrons show aggression' (Madensen and Eck, 2008), and such self-help approaches must be avoided at all costs. With the correct implementation of the relatively low-cost and simple recommendations above, and continued research into crime and disorder in small and large town night-time economies, one can expect a tighter and somewhat more efficient capable collaboration of police officers as public guardians and door supervisors as place managers in both rural and urban places in England and Wales. Thereby they have greater control over the motivation of offenders to de-escalate their behaviour, and lower the attractiveness of it in the first place, whilst simultaneously lowering the suitability of targets who participate in the night-time economy, most of whom seek a fun but trouble-free escape from their work routines.

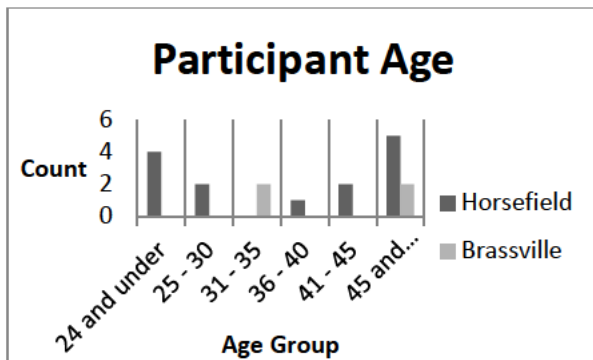
**Appendices. Appendix One.**

**Door Supervision Your View: Respondent Profiles.**

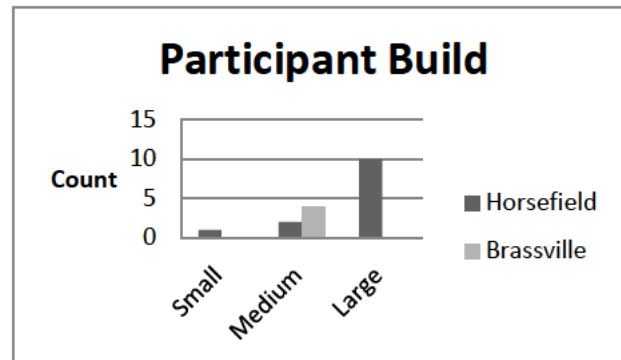
**The Response Rate**

In Brassville, four of a potential eight respondents completed the questionnaire (50%). In Horsefield thirteen of up to seventy-five respondents completed the questionnaire. This is a response rate of 17.3%. However, the maximum of seventy-five represents the figure of all door supervisors who can be summoned if the town is extremely busy. The number of door supervisors regularly working in the town is sufficiently lower but difficult to accurately measure, which adds validity to the analysis presented here. Brassville’s rural respondents were all male, whereas in Horsefield two of thirteen respondents were female. All rural respondents described themselves as of ‘medium’ build. Most urban respondents described themselves as of ‘large’ build. The majority of respondents were over 45 years of age, and the lower age range varied across the research sites.

**Figure a.**



**Figure b.**



**Figure c.**



The majority of urban Horsefield's respondents had worked as a door supervisor for more than eighteen months. All of rural Brassville's respondents had worked as a door supervisor for more than eighteen months. The majority of all respondents had other employment

Figure d.

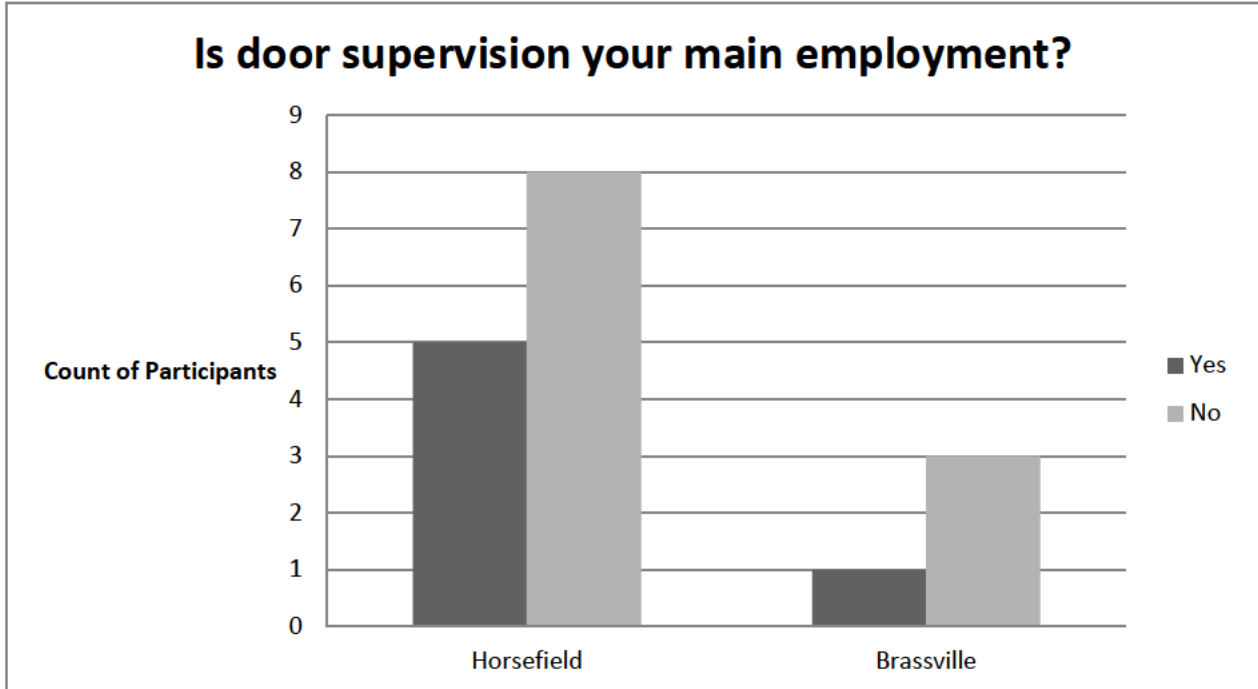
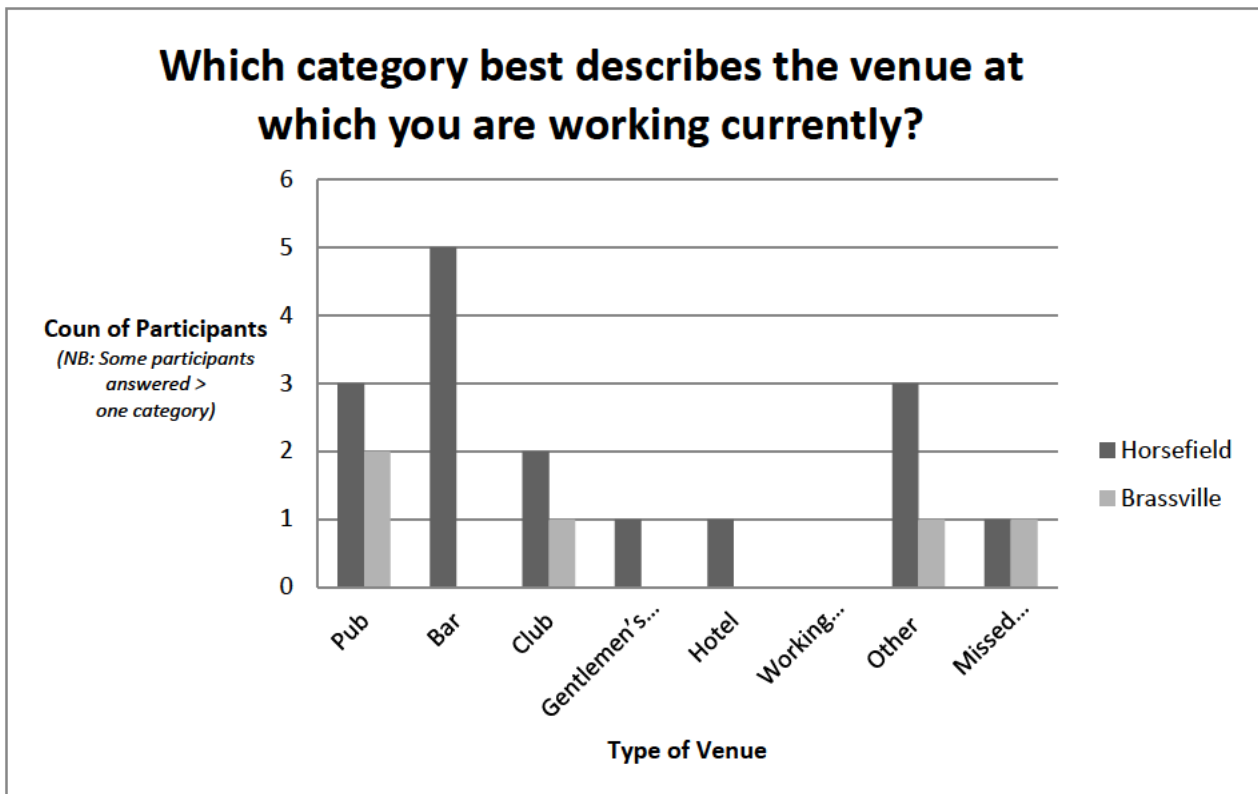
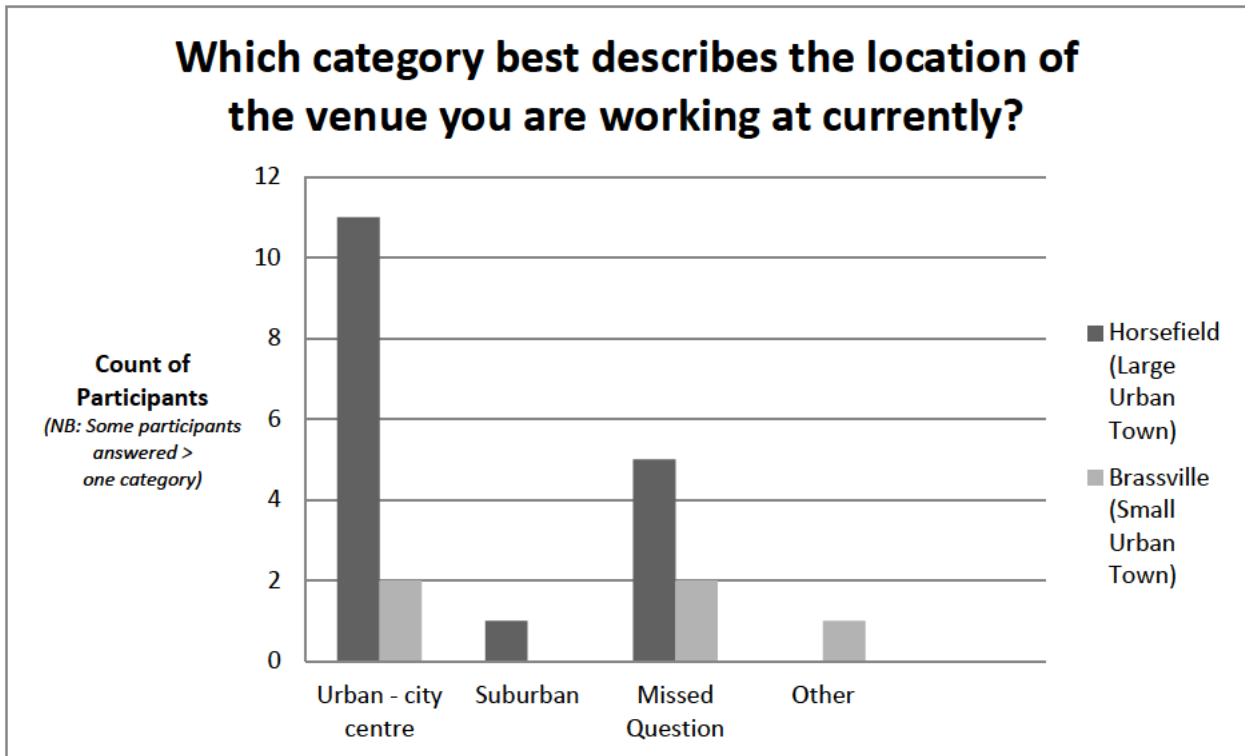


Figure e.



'Other' responses; "Wine bar/restaurant" (Rural respondent - Brassville) , "Special events" (Urban respondent - Horsefield), "Events" (Urban respondent - Horsefield), "Work at most types of venue" (Urban respondent - Horsefield)

Figure f.



Interestingly two door supervisors working in rural Brassville perceived the small town to be urban, in contrast with the Office of National Statistics official categorisation of it as 'Rural town and fringe'. Perhaps more significantly the general perception of licensees and customers of the town during the observation periods was that the town is rural.

'Other' responses: "Small town" (Rural respondent - Brassville)

Appendix Two.



# Door Supervision

## *Your View*



**Please note:** in order to use the findings the consent box below must be ticked. Please provide your name below

Please Tick

I \_\_\_\_\_ *(Please sign and print name)* have read and understand the accompanying participant information sheet and consent to participate in a questionnaire led by Alistair Wilson, from the University of Sheffield.

*Where implied please answer this questionnaire in relation to the venue you are working at currently*

This questionnaire consists of 12 pages and begins on page 3

*Intentionally blank*

Door Supervision – Section 1

**1a. Why did you become a door supervisor?** Please tick *as many as apply*.

- Money
- Adrenaline rush
- To socialise
- To relieve boredom
- Mates were doing it
- Right place right time
- Don't know
- Other (*Please Specify*)

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**In the next set of questions, you are presented with a statement. You are being asked to indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by indicating whether you: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), are Undecided (U), Disagree (D), or Strongly Disagree (SD).**

*Please indicate on the scale below your level of agreement by circling the appropriate response*

**1b. The need for door supervision is underestimated by the public**

SA                      A                      D                      SD                      U

**1c. The need for door supervision is underestimated by the police**

SD                      D                      A                      SA                      U

**1d. The 'old school' stereotype of a bouncer is no longer a reality**

SA                      A                      U                      D                      SD

**1e. There is no longer a demand for the 'old school' style of bouncing**

SD                      D                      U                      A                      SA

**1f. My hourly wage is suitable for what I am being asked to do**

SA                      A                      U                      D                      SD

Violence – Section 2

**2 a. What do you consider to be the main causes of violence between customers at the venue you are working at currently?** Please tick *as many as apply*.

- Drunk groups of males
- Drunk groups of females
- Drunk individuals
- Rival gangs
- Drug dealing
- Drug taking
- Organised serious criminals
- Confrontation over women
- Nothing, we don't get any trouble
- Other (*Please Specify*)

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**2b. What do you consider to be the most dangerous threats to you as a door supervisor at the venue you are working at currently?** Please tick *as many as apply*.

- Drunk groups of males
- Drunk groups of females
- Drunk individuals
- Rival gangs
- Drug dealing
- Drug taking
- Organised serious criminals
- Confrontation over women
- Nothing, we don't get any trouble

*Continued overleaf*

- Other (*Please Specify*)

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Please indicate on the scale below your level of agreement by circling the appropriate response

Please note that Not Applicable (N/A) is also available here

**2c. The following contributes to violence or aggression in the venue I am working at currently**

• Type of music

SA            A            U            D            SD            N/A

• Volume of music

SD            D            U            A            SA            N/A

• Inadequate lighting

SA            A            U            D            SD            N/A

• The clientele

SD            D            U            A            SA            N/A

• Lack of CCTV

SA            A            U            D            SD            N/A

• General poor visibility of customers

SD            D            U            A            SA            N/A

• Overcrowding

SA            A            U            D            SD            N/A

• Layout of the venue (eg. furniture/bar/toilet positioning)

SD            D            U            A            SA            N/A

• A vertical drinking environment (i.e. lack of seating)

SA            A            U            D            SD            N/A

*Continued overleaf*

• Other suggestion(s) *(Please Specify)*

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**2d. The following would not help to make the venue I work at most currently safer**

Please indicate on the scale below your level of agreement by circling the appropriate response

• Police on the door from time-to-time

SD            D            U            A            SA            N/A

• Better police support

SD D U A SA N/A

• Fingerprint scanning

SA A U D SD N/A

• Compulsory picture taken on entry

SD D U A SA N/A

• More door staff

SA A U D SD N/A

• Fewer door staff

SD D U A SA N/A

• Further training for door supervisors

SA A U D SD N/A

• CCTV (or more/better CCTV)

SD D U A SA N/A

• Volunteer support (e.g. Street Pastors) in or around the venue

SA A U D SD N/A

• Other suggestion(s)

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*Please provide details if you so choose*

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**3e. Is Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) (e.g. radio, gloves, body armour, high vis jackets) provided for you at the venue you are currently working at?**

- Always**
- Sometimes**
- Occasionally**
- No**

**3f. If yes, is the PPE you are supplied with enough to carry out your duties confidently?**

- Yes**
- No**

**3g. If not, do you provide your own?**

- Yes**
- No**

*Please Turn over*

The Security Industry Authority (SIA) – Section 4

**4a. Due to training provided through the course of employment as a door supervisor (present or past) I feel adequately trained to deal with being threatened by a person with a weapon (e.g. knife, glass, bottle, pistol etc.)**

*Please indicate on the scale below your level of agreement by circling the appropriate response*

SD                      D                      U                      A                      SA                      N/A

**4b. The quality of door supervisors has not improved since the introduction of regulation by the SIA in 2003**

SA                      A                      U                      D                      SD                      N/A

**4c. The SIA door supervision course adequately trained me to deal with physical conflict**

SD                      D                      U                      A                      SA                      N/A

**4d. I would like extra training in personal safety**

SA                      A                      U                      D                      SD                      N/A

**4e. If you agree, what extra training would you like?**

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**4f. I fully understand the legal guidelines under which I carry out my duties as a door supervisor**

SD                      D                      U                      A                      SA

**4g. I would not like to see door supervisors given additional legal powers**

SD                      D                      U                      A                      SA                      N/A

**4h. If you agree, what additional powers would you like to see granted?**

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*Please Turn over*

The Police – Section 5

**5a. During the last year whilst working as a door supervisor have you liaised with the police about an incident at the venue(s) you work at as a door supervisor? (Please indicate your best estimate on the response list below)**

*Please tick one response*

- Yes once
- Yes more than once but less than ten times in the last year
- Yes more than ten times in the last year
- No
- Can't remember

**5b. The police can be relied on to support door supervisors**

*Please indicate on the scale below your level of agreement by circling the appropriate response*

SD                      D                      U                      A                      SA

**5c. The police respond to serious incidents which they know involve door supervisors quickly**

SA                      A                      U                      D                      SD

*Please Turn over*

About you – Section 6

**6a. Gender**

- Male
- Female

**6b. How would you best describe your build?**

- |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Small                    | Medium                   | Large                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**6c. How old are you?** *(Please write in the space below)*

**6d. How long have you worked as a door supervisor (approx.)?**

- Less than 6 months
- 6 months to a year
- A year to 18 months
- 18 months to five years
- Five to ten years
- More than ten years

**6e. Is door supervision your main employment?**

- Yes
- No

*Please Turn over*

**6f. Please tick which category best describes the venue at which you are working currently**

- Pub
- Bar
- Club
- Gentlemen’s club
- Hotel
- Working men’s club
- Other (*Please Specify*)

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**6g. Which category best describes the location of the venue you are working at currently?**

- Rural
- Urban - city centre
- Suburban
- Other (*Please Specify*)

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If you are happy for the researcher to contact you should he wish to ask you more questions please provide your name, the venue at which you most frequently work, and a contact telephone number:

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Thank you for your time. End of Questionnaire.



### Appendix Three.



#### Door Supervision *Your View*



#### Information Sheet

##### *What is the nature and purpose of the project?*

- This self-completion questionnaire is part of on-going research being conducted by Alistair Wilson, a doctoral candidate from the University of Sheffield, who is producing a PhD thesis on door supervision. The questionnaire hopes to explore the trade view of door supervision, i.e. your experiences of working in night-time venues in South Yorkshire. The research is being conducted with the support of Professor Stephen Farrall and Dr Andrew Costello from the University of Sheffield School of Law. Alistair can be contacted at [apwilson1@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:apwilson1@sheffield.ac.uk) if you have any further questions. Participation is entirely voluntary and withdrawal is possible at any stage.

##### *Who is sponsoring the project?*

- The research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) which is a nationally-funded research council.

##### *What are the potential risks and inconveniences that may arise?*

- The questionnaire should only take a few minutes of your time but you have as much time as you need to complete it.

##### *What are the potential benefits that may result?*

- This questionnaire hopes to inform academics studying security in the night-time economy as to the realities of working as a door supervisor in today's night-time economy.

##### *What will participation in the research require in practice?*

- It is requested that you take the time to answer the questionnaire in full. There is a space at the end of the questionnaire for you to provide details should the researcher wish to ask you more questions, but as with all aspects this is entirely voluntary. No further contact will be made with participants who do not volunteer their contact details.

##### *How will participant confidentiality be safeguarded?*

- The front page of the questionnaire which asks you to enter your name and tick a consent box will be separated and kept confidentially and will not be used in any write-up. Therefore all answers remain anonymised when presented in a write up. Each script will be given a code so that the researcher can identify the owner from the consent form.

##### *What will happen to the data and how will it be stored?*

- The data will be collated so that answers can be compared and presented anonymously in the thesis, and will be stored securely in line with university and ESRC policy.

##### *How do I raise concerns, or complain, about the research, and to whom?*

- If you have any concerns in the first instance please contact Alistair at [apwilson1@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:apwilson1@sheffield.ac.uk), or in writing to The University of Sheffield School of Law, Bartolome House, Winter Street, Sheffield S3 7ND. Should you wish to talk to someone other than Alistair his supervisor Dr Andrew Costello, who can also be contacted at Bartolome House or at [a.n.costello@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:a.n.costello@sheffield.ac.uk), will be more than happy to answer any concerns.

*What if I do not wish to take part?*

- Please note you;
  - have the right to refuse to participate in the research in question;
  - have the right to withdraw from the research, at any time during your active participation without having to give a reason,
  - must be aware that these rights cannot, however, extend to the withdrawal of already published findings

**Appendix Four.**

**Interview Schedule *Door Supervision.***

1.) How long have you worked as a door supervisor? Are you currently working as a door supervisor?

*Follow up: If not, can I ask why not?*

2.) What, if any, were your preconceptions of door supervision?

3.) Were your preconceptions reinforced when you began working as a door supervisor?

*Follow up: Please expand*

4.) What attributes do you feel make a good or effective door supervisor?

5.) Where have you worked, and do/have the occupational hazards vary in different locations and premises?

6.) Regarding your role as a door supervisor, how do you view the police, and your relationship with them?

*Follow up: How could this be improved?*

7.) What are your thoughts on the SIA licensing scheme, the SIA course, and the recent introduction of a physical intervention aspect to the course?

## Appendix Five.



### **Contrasting urban and rural door supervision: Information Sheet for interviewees**

#### **What is the research?**

As part of research project contrasting urban and rural door supervision you are being asked to give your thoughts and recall your experiences of door supervision. Most of the research currently focuses on the city centre, so I am interested in what happens further afield.

The research is being conducted by Alistair Wilson, with the supervision of Dr Andrew Costello and Professor Stephen Farrall.

Participation is entirely voluntary and withdrawal is possible at any stage.

#### **Why have I been asked to be interviewed?**

I would like to know your personal experience and hear some of your thoughts about door supervision.

#### **Who will interview me?**

Alistair, a postgraduate research student at the University of Sheffield, School of Law.

#### **Who is funding the research?**

The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

#### **What kinds of questions will the interviewer ask me?**

Questions about your experience either working as a door supervisor, or your experience of door supervisors. You may be asked to recall violent incidents.

#### **How long will the interview last?**

This can vary but will be anything up to about an hour. So that your account can be accurately documented I would like to tape record the interview and take some notes.

#### **Who can I contact if I have any further questions about the project?**

You can either contact Alistair Wilson, Dr Andrew Costello, or Professor Stephen Farrall at :

The School of Law,  
Sheffield University,  
Bartolome House,  
Winter Street,

Sheffield,  
S3 7ND.

Alistair can be contacted on 07545139736, Andrew on 0114 2226813, and Stephen on 0114 222 6718.

Their emails are: [lwp11apw@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:lwp11apw@sheffield.ac.uk) (Alistair), [a.n.costello@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:a.n.costello@sheffield.ac.uk) (Andrew) and [s.farrall@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:s.farrall@sheffield.ac.uk) (Stephen)

### **Confidentiality**

What is said in interview will only be discussed between the researchers and anything that is written down will be done so with anonymity. So you would either be given a pseudonym or be referred to as, for example; 'Participant A', or 'Doorman B'. Any night time venues discussed will also be treated the same way, e.g. 'Club A', or 'Club B'. Your actual identity will therefore never be disclosed.

### **What will happen to what I say in the interview?**

The interviews will be recorded and notes will be taken if consent is given. Transcripts and other data will be anonymous; people will not be referred to by their own names in accounts, or stories. The real name of the chosen location for the observations will not be disclosed to protect the identity of participants. Therefore pseudonyms will be used where appropriate. Data collected will be archived in line with ESRC procedures as the project is part of an ESRC funded award.

## University Research Ethics Application Form

### For Staff and Postgraduate Researchers

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This form has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee ('U-REC')

**Complete this form if** you are a member of staff or a postgraduate research student who plans to undertake a research project which will not involve the NHS but which will involve people participating in research either directly (e.g. interviews, questionnaires) and/or indirectly (e.g. people permitting access to data and/or tissue).

**or**

**Complete this form if** you plan to submit a 'generic' research ethics application (i.e. an application that will cover several sufficiently similar research projects). Information on the 'generic' route is at: [www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/ers.html](http://www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/ers.html)

**Documents to enclose with this form, where appropriate:**

This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by an Information Sheet/Covering Letter/Written Script which informs the prospective participants about the proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form.

Further guidance on how to apply is at:

[www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/staff.html](http://www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/staff.html)

Guidance on the three ethics review procedures that together comprise the University's Ethics Review System (i.e. on the University's procedure, the NHS procedure, the Alternative procedure) is at: [www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/ers.html](http://www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/ers.html)

**Once you have completed this research ethics application form in full, and other documents where appropriate, check that your name, the title of your research project and the date is contained in the footer of each page and email it to the Ethics Administrator of your academic department. Please note that the original signed and dated version of 'Part B' of the application form should also be provided to the Ethics Administrator in hard copy.**

# University Research Ethics Application Form

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## Cover Sheet

<b>I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a method to inform prospective participants about the project (e.g. 'Information Sheet' / 'Covering Letter' / 'Pre-Written Script'):</b>		
<b>Is relevant:</b>	<input type="text" value="Mark 1 Box"/>	<b>Is <u>not</u> relevant:</b>
√ (if relevant then this should be enclosed)		

<b>I confirm that in my judgment, due to the project's nature, the use of a 'Consent Form':</b>		
<b>Is relevant:</b>	<input type="text" value="Mark 1 Box"/>	<b>Is <u>not</u> relevant:</b>
(if relevant then this should be enclosed)		√

<b>Is this a 'generic' application (i.e. does it cover more than project that is sufficiently similar)?</b>		
<b>Yes:</b>	<input type="text" value="Mark 1 Box"/>	<b>No:</b>
		√

# University Research Ethics Application Form

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## Part A

A1. Title of Research Project: **Contrasting Rural and Urban Security in the Night-Time Economy**

A2. **Contact person** (normally the Principal Investigator, in the case of staff-led research projects, or the student in the case of supervised-postgraduate researcher projects):

Title: MR      First Name/Initials: ALISTAIR      Last Name: WILSON

Post: PGR STUDENT      Department: LAW

Email: APWILSON1@SHEFFIELD.AC.UK      Telephone:

A2.1. **Is this a postgraduate researcher project? YES**

**If yes, please provide the Supervisor's contact details:**

Dr. A. N. Costello, Lecturer. Email: ANCostello@sheffield.ac.uk Telephone:  
+44 (0)114 222 6813 Room No: EF15B.

A2.2. **Other key investigators/co-applicants** (within/outside University), where applicable:

Please list all (add more rows if necessary)

Title	Full Name	Post	Responsibility in project	Organisation	Department

A3. **Proposed Project Duration:**

Start date: OCTOBER 2011

End date: SPR 2014

A4. **Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:**



<input type="checkbox"/>	involves testing a medicinal product *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves investigating a medical device *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves additional radiation above that required for clinical care *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves taking new samples of human biological material (e.g. blood, tissue) *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves children or young people aged under 18 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves using samples of human biological material collected before for another purpose
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves only identifiable personal data with no direct contact with participants
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves only anonymised or aggregated data
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness
<input type="checkbox"/>	has the primary aim of being educational (e.g. student research, a project necessary for a postgraduate degree or diploma, other than an MD or PhD)

\* If you have marked boxes marked \* then you also need to obtain confirmation that appropriate University insurance is in place. The procedure for doing so is entirely by email. Please send an email addressed to [insurance@shef.ac.uk](mailto:insurance@shef.ac.uk) and request a copy of the 'Clinical Trial Insurance Application Form'.

## University Research Ethics Application Form

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### **A5. Briefly summarise the project's aims, objectives and methodology?**

- i. The project's aims and objectives:**  
 (this must be in language comprehensible to a lay person and is normally a short paragraph)

The current research on door supervisors and aggression in the night-time economy has identified a link between the social context of night life, and a drinking culture in popular destinations. The current research and media attention on drinking and aggression in the UK also provides some evidence of a style of drinking. In the UK however this research has focussed on city centre bars. The potential for the discovery of a different drinking culture and attitude towards violence in rural environments is of interest and yet to be explored and compared to what we know about urban night-time economies. A recent review of the literature on door supervisors and barroom aggression (Roberts, 2009) expressed the need to expand the research to incorporate door supervisors in different bars dealing with different clientele. **Ethically approved observations were conducted as part of an MA dissertation in the Spring Semester of last academic year.** It is now the aim to compare this with a night-time economy in a local urban town.

### Aims and objectives

Following on from fieldwork conducted as part of the MAIC dissertation, with the University of Sheffield, School of Law:

1.) I am interested in interactions between door supervisors and the police. Observations were conducted to explore these interactions during the MA project, and using contacts from this study, partnerships in a local urban town will be examined to investigate differences and similarities. I am also interested in comparative police response times to incidents in rural and urban areas and whether police officers are present and available when incidents occur.

2.) I want to know if door supervisors see themselves as isolated figures, or part of a multi-agency approach. I would like the opinions of the police and other community and night-time economy figures (such as wardens or licensees) on the issue of isolation in rural night-time economies. I would also like opinions from all participants on the idea of perceptions of the demise of the criminality of door supervision.

### ii. **The project's methodology:**

(this must be in language comprehensible to a lay person and is normally a short paragraph)

#### 1.) *Observations*

I will use, and have been using (in the rural town), snowball to identify and contact key figures within the night-time economy including; police, licensees, head door supervisors, and door supervisors. I hope to overtly observe what happens on the door by shadowing door supervisors, and to gauge violent incidents around the town by patrolling with the police when possible. I hope that as my contacts are made I will be pointed in the direction of other contacts, i.e. that my sample will snowball.

Over a number of months I will observe how door supervisors deal with the problems they face in bars and clubs and other special events that arise, depending on their circumstance. I will keep field notes. There are issues of practicality when taking notes, but it is 'too risky to rely exclusively on your memory' (Bryman, 2004, 296) and the problems are less when conducting overt research.

It is the hope that observations with the police (conducted as part of the MA project) will continue. This will be a direct response to both aims 1 and 2 above, and will be conducted in line with both university and police standard operating (or ethical) procedures.

#### 2.) *Structured interviews*

I hope to interview the key contacts that emerge during the study, as and when this is appropriate. This will depend on rapport and the build-up of trust over a period of weeks,

months or longer. Currently there are around five key contacts likely to respond positively to a request for interview, including head door supervisors, and police figures. A further five or so may be recruited from previous research projects (undergraduate and Masters dissertations). The interview will also be piloted with known participants to ensure my questions, although structured, give rise to the opportunity for insightful answers.

The interviews will be recorded and notes will be taken if the interviewee consents to this. Transcripts, electronic data, and back up data will be kept securely, confidentially, and participants will remain anonymous. Pseudonyms will be used where appropriate. Data collected will be archived in line with ESRC procedures as the project is part of an ESRC funded 1+3 award.

**A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?**

To make clear to all participants who I am I will, where possible, introduce myself or be introduced as a student researcher. I will make sure that all participants are aware that confidentiality is paramount to the research. Findings will not be attributable without permission.

I will have a telephone number for victim support stored in my mobile phone in case I come into contact with anyone who has suffered an injury, as the result of an assault for example.

All participants will be made aware that any participation is entirely voluntary, and withdrawal is possible at any stage. I will where possible seek approval from head door supervisors and licensees. If I observe any malpractice or uncomfortable situations I will contact my supervisor(s) to discuss the matter.

**A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project and, if yes, explain how these issues will be managed? (especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises)**

Yes.

Observations will be undertaken at night-time, and my whereabouts will need to be monitored. I will talk to the licensee/door supervisors about suitable positions for observation, or a head door supervisor regarding suitable venues for observation. When possible I will meet and observe participants whom I have already had some contact with prior to arriving at a venue

During observations in the town centre, the researcher is in the fortunate position of already having made contact with a good number of security personnel and police and therefore will not be isolated.

When patrolling with the police I am aware that there is the possibility of abuse in relation to my position accompanying police officers. I have also been advised (via liaison with police officers) that there may be times when I will be asked to remain in a safe place, i.e. inside a police vehicle. This will of course be adhered to. The town of interest is heavily monitored by CCTV.

I will be driving to and from the urban town. I will park as close to each venue as I can. I will carry a mobile phone with me at all times. I will make my movements and locations transparent by checking in and out with my supervisor(s) by telephone as has proved

successful during the MA research. My supervisors are Dr Andrew Costello and Professor Stephen Farrall. Stephen Farrall has several years of experience conducting and supervising research in dangerous locations and he will advise on matters of safety throughout the study.

**A8. How will the potential participants in the project be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?**

Door supervisors will be approached in their workplace, or by contacts made prior to observation through snowball sampling. Other figures (and door supervisors) will be approached at Pubwatch meetings.

**A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?**

YES  NO

**If informed consent or consent is not to be obtained please explain why.** Further guidance is at: [www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/guidance.html](http://www.shef.ac.uk/researchoffice/support/winning/ethics/guidance.html)

**A9.1.** This question is only applicable if you are planning to obtain informed consent:

**How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):**

Verbal informed consent will be obtained. I do not feel it will be practical to always ask for written consent, as this could hinder fluidity and rapport, as was the case during the MA research, and stated in ESRC guidance:

'Informed consent may be impracticable or meaningless in some research, such as research on crowd behaviour, or may be contrary to the research design...where consent would compromise the objective of the research' (ESRC Framework for Research Ethics, 2005, 29).

When information sheets were given out to participants and written consent was requested at public meetings such as Pubwatch or Licensee meetings during the MA research, this significantly altered the atmosphere of the meeting. My position as a total observer seemed to change to one of participant, whereby I was no longer there to observe the actual participants, but the actual participants were at their own meeting as part of the research. This therefore has serious implications on the validity of the research and its findings. When consent was requested verbally, the researcher's position as a total observer was upheld, and did not disrupt the meeting. Written consent may also raise problems with illiteracy, and also the anonymity of the participants, and act as a deterrent to involvement which could be detrimental to the research.

**A10. What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?**

Transcripts and other data will be anonymous; people will not be referred to by their own names in accounts or stories. The real name of the chosen location for the observations will not be disclosed. This is to protect the identity of the participants.

All participants will be made aware that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any point. This may involve me withdrawing from a venue.

**A11. Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided)**

YES  NO

This may be considered appropriate at the end of the study, as a gesture, in the form of a £20 gift voucher for example. This is not only for the personal gain of participants, but to foster good relations between the university and the wider community. Also, this is to promote academic research as participants have little to gain from allowing access, yet the research relies on it.

**A12. Will the research involve the production of recorded media such as audio and/or video recordings?**

YES  NO

**A12.1.** This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded media:

**How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?**

Participants will be clearly informed prior to the interviews that they will be recorded. I will explain that this is to accurately account what has been said, and to aid the researcher's memory. If the participant is not willing to be tape recorded I will then ask them how they would prefer me to accurately record information e.g. note taking. I will also make notes for my own reference. These will be stored confidentially.

Any data would be securely stored, this includes any backup data. Transcripts will be kept confidential and participant's details will remain anonymous. Pseudonyms will be used where appropriate. Findings will not be attributable without permission. Final copies of the project will be made available to any participant who would like a copy and the right to refuse will remain throughout.

References:

Bryman, A., (2004) *Social Research Methods*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press

ESRC., (2005) *Framework for Research Ethics*, [online], ESRC. Available at:  
[http://www.esrc.ac.uk/images/Framework\\_for\\_Research\\_Ethics\\_tcm8-4586.pdf](http://www.esrc.ac.uk/images/Framework_for_Research_Ethics_tcm8-4586.pdf)  
[21/10/2011]

Roberts, J., (2008) 'Bouncers and barroom aggression: A review of the research' *Aggression and Violent Behaviour* 1: 59 - 68

# University Research Ethics Application Form

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## Part B – The Signed Declaration

### **Title of Research Project: Contrasting Rural and Urban Security in the Night-Time Economy**

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's '*Financial Regulations*', '*Good Research Practice Standards*' and the '*Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants, Data and Tissue*' (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

#### **In signing this research ethics application form I am also confirming that:**

- The form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.
- The project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy.
- There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.
- Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.
- I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my academic department's Ethics Administrator in the first instance).
- I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CiCS).
- I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.
- I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (e.g. the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.
- If this is an application for a 'generic' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.

#### **Name of the Principal Investigator (or the name of the Supervisor if this is a postgraduate researcher project):**

...DR A N COSTELLO, PROF STEPHEN FARRALL

#### **If this is a postgraduate researcher project insert the student's name here:**

...ALISTAIR WILSON

Signature of Principal Investigator (or the Supervisor):

Date: ...18/10/2011

Email the completed application form and provide a signed, hard copy of 'Part B' to the Ethics Administrator (also enclose, if relevant, other documents).

Appendix Seven.



The University Of Sheffield.

# University Research Ethics Application Form for Staff and PGRs

This form has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC)

Date:	27 APR 2013
Name of applicant:	Alistair Wilson
Research project title:	Rural Door Supervision

Complete this form if you are a **member of staff or a postgraduate research student** who plans to undertake a research project which requires ethics approval via the University Ethics Review Procedure.

or

Complete this form if you plan to submit a **'generic' research ethics application (i.e. an application** that will cover several sufficiently similar research projects). Information on the 'generic' route is at: [www.sheffield.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure/review-procedure/generic-research-projects](http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure/review-procedure/generic-research-projects)

If you are an undergraduate or a postgraduate-taught student, this is the wrong form.

PLEASE NOTE THAT YOUR DEPARTMENT MAY USE A VARIATION OF THIS FORM: PLEASE CHECK WITH THE ETHICS ADMINISTRATOR IN YOUR DEPARTMENT

This form should be accompanied, where appropriate, by all Information Sheets/Covering Letters/Written Scripts which you propose to use to inform the prospective participants about the proposed research, and/or by a Consent Form where you need to use one.

Further guidance on how to apply is at: [www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure/review-procedure](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure/review-procedure)



Guidance on the possible routes for obtaining ethics approval (i.e. on the University Ethics Review Procedure, the NHS procedure and the Social Care Research Ethics Committee, and the Alternative procedure) is at: [www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure/ethics-approval](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure/ethics-approval)

Once you have completed this research ethics application form in full, and other documents where appropriate, check that your name, the title of your research project and the date is contained in the footer of each page and email it to the Ethics Administrator of your academic department. Please note that the original signed and dated version of 'Part B' of the application form should also be provided to the Ethics Administrator in hard copy. Ethics Administrators are listed at:

[www.shef.ac.uk/polopoly\\_fs/1.99105!/file/Ethics-Administrators.pdf](http://www.shef.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.99105!/file/Ethics-Administrators.pdf)

**I confirm that I have read the current version of the University of Sheffield 'Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue', as shown on the University's research ethics website at: [www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy)**



## Part A

### A1. Title of Research Project: Rural Door Supervision

### A2. Contact person (normally the Principal Investigator, in the case of staff-led research projects, or the student in the case of supervised-postgraduate researcher projects):

Title: Mr	Name: Alistair Wilson
Post: PGR Student	Department: Law
Email: apwilson1@sheffield.ac.uk	Telephone: 07545139736

### A2.1. Is this a postgraduate researcher project? If yes, please provide the Supervisor's contact details:

Title: Dr	Name: Andrew Costello
Post: Lecturer/Lead Supervisor	Department: Law
Email: a.n.costello@sheffield.ac.uk	Telephone: 0114222 6813

### A2.2. Other key investigators/co-applicants (within/outside University), where applicable. Please list all (add more if necessary):

Title: Prof	Name: Stephen Farrall
Post: Second supervisor	Department: Law
Email: s.farrall@sheffield.ac.uk	Telephone:

Title:

Post:

Email:

Name:

Department:

Telephone

**A3. Proposed Project Duration:**

Start date: October 2011

End date: Mar 2015

**A4. Mark 'X' in one or more of the following boxes if your research:**

<input type="checkbox"/>	involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves children or young people aged under 18 years
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves using samples of human biological material collected before for another purpose
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves taking new samples of human biological material (e.g. blood, tissue) *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves testing a medicinal product *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves taking new samples of human biological material (e.g. blood, tissue) *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves additional radiation above that required for clinical care *
<input type="checkbox"/>	involves investigating a medical device *
<input type="checkbox"/>	is social care research
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	is ESRC funded

\* If you have marked boxes marked \* then you also need to obtain confirmation that appropriate University insurance is in place. The procedure for doing so is entirely by email. Please send an email addressed to [insurance@shef.ac.uk](mailto:insurance@shef.ac.uk) and request a copy of the 'Clinical Trial Insurance Application Form'.

It is recommended that you familiarise yourself with the University's Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue before completing the following questions. Please note that if you provide sufficient information about the research (what you intend to do, how it will be carried out and how you intend to minimise any risks), this will help the ethics reviewers to make an informed judgement quickly without having to ask for further details.

**A5. Briefly summarise:**

**iii. The project's aims and objectives:**

(this must be in language comprehensible to a lay person)

The current research on door supervisors and aggression in the night-time economy has identified a link between the social context of night life, and a drinking culture in popular destinations. The current research and media attention on drinking and aggression in the UK also provides some evidence of a style of drinking. In the UK however this research has focussed on city centre bars (see inter alia Hobbs et al, 2003). The potential for the discovery of a different drinking culture and attitude towards violence in rural environments is of interest and yet to be explored and compared to what we know about urban night-time economies. A recent review of the literature on door supervisors and barroom aggression (Roberts, 2009) expressed the need to expand the research to incorporate door supervisors in different bars dealing with different clientele.

**Aims and objectives**

*Ethically approved observations were conducted as part of an MA dissertation in the Spring Semester of 2011 academic year, and also as part of the thesis research again in Spring 2012. Following on from this:*

I am interested in interactions between door supervisors and the wider multi-agency approach to tackling violence in the night-time economy and this approach has been investigated using two towns; one urban, one rural, so far.

I also want to know if door supervisors see themselves as isolated figures, or as part of a multi-agency approach. I would like the opinions of the police and other community and night-time economy figures (such as wardens or licensees) on the issue of isolation in rural night-time economies. I would also like opinions from all participants on the idea of perceptions of the demise of the criminality of door supervision. Moreover, and in relation to this ethics application, exploring the 'trade view' of these night-time gatekeepers is a key aim of this research, and a questionnaire will be a vital tool in this exploration.

**iv. The project's methodology:**

(this must be in language comprehensible to a lay person)

Alongside interviews and direct observation already underway and ethically approved, I would like to distribute self-completion questionnaires to employees at night-time venues in South Yorkshire in

order to gain an insight into the 'trade view'.

**A6. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm/distress to participants?**

To make clear to all participants who I am I will introduce myself or be introduced as a student researcher. I will make sure that all participants are aware that confidentiality is paramount to the research. Findings will not be attributable without permission. At the end of the questionnaire a space will be provided to enter their name only if they choose and clear instructions will state this.

All participants will be made aware that any participation is entirely voluntary, and withdrawal is possible at any stage. I will where possible seek approval from head door supervisors and licensees. If I observe any malpractice or uncomfortable situations I will contact my supervisor(s) to discuss the matter.

Due to the vibrant nature of the night-time economy, and the real possibility of coming into contact with people who have been involved in violence, I will have a telephone number for victim support stored in my mobile phone when engaging with participants.

**A7. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project? (especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises)**

No

**If yes, explain how these issues will be managed.**

**A8. How will the potential participants in the project be:**

**i. Identified?**

Participants of the two research sites directly observed as part of my MA and the early stages of the PhD will be approached with the intention of snowball sampling. Rural and urban areas within South Yorkshire will be targeted using opportunity sampling methods, and the researcher has contacts in some convenient areas.

**ii. Approached?**

Venues will be approached during working hours (i.e. at night) and initially contact will be made with licensees or head door supervisors in order to build relations with the venue and discuss the aims and objectives as set out in the information sheet. I will make every effort to approach venues when they do not look particularly busy with the intention of boosting the response rate. Other figures (and door supervisors) will be approached at Pubwatch meetings.

**iii. Recruited?**

Door supervisors will be approached with the approval of their head door supervisors or the licensee/bar manager. Where this is not possible (i.e. there are no licensees or head door supervisors) the door supervisors visible at a venue will be directly approached.

**A9. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?**

Yes  No

If informed consent or consent is **NOT** to be obtained please explain why. Further guidance is at: [www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/policy-notes/consent](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/policy-notes/consent)

**A9.1.** This question is only applicable if you are planning to obtain informed consent:

**How do you plan to obtain informed consent? (i.e. the proposed process?):**

Written informed consent will be obtained alongside the questionnaire, at the beginning of it (see attached). Please also see the attached information sheet.

Remember to attach your consent form and information sheet (where appropriate)

**A10. What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?**

The questionnaire will be anonymous, although there will be space at the end of the questionnaire for participants to give further details for contact if they so choose. It will be made clear that this is not compulsory or a requisite for participation.

All participants will be made aware that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any point.

**A11. Will financial/in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?** (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided)

At this time there is no plan to give financial incentives

**A12. Will the research involve the production of recorded media such as audio and/or video recordings?**

YES  NO

**A12.1.** This question is only applicable if you are planning to produce recorded media:

**How will you ensure that there is a clear agreement with participants as to how these recorded media may be stored, used and (if appropriate) destroyed?**

Guidance on a range of ethical issues, including safety and well-being, consent and anonymity, confidentiality and data protection are available at: [www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/policy-notes](http://www.shef.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy/policy-notes)

## University Research Ethics Application Form - Part B - The Signed Declaration

**Title of Research Project:**

**Rural Door Supervision**

I confirm my responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's '*Financial Regulations*', '*Good Research Practice Standards*' and the '*Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue*' (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

**In signing this research ethics application form I am also confirming that:**

- The form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.
- The project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy.
- There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.
- Subject to the research being approved, I undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.
- I undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting my academic department's Ethics Administrator in the first instance).
- I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CiCS).
- I understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.
- I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (e.g. the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.
- If this is an application for a 'generic' project, all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.
- **I understand that this project cannot be submitted for ethics approval in more than one department, and that if I wish to appeal against the decision made, this must be done through the original department.**

**Name of the Principal Investigator (or the name of the Supervisor if this is a postgraduate researcher project):**

**Dr Andrew Costello**

**If this is a postgraduate researcher project, insert the student's name here:**



**Alistair Wilson**

**Signature of Principal Investigator (or the Supervisor):**

**Dr Andrew Costello**

**Date: 27 Apr 2013**

**Email the completed application form and provide a signed, hard copy of 'Part B' to the Ethics Administrator (also enclose, if relevant, other documents).**

## Appendix Eight.



The  
University  
Of  
Sheffield.

School  
Of  
Law.

Alistair Wilson  
Bartolomé House  
Winter Street  
Sheffield  
S3 7ND

Head of School  
Professor Joanna Shapland

Bartolomé House  
Winter Street  
Sheffield  
S3 7ND  
United Kingdom

Telephone: +44 (0) 114 222 26899  
Fax: +44 (0) 114 222 6832  
Email: b.rawson@sheffield.ac.uk

23 August 2013

Dear Alistair,

### **PROJECT TITLE: Rural Door Supervision**

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 23 August 2013 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following document that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form (27 April 2013)
- Change – The application does not suggest that you plan to do any follow up interviews with respondents. If this is the case update the survey to remove personal and contact details section.
- Change – Add date and signature to the consent form.

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved document please inform me since written approval will be required. Please also inform me should you decide to terminate the project prematurely.

Yours sincerely



*Sarah Beedham*  
Ethics Administrator



2011  
**THE AWARDS**  
AWARD WINNER  
UNIVERSITY OF THE YEAR



The  
University  
Of  
Sheffield.

School  
Of  
Law.

**Alistair Wilson**  
PGR Room  
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**8 December 2011**

**Dear Alistair,**

**PROJECT TITLE: Contrasting Rural and Urban Security in the Night Time Economy**

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on *8 December 2011* the above-named project was unconditionally **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following document that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form (*18 October 2010*)
- Information Sheet (*7 December 2011*)

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved document please inform me since written approval will be required. Please also inform me should you decide to terminate the project prematurely.

The research committee did offer some advice. Written consent should be obtained where possible. The reasons cited against written consent do not apply to all participants (e.g. wardens) and to all circumstances.

Yours sincerely



*Sarah Beedham*  
Ethics Administrator



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26 January 2011

Dear Alistair,

**PROJECT TITLE: Rural Bouncers**

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on *26 January 2011* the above-named project was unconditionally **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following document that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form (*dated January 2011*)

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved document please inform me since written approval will be required. Please also inform me should you decide to terminate the project prematurely.

The research committee did offer some advice. Written consent should be obtained where possible. The reasons cited against written consent do not apply to all participants (e.g. wardens) and to all circumstances.

Yours sincerely



Sarah Beedham  
Ethics Administrator



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