

**Safety, surveillance and policing
in the night-time economy:
a visitor perspective**

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Safety, surveillance and policing in the night-time economy: a visitor perspective

Veiligheid, toezicht en handhaving in uitgaansgebieden: de bezoeker aan het woord

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof.dr. G.J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen

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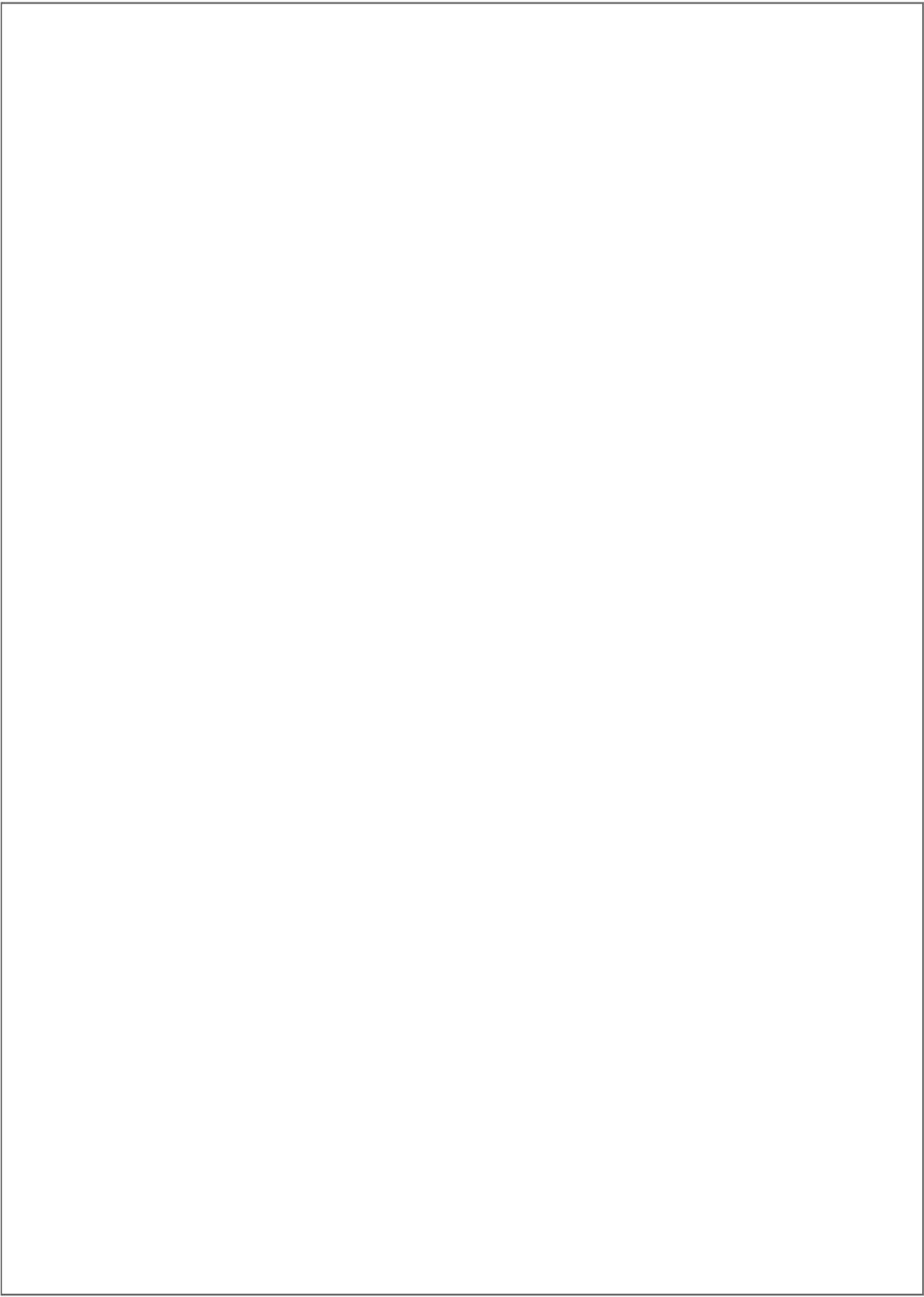
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A handwritten note in black ink on a light gray background. The text reads "bedankt" on the first line and "Jelle" on the second line, both written in a cursive, handwritten style.



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1 Introduction

1.1 Enjoyable and safe nightlife

When night falls, public spaces in city centres are animated by flashing lights and neon signs, accompanied by whiffles of muted musical notes and beats, the on-going buzz of people's chatter and the smell of fast-foods. All these are a manifestation of vibrant nightlife in city centres, which are 'colonized' (Melbin, 1987) by nightlife visitors who consume in one of the many cafes, bars, pubs, clubs, restaurants, cinemas, festivals and otherwise cultural facilities, especially at weekends. In the UK-based academic literatures (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995), the term 'night-time economy' (NTE) is often used to refer to the social and economic activities that take place as part of these infrastructures, and their potential to attract to or retain in the city the middle and higher social classes, as well as to regenerate what were perceived as the 'abandoned' and 'grey' inner-city areas of formerly industrial cities (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Bell, 2007; Helms, 2008; Crawford and Flint, 2009; Rowe and Lynch, 2012). Stimulating nightlife entertainment therefore is one governmental strategy to boost intra-urban competitiveness and to fuel the local economy (Hall and Hubbard, 1996; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a). Whereas the formation of vibrant NTEs has been stimulated by local government, another reason for the success and popularity of the NTE is its increasing importance to people's leisure time and identity, and the opportunities it provides to break from daytime routines (Bianchini, 1995; Chatterton, 1999; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008).

It has nonetheless also been demonstrated that there is more than financial gain, fun and enjoyment to the NTE. Drawing on a sample of Leicester (UK) residents, Hubbard (2005) points out that participation in nightlife takes place at the intersection of pleasure/stimulation and risk/danger. Whereas several authors have argued that some risk, excess and peril may actually be an integral constituent of the popularity of and the excitement experienced on a night out (Williams, 2008; Hubbard, 2013; Van Aalst et al., forthcoming), nightlife is nonetheless increasingly being problematized and portrayed in the media and public debate as a source of crime and disorder, and as unhealthy because of excessive alcohol consumption (Winlow and Hall, 2006; Measham and Østergaard, 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a). Such concerns have not gone unnoticed in policy circles, and they are now

important topics on local, and at times even national policy agendas (Van Liempt, 2013). The optimism about the potential benefits of the NTE that characterized much of the policy discourse of the 1990s and 2000s has therefore been partly displaced by growing concerns—if not a moral panic—about crime and health in the night-time economy (Hadfield et al., 2009; Shaw, 2010).

Although concerns over crime and health are not limited to the domain of nightlife entertainment (Pain and Smith 2008; Ball et al., 2012), they are especially strong in this context. In Western culture, ‘perceptions of the “hours of darkness” as a time of danger, fear, crime and sin seem to be persistent and deeply embedded’ (Hobbs et al., 2003, p. 44, see also Morris, 2011; Edensor, 2012), and concerns about safety and fear at night are intensified by the disquiet over binge drinking and drunkenness (Hadfield et al., 2009; Measham and Østergaard, 2009). As Latham and McCormack (2004) have illustrated, the consumption of alcohol can ‘amplify and alter the affective materiality of the city’ (p. 715) whereby intoxicated people are often believed to become more easily involved in mischief, disorder, conflict and violence, especially when they congregate in the limited spatial confines of squares, streets and pavements of nightlife areas (Hadfield et al., 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a; Shaw, 2010). The broader argument here is that especially areas at night where nightlife establishments are concentrated are ‘emotionally charged spaces’ that afford opportunities for transgressions of social norms that are taken for granted during daytime (Hubbard, 2005; Williams, 2008; Van Aalst et al., forthcoming). Consequently, it is now widely believed that lack of safety and fear of crime are especially prevalent in nightlife contexts.

Policymakers widely agree that a more proactive approach to mitigate the risks and dangers associated with emotionally charged nightlife areas will not only foster happiness, fun and enjoyment among nightlife consumers, but also have economic benefits, because safe and enjoyable nightlife without fear will attract more visitors and consumer spending (Williams, 2008; see also Helms et al., 2007). Incidences of what are perceived to be anti-social behaviour, incivility and crime on the other hand, are considered to negatively influence the reputation and image of cities and therefore harm their competitive position (Bromley et al., 2000; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Bannister et al., 2006; Helms 2008; Van Liempt, 2013). Increasing numbers of cities and local authorities are therefore

seeking to stimulate and govern what they communicate to the public as *'leuk en veilig uitgaan'* (enjoyable and safe nightlife) (e.g. Groningen, 2013; Hilversum, 2013; Utrecht, 2013):

'A night out is to be enjoyable and convivial as well as safe. The nightlife crowd wants to go out in a pleasant atmosphere. The city council, hospitality sector and police also have an interest in this. (...) such a nightlife area gives a positive impulse to the municipality at large.' (CCV, 2011)

In their attempts to stimulate nightlife that is both enjoyable and safe, cities in the Netherlands (and elsewhere) have, since the turn of the century, implemented Safe Nightlife policy (SNP). SNPs are structured collaborations in which public stakeholders—usually the city council and the police—cooperate with and consult the nightlife industry and private security firms in order to promote safety (CCV, 2011; Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012; Van Liempt, 2013). Specific laws and legislation are important aspects of these policies (Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012; Van Liempt, 2013), as are interventions in the physical design and layout of nightlife areas, for example the illumination of poorly lit spaces and the placement of mobile toilets.¹ What is most central to these policies, however, are increases in surveillance and policing. This is evident from the increasing number of CCTV cameras in nightlife areas. More and more cities are also assigning special on-street police teams to patrol nightlife areas at weekends (Delft, 2013; Utrecht, 2013; Van Liempt, 2013). Also, many nightlife establishments have private security staff—door staff or bouncers—at the entrance to clubs and bars. It is not intrinsically clear, however, how these interventions are perceived by nightlife consumers and whether and, if so, to what extent they bolster their experiences of safety.

Nonetheless, the academic literatures on the fear of crime and the geography of emotions have extensively discussed first-hand experiences of safety and the triggers and extent of the fear of crime, although the emphasis has disproportionately been on daytime experiences (Williams, 2008). By focusing on night-time, this dissertation adds a temporal dimension to these literatures. At the same time, the question whether and, if so, how surveillance and policing may trigger and affect experienced safety has received limited attention in these literatures (but

see Koskela [2000, 2002, 2003a] for an exception). The trans-disciplinary field of surveillance studies has explored surveillance and policing in great depth, but tends to focus much more on the organizational structures and institutional-level power dynamics of surveillance and control than on the ways surveillance and policing are experienced in the context of individuals' everyday lives (Koskela, 2003a; Friesen et al., 2009; Monahan, 2011). There is therefore a need to connect and integrate these strands of literature; a greater understanding is required of the ways in which surveillance and policing are implicated in people's subjective experiences of safety. It is important to better understand how surveillance and policing are experienced by consumers on nights out in order to justify their increasing application in nightlife contexts, in terms of being effective and efficient tools to reduce crime, as well as the fear of crime (Hood, 2003; Webster, 2009; Björklund, 2011; Norris, 2012). A central argument throughout this thesis therefore is that those under surveillance in nightlife spaces should be given more attention in the literatures on surveillance and policing, an issue that is also relevant from a societal perspective. Insights from those under surveillance may provide additional information about how concerns over safety and fear among those visiting nightlife areas can be mitigated and enjoyment and safety can be fostered.

In examining experiences of fear of crime, safety, surveillance and policing among nightlife consumers, this dissertation employs a distinctive geographical perspective that is inspired by recent developments in the more-than-human geographies and assemblage theories (Thrift, 2004; Anderson, 2009; Adey et al., 2013). We take safety and the fear of crime to be affective qualities that are constantly being reproduced by the complex interactions between practices of surveillance and policing and practices of nightlife supply and consumption part of and performed in the ever-changing socio-material configurations of the streets, pavements, squares, etc. that are nightlife areas. Adopting such a perspective, the study contextualizes and situates surveillance and policing and their effects of affective experience as part of public nightlife spaces. The central aim of this dissertation is to:

Examine how and to what extent nightlife visitors experience safety during nightlife practices, and whether and, if so, how experiences of safety are influenced by surveillance and policing practices in urban nightlife areas.

To accomplish this aim, this dissertation integrates and extends three strands of largely separate academic literature:

1. Work in the discipline of urban studies, in particular on nightlife consumption;
2. Studies of fear of crime and into the geographies of emotions;
3. Research in the surveillance studies.

The following section discusses prevailing debates in each strand of literature, and each subsection ends with the identification of some gaps in each field. On the basis of these research gaps, three specific research questions are formulated in Section 1.3. This is followed by a brief discussion on research paradigms and methods (1.4.1). A description of and rationale for the selection of the case studies, that is, the public spaces in the city centre nightlife areas of Utrecht and Rotterdam is presented in Subsection 1.4.2. The methodological section ends with a motivation for the research context—namely nightlife areas (1.4.3). A thesis outline is put forward in Section 1.5.

1.2 Theoretical points of departure

1.2.1 Urban Studies and nightlife consumption

The literature in urban studies on the night-time economy is extensive and tends to focus on three key themes. First, many authors—particularly but not exclusively authors from the UK—have charted the rise of the night-time economy and the attempts by local policymakers and other stakeholders to facilitate the emergence of a vibrant nightlife sector in city centres suffering from decades of deindustrialization and suburbanization (e.g. Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995; Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998; Hughes 1999; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Coleman, 2003; Hubbard, 2005; Hadfield et al., 2009; Pratt, 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a). They have also argued that the creation of leisure-oriented clusters of nightlife entertainment in city centres aligned well with the increasing demand for 'ephemeral and spectacular, disposable and lifestyle-based' (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, p. 22) goods and services among city consumers (Pratt, 2009).

This increased demand has in turn been related to the extension of the youthful phase to encompass a longer stretch of the individual's life course (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002), an increase in the time available for leisure (Bianchini, 1995), and the greater importance of nightlife consumption in lifestyle and identity formation among adolescents and young adults. Some studies have taken a more critical perspective, exploring the commercialization of nightlife premises and the marginalization of traditional pubs in nightlife concentrations in UK cities (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003) and of bars and clubs oriented towards alternative music and non-mainstream youth cultures (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Gallan, 2014).

Urban scholars have also documented the more recent emergence of discourses on the darker sides of the night-time economy. Attention has been focused in particular on alcohol-fuelled disorder and violence (Hadfield et al., 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009; a Shaw, 2010). Literature that has interrogated practices of drinking and drunkenness in urban nightlife spaces (Latham, 2003; Jayne et al., 2006, 2008, 2011; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008; Roberts, 2013) has also indicated that it is too simplistic to represent nightlife in city centres as inherently 'alcoholized' (Eldridge and Roberts, 2008). Rather, authors have identified substantial heterogeneity in drinking practices (Latham, 2003; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008; Jayne et al., 2008, 2011; Hubbard, 2013; Roberts, 2013). One important conclusion from this line of research is that this heterogeneity is grasped best when the consumption of alcohol is studied as firmly ensconced in the social practices undertaken and the sites visited on nights out. Literatures have also reported about conflict over different uses of city space among city centre residents, the nightlife industry and its consumers and local policymakers (Bromley et al., 2003; Roberts and Turner, 2005; Tiesdell and Slater, 2006; Williams, 2008).

Finally, geographers and others have examined the extent and mechanisms of the social exclusion of specific social groups from the night-time economy. A range of studies have demonstrated that nightlife consumption, although youth dominated in more general terms (Thomas and Bromley, 2000; Roberts and Turner, 2005), differs along lines of race/ethnicity (Böse, 2005; Talbot, 2007; Grazian, 2009; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Valentine et al., 2010; Schwanen et al., 2012), class (Bromley et al., 2003; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003), age (Chatterton, 1999;

Bromley et al., 2003) and to some extent gender (Bromley et al., 2003; Latham, 2003; Grazian, 2009; Sheard, 2011; Schwanen et al., 2012). Chatterton and Hollands (2003) mention that the marginalization of non-mainstream nightlife from UK city centres results in the exclusion of lower-class, non-white and non-mainstream visitors, whereas social groups such as students and young urban professionals are increasingly attracted to UK city centres. Among other things, entry requirements, discrimination by clubs and door staff, and the programming of 'white' music in mainstream nightlife are reported to be important mechanisms of the exclusion of ethnic minorities from the night-time economy (see Schwanen et al., 2012 for a more comprehensive discussion of mechanisms; see also Böse, 2005; Boogaarts, 2008; Measham and Hadfield, 2009). The result might be a lack of feeling of safety and belonging that brings about the 'self-exclusion' of ethnic/racial minorities from the NTE (Boogaarts, 2008). Dutch research has also indicated that especially the parents of Dutch-Turkish young women often do not allow their daughters to go out, or allow them to do so only under the 'supervision' of relatives (Boogaarts, 2008). On the basis of their research on the UK night-time economy, Valentine and colleagues (2010) also report the exclusion of Muslim youth on the basis of the culture of abstinence from alcohol.

Studies of social exclusion from the night-time economy and the literature on alcohol consumption in human geography and urban studies have, however, mostly employed qualitative research methods. This has enabled a firm understanding of the social and cultural processes that shape drinking practices and nightlife participation more generally. At the same time, this means that previous studies may have been less successful in establishing whether particular patterns and processes in practices of going out can be observed for larger groups of participants and non-participants in the night-time economy, whether and if so how these patterns are related to alcohol consumption and nightlife participation, and whether these patterns differ systematically along lines of race/ethnicity, class and so forth. In a more general sense, then, this dissertation contributes to the literature in urban studies by offering a quantitative analysis of nightlife consumption practices.

At the same time, there is limited work on nightlife consumption in the urban studies literature that draws on empirical materials from beyond the UK context.

In a way, this is striking because the ‘continental model’ of nightlife entertainment is sometimes taken to be an inspiration for the UK context (Lovatt and O’Connor, 1995; Heath, 1997; Roberts et al., 2006; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008). Contributions to the studies on European nightlife consumption beyond the UK context can therefore be considered especially welcome. This is one reason why this thesis reports on nightlife consumption in Dutch cities and reflects on differences from the UK context.

A final contribution is our effort to undertake comparative research in two cities. A study of ‘micro districts’ in four European cities, for instance, found important differences between vertical and café-style seated drinking (Roberts et al., 2006). A comparative study of British cities indicates subtle differences in people’s experiences and practices on nights out (Roberts, 2013). Although Roberts indicates important spatial differences in nightlife consumption and experiences at the city level and the national level (Roberts et al., 2006; Roberts, 2013), so far only limited attention has been paid in the urban studies literature to differences in nightlife practices and experiences in different geographical contexts. Therefore, the present study investigated whether and, if so, in what ways nightlife consumption differs geographically.

The observation that research in which comparisons between geographical contexts are made is scarce also applies to literatures on experiences of safety and fear of crime, and on surveillance and policing (but see e.g. Koskela and Pain (2000) and the Urban Eye Project (2014) for exceptions). The making of such comparisons is nonetheless useful: it enables a deeper understanding of how processes at the micro level of everyday practices and experiences are related to more structural and longer-term processes at the macro level of the city. In combination with information about the production and regulation of nightlife (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003) and wider demographic and economic transformations at the city level, an analysis of nightlife consumption also provides a contextual background against which experienced safety, surveillance and policing can be interpreted and understood.

1.2.2 Fear of crime and geographies of emotions

The nature, extent and causes or drivers of lack of safety and fear of crime in nightlife areas (and beyond) have been examined by many criminologists, geographers and other scholars (Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Hale, 1996; Pain, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2009; Koskela and Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007; Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012). Different research traditions have, however, privileged particular causes or drivers over others.

Situational crime prevention (SCP) (Clarke, 1995) scholarship has stressed that fear is an individually held emotion that can be influenced by reducing opportunities for crime through the ‘modification or manipulation of the physical environment’ (Welsh and Farrington, 2009, p. 34; see also Newman, 1972; Clarke, 1995; Cozens, 2002). Theories that emphasize natural surveillance (see especially Jacobs, 1961) as important to the prevention of crime also support SCP approaches (Welsh and Farrington, 2009). Illuminating poorly lit areas serves as an example here: the visibility of potential offenders is increased both directly through greater illumination and indirectly because improved lighting tends to result in a greater usage of streets (see also Herbert and Davidson, 1994; Painter, 1996; Pain, 2000; Farrington et al., 2002; Welsh and Farrington, 2009). CCTV surveillance and the presence of security personnel are believed to prevent crime by increasing both the perceived and the actual probability of detection (Welsh and Farrington, 2009), a matter that is discussed in greater depth in Section 1.2.3. The ‘broken windows’ thesis (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) is also linked to SCP scholarship; signs of dilapidation, dereliction and incivilities are considered to create ‘free spaces’ for unwanted behaviour and may trigger fear of crime, which can be brought to a halt by ‘fixing’ or ‘removing’ it through active intervention. Policing strategies, such as zero tolerance policing, problem-oriented policing and hot-spot policing, are also supported by such reasoning (Welsh and Farrington, 2009). The logic underpinning those policing strategies is that social decline and fear of crime can be prevented by swiftly tackling what are widely considered as disorder, incivilities and nuisances (see Section 1.2.3). The SCP tradition ‘has however been criticized to assume mechanistic effects of environmental stimuli, position fearful individuals as passive and lacking agency, and to be disregarding of systematic differences between individuals in the skills, resources, preferences

and intuition that shape people's dealing with fear' (Brands et al., 2013a, p. 2; see also Koskela, 1997; Mehta and Bondi, 1999; Pain, 1997, 2000; Little et al., 2005).

Alternatively—and broadly in line with the cultural turn in human geography in the 1990s that led to 'discourse and other incorporeal phenomena' (Pain, 2006a, p. 224) gaining more attention in the discipline—feminist geographers have put forward socially/culturally constructed meanings inscribed onto particular environments as key aspects of the mobilization of fear. Central to their argument is that fear of crime should be understood in relation to the 'local details of individuals' circumstances and life courses' (Pain, 2000, p. 269). Feminist geographers have therefore drawn attention to a wide range of processes that are usually differentiated according to gender, age, race and class (Pain, 2001). Those processes include past experiences of victimization (Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012) and socialization through interactions with family and friends, exposure to the media and participation in formal education earlier in the life course (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Sandberg and Tollefsen, 2010).

Social constructivist and cultural perspectives on fear of crime have profoundly expanded and deepened our understanding of what makes people fearful. Nonetheless, such perspectives have tended to background the active role of materiality and have sometimes underappreciated the situatedness of fear in the continuous flow of practice. These observations are informed by the attempts of many cultural geographers since the late 1990s to 'rematerialize' geography and take to heart the lessons of cultural post-humanism. At the heart of these attempts is the intention to shift 'the register of materiality from the indifferent stuff of a world 'out there' (...) to the intimate fabric of corporeality that includes and redistributes the 'in here' of human being' (Whatmore, 2006, p. 602). In response to these broader sentiments, Pain (2006a) has argued to rematerialize the fear of crime (even if her perspective differs in various ways from that elaborated by Whatmore and others). According to Pain, researchers should emphasize tangible experiences and the impacts of fear and crime on people's everyday lives, ground those experiences in particular places and their materiality, and examine how experience is structured by such life circumstances as socioeconomic position and gender. What is more, to study fear of crime is to take seriously and scrutinize the affective relations among different entities, including the person who is

experiencing. This perspective is allied with some earlier, social constructivist studies in arguing that the fear of crime is transitory and situational (Koskela, 2000, p. 271). It is a reciprocity, something that envelopes and is constantly reconfigured by people and the myriad material entities they inevitably encounter in and through everyday practices.

Against a background of rematerialized geography, the present study extends the debate on what triggers and/or nuances the fear of crime experienced during a night out in a city centre nightlife area, by focusing specifically on the roles of surveillance and policing. Although surveillance and policing practices aimed at reducing the fear of crime and enhancing safety among nightlife consumers are favoured by policymakers and the popular media, they have received little attention in the human geography literature. Even less has been written about how the effects of surveillance and policing may differ over the course of the night and between places, and may indeed also be transitory and situational. By addressing surveillance and policing and considering them an irreducible part of public spaces in nightlife areas (which themselves emerge from the ongoing assembling of associations among human and non-human, material and discursive elements), this dissertation scrutinizes experiences of safety, or the lack thereof, among nightlife consumers.

At the same time, the aim of this dissertation is not only to look at 'negative' emotions on nights out, but also to extend the academic understanding of more positive experiences of safety. Such an approach is in line with recent work by Hutta (2009) and Moran and Skeggs (2010), who argue that a definition of safety exceeds the double negative of the absence of a situation in which a person feels unsafe. Inspired by such approaches, this study also investigates the embodied sensations that respondents refer to in relation to their experienced safety, as well as how surveillance and policing may affect and shape such experience.

1.2.3 Surveillance studies

Surveillance studies is a rapidly growing, broad and trans-disciplinarily field (Lyon et al., 2012) for which the panopticon design for prisons as envisaged by Jeremy Bentham near the end of the 18th century constitutes a foundational and

guiding theoretical inspiration (Elmer, 2012). A central element of Bentham's design of the panopticon is a centrally positioned inspection tower from which an inspector can watch over the cells of inmates. The panopticon, however, is not just the name of the building or prison. For Bentham, automated watching—through the specific and careful configuration of the inspector, inspection tower and the structure/prison as such—lies at the core of the idea of the panopticon (Elmer, 2012). In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault (1977) offered an interpretation of Bentham's panoptic plans that extends them into a logic—panopticism—that revolves less around the actual unidirectional gaze (from the inspection tower) than around the continuous potential to be under surveillance and the consequent internalization of control. His idea was that because the prisoners cannot know whether, when and by whom they are being watched, they will exercise surveillance over themselves and regulate their practices and demeanour; they will become docile bodies.

One major advantage of Foucault's thinking is that it provides a framework for understanding how contemporary surveillance practices extend beyond mere watching to working—or attempting to work—in a preventative manner. People are 'under control but without physical intervention' (Koskela, 2003a, p. 293). By creating the illusion or unverifiability of control (Hood, 2003; Webster, 2009), it is believed that CCTV surveillance may induce docility and therefore prevent crime. The usefulness of Foucault's perspective for surveillance studies has, however, been debated extensively (see e.g. the contributions in Lyon, 2006 and Ball et al., 2012). One important shortcoming of panopticism logic is that it is insensitive to the agency of those under surveillance: it does not make intrinsically clear whether and, if so, how social control through surveillance is internalized by individuals. At the same time, it does not provide room to consider how people 'under surveillance' may actually oppose, contest and creatively engage with surveillance and/or practise surveillance themselves (see Mann et al., 2003; Albrechtslund and Dubbeld, 2005; Monahan, 2006; Koskela, 2011, 2012; Timan, 2013). The more general point to make here then is that the watcher–watched and powerful–oppressed dualism should not straightforwardly be accepted when studying surveillance and policing.² Those who in the historical sense are 'under surveillance' have acquired greater agency (e.g. because of technological

advances), which has destabilized a long 'accepted' distribution of power that is grounded in a top-down and few-many form (or one might argue, centralized, state-citizen) which is assumed with panopticism (Koskela, 2011).

This study nonetheless focuses on experiences of surveillance by door staff, the police and CCTV cameras among city centre nightlife consumers exactly because such top-down forms are prevalent in city centre night-time economies and because we know so little about how consumers respond to them. This means that we concur with the point that those 'under surveillance' cannot and should not be reduced to 'docile bodies' and/or 'doll-like' figures without agency (Koskela, 2003a, p. 300; see also Friesen et al., 2009). To account for and better understand the agency of those under surveillance, panopticism is sometimes combined with rational actor theory (Björklund, 2011; see also Hood, 2003; Webster, 2009). Central to the latter is the assumption that people (or perpetrators) are reasoning actors whose decisions (e.g. to commit a crime or not) are informed by costs and benefits analyses. In such a light, panopticism increases the 'cost' of committing a particular crime, whereas the 'cost' of correcting or speaking out about others' undesired behaviour decreases because:

- Surveillance and policing afford possibilities to trace perpetrators after the fact, which might shift the costs-benefits balance for potential perpetrators. That is, it potentially increases the costs (being caught in the long term), which might outweigh the benefits (satisfying particular needs/desires in the short term).
- The application of surveillance and policing in nightlife areas may also empower the victims of crime or bystanders. It promises the possibility of swift assistance from the police or private security staff. Especially when CCTV footage is watched live, such agents as the police (Smith, 2007) and other emergency services may be deployed effectively and efficiently. In addition to increasing the perpetrator's cost of committing a crime, the promise of swift intervention may also increase the benefit derived by the victim and/or bystander by correcting or addressing an aggressor³: 'I wouldn't do that, because we're on tape and the police will be here in no-time. So take it easy.' Surveillance and policing can also

empower victims and/or bystanders through providing justice after the event if the incident is recorded by CCTV cameras.

In light of the above, an important question is whether people are actually aware of surveillance and policing and thus able to take these into account in their decision making. As Björklund argues, ‘cameras cannot prevent crime if nobody is aware of their existence’ (Björklund, 2011, p. 364). Studies have therefore also investigated people’s awareness of CCTV (Honest and Charman, 1992; Ditton, 2000; Koskela, 2003b; Helten and Fischer, 2004; Van Eijk et al., 2006), and typically found that a substantial but variable number of respondents did not know whether CCTV cameras were present and how they operate. On the basis of these findings, the protagonists of rational actor models suggest that this may limit the efficacy of CCTV cameras to promote safety (see especially Chapter 5). It should, however, be questioned whether the assumption of a rational actor (which underpins the cost–benefit ratio argumentation) is appropriate and is applicable to surveillance and policing (see also Björklund, 2011) in nightlife contexts. It is quite conceivable that in ‘emotionally charged’ urban nightlife this assumption of potential perpetrators acting as rational actors is too strong, and especially at times when many consumers have consumed alcohol. At the same time, the literatures tend to reduce CCTV awareness to a dichotomy—individuals are either aware or unaware—and little room is provided for thinking of CCTV awareness as a layered concept. It is questionable whether CCTV awareness can indeed be reduced to a dichotomy. What is more, it is not clear whether greater CCTV awareness can also promote perceptions of safety in the specific context of the night-time economy with its emotionally charged nature (see above). These issues should be examined using appropriate empirical data and research methods.

Although the more general question whether the presence of surveillance and policing can increase the safety of those visiting public spaces has received attention in the academic literature (often against a background of the mechanisms discussed above), this question is neither straightforward nor answered. Koskela (2003a, 2012) usefully illustrates being under surveillance as an emotional event, a subjective experience that can evoke a variety of feelings, which include—but are certainly not limited—to security and safety. In stronger terms, she refers to ambivalence in the nature of surveillance: ‘it can increase a sense of security but

also exacerbate feelings of mistrust' (Koskela, 2012, p. 52). In her work, Koskela focuses mainly on the role of gender vis-à-vis CCTV surveillance, but it is not inconceivable that such ambivalence extends to other axes of social differentiation and other agents of surveillance. In fact, critical surveillance studies have indicated that the presence of police officers may at times also be understood as a sign that safety is at stake across the population more generally (Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Cook and Whowell, 2011). This means that the safety effects of surveillance and policing may at times be paradoxical and/or ambiguous. This raises such questions as what causes these paradoxalities and/or ambiguities, and in what situations can surveillance and policing be employed effectively and efficiently. Available studies, however, have a tendency to report on the 'overall effectiveness' of surveillance and policing and only a limited number of studies have researched 'being under surveillance' as an emotional event (Koskela 2003a, 2012; see also Friesen et al. 2009).

The argument that limited attention has been paid to the experiential reality of surveillance and policing can be illustrated with reference to studies on door staff. Whereas an extensive and well informed literature is available on the formal and informal acts, practices and tactics employed by door staff in nightlife areas (Hobbs et al., 2003; Rigakos, 2008), no research has—to the best of our knowledge—considered in great detail whether and, if so, how the presence of door staff in nightlife spaces affects perceptions and experiences of safety among nightlife consumers. Various studies did suggest that discriminatory practices of door staff contributed to the exclusion of racial/ethnic minorities from nightlife premises in city centres (Böse, 2005; Boogaarts, 2008; Measham and Hadfield, 2009). It is feasible that youths from some ethnic minorities—in the Dutch case, youths of Moroccan descent, for instance—might feel more unsafe compared to other groups, due to negative experiences with door staff in the past (e.g. aggression when trying to enter a club or bar) or because they expect such experiences to be more likely. This may even make them 'self-exclude' from the city centre night-time economy (see also Schwanen et al., 2012).

Studies, predominantly from the USA (Kautt, 2011), have reported publics' perceptions of the police in contexts other than nightlife areas, and have drawn on interesting differences between different social groups. As always, one should

be careful when transferring theory between national contexts, and the points made below should therefore be taken with care. At the same time, 'perceptions of the police' are obviously a quite general measure and therefore do not necessarily equal, but may be connected to, experienced safety. Having said this, research in the USA indicates that racial and ethnic minorities evaluate the police more negatively (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Schafer et al., 2003; Skogan, 2006; Kautt, 2011; Cochran and Warren, 2012). Perceived or actual racial profiling—'the practice of targeting or stopping an individual primarily on race, rather than on any individualized suspicion' (Cochran and Warren, 2012, p. 207)—is likely to play a role in this. Research has also indicated that the Dutch police are more likely to check ethnic minorities compared to ethnic Dutch people (Amnesty International, 2014). Some studies report less confidence in the police among males and younger people (Kautt, 2011), although the reported gender and age related differences are mainly inconsistent (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Schafer et al., 2003; Skogan, 2006; Kautt, 2011). Research conducted by Kautt in the UK (based on British Crime Survey data from the 2001/02 and 2007/08 sweeps), however, showed that racial minorities have more confidence in the police compared to their counterparts (*ibid.*, pp. 371-374). The studies by Sparks and colleagues (2001) and Ditton (2000) are interesting because they compare the safety effects of police presence and CCTV surveillance; both indicate that the former tend to be preferred over the latter.

Most studies on the links between CCTV surveillance and perceptions of safety among those visiting cities' public and semi-public spaces can be found in the fields of surveillance studies and criminology. Findings from questionnaires and interviews indicate that participants do understand CCTV in relation to their own safety (Honest and Charman, 1992; Helten and Fischer, 2004; Zurawski and Czerwinski, 2008; Zurawski, 2010) and that public support for CCTV surveillance is typically high (Ditton, 2000; Germain, 2013). Studies have also reported on the ways that the safety effects of CCTV surveillance may be socially differentiated. It has been argued that CCTV is not very successful in identifying 'situations where a [gender] sensitive interpretation of a social situation is needed' (Koskela, 2002, p. 263). While CCTV is capable of identifying violence and aggression, which are types of crime that men tend to fear (Day et al., 2003; Ware et al., 2011), more

sensitive forms of social disorder and incivilities that invoke feelings of a lack of safety or fear in women—such as staring, general intimidation and sexually explicit harassment—often remain unnoticed by cameras (Pain and Townshend, 2002; Koskela, 2012). It appears that few, if any, studies have considered in great depth whether and, if so, how understandings and perceptions of CCTV surveillance differ according to social markers other than gender, such as race/ethnicity and age. Studies have, however, reported on social sorting practices on the basis of surveillance, whereby surveillance is used to evaluate, sort and classify individuals who then receive different ‘treatments’ (Lyon, 2002; Ball et al., 2012). With CCTV surveillance, such sorting may especially be likely to take place on the basis of bodily markers and comportments. Some evidence has been found that people from ethnic minority backgrounds are more readily singled out by CCTV control groups on the basis of stereotyping and prejudices (e.g. Heebels, forthcoming). As with discriminatory acts among door staff, it is not inconceivable that this might affect the experiences of safety within ethnic minority groups. In light of these considerations, it appears that more research is required that explores whether and, if so, to what extent the effects of CCTV and other forms of surveillance and policing are differentiated according to gender, race/ethnicity and other markers of social identity.

In a more general sense, authors have also emphasized the need for a more in-depth understanding of the specific conditions under which particular forms of surveillance and policing generate specific effects, including greater subjectively experienced safety among those visiting public spaces (Welsh and Farrington, 2009; Germain, 2013). These include the particularities of the social and physical contexts of public spaces, as well as the acts and practices of those agents of surveillance and policing, rather than simply their presence (Cook and Whowell, 2011). More generally then, the discussion on the safety effects of surveillance and policing practices lacks ‘a thickness, both in description and in the attention to the material-affective relations that constitute the quality, feeling and experience of being ‘immersed’ in a phenomenal setting that ‘appears-with’ surveillance technologies, systems and practices’ (Adey et al., 2013, p. 300). In other words, it is critically important to study fear or crime, safety, surveillance and policing in reference to particular situations, rather than through generalizations that

transcend and abstract away from the situations in which affective experiences emerge and surveillance and policing are enacted.

In this dissertation, we therefore scrutinize and report on the effects of surveillance and policing as part of particular situations that are believed to be central to nightlife consumers' experiences of nightlife. In doing so, we are appreciative of points drawn by such authors as Haggerty and Ericson (2000) who, in reference to Deleuze (1992), stressed that surveillance is becoming increasingly more networked and manifested in 'assemblages'; increasingly often, 'surveillance is driven by the desire to bring systems together, to combine practices and technologies and integrate them into a larger whole' (ibid., p. 610). The desire to combine practices and technologies can also be witnessed in the night-time economy: CCTV control rooms have become linked up in real time with on-street police officers through telecommunication technologies. Authors have argued that gaps/silences and unexpected/contradictory effects among surveillance agents are implicit to such networks (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000; Van Aalst et al., forthcoming). More generally, this means that it is not sufficient to consider the safety effects of individual surveillance agents or police officers, because in many places and at many times in nightlife areas, such agents are co-present.

1.3 Research questions

Three research questions were formulated and addressed through the empirical studies summarized in this dissertation:

1. What distinctive patterns in nightlife consumption practices in city centres can be identified? How do these patterns vary between cities with differences in nightlife infrastructure and the social markers, lifestyle characteristics and past experiences of going out among students?
2. How do people experience safety and fear of crime during nights out in city centres?
3. How and to what degree do surveillance and policing practices affect safety and fear of crime among those visiting nightlife areas during their nights out?

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Methods and approach

With respect to this dissertation, some notable points should be drawn from the on-going debate on research methodology and methods in geography (Phillip, 1998; Schwanen and Kwan, 2009; Sui and DeLyser, 2012). The first is that a research paradigm—‘the way in which we look at knowledge, and what it is possible to know within any given field of knowledge’ (Phillip, 1998, p. 262)—is often but not inevitably connected to either quantitative or qualitative research methodologies (Phillip, 1998; Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006; Schwanen and Kwan, 2009). For instance, behaviourist or environmental approaches are often of a quantitative nature, whereas humanist, constructivist, phenomenological or feminist approaches are often qualitative in their nature. The materialist recuperation in geography (Whatmore, 2006) has, however, provided room for, and indeed drawn attention to, what might be considered a ‘cross-pollination’ between such extremes (see e.g., Lane et al., 2011). Researchers are increasingly emphasizing the importance of applying the methodologies that are best suited to answering the research question(s) or achieving the goal(s) at hand (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Flyvbjerg, 2011), and therefore conducting research that is problem driven. A central aspect of this view is the recognition that qualitative and quantitative research methods can be complementary in important ways, and are not necessarily conflicting (Phillip, 1998; Flyvbjerg, 2011).

When planning this research project, we realized that neither a purist qualitative nor a fully quantitative approach would provide the best answers to the research questions. This is exemplified by our interest in how people experience safety, fear of crime, and surveillance and policing on nights out, and the degree to which surveillance and policing are able or unable to affect fear of crime and feelings of safety. Guided by the research gaps identified in Section 1.2, we decided to apply both a case study approach and statistical methods. We therefore employed what Phillip (1998) calls a multiple method approach, meaning that over the course of the research project ‘a number of complementary methods are employed to address different facets of research questions, or to address the same question from different perspectives’ (Phillip, 1998, p. 264). A case study methodology

provides opportunities to understand phenomena thoroughly and deeply in terms of ‘detail, richness, completeness and within-case variance’ (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 314). In the context of this particular research, it enabled the contextualization and identification of causes and triggers of experienced safety or the lack thereof, and the ways in which surveillance and policing are linked to these. Statistical methods, on the other hand, provided us with the tools to understand how widespread such experiences and effects of surveillance and policing are and how these differ across populations (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

The present research paired case study and statistical methods using a ‘sequential design’, whereby the case study was used to develop and partly complement the statistical method. In this context, ‘develop’ means that the results from the case study method informed or enhanced the research undertaken using the statistical methods. ‘Complemented’ means the methods employed minimized weaknesses and enhanced each other’s strengths (Mayoh and Onwuegbuzie, 2013). What is most important here is that the methods complemented one another in terms of depth and breadth (Flyvbjerg, 2011): the results from the case study supported nuanced interpretations of the results using the statistical methods, and the latter enabled a generalization and/or measurement across a population of phenomena detailed in the case study.

Two sets of semi-structured interviews and one set of short on-site interviews were used to advance our understanding of experiences of safety and surveillance and policing, and to create situated and contextual understandings of those experiences. A quantitative, web-based questionnaire was then used to test hypotheses regarding experiences of safety, surveillance and policing that followed from the earlier qualitative research. The key objectives of the questionnaire were to ‘scale up’ the results of the interviews and analyse whether findings from the interviews hold across different social groups among NTE consumers. This enabled us to understand nightlife, safety and surveillance and policing both in the on-going and continuously changing situations of people’s everyday lives and in the broader, more structural contexts in which these lives are embedded. The latter include gender stereotyping (e.g. the discourse that position women as more vulnerable and in need of protection than men), ethnic stereotyping and discrimination (e.g. the discourse that associates non-white youths with greater

risk of incivilities and crime), the type of nightlife entertainment on offer in a given city centre, and local policies related to surveillance and policing in nightlife areas. In this context it is also relevant to mention that during the design of the web-based questionnaire, considerable effort was made to offer a new and innovative way of conducting quantitative research into the experience of safety, surveillance and policing, one that is attentive to the specifics of the situation people were asked to imagine themselves being in. As such, the research complements other quantitative work that seeks to strike a careful balance between generalization and attention to particularity (Kwan 2002, 2004; Schwanen and De Jong 2008; Kwan and Schwanen 2009).

Instead of offering a more detailed overview of the individual methods we used in each part of the research, we direct the reader to the relevant papers. Each paper includes a methodological section in which the methods used and choices made are explained in greater depth. The first set of interviews are discussed in Section 3.3, the second set in Section 4.3. In Section 5.3, the methods used to conduct our short on-site interviews are detailed. Finally, Section 2.2 and Section 6.3 present the design, conduct and analysis of our survey.

1.4.2 Comparative case study

Rather than focusing on one particular case, we also draw attention to the importance of comparing geographical contexts. As Robinson argues, ‘the very fact that cities exist in a world of other cities means that any attempt at a general or theoretical statement about cities either depends upon or invites comparative reflection’ (Robinson, 2011, p. 1). Put more bluntly, a comparison between different contexts provides a perspective on the findings for each individual case. It also sensitizes scholars to the importance of (in no particular order) economic, cultural, institutional, social, political and physical/material context to the phenomena under study. Finally, a comparison also raises all kinds of new questions that lead to the pursuit of answers. Although the usefulness of a comparative case study approach is evident from the above, only a few studies focusing on nightlife, safety and surveillance and policing have adopted this approach and capitalized on its potential to further promote knowledge, generate

new questions and contextualize findings (Roberts et al., 2006; Roberts, 2013; see also Koskela and Pain, 2000; Urban Eye Project, 2014).

The research presented in this dissertation is part of a broader research project—Surveillance in Urban Nightscapes (SUN)—in which three Dutch cities (Utrecht, Rotterdam and Groningen) featured as cases. This dissertation nonetheless mainly focuses on Utrecht and Rotterdam. The Groningen case was dropped after preliminary observational research and a first round of interviewing because this city was considered to resemble Utrecht too closely with respect to the more relevant structural contexts in which experienced safety, surveillance and policing were embedded. All papers included in this dissertation therefore report on the Utrecht and/or Rotterdam cases, with the exception of the paper based on the first round of interviewing (Section 4.3), which also includes empirical material for Groningen.

Rotterdam was selected as a ‘paradigmatic case’ (Flyvbjerg, 2011) with respect to the governance of safety through surveillance and policing. According to Flyvbjerg, a paradigmatic case is more or less archetypical, stands as a ‘prototype’ and has a metaphorical value. Although the identification of paradigmatic cases is at least partially intuitive, an important criterion for considering a case paradigmatic is whether ‘those intuitive decisions are accountable, in the sense of being sensible to other practitioners or often explicable if not immediately sensible’ (ibid., p. 308). The identification of Rotterdam as paradigmatic rests on its reputation as frontrunner in the adoption and implementation of ‘tough’ and ‘zero tolerance’ policy in the Dutch context, or as Van Liempt (2013, p. 6) puts it, Rotterdam is: ‘a good example of a city known for its restrictive safety policies and their efficient implementation (...) and the city is often described as a laboratory for new safety measures.’ Its frontrunner role is closely linked to a shift in Rotterdam’s local political landscape away from its post-WWII socio-democratic tradition following the rise of a populist party (Leefbaar Rotterdam) in 2001 (ibid., p. 4). Safety and security were one of the major topics through which this party sought to distinguish itself from the incumbent political parties (a move that its national-level counterpart later copied, with substantial electoral success). Rotterdam also has the greatest number of CCTV cameras of all Dutch cities, and it is the only city in the Netherlands where CCTV footage is watched live 24/7 (also see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Differences in population, nightlife entertainment, and surveillance and policing practices between Utrecht and Rotterdam

		Utrecht	Rotterdam
<i>Population (municipality)</i>			
Size (2013)		322,000 inhabitants	616,319 inhabitants
Share of people of non-Western descent (2013) ¹	All	21.7%	37.2%
	Moroccan	8.9%	6.7%
	Turkish	4.3%	7.8%
	Surinamese/Antillean	3.2%	12.3%
Students (2010) (% of pop)	Secondary education (VO)	12,637 students (3.9%)	29,570 students (4.8%)
	Tertiary, vocational training (MBO)	7,009 students (2.2%)	22,075 students (3.6%)
	Tertiary, applied university (HBO)	12,935 students (4.0%)	17,766 students (2.9%)
	Tertiary, traditional university (WO)	19,456 students (6.0%)	14,123 students (2.3%)
<i>Nightlife entertainment</i>			
Orientation		Strongly oriented towards university students and young urban professionals	Oriented towards a wide range of consumers, including lower-educated consumers and/or those of non-Western descent
Spatial structure		Strongly concentrated around a main nightlife square, with smaller concentrations elsewhere in the historic city	Relatively dispersed over the city centre
Establishments in city centre (% of all in municipality)	Club/disco	3 (100%)	9 (82%)
	Bar/pub	86 (59%)	184 (36%)
	Cinema	7 (100%)	2 (50%)
	Theatre	6 (46%)	4 (36%)
	Casino	3 (100%)	7 (70%)
<i>Safe Nightlife measures in the main nightlife area</i>			
Council operated CCTV surveillance		8 council operated CCTV cameras (87 for the entire city), watched live on specific time intervals and days of the week. CCTV was first implemented in 2001.	24 council operated CCTV cameras (350 for the entire city), watched live 24/7. CCTV was first implemented in 2000.
Police surveillance		A special team of police (6 on Thursdays and Fridays, 8 on Saturdays) patrol the nightlife area on Thursday, Friday and Saturday. Characteristic is that part of the officers are equipped with bicycles. Police is in direct contact with the CCTV control room.	A team of 15 police officers (2 of them on horseback) wearing highly visible reflective yellow vests patrol the nightlife area on Friday and Saturday nights. Police are in direct contact with the CCTV control room.

City wardens and youth stewards	--	Since 2009, Rotterdam has established a 'Horeca preventie team / nightlife prevention collaboration' which, besides police, includes two street wardens and two youth stewards. These latter agents are believed able to calm down frustrated nightlife consumers and prevent trouble and potential conflicts.
Private surveillance	On Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights some bars and clubs in the nightlife area have door staff at their entrance.	On Friday and Saturday nights nearly all bars and clubs in the nightlife area have door staff at their entrance. Door staff are equipped with a special phone line which enables them to communicate directly with the police.

¹ Person born in, or at least one of whose parents is born in, Africa, Latin America, Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey. This is the official definition used by the Dutch government.

Source: Schwanen et al. (2012), Van Liempt (2013), Utrecht (2014a), Rotterdam (2014a), Statistics Netherlands (2013), Bedrijfschap Horeca en Catering (2013).

During preliminary observational research in the main nightlife area of Rotterdam (see Schwanen et al., 2012 for more detail), the researchers experienced the physical appearance of public and semi-public space as quite stringent and regulated. Apart from public CCTV (see Figure 1.1) and police presence, every bar or club on Stadhuisplein, which is at the heart of the city's nightlife, had one or more bouncers in front of their doors (also see Table 1.1), many establishments were equipped with private CCTV systems and metal-detectors, and the difference between being inside and being outside the establishments was reinforced by sharp demarcations and/or fencing the daytime/evening terraces. Utrecht can be considered 'more reluctant to introduce safety measures' compared to Rotterdam (Van Liempt, 2013, p. 5), which is also substantiated by our preliminary observations of the main nightlife area in Utrecht. Fewer CCTV cameras (see Figure 1.1), door staff and police officers were identified and the physical appearance of the area was far less stringent and regulated. Finally, there are differences in the numbers of recorded crimes between the cities under study. Although there are no crime figures for their nightlife areas, crimes and offences are more frequent in the city of Rotterdam (see Table 1.2), which is also considered the more dangerous of the two by the public (and especially by people from outside the city).

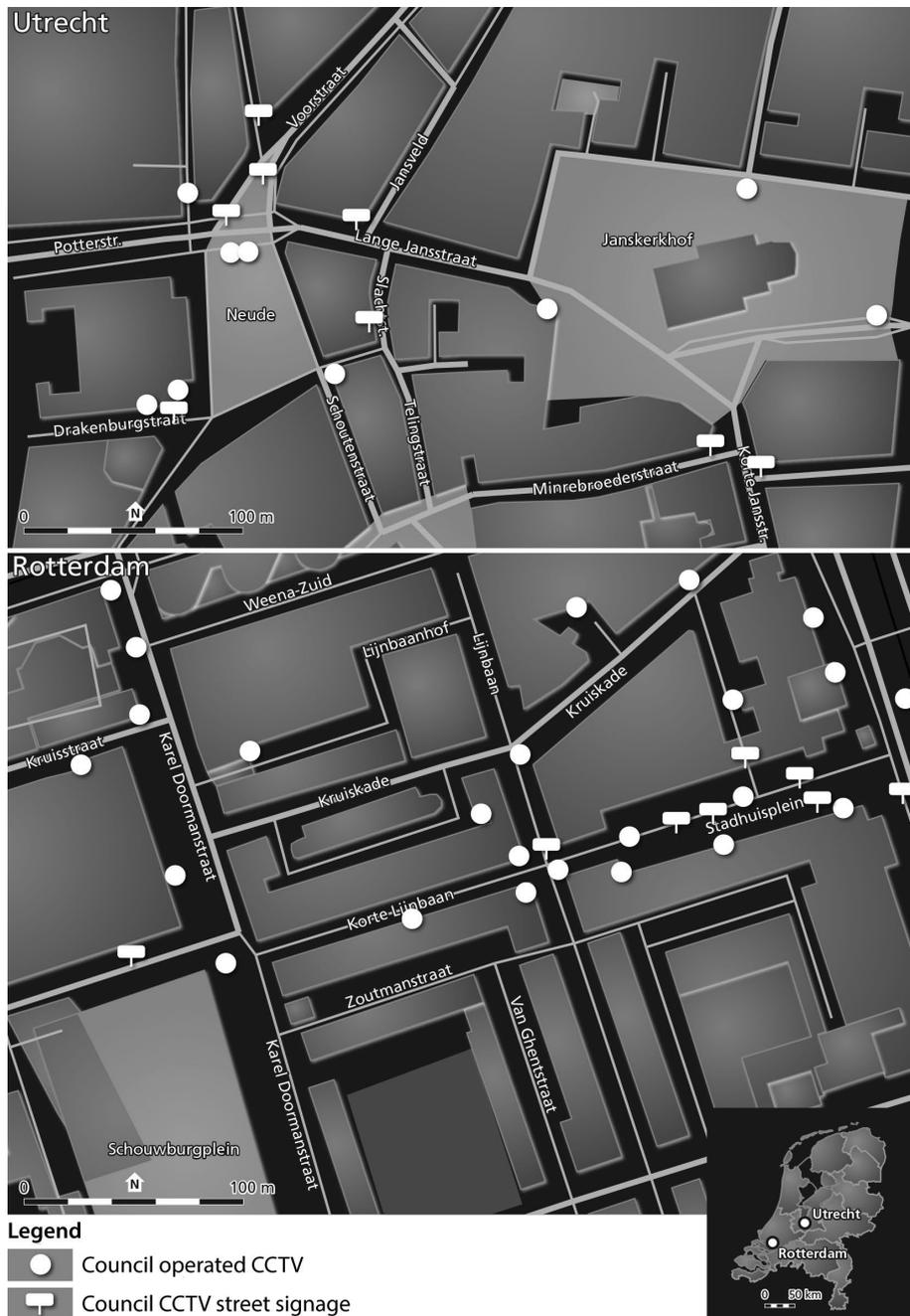


Figure 1.1: Maps of the inner-city nightlife areas of Utrecht (top) and Rotterdam (bottom) indicating council operated camera surveillance, observed by the researchers during preliminary observations (March and April 2010).

Table 1.2: The number of incidences of crime per 1000 inhabitants in 2011

	Utrecht	Rotterdam	Netherlands
Violent crimes ¹	4.5	6.3	3.6
Sexual offences ¹	0.6	0.9	0.6
Vandalism	9.5	11.7	8.9

¹ Both private and public sphere

Source: Statistics Netherlands (2013)

Nonetheless, the local contexts of Rotterdam and Utrecht vary on more aspects than discourses and practices regarding safety, surveillance and policing. Differences in the population composition between the two cities may also be relevant to the experience of nightlife, safety and surveillance and policing. This follows from the observation in the academic literature that people prefer to go out with and feel more comfortable around people they can relate to, whereas tensions might sooner rise with more heterogeneous populations within public spaces (Pain, 2000; Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009; England and Simon, 2010; Simonsen, 2013). If it is assumed that when people go out for the evening they usually do not go too far from where they live, the substantially larger share of non-Western immigrants (see Table 1.1) and their offspring in Rotterdam's population compared to Utrecht may result in different experiences of safety, surveillance and policing in both cities. This larger share of immigrants and their offspring is a consequence of the much greater influx in Rotterdam of inhabitants from former colonies and overseas areas of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, labour migrants and asylum seekers as well as family reunification programmes since 1960. Preliminary observational research also indicated that these differences in population composition have important ramifications for nightlife in both cities; we found that nightlife attendance in Rotterdam is far more ethnically mixed compared to nightlife in Utrecht (see Schwanen et al., 2012).

The cities also differ markedly with respect to their student populations. This can be considered relevant to our research in light of Chatterton's (1999) account of 'student nightlife' and Hubbard's (2008, 2013) finding that the 'studentification' of a city has important ramifications for its cultural infrastructure. Especially Utrecht hosts a large university student population, as it is home to a large traditional university (Universiteit Utrecht) and a university of applied sciences (Hogeschool Utrecht), whereas students attending the lowest level of tertiary and secondary

education are more prevalent in Rotterdam (see Table 1.1). This is also reflected in the composition of nightlife establishments in the cities: during the preliminary observations, we found that Utrecht nightlife is mainly 'student' oriented, whereas nightlife in Rotterdam caters to a wider range of consumers, including lower-educated consumers and/or those of non-Western origin.

1.4.3 Inner-city nightlife areas

To study nightlife activities, safety and surveillance and policing, we focused on areas in Rotterdam and Utrecht where there are larger concentrations of nightlife establishments. A focus on these concentrations is warranted in reference to greater and increasing concerns about drinking, alcohol-fuelled disorder and lack of safety in those contexts in particular (Bromley and Nelson, 2000; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Helms et al., 2007; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009b). Also, a concentration of surveillance and policing is often present in areas where nightlife establishments are concentrated (Van Liempt, 2013). Maps of the city centre nightlife districts of Utrecht (the area surrounding Neude square) and Rotterdam (the area surrounding Stadhuis square and Schouwburg square) are shown in Figure 1.2; Table 1.1 summarizes the Safe Nightlife measures in the selected nightlife areas.

The dissertation investigates experiences of safety, surveillance and policing in the public spaces of these two nightlife areas for several reasons. Firstly, Safe Nightlife measures tend to concentrate on public space. Second, the streets, pavements and squares in nightlife areas are especially places where people from different backgrounds encounter each other and where, often fuelled by alcohol consumption, many incivilities occur (Schwanen et al., 2012). Finally, these spaces are in principle accessible to everyone.⁴ If problems with perceived safety (and surveillance and policing) are encountered here, this raises questions about the legitimacy of the policy measures applied to such spaces at night-time and/or the nature of these public spaces more generally.



Figure 1.2: Maps of the inner-city nightlife areas of Utrecht (top) and Rotterdam (bottom) indicating nightlife entertainment, observed by the researchers during preliminary observations (March and April 2010).

1.5 Thesis outline

The research presented in this dissertation is based on five papers that have either been published or accepted for publication (three papers) or are currently under review (two papers) for possible publication in international academic journals. Although each paper has a specific focus, there is some overlap between the various chapters in the introductory parts, and most notably in the description of the research context.

Chapter 2 focuses on regularities in nightlife consumption practices and categorizes those practices into a limited number of classes. The chapter then investigates how these classes vary between the cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam and depend on a variety of social markers, lifestyle indicators and past experiences of going out. This chapter addresses research question 1 (the research questions are presented in Section 1.3).

Chapter 3 explores how fear of crime can be conceptualized, introducing it as a transitory and situational event that takes place between the person and the world, and examines the ways in which policing (as well as lighting and encounters with other people who are present in the public spaces of nightlife areas) influences fear of crime. The theoretical discussion helps in answering research question 2, and the empirical outcomes help in answering research questions 2 and 3.

Chapter 4 employs a post-phenomenological perspective to further investigate subjective experiences of safety, and explores the effects of CCTV surveillance and policing practices on respondents' experiences of safety. The empirical outcomes of this chapter therefore help in answering research questions 2 and 3.

Chapter 5 also studies experiences of safety in actual nightlife areas by employing short on-site interviews, but it concentrates more specifically on how participants' knowledge of CCTV surveillance is related to their experiences of safety. This chapter therefore addresses research question 3.

Chapter 6 integrates theory and the empirical results from Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in an attempt to quantitatively examine experiences of safety and the extent to which

these are affected by surveillance and policing interventions using a large scale web-based questionnaire.

The final chapter (7) formulates an answer to each research question individually and presents the theoretical contributions to the three strands of literature discussed in Section 1.2. It also reflects on some of the ethical dimensions of surveillance and policing in city centre nightlife areas, discusses a range of policy implications and identifies avenues for further research.

Notes

¹ A full list of interventions can be found at <http://www.hetccv-veiliguitgaan.nl> (in Dutch); see also Van Liempt and Van Aalst (2012) and Van Liempt (2013).

² The few studies mentioned here do not do justice to the extensive academic, and participatory, field that has been preoccupied with this topic, but hopefully suffices as a means to contextualize and position the present study. The reader might be especially interested in reading Timan (2013), who, in the context of the research project from which the present study emerged, specifically confronts such issues and provides a fuller review of the literatures.

³ Obviously, roles are not always clear-cut in terms of aggressor and victim but are here reported as such by means of illustration.

⁴ Public spaces in the Netherlands and elsewhere, one might argue, are at the same time increasingly becoming 'private' (Kohn, 2004; Van Melik et al., 2007; Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009), and the social sorting effects of surveillance and policing (Ball et al., 2012) may actually contribute to this; concerns are sometimes expressed that through the cultivation of social subjectivities, particular people are subjected to greater surveillance and in some cases are even removed from public spaces in contemporary cities (Coleman, 2004).

2 Spatiotemporal variations in nightlife consumption: A comparison of students in two Dutch cities

This chapter is co-authored by Tim Schwanen and Irina van Aalst and is submitted for publication in an academic journal.

Abstract

This paper extends the Human Geography literature about the night-time economy through a comparative, time-geographical and quantitative analysis of nightlife consumption practices during students' nights out in the city-centres of the Dutch cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam. Considerable variation in nightlife practices between and within these cities is revealed employing cluster and discriminant analyses. For both cities five distinctive types of nightlife consumption are identified, and comparison shows that nightlife practices in Utrecht's city-centre are characterised by stronger orientation towards bars/pubs and greater alcohol consumption, spatial clustering and ethnic homogeneity than in Rotterdam. It is also demonstrated that, contra some public discourses about the night-time economy, some types of city-centre nightlife practices are not characterised by excessive alcohol consumption. Finally, the analysis suggests that students' participation in different types of nightlife consumption in Utrecht and Rotterdam are only to some extent shaped by age, ethnicity, class and gender; education is most strongly associated with the type of nightlife consumption pursued, and this dimension should be given greater attention in future research on exclusion from the urban night-time economy.

2.1 Introduction

Since de-industrialization cities have increasingly turned their attention towards consumption to regenerate inner-city areas, attract visitors and mobile capital, and to keep the middle and higher social classes in the city (Bell, 2007; Helms et al., 2007; Crawford and Flint, 2009; Rowe and Lynch, 2012). Investments in nightlife entertainment have become a common governmental strategy to stimulate the local economy (Hall and Hubbard, 1996; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a). Nonetheless, over the past decade the optimism in the UK and elsewhere in Europe about the potential benefits of the ‘night-time economy’ (Bianchini, 1995) has to some extent been displaced by growing concern—if not a moral panic—in the media and public debate over alcohol consumption and the associated public health risks, as well as violence and disorder (Talbot 2007; Measham & Østergaard 2009; Shaw, 2010). Consequently, many local authorities in Europe have developed and implemented more stringent regulation and policing strategies to mitigate the ‘dark sides’ of the night-time economy (Hadfield et al., 2009; Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012).

Geographers and other social scientists have engaged critically with these developments. Many have pointed towards the exclusionary dimensions of the night-time economy (mainly in the UK context), and there is now a considerable evidence base showing that nightlife—defined here as the social activities and consumption practices taking place in a city’s nightlife facilities, such as pubs, clubs, cinemas, theatres and similar facilities and establishments, at night time (after 8 pm)—is strongly dominated by youth (Bromley et al., 2003; Roberts and Turner, 2005) and that non-whites, the lower social classes and to some extent women are excluded in multiple ways (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Böse, 2005; Talbot, 2007; Boogaarts, 2008; Grazian, 2009; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Valentine et al., 2010; Schwanen et al., 2012). Other studies have begun to counter simplistic representations of city-centres at night becoming soaked in alcohol. Latham (2003), Roberts (2014; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008), Hubbard (2013) and particularly Jayne and colleagues (2008, 2011) have begun to explore the heterogeneity of drinking practices. A key finding emerging from these authors’ work is that researchers and policy-makers can only begin to understand alcohol consumption if the particulars of going out—the specific socialisation processes,

practices undertaken and sites visited—are given due consideration. Going out is a multi-faceted social practice that is both performed in a wide variety of ways and shaped by the social, cultural, institutional and physical contexts in which it unfolds.

One reason for geographers' success in foregrounding the exclusionary dimensions of the night-time economy and the situatedness of drinking practices lies in the strong reliance on qualitative research methods. The benefits of these methods are manifold and they have been particularly effective in helping researchers to better understand the mechanisms through which exclusion operates and the causal processes through which social and cultural processes shape drinking practices. At the same time, the use of qualitative methods means that past research may have been less successful in establishing the extent to which particular patterns and processes can be observed for larger numbers of (non-)participants in city-centre night-time economies. This point about scale is particularly important from a policy perspective. Findings from qualitative research often have profound impact on policy (Pain, 2006b), but quantitative findings have different capacities to affect policy-makers and sometimes travel farther outside academia (Plummer and Sheppard, 2001; Wyly, 2009).

Against this background, the current paper seeks to complement past geographical research by offering a quantitative analysis of consumption practices in the night-time economy of two cities in the Netherlands—Utrecht and Rotterdam. Applying statistical techniques to questionnaire data obtained from students, we seek to identify recurrent and distinctive patterns in students' consumption of nightlife—which establishments and facilities they visit, when, where, for how long and with whom—and how this is related to alcohol consumption and geographical context. We also analyse to what extent participation in particular types of city-centre nightlife consumption among students is differentiated along lines of age, ethnicity, class and gender. Two cities rather than one are considered as this enables a better understanding of how the supply of nightlife establishments and population composition helps to shape nightlife consumption patterns.

The study utilises time-geography because this analytical framework is very effective in showing how everyday practices unfold and are shaped by social,

institutional and physical contexts and because it is amenable to quantitative research (Hägerstrand, 1970; Pred, 1977; Neutens et al., 2011). Hägerstrand (1970) suggests that individuals are enrolled in multiple projects—clusters of acts, individuals and items necessary for the completion of any intention-inspired or goal-oriented behaviour. We may also understand the consumption of nightlife as a project, undertaken to realise broader goals such as sex/courtship and to satisfy needs for belonging and association and continuity of self-identity (Chatterton, 1999; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008). As part of this project, individuals perform a series of unique acts at multiple sites at different moments in time, which together with acts belonging to other projects constitute a continuous path through space and time (Hägerstrand, 1970). The paths of multiple individuals may, or may not, bundle at particular sites or ‘stations’. Nightlife and the night-time economy can hence be regarded as bundles of space-time paths by individuals (and non-human entities), which can be visualised using Hägerstrand’s well-known three-dimensional space-time aquarium. By analysing what henceforth will be referred to as nightlife space-time paths—the sections of space-time paths by individuals that move through the stations constituted by nightlife entertainment establishments in city-centres—we can identify recurrent and distinct patterns of nightlife consumption. By considering whose path moves through those stations, we can also examine inequalities along lines of age, ethnicity, class and gender in participation in particular types of nightlife consumption in city-centres.

2.2 Research design

2.2.1 Geographical context

The research contrasts nightlife consumption in the Dutch cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam for two main reasons. There are substantial differences in the supply of nightlife establishments between these cities (Table 2.1). With 1 in 20 for Rotterdam’s city-centre against 1 in 29 for Utrecht’s, the club to bar/pubs ratio differs markedly, indicating that nightlife in Utrecht’s city-centre is more strongly oriented towards bars/pubs. The spatial structure of nightlife entertainment also differs, with establishments being more dispersed across Rotterdam’s city-centre (and beyond). Secondly, the population composition of the two cities differs

starkly. Compared to Utrecht, Rotterdam has seen a stronger increase in the share of non-Western¹ minorities in the population since 1960. This is one reason why the population of nightlife consumers in Rotterdam is considerably more heterogeneous in ethnic terms than in Utrecht (Schwanen et al., 2012).

Table 2.1: Population and nightlife entertainment in Utrecht and Rotterdam

	Utrecht	Rotterdam
<i>Population (municipality)</i>		
Size (2013)	322,000 inhabitants	616,319 inhabitants
Share of people from non-Western descent (2013) ¹	All	21.7%
	Moroccan	8.9%
	Turkish	4.3%
	Surinamese/Antillean	3.2%
Students aged 16 and over (2010) (% of pop)	Secondary education (VO)	3,558 students (1.1%)
	Tertiary, vocational training (MBO)	7,061 students (2.2%)
	Tertiary, applied university (HBO)	13,394 students (4.2%)
	Tertiary, traditional university (WO)	19,756 students (6.1%)
<i>Nightlife entertainment</i>		
Orientation	Strongly oriented towards university students and young urban professionals	Oriented towards a wide range of consumers, including lower-educated consumers and/or those from non-Western origin
Spatial structure	Strongly concentrated around a main nightlife square, with smaller concentrations elsewhere in the historic city	Relatively dispersed over the city (centre)
Establishments in city-centre (% of all in municipality)	Club/disco	3 (100%)
	Bar/pub	86 (59%)
	Cinema	7 (100%)
	Theatre	6 (46%)
	Casino	3 (100%)
		9 (82%)
		184 (36%)
		2 (50%)
		4 (36%)
		7 (70%)

¹ Person born in, or at least one of whose parents is born in, Africa, Latin America, Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey. This is the official definition used by the Dutch government

Source: Schwanen et al (2012), Municipality of Utrecht (2014a, b), Municipality of Rotterdam (2014a, b), Statistics Netherlands (2013); Bedrijfschap Horeca en Catering (2013)

At the same time, Utrecht hosts a larger population of (applied) university students. This difference is potentially important in light of Chatterton's (1999) study of the distinctiveness of university student nightlife and its dependence on a specific infrastructure of student-oriented establishments and facilities (see also Hubbard [2008, page 323] on studentification—the process whereby 'specific

neighbourhoods become dominated by student residential occupation' with due physical, economic and social impacts on the city as a whole).

2.2.2 Sampling

The study considers students in secondary and tertiary education in Utrecht or Rotterdam who are at least 16 years old—the legal minimum age for buying alcohol in the Netherlands at the time of the study.

Table 2.2: Sample characteristics

	Educated in Utrecht		Educated in Rotterdam		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender						
Male	241	51.3%	166	35.6%	407	43.5%
Female	229	48.7%	300	64.4%	529	56.5%
Age						
16-17 years	45	9.6%	158	33.9%	203	21.7%
18-19 years	116	24.7%	129	27.7%	245	26.1%
20-21 years	127	27%	68	14.6%	195	20.8%
≥ 22 years	182	38.7%	111	23.8%	293	31.3%
Ethnicity						
Dutch/Western descent	430	91.5%	374	80.3%	804	85.9%
Non-Western descent ¹	40	8.5%	92	19.7%	132	14.1%
Monthly disposable income ²						
< 100 €	158	34.5%	189	41.6%	347	38.0%
100-200 €	170	37.1%	154	33.9%	324	35.5%
> 200 €	130	28.4%	111	24.4%	241	26.4%
Level of education						
Secondary (VO)	51	10.9%	128	27.5%	179	19.1%
Tertiary, vocational training (MBO)	105	22.3%	173	37.1%	278	29.7%
Tertiary, applied university (HBO)	230	48.9%	62	13.3%	292	31.2%
Tertiary, traditional university (WO)	84	17.9%	103	22.1%	187	20.0%

¹ Person born in, or at least one of whose parents is born in, Africa, Latin America, Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey. This is the official definition used by the Dutch government.

² 24 persons chose not to report on their monthly disposable outcome

This focus reflects that students make up the vast majority of adolescents and young adults in the Netherlands, and that schools for secondary education (VO in the Dutch context) and institutions for vocational training (MBOs), applied universities (HBOs) and traditional universities (Utrecht University and the Erasmus University Rotterdam) provide a more effective platform to reach youth

who go out infrequently or not at all than recruitment in nightlife districts, via nightlife establishments or via websites about (urban) nightlife entertainment. Recruitment of participants therefore took place at a selection of educational institutions in Utrecht and Rotterdam offering education at different levels in April-October 2012. For each level multiple institutions were approached to increase heterogeneity of the eventual sample. Through email, surface mail and phone correspondence, we asked the educational institutions to promote our study by direct mailings to students, by placing our request on the institution's digi-board, website and social media, and/or by distributing leaflets. All our communications contained a hyperlink to our online questionnaire. In total 1,475 persons students clicked on the hyperlink, and 936 (63.5%) delivered a usable response. The response for both Utrecht and Rotterdam is internally heterogeneous, representing both genders and an appropriate range of difference in terms of age, education, income and ethnicity (Table 2.2) and can therefore be employed usefully for identifying distinct patterns in nightlife consumption among students.

2.2.3 Online questionnaire

The questionnaire was used to collect information on the study participants' previous night out (at most three months ago) on which they visited at least one of the types of nightlife establishments listed below after 8:00 pm. In this way participants who do not go out often can still be considered in the analysis whilst the effects of memory bias are likely to remain within the limits of reasonableness (discussed further below). Participants were asked to reconstruct their last night out from memory and provide information for each establishment they had visited (in chronological order) on:

- *Geographical location:* city and name of the visited nightlife establishment(s);
- *Type of nightlife establishment:* bar/pub, club/disco, themed party, theatre, cinema, concert hall/music venue, bowling/billiard hall, student society, school party, youth/neighbourhood centre, other;
- *Hour of arrival and departure;*

- *Companionship*: group size, group composition in terms of gender and ethnicity, social relationship to participant (e.g., boy/girlfriend, friend, relatives); and
- *Drinks consumed*: beer/wine, alcopops, cocktails, spirits/liquor, non-alcoholic (amount coded in categories).

The questionnaire also included questions about respondents' more general patterns of going out and about their demographic and socioeconomic situation. Respondents were asked how often they went out on average, which nightlife establishment they visited most frequently, and about past experiences of denial of entrance and experiences of incidents. Persons who had never gone out before were asked specific questions about their reasons for not going out. All respondents were also asked about their gender, age, their residential situation and location, the education they were enrolled in, their parents' country of birth, and their monthly disposable income.

2.2.4 Methods

The analysis of the data below proceeds in three steps. The first step uses descriptive statistics to illustrate differences in nightlife consumption that took place in the cities of Rotterdam and Utrecht. Such an analysis is insightful because a comparison at the city level begins to provide important background information in terms of the broader (social, institutional and physical) contexts in which nightlife consumption practices are embedded.

The second step consists of cluster analysis on the nightlife space-time paths which study participants carved out the last time they went out in the city-centres of Rotterdam or Utrecht. Cluster analysis was deployed because it reduces the large heterogeneity in where, when, with whom, and so forth participants undertook nightlife related activities on their last night out to a limited number of characteristic or representative patterns. This allows a deeper understanding of nightlife space-time paths and how these are shaped by the contexts in which they are embedded. Eight criteria, derived from the time-geographical literature and previous studies of nightlife consumption (Jayne et al., 2011; Roberts, 2014), were considered in order to summarize nightlife space-time paths, and are therefore

used as input for clustering:

- The *number* of nightlife establishments visited;
- The *type* of nightlife establishment where most of the night was spent;
- The *arrival time* at the first nightlife establishment visited;
- The total *duration* of visits to nightlife establishments;
- *Location*: the part/region of the city centre where most of the night was spent;
- *Group size*: the number of friends, relatives and acquaintances with whom most of the night was spent;
- *Group gender*: the gender composition of the friends, relatives and acquaintances with whom most of the night was spent;
- *Group ethnicity*: the ethnic composition of the friends, relatives and acquaintances with whom most of the night was spent; and
- *Alcohol consumption*: the number of units consumed (categorical) across all visits to nightlife establishments.

We chose to perform two separate cluster analyses for nights out in Rotterdam and Utrecht rather than a single analysis on all available data. This reflected the expectation on the basis of our previous research with qualitative methods on students' nights out (e.g. Brands and Schwanen, 2014) that the effect of city context on nightlife space-time paths would not be restricted to shaping the proportional distribution of paths over generically defined classes of space-time paths. Rather, we expected the characteristics of those classes themselves—and hence the limited number of characteristic or representative nightlife patterns—to be shaped by the supply and spatial structure of nightlife entertainment and the population composition of Rotterdam and Utrecht. Two-step cluster analyses have been performed as these allow large numbers of cases to be grouped and both continuous and categorical variables to be used. In the first, pre-cluster step nights out in each city have been grouped into a (large) number of small sub-clusters using a sequential clustering approach (IBM, 2013). The sub-clusters are then grouped using an agglomerative hierarchical cluster method into either a small

number of clusters a priori set by the researcher or determined automatically. We chose to set the number of clusters to 5 per city because this number was considered to yield greatest diversity in terms of the included variables per cluster, when compared to other solutions (either detected automatically or set by the researcher). A description of each distinctive cluster with similar nightlife space-time paths is presented in Section 2.4.

Thirdly, given concerns in the academic literature about exclusion from the night-time economy (Section 2.1), we have conducted discriminant analyses (DA) to establish if cluster membership varies systematically according to age, ethnicity, class (income, level of education) and gender, as well as students' lifestyle and past experiences of going out. Lifestyle is a term that is understood in many different ways; it is here defined as an individual's way of living and is captured through the variables field of study (eight classes), living situation (with parent(s)/carer(s); alone; with partner; with friends/in student lodgings), residential location (Utrecht/Rotterdam, city-centre; Utrecht/Rotterdam, wider city; Utrecht/Rotterdam, suburbs; elsewhere), and frequency of going out (less than once per month; about once per month; once every two weeks; once per week or more). These variables were included because preliminary research using space-time diaries and in-depth interviews (Brands, 2009; Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009) and past research (e.g. Chatterton, 1999) indicated these can help to explain differences in students' nightlife consumption. Past experiences of going out are measured using two variables—experiences of denial of entrance at a nightlife establishment and of incidents. Experience of denial may make young people less inclined to visit particular types of nightlife establishments, especially clubs (Boogaarts, 2008; Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009). It is also well documented that experienced incidents may induce fear among individuals (Whitzman, 2007), possibly preventing them from pursuing particular types of nightlife consumption.

Because separate cluster analyses have been conducted for Rotterdam and Utrecht, the DA has been carried out for each city separately as well. DA is similar to multiple linear regression analysis in the sense that it predicts an outcome (mean numerical Y values for weighted combinations of X values for the latter), but with DA the outcome variables are categorical rather than interval variables.² This means that latent constructs, or functions, that link the independent variables

with the outcomes of the cluster analysis as a categorical dependent variable have been extracted from the data. By considering which independent variables are correlated with the extracted functions and how the various types of nightlife consumption score on those functions, we can explain how participation in nightlife consumption is distributed unequally (Spicer, 2004; Burns and Burns, 2009), which will be illustrated in Section 2.5. For all analyses, the SPSS software package was used.

2.2.5 Limitations

Various limitations concerning the design of our method should be taken into consideration during the discussion of the results in the next sections. The first of these concerns the question of representativeness of the sample. The consequence of sampling via educational institutions is that our sample is not representative of the nightlife population as a whole; young people in employment or registered as unemployed are not included. This is a clear disadvantage even though students make up 86% and 91% of all young people aged 15-19 in Rotterdam and Utrecht, respectively. The percentages drop to 52% (Rotterdam) and 68% (Utrecht) of all young people aged 20-24 (Statistics Netherlands, 2013).³ Compared to the overall population of nightlife consumers in Utrecht and Rotterdam, the students for whom information is available are likely to have more limited financial resources to participate in nightlife yet also more flexibility in how they use their (leisure) time. A comparison of Tables 2.1 and 2.2 indicates that our sample under-represents students with traditional university education (WO) for Utrecht. Applied university (HBO) students rather than traditional university (WO) students are under-represented in Rotterdam. In the latter city the extent of under-representation is also smaller. Nonetheless, the most important difference between the final sample and population of youth in both cities is that young people with low educational attainment (and who no longer participate in education) are under-represented. Our sample can therefore not be considered representative of all young people in Utrecht and Rotterdam, but is to a reasonable degree representative of students in both cities.

We should also be critical to the instrument used to collect our data. An online

questionnaire was preferred over using space-time diaries and GPS-based tracking technologies for pragmatic reasons. Whilst those instruments might be more effective in capturing information about where study participants were at a particular point in time, they are also highly impractical for collecting information on nights out. Based on previous research we were involved in, we felt that the benefits of greater accuracy did not outweigh the extra respondent burden and impracticalities of filling out a diary in situ or carrying along a tracking device on a night out, which then needed to be supplemented by some other instrument to be administered by participants at a later moment in time (so that we could, for instance, obtain information with whom they were or which drinks they consumed). We therefore decided to use a questionnaire in which questions were structured in a way that mimicked a space-time diary, as exemplified earlier.

Questions can also be raised about the validity of measurements in the questionnaire, especially because research participants were asked to reconstruct their last night out from memory up to three months ago. In this context it is relevant to mention that close to 55% of the study participants reported information on a night out that was less than a week ago, and close to 80% reported on a night less than 2 weeks ago upon completing the questionnaire. This obviously does not preclude instances of mis-recollection and for this reason we only asked respondents to describe the night out in fairly broad terms in the questionnaire. Thus, we asked about the hour of arrival and departure rather than the time in minutes and about categories rather than the exact number of drinks they had consumed. Even so, the information on drinks consumed should be considered indicative as respondents may not exactly remember how much they drank (especially when larger amounts of alcohol have been consumed), because they indicated to have drunk less alcohol than they actually did (social desirability bias) or because they may have exaggerated how much they drank in an attempt to show off. Furthermore, the questionnaire only considers alcohol consumption during visits to nightlife establishments; no information has been collected on 'pre-loading'—drinking at home or at a friend's place before going out. This can be considered a significant shortcoming, but the choice to disregard pre-loading was made to avoid over-burdening the respondents.

2.3 Differences between Utrecht and Rotterdam

Almost all respondents go out with some regularity and over half at least once every two weeks (Table 2.3); only 28 respondents (3%) have never gone out. Rather than suggesting that all students over sixteen go out regularly, these findings seem to indicate that our study appealed predominantly to those who actually go out. Hence, the survey does not allow us to say much about non-participation in nightlife consumption among students educated in either Utrecht or Rotterdam. The frequency of going out is significantly higher ($p < 0.001$; Mann-Whitney test) among students educated in Utrecht than in Rotterdam. For students in both cities the frequency of going out tends to be lower if they live farther from the city-centre ($p < 0.001$ for Utrecht and $p = 0.062$ for Rotterdam; both Chi-square tests).

Table 2.3: Frequency of going out, by residential location

	Less than once per month	About once per month	Once every two weeks	Once per week or more	N
Educated in Utrecht					
Lives in Utrecht (municipality)	12.6%	13.1%	26.2%	48.2%	191
Lives in suburbs around Utrecht	30.0%	28.3%	18.3%	23.3%	60
Lives elsewhere	19.7%	20.7%	24.4%	35.2%	213
Total	18.1%	18.5%	24.4%	39.0%	464
Educated in Rotterdam					
Lives in Rotterdam (municipality)	21.8%	23.2%	30.5%	24.5%	220
Lives in suburbs around Rotterdam	35.0%	25.2%	24.3%	15.5%	103
Lives elsewhere	26.4%	21.5%	22.3%	29.8%	121
Total	26.1%	23.2%	26.8%	23.9%	444
Total sample	22.0%	20.8%	25.6%	31.6%	908 ¹

¹ 28 Respondents have not gone out before

The spatial pattern of the nightlife premise that the participating students visited most often differs markedly between Utrecht and Rotterdam. Table 2.4 indicates a centralised and spatially compact nightlife scene focused on Utrecht's city-centre, against a more spread out pattern in Rotterdam, which aligns with the spatial supply of actual nightlife establishments in both cities (Table 2.1). There is also a clear relationship between where students live and where they go out most frequently in each city: they are less oriented towards the city-centre as they live at greater distance ($p < 0.001$ for Utrecht and $p < 0.001$ for Rotterdam; both Chi-

square tests). This effect of distance is nonetheless weaker in Rotterdam (Cramér's $V=0.424$, against 0.588 for Utrecht), suggesting that the supply of nightlife entertainment in Rotterdam has more of a regional function than Utrecht's.

Table 2.4: Location of most frequently visited nightlife establishment, by residential location

	Utrecht, city-centre	Utrecht, wider city	Utrecht, suburbs	Elsewhere	Unknown	N
Educated in Utrecht						
Lives in Utrecht (municipality)	64.9%	2.6%	3.7%	14.1%	14.7%	191
Lives in suburbs around Utrecht	36.7%	0.0%	30.0%	10.0%	23.3%	60
Lives elsewhere	10.3%	0.9%	0.9%	80.8%	7.0%	213
Total	36.2%	1.5%	5.8%	44.2%	12.3%	464 ¹
	Rotterdam, city-centre	Rotterdam, wider city	Rotterdam, suburbs	Elsewhere	Unknown	N
Educated in Rotterdam						
Lives in Rotterdam (municipality)	45%	20%	2.3%	9.1%	23.6%	220
Lives in suburbs around Rotterdam	39.8%	7.8%	10.7%	11.7%	30.1%	103
Lives elsewhere	19.0%	5.0%	0.8%	52.1%	23.1%	121
Total	36.7%	13.1%	3.8%	21.4%	25.0%	444 ¹

¹ 28 Respondents have not gone out before

When attention is directed towards the respondents' last night out, further differences can be identified between Utrecht and Rotterdam (Table 2.5). It should be noted that the number of respondents considered in Table 2.5 is with 179 for Utrecht and 235 for Rotterdam considerable lower than in Tables 2.3-2.4. This is because from now on the focus of the analysis is on respondents whose last night out took place in the cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam and no longer than 3 months before they filled out the questionnaire. Four differences in how students go out can be established between Utrecht and Rotterdam (Table 2.5). One is that bars/pubs are frequented more often in Utrecht; nights out in Rotterdam are more oriented towards clubs. Another is that alcohol consumption in nightlife establishments is considerably greater in Utrecht. There also appears to be less mixing of different ethnicities among groups that go out in Utrecht, which is consistent with earlier research based on systematic observations between 10:00pm and 5:00am at key sites where many nightlife establishments are concentrated in the city-centres of Utrecht and Rotterdam (Schwanen et al., 2012). The current study corroborates the conclusion by Schwanen and colleagues that the night-time economy of Utrecht's city-centre is disproportionately white.

Table 2.5: Nightlife space-time paths in Utrecht and Rotterdam by students

	Utrecht (N=179)	Rotterdam (N=235)
Establishments visited ¹		
One	84%	79%
Two or more	16%	21%
Type of establishment ²		
Bar/pub	50%	31%
Club/disco	20%	39%
Student society	10%	3%
Cinema	6%	11%
School party	2%	7%
Other	13%	8%
Arrival time at first establishment	10:35 PM	10:32 PM
Duration ¹	4.8 h	5.2 h
Group's size ²		
One other person	14%	15%
2-5 other persons	45%	49%
>5 other persons	40%	36%
Alone	1%	--
Group's gender ²		
(Largely) the same	55%	48%
(Largely) the other	12%	15%
Balanced distribution	32%	37%
Alone/n.a.	1%	--
Group's ethnicity ²		
(Largely) the same	91%	68%
(Largely) another	5%	11%
Balanced distribution	4%	21%
Alone/n.a.	1%	--
Alcohol consumption ¹		
None	13%	25%
1-<3 units	15%	21%
3-<7 units	45%	35%
7 or more units	27%	19%

¹ Whole night—i.e. from arrival at first establishment to departure from the last establishment visited

² If the nightlife space-time path contained visits to more than one establishment, information for the establishment where most time was spent has been utilised

The final key difference is that nightlife space-time paths are concentrated in a spatially more restricted area in Utrecht than in Rotterdam (Figures 2.1-2.2). This concentration can be observed at two spatial levels: the municipality and the city centre. Only on one in every nine (20/179) nights out in Utrecht did the participants spend most time in nightlife establishments outside the city-centre; the corresponding ratio for Rotterdam is one in every four (60/235).

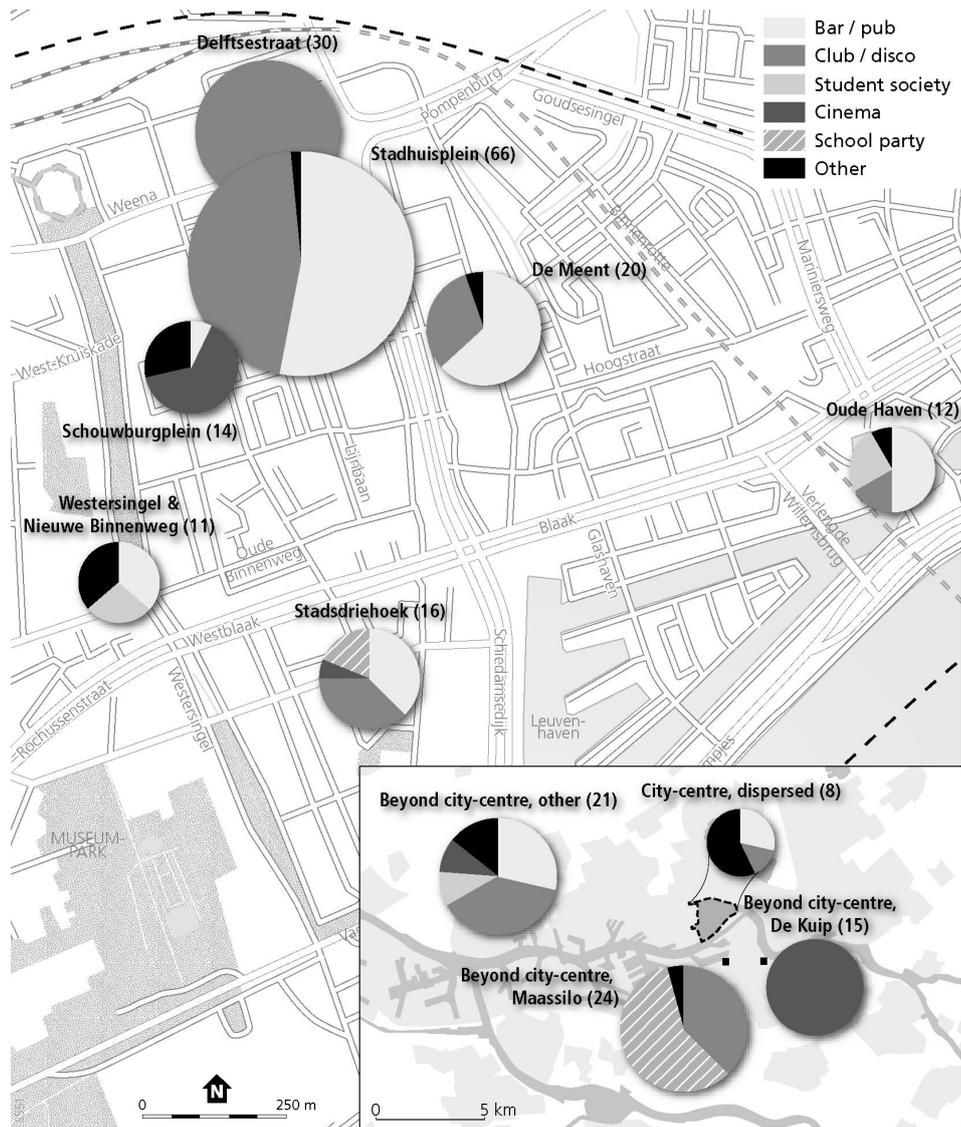


Figure 2.2: Locations of nightlife establishments visited on the most recent night out, Rotterdam

Within Utrecht's city-centre, 43% of nightlife space-time paths move through a relatively small zone extending from the Neude towards the east (Janskerkhof, Drift and Nobelstraat)—the area where most student-oriented establishments can be found. In Rotterdam's city-centre the square close to City Hall—Stadhuisplein—is the site where most space-time paths bundle but with 38% its dominance is slightly weaker than that of the Neude-Janskerkhof-Drift-Nobelstraat zones in Utrecht. Besides, there are more clusters of nightlife activity elsewhere in the city-centre than in Utrecht.

There are also some key similarities between nights out in Utrecht and Rotterdam. In the majority of cases students only visit one establishment over the course of a night (Table 2.5). This contrasts results from UK studies that refer to pathways or chains of nightlife establishments being visited (Chatterton, 1999; Robberts, 2014). The fact that a preliminary study using space-time diaries kept by a smaller number of university students in Utrecht (Brands, 2009) also found low levels of mobility on nights out suggests that the results in Table 2.5 for the number of establishments visited are no artefact of the method used for data collection. Additionally, the arrival times in the city-centre nightlife areas are more or less similar in both cities. They nonetheless are markedly later compared to arrival times reported in UK focused studies (Bromley et al., 2003; Roberts and Turner, 2005). This difference seems to reflect more rigid and standardized closing times for nightlife in the UK. Although these have been liberalized through the 2003 Licencing Act (Talbot, 2006), generally the extensions in licencing hours have been short (Schwanen et al., 2012).

2.4 Differences within Utrecht and Rotterdam

The above results demonstrate that the cultures of nightlife consumption differ markedly between Utrecht and Rotterdam, at least as far as students are concerned. There are, however, also clear differences in going out within each city and for both cities the heterogeneity in nightlife space-time paths could be reduced to five distinctive categories, which are described below (Table 2.6).

2.4.1 Nightlife consumption among students in Utrecht

The five clusters or types of nights out that were identified for Utrecht can be described as follows (Table 2.6):

Bar crawling (18%)—These nights out are strongly oriented towards bars/pubs, consist of visits to multiple nightlife establishments and are characterised by comparatively large amounts of alcohol consumption—seven or more units in 87.5% of the cases. These nightlife space-time paths on average start just before 10:30 pm and last for somewhat over six hours. Establishments are mostly visited in groups, which on most occasions consist of persons of a single gender and—as with all clusters in Utrecht—a single ethnicity (Dutch/Western). In spatial terms almost all these space-time paths bundle in and move through the Neude-Janskerkhof-Drift-Nobelstraat zone, although they are most heavily oriented towards nightlife establishments in the Nobelstraat.

Temperate bar consumption (21%)—As with bar crawling, these space-time paths are performed by individuals in groups visiting bars who on average arrive around 10:30pm. However, they differ from bar crawlers in that rarely more than one bar is visited, less alcohol is consumed, visits are considerably shorter and the gender composition of the groups is more heterogeneous. The nightlife establishments visited are also more dispersed spatially across the city-centre.

Fashionably late clubbing (22%)—These nights out start relatively late and comprise many visits to clubs. The persons carving out these space-time paths are reluctant to relocate to other establishments over the course of the night (only in 7.5% of the cases). This might to some extent reflect that entrance fees to clubs tie them to the initial establishment. Less alcohol is consumed than on bar crawling nights, but size and composition of groups are roughly comparable. In spatial terms ‘fashionably late’ clubbing takes places around the Janskerkhof where many of Utrecht’s nightlife establishments with (larger) dance floors can be found.

Grouping (21%)—These space-time paths are distinctive in that they are part of large groups—often five or more individuals—are balanced gender-wise, and that activities are restricted to one location on every occasion. Nightlife

Table 2.6: Distinctive types of nightlife consumption in Utrecht and Rotterdam

	Utrecht					Rotterdam				
	Bar crawling	Temperate bar consumption	Fashionably late clubbing	Grouping	Evening entertainment	Bar consumption	Club crawling	Temperate clubbing	Education related	Evening entertainment
Establishments visited ¹										
One	41%	89%	93%	100%	95%	85%	3%	98%	91%	89%
Two or more	59%	11%	8%	--	5%	15%	97%	2%	9%	11%
Type of establishment ²										
Bar/pub	72%	87%	35%	53%	5%	87%	16%	5%	20%	6%
Club/disco	9%	11%	60%	6%	5%	5%	84%	95%	9%	3%
Student society	19%	3%	3%	31%	--	2%	--	--	15%	--
Cinema	--	--	--	--	27%	--	--	--	--	75%
School party	--	--	3%	9%	--	--	--	--	37%	--
Other	--	--	--	--	62%	7%	--	--	20%	17%
Average arrival time at first establishment	10:28 PM	10:19 PM	12:06 AM	10:13 PM	9:38 PM	10:55 PM	10:54 PM	11:16 PM	10:00 PM	09:00 PM
Average duration ¹	6.3 h	3.9 h	5.2 h	5.0 h	3.8 h	4.6 h	7.0 h	6.1 h	5.0 h	3.5 h
Group's size ²										
One other person	6%	5%	18%	--	38%	16%	6%	12%	--	44%
2-5 other persons	56%	79%	45%	--	41%	69%	25%	53%	37%	42%
>5 other persons	38%	16%	38%	100%	19%	15%	69%	35%	63%	11%
Alone	--	--	--	--	3%	--	--	--	--	3%
Group's gender ²										
(Largely) the same	75%	61%	88%	13%	35%	51%	34%	55%	44%	50%
(Largely) the other	--	16%	8%	6%	27%	21%	16%	3%	11%	28%
Balanced distribution	25%	24%	5%	81%	35%	28%	50%	42%	46%	19%
Alone/n.a.	--	--	--	--	3%	--	--	--	--	3%
Group's ethnicity ²										
(Largely) the same	91%	95%	98%	97%	76%	85%	72%	53%	54%	75%
(Largely) another	6%	3%	--	3%	11%	8%	13%	13%	15%	3%
Balanced distribution	3%	3%	2%	--	11%	7%	16%	33%	30%	19%
Alone/n.a.	--	--	--	--	3%	--	--	--	--	3%

Alcohol consumption ¹	6%	8%	3%	19%	32%	16%	6%	12%	17%	89%
None	—	26%	5%	16%	24%	25%	16%	17%	33%	11%
1-<3 units	6%	63%	65%	41%	43%	51%	9%	53%	37%	—
3-<7 units	88%	3%	28%	25%	—	8%	69%	18%	13%	—
7 or more units	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Location in Utrecht ²										
Drieharingstraat	6%	—	15%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Neude	13%	11%	15%	6%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Janskerkhof	13%	11%	33%	10%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drift	6%	—	13%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nobelstraat	44%	—	5%	19%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oud Kerkhof	—	13%	5%	3%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mariaplaats	6%	13%	—	—	16%	—	—	—	—	—
Oudegracht S/W	—	—	13%	—	22%	—	—	—	—	—
Oudegracht N	—	3%	—	—	16%	—	—	—	—	—
City-centre, dispersed	9%	45%	3%	38%	22%	—	—	—	—	—
Beyond city-centre	3%	5%	—	25%	24%	—	—	—	—	—
Location in Rotterdam ²										
Stadhuisplein	—	—	—	—	—	54%	47%	30%	—	—
Delftstraat	—	—	—	—	—	—	28%	35%	—	—
Westersingel & Nieuwe Binnenweg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24%	—
Schouwburgplein	—	—	—	—	—	—	3%	—	—	36%
De Meent	—	—	—	—	—	16%	—	12%	2%	3%
Oude Haven	—	—	—	—	—	12%	—	2%	9%	—
Stadsdriehoek	—	—	—	—	—	2%	13%	3%	13%	8%
City-centre, dispersed	—	—	—	—	—	7%	3%	—	—	6%
Beyond city-centre, Maassilo	—	—	—	—	—	—	3%	7%	41%	—
Beyond city-centre, de Kuip	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42%
Beyond city-centre, other	—	—	—	—	—	10%	3%	12%	11%	6%

¹ Whole night—i.e. from arrival at first establishment to departure from the last establishment visited

² If the nightlife space-time path contained visits to more than one establishment, information for the establishment where most time was spent has been utilised

consumption hence resembles a coming together by friends and acquaintances in such establishments as bars/pubs and student societies. These establishments are quite dispersed over Utrecht although there is a concentration in the Nobelstraat area (18.8%). This is because two of Utrechts' larger student societies (Unitas and Veritas) are located there. Alcohol consumption and the duration of the stay are considerable but not as large as for bar crawling.

Evening entertainment (21%)—These nights out stand out because of their early start, limited duration, and the small quantities of alcohol consumed. It is therefore unsurprising that locations such as the cinema, theatre, bowling alleys, pool halls, concert halls and casinos play an important part. Typically one location is visited in relatively small groups or with one other person. Often this person is of another gender, which suggests that many space-time paths are nights out with boy/girlfriend or dates. In ethnical terms the groups or couples are more diverse than other clusters in Utrecht. Spatially, this nightlife type is strongly segregated in the outer ring of the Utrecht city-centre and beyond the city-centre.

2.4.2 Nightlife consumption among students in Rotterdam

As for Utrecht, five distinctive types of nightlife consumption in Rotterdam could be identified for students (Table 2.6):

Bar consumption (26%)—These nightlife space-time paths congregate in the nightlife establishments on and around Stadhuisplein, are oriented towards bars, and are characterised by comparatively limited alcohol consumption. In ethnic terms the groups of which these paths are part are most homogenous of all Rotterdam clusters. Groups tend to be medium sized (2-5 persons) and reasonably mixed with respect to gender.

Club crawling (14%)—These space-time paths resemble those of bar crawling in Utrecht in many respects, except for the dominance of clubbing activities (84.4%). Generally more than one establishment is visited, alcohol consumption is high (which deviates strongly from the more general picture for Rotterdam) and nights out are lengthy. With seven hours these paths last on average longer than in any other cluster. They enter nightlife establishments on Stadhuisplein or Delftsestraat in the city-centre around 23.00h. They are often part of bundles

constituted by larger groups of revellers (70%) of mixed gender but ethnically mostly homogenous.

Temperate clubbing (26%)—These space-time paths typically move through a single club in the Stadhuisplein and Delftsestraat areas but stay there about one hour shorter than those in the club crawling cluster. Other differences are that less alcohol is consumed and groups are both smaller and somewhat more ethnically diverse.

Education related (16%)—These space-time paths consist mostly of visits to secondary school parties and student societies and therefore move through dedicated stations. Prominent examples of the latter include the Maassilo location outside the city-centre, which is regularly used for secondary school parties and the student society buildings (SSR-R and NSR) in the Westersingel and Nieuwe Binnenweg area. Alcohol consumption tends to be limited, which reflects that alcohol consumption at secondary school parties is often prohibited in the Netherlands. Nightlife activities tend to start quite early in the evening—around 10:00 pm—and last for five hours on average. These paths are always bundled (most likely with those of friends and/or classmates), and groups are strongly mixed in gender and ethnic terms.

Evening entertainment (26%)—The nightlife space-time paths in this cluster in many ways equal their Utrecht counterparts. Hence, groups are small in size and gender-wise quite heterogeneous; the duration is often limited. Nonetheless, nightlife activities commence earlier (around 9:00 pm), less alcohol is consumed and cinema visits are more common than in Utrecht. The stations through which these paths move often lie beyond the city-centre.

2.5 Explaining differences in nightlife consumption

Having established the existence of distinctive types of nightlife consumption by students in both Utrecht and Rotterdam, we will now examine if and to what extent participation in those types is distributed unequally according to age, ethnicity, class (income, level of education) and gender, as well as students' lifestyle and past experiences of going out.

2.5.1 Explaining differences in Utrecht

Two statistically significant discriminant functions have been extracted for students' nightlife consumption in Utrecht (Table 2.7). Gender and class in the form of level of education as well as various lifestyle indicators—field of study, living situation and frequency of going out—are statistically significantly ($p < 0.10$) related to the type of nightlife consumption. Age, ethnicity, income, residential location and past experiences of denial of entrance and incidents in nightlife are irrelevant to the explanation of differences in the distinguished types of nightlife consumption in Utrecht. Whilst the extent of exclusion from Utrecht's night-time economy is clearly shaped along lines of ethnicity and age (Schwanen et al., 2012), these factors matter much less when differences between particular types of nightlife consumption are considered.

Figure 2.3 shows the mean values of the five clusters on the two discriminant functions. In conjunction with Table 2.7 it indicates that bar crawling is done most frequently by men and students who live with friends or in student housing. Many of them will also go out once every two weeks or more often and attend an applied university course (HBO), some may still be in secondary education. The students whose space-time paths belong to the grouping cluster to some extent share this profile but are less likely to follow a course in health or social care, to attend classes at the WO level and tend to go out less frequently. The clearest counterpart of bar crawling are the space-time paths belonging to the evening entertainment type. These are more often undertaken by women and by students who in many cases do not go out that much, attend vocational training (MBO) and live together with their partner. The space-time paths classified as temperate bar consumption and fashionably late clubbing fall in-between the bar crawling and evening entertainment groups. However, the temperate bar consumption and fashionably late clubbing clusters differ in that the latter contain more space-time paths by students following a course in health and social care and to a lesser extent students who live with their parents or alone and who do not attend a traditional university. In these respects, the students whose space-time path belong to the temperate bar consumption type are more similar to those in the grouping and evening entertainment groups.

Table 2.7: Discriminant functions, Utrecht

	Function 1	Function 2
Gender		
Female	0.438	-0.009
Level of education		
Tertiary, traditional university (WO)	0.042	0.375
Tertiary, vocational training (MBO)	0.377	0.198
Field of study		
Health and social care	0.203	-0.687
Living situation		
With partner	0.366	0.310
With friends/in student lodgings	-0.434	0.274
Frequency of going out		
Going out less than once a month	0.307	-0.160
Going out about once a month	0.206	0.472
Percent of variance explained	48.1%	33.0%
p-value	0.000	0.001

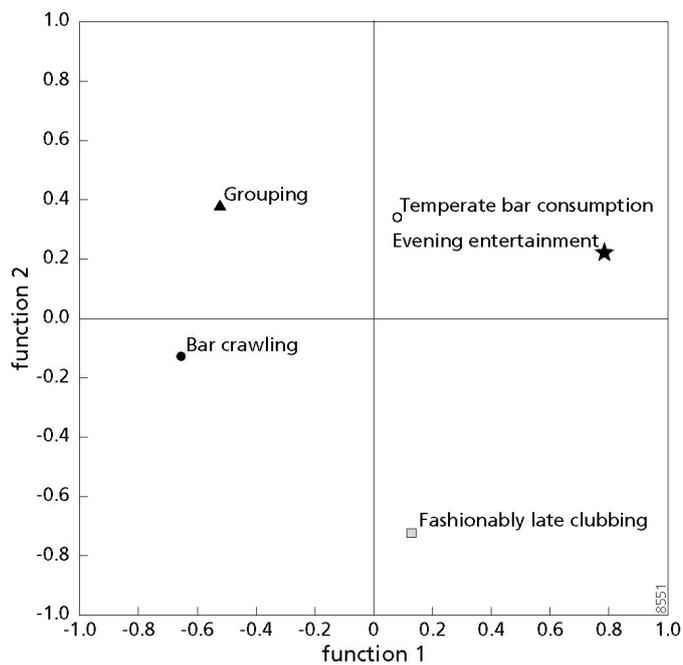


Figure 2.3: Mean scores of the nightlife consumption in Utrecht clusters on the two statistically significant discriminant functions

2.5.2 Explaining differences in Rotterdam

Explaining the differences in participation in the five nightlife consumption patterns in Rotterdam is more complex; it requires more variables and three rather than two discriminant functions (Table 2.8). Again, there are no statistically significant ($p < 0.10$) differences in cluster membership along lines of ethnicity and residential location, and in contrast to Utrecht there are also no clear gender differences. On the other hand, age and two indicators of class—income and level of education—as well as multiple indicators of lifestyle and past nightlife experiences help to explain differences in cluster membership. Given that level of education loads relatively high on all three functions, this appears to be the key differentiating dimension as regards who participate in what type of nightlife in Rotterdam. The first extracted function distinguishes between the clusters of nightlife space-time paths on the basis of the age of the person who traced them, followed by level of education and experience with denial at the entrance of nightlife establishments and incidents in nightlife (Table 2.8).

Table 2.8: Discriminant functions, Rotterdam

	Function 1	Function 2	Function 3
Age	0.600	-0.032	0.150
Monthly disposable income			
< 100 €	-0.243	-0.243	0.073
100-200 €	0.256	-0.134	-0.218
Level of education			
Secondary (VO)	0.459	0.529	-0.222
Tertiary, vocational training (MBO)	0.431	0.872	0.639
Tertiary, applied university (HBO)	0.337	-0.520	0.236
Field of study			
Humanities	-0.299	-0.029	-0.088
Environmental/agrarian	0.160	-0.226	0.146
Living situation			
With friends/in student lodgings	-0.296	0.433	-0.357
Frequency of going out			
Less than once a month	-0.377	0.139	-0.149
Denial of access to nightlife establishment (last 3y)			
Yes	0.428	0.242	-0.043
Experience of incident in nightlife (last 3y)			
Yes	0.373	0.531	-0.199
Percent variance explained	40.3%	30.0%	18.6%
<i>p</i> -value	0.000	0.000	0.019

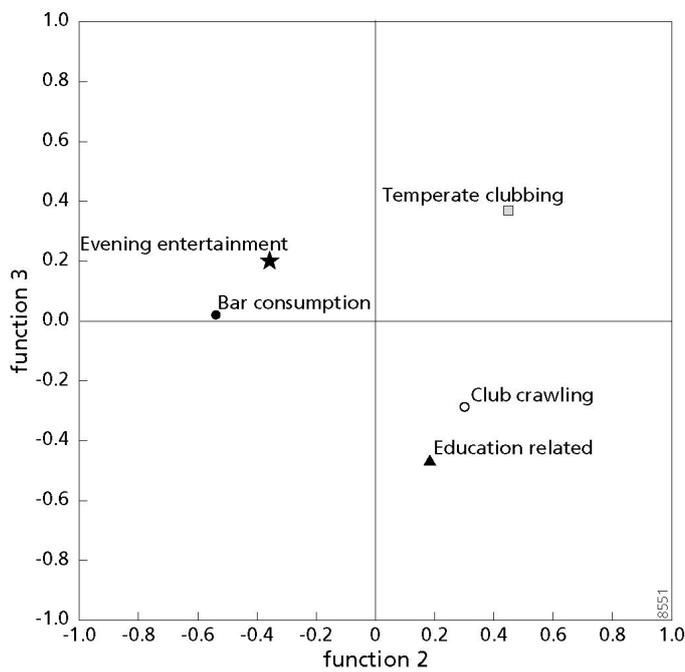
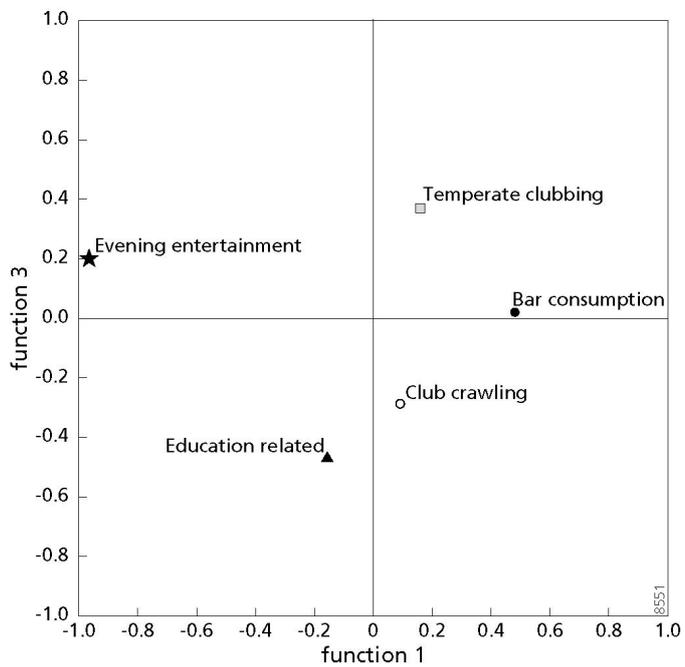


Figure 2.4: Mean scores of the nightlife consumption in Rotterdam clusters on the three statistically significant discriminant functions

It separates bar consumption from evening entertainment with the other three types falling in-between these extremes (Figure 2.4). Thus, the space-time paths classified as bar consumption belong to individuals who are considerably older, more likely to have been denied access to nightlife establishments and are more likely to have experienced an incident in nightlife than those engaging in evening entertainment. At the same time, bar consumption is undertaken somewhat more often by students in secondary (VO) and the lowest level of tertiary education (MBO).

The second function separates bar consumption and to a lesser extent evening entertainment from the clubbing and education related types of nightlife consumption. Space-time paths in the latter three clusters are more often undertaken by students enrolled in vocational training (MBO) and secondary education (VO) rather than applied university students (HBO). As expected, experience of incidents during nightlife is also more common for the two clubbing and the education-related clusters. Clubbing is also more common among students who live with friends or in student lodgings.

The third function distinguishes between the two clubbing clusters; it suggests that temperate clubbing is more common among students in vocational training (MBO), whilst those in secondary education (VO) and to a lesser extent traditional universities (WO) are in relative terms overrepresented in the club crawling group. The students whose space-time paths belong to the education-related cluster are similar to those engaging in club crawling, although the former are slightly younger and have less past experience with incidents or denial of entrance to bars/clubs on nights out.

2.6 Conclusion and discussion

Our quantitative time-geographical analysis of students' nightlife consumption in the Dutch cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam allows at least four conclusions to be drawn. First, there is considerable variation in nightlife consumption between and within those cities. Nonetheless, the heterogeneity in nightlife space-time paths can be summarised in five distinctive patterns in both cities. These patterns

differ from each other in many ways but perhaps most clearly in the type of establishment and the location within the city that are frequented.

Secondly, and in contradistinction to some discourses about the night-time economy, extensive alcohol consumption is not part and parcel of all types of nightlife consumption. It is true that all types of nightlife consumption are characterised by alcohol consumption and that such consumption is greater as nightlife activities extend further into the early hours. However, our analysis also indicates that in both cities excessive consumption during visits to nightlife premises dominates only two of the ten clusters of space-time paths—bar crawling in Utrecht and club crawling in Rotterdam—and is more common in specific social groups: men, those in secondary education or attending an applied university (HBO), and those going out frequently and living with friends or in student lodgings in Utrecht, against students in secondary education (VO) or living with friends or in student lodgings in Rotterdam. Our point is not to trivialise concerns about excessive alcohol consumption in the city-centre night-time economy, amongst others because ‘pre-loading’ could not be taken into consideration. It is rather to highlight that excessive alcohol consumption in the night-time economy in Utrecht and Rotterdam is part of a social practice which is shaped by where—which establishment—students go out, when, and with whom (see also Jayne et al., 2011; Roberts, 2014). This, in turn, is to some extent dependent on the available supply and infrastructure of nightlife establishments. That alcohol consumption is higher among the surveyed students in Utrecht than in Rotterdam should come as no surprise when the differences in the type and orientation of nightlife establishments and studentification (Chatterton, 1999; Hubbard, 2008) between the two cities are considered.

A third conclusion is that participation in—and hence exclusion from—different types of nightlife consumption by students in Utrecht and Rotterdam are only to some extent shaped by age, ethnicity, class and gender. Some gender differences were found for Utrecht and age differences in Rotterdam but the role of income and particularly ethnicity was very limited in our analysis. The factor that had the greatest effect is level of education, particularly in Rotterdam. This dimension should be given greater attention in future research on exclusion from the night-time economy, and the same is true of lifestyle factors such as living situation

and the field of study. That differences according to ethnicity do not feature prominently in our analysis is a noticeable result in light of earlier research in the Netherlands and elsewhere (Boogaarts, 2008; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Schwanen et al., 2012). It appears that, while students' initial choice to go out is indeed strongly differentiated along lines of age, ethnicity, class and gender, such differentiation is much less pronounced for the sort of nightlife consumption that emerges once people venture into the city-centre night-time economy in Utrecht or Rotterdam. Future research should therefore discern more clearly between the actual nightlife practice and the initial choice to whether go out in the city or not.

Finally, the analysis has indicated geographical context to shape nightlife consumption in three ways. It is clear that for students there exist clearly different cultures of going out in Utrecht and Rotterdam with a greater orientation towards bars/pubs, alcohol consumption and ethnic homogeneity in a spatially more concentrated area in the former city. The distinctive types of nightlife consumption also differ between the two cities as evidenced by the different clusters that have been derived: where there exists more variation in bar/pub consumption in Utrecht than in Rotterdam, the opposite is true for clubbing. Moreover, results of the DA are indicative of the existence of differences between the cities in which factors explain participation in the various types of nightlife consumption. This suggests that patterns of causality are spatially contingent. More generally, the analysis demonstrates that *the* night-time economy of city-centres does not exist.

Our findings have several implications for (local) policies regarding the city-centre night-time economy, three of which will be highlighted here. The geographical variation in nightlife consumption practices suggests that the extent to which policies known to be successful in one city ('best practices') can be transferred to other places is likely to be limited. At best, local policy-makers seeking to invigorate their locality's night-time economy or curb its perceived excesses (e.g. binge drinking) can learn from experiences elsewhere, but policy practices and processes elsewhere will almost certainly have to be adapted, hybridised and tailored to local context (Peck and Theodore, 2010). These reflections raise questions about the desire and attempts to standardise city-level nightlife policies regarding crime prevention and alcohol consumption.

Secondly, the analysis suggests that policy should not be based on the prejudice that all forms of city-centre nightlife consumption involve excessive alcohol consumption (even if alcohol consumption is an important constituent of particular types of nightlife consumption in the city-centres of Rotterdam and especially Utrecht). We also find alcohol consumption not to be an isolated phenomenon, but to be part of a more comprehensive social practice—going out—that is shaped by, and constitutive of, all kinds of affective and social relations with others and specific places (see also Jayne et al., 2011; Roberts, 2014). Taking these two results together, we would argue that it is important not to demonize drinking in nightlife as such: If policy is based on such an idea, it might unintentionally reproduce the moral panic that nightlife amounts to little more than the consumption of alcohol. Rather, we would advise local policy makers to first identify the specifics of nights out that are co-produced with excessive drinking, and to formulate tailored local policies that consider broader issues than actual consumption of alcohol. The existing qualitatively oriented geographical literature on alcohol, drinking and drunkenness (see especially Jayne et al., 2011) which highlights the social and cultural processes that are likely at the root of such practices can be of great help in formulating tailored local policies.

Finally, the finding that geographical context shapes nightlife consumption in important ways is relevant in light of recent efforts to revitalise city-centres. To some extent it suggests that cities, in attempts to attract visitors and mobile capital (and assumed for now this would also be the case in cities other than those studied here) can create or market their nightlife areas with features that distinguishes them from others. Such attempts should not, however, co-produce forms of social exclusion; policy should therefore at the same time ensure that all types of nightlife consumption are accessible (and affordable) to young adults from all social strata based not only on ethnicity, income and gender but also type of education. Our survey does not allow us to examine if social inequalities in who participates in what type of nightlife in Utrecht and Rotterdam are the result of exclusionary practices by bars and clubs, but our own observational research in Utrecht and Rotterdam's night-time economy and other studies (Hadfield, 2008) have suggested that a range of clubs and bars use entry fees, membership cards and university passes to restrict access and affordability to a specific customer

base. Whilst understandable from the perspective of individual club and bar owners, these strategies may at the collective level mean that for certain groups of youth opportunities to enjoy social activities and entertainment at night may be compromised. Ensuring the existing of a heterogeneous nightlife infrastructure will help to make nightlife accessible to many and to make everyone feel welcome. This is much less likely if nightlife is reduced to a fairly homogeneous mainstream or by policies whereby all that is deviating from that mainstream is marginalised, restricted or banned (see also Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Gallan, 2014). Across the political spectrum this should be seen as a cause for concern and valid reason for policy intervention.

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Notes

¹ According to the Dutch government's official definition, non-Western communities consist of persons who themselves are born or at least one of whose parents is born in Africa, Latin America, Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey.

² Multinomial logistical regression could have been used as an alternative approach. We preferred DA because it provides more succinct results and is more amenable to visualisation of outcomes.

³ The age brackets 15-19 and 20-24 are commonly used by Statistics Netherlands.

3 Fear of Crime and Affective Ambiguities in the Night-time Economy

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Abstract

This article analyses fear of crime in the night-time economy as an event that emerges from, and unfolds as part of, the on-going encounters with human and non-human elements in particular places. A conceptual approach to understanding fear of crime is elaborated that highlights the role of ambiguity, meaning that a particular element does not have stable, well-determined effects on fear of crime, and the importance of thinking of fear as the folding of immediate futures and the past into the experienced present. Drawing on empirical research with university students in Utrecht, the Netherlands, the article explores how lighting, policing and the presence of 'undesired others' affect fear. Multiple forms of ambiguity are shown to exist, suggesting that interventions in the built environment and zero-tolerance policing tactics are unlikely to reduce fear of crime in the night-time economy as much as past research, influential policy and media discourses have suggested.

3.1 Introduction

In recent decades, cities have become more proactive in stimulating the local economy by trying to make their city centres sites of consumption and pleasure, and the creation of a vibrant night-time economy (NTE) has been an important ingredient of local governments' attempts to improve a city's attractiveness and liveability (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a). The mitigation of fear of crime has come to play an important role in such attempts as it is widely believed that the creation of safe and enjoyable spaces without fear will attract more visitors and consumer spending (Helms, 2008). The inclination to mitigate fear of crime is particularly strong in the context of the NTE because of the discourses regarding (binge) drinking, vandalism and disorder that surround urban nightlife (Jayne et al., 2008). The most common governmental strategy to mitigate fear of crime and regulate the NTE has been the intensification of surveillance and policing (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a; Cook and Whowell, 2011): video surveillance, more police officers and private security guards, zero-tolerance policing, stricter law enforcement, more lighting and physical designs that provide orderliness and overview.

Interventions through lighting and physical design align with situational crime prevention (SCP) scholarship (Clarke, 1995). This includes Newman's (1973) 'defensible space' theory, the 'crime prevention through environmental design' approach (Cozens, 2002) and 'prospect-refuge-escape theory' (Fisher and Nasar, 1992). Linked to this research tradition is Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'broken windows' thesis, which focuses on how dilapidation creates free spaces for unwanted behaviour and so triggers fear. Central to SCP thinking is the assumption that alterations to the physical environment will bring about social change and thereby reduce fear of crime. The broken windows logic is also a key legitimisation for zero-tolerance, hot spot and other policing strategies (Bannister et al., 2006; Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008): it is believed that the presumed downward spiral of greater fear of crime, reduced informal control and sense of community, more crime and a worsening reputation of a site is halted if (what are widely constructed as) disorder and incivilities—graffiti, panhandling, littering, alcohol-fuelled brawling, etc.—are tackled in a co-ordinated manner.

Nonetheless, the effectiveness of zero-tolerance policing and interventions aligned to SCP scholarship in reducing fear of crime is not uncontested. The link between policing and fear of crime has received scant attention in the geography literature, but feminist geographers have criticised SCP thinking pre-dating geographers' increased attention for emotions and affect over the past decade (Koskela, 1997; Mehta and Bondi, 1999). SCP thinking has been criticised for assuming mechanistic effects of environmental stimuli, positioning fearful individuals as passive and lacking agency, and disregarding systematic differences between individuals in the skills, resources, preferences and intuition that shape people's dealing with fear.

In fact, feminist geographers have been key protagonists of a socially/culturally constructivist perspective on fear of crime that shifts explanations from environmental causes to the socially constructed meanings inscribed into the environment. People, the argument goes, have come to fear darkness, the night, strangers, men and parks through social learning and exposure to media discourses, rumours and second hand experience (Koskela, 1997; Mehta and Bondi, 1999). Fear is thus entwined with 'the local details of individuals' circumstances and life courses [and is] sensitive to spatial, temporal and social contexts' (Koskela and Pain, 2000, p. 271). Yet, in this constructivist perspective, the active role of materiality in the emergence of fear of crime is sidelined and the situatedness of fear in the continuous flow of practice can also be backgrounded. Hence, and in keeping with broader sentiments in cultural geography, Pain (2006a) has argued for 'rematerialising' fear of crime: researchers should emphasise tangible experiences and the impacts of fear and crime on people's everyday lives, ground those experiences in particular places and their materiality, and examine how such life circumstances as socioeconomic position and gender structure material experiences.

In this paper, we complement Pain's material approach to fear of crime by taking inspiration from non-representational and assemblage theories (Thrift, 2007; Anderson et al., 2012) in order to bring together SCP and socially/culturally constructivist perspectives on fear of crime and to highlight the role of ambiguity in the generation of such fear. Our objective is to analyse fear of crime as an *event* that emerges from the ongoing assembling of associations among human and non-

human, material and discursive elements, and to examine how nightlife visitors reflect on the roles of lighting, policing and ‘undesired others’ within emergent assemblages. As the roles and effects of elements within such assemblages are always potentially unstable, we pay particular attention to the ambiguities that can occur with regard to lighting, policing and ‘undesired others’ in the generation or reduction of fear of crime.

We utilise semi-structured interviews structured around photo elicitation with university students in Utrecht, The Netherlands, and focus on the streets, squares and alleys in and around nightlife districts because it is here that people from different backgrounds encounter each other and many incivilities—fuelled by alcohol use or otherwise—occur (Crawford and Flint, 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a). Given on-going trends of the hybridisation and privatisation of public space in the Netherlands and elsewhere (Kohn, 2004), many of the streets, squares and alleys we considered are no longer simply public. This blurring of the public/private distinction is also reflected in the ‘safe nightlife policies’ that many Dutch cities have adopted since around 2000 to regulate their NTE (Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012). These policies are a form of nodal governance (Hadfield, 2008) in which public stakeholders—usually the city council and the police—co-operate with the nightlife industry and private security firms in order to increase visitors’ experiences of safety.

3.2 Understanding Fear of Crime through Encounters

3.2.1 Emotion and Affect

Because fear of crime embraces a range of emotions and embodied sensations (Pain, 2000, 2009), we use ‘fear of crime’ as shorthand for multiple interrelated phenomena of differing intensity—unease, discomfort, anxiety, apprehension and panic—that are united in three ways. They are linked to other fears and anxieties, including those for terrorism or immigration, and other emotions like safety or excitement (Pain, 2009); they are spatiotemporally complex and tie together (and constitute) multiple spatial and temporal scales, from the here-and-now to events earlier in the life-course and “wider networks of power and privilege” (Pain, 2009,

p. 475); and they are all embodied, distributed and emergent.

Fear of crime can be studied empirically as embodied, distributed and emergent by drawing on the work of Deleuze and nonrepresentational geography. Following Anderson (2006) and McCormack (2008), we can analyse fear of crime as experienced in and through one's corporeal body as visceral and proprioceptive modulations—feelings—like a knot in the stomach or a tremor. These feelings can be put in words in a qualified and personalised form as an emotion, as with 'I feel uneasy'. Feelings also have transindividual affective dimensions, which pertain to the relations between a person's corporeal body and other agents. They refer to the capacity of a body—here used in a generalised sense as any set of material or discursive elements held together by “relations of motion and rest, of speeds and slownesses” (Deleuze, 1988, p. 123)¹—to affect and be affected by other bodies. Empirical studies of fear of crime should thus consider affective relations among entities and focus on the assemblages—nonhomogeneous and continuously changing ('assembling') constellations of people, artefacts, words, symbols, memories and so forth (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Anderson et al., 2012)—in which fear of crime inheres. Fear of crime needs to be studied as belonging to both the perceiving subject and the assemblage in which s/he is embedded.

3.2.2 Triggers and Ambiguity

Studying fear of crime in the NTE from the perspective of assemblage thinking comes with two specific advantages. As assemblage thinking does not privilege the material over the discursive (or vice versa), it allows analysts to explore how both socially learnt discourses and specific, changing configurations of materiality are implicated in fear of crime. It thus offers a way of connecting SCP scholarship and the constructivist approaches from feminist geography within a framework of non-deterministic, non-linear causality. Assemblage thinking can act as connecting device because Deleuze (1988) foregrounds the significance of concrete encounters between bodies (in a generalised sense) as part of the continuous flow of practices to the emergence of affects and the increase or diminution of a body's capacities to act.

A Deleuzian perspective also highlights that triggers of fear of crime are emergent

rather than pre-given. What triggers fear differs not simply from person to person, but also between unfolding situations. As Spinoza wrote

Different men [sic] can be affected differently by one and the same object; and one and the same man [sic] can be affected differently at different times by one and the same object (Spinoza, 1996, III/178, p. 51).

This has to some extent been recognised in the geography of fear literature, given that Pain (2000) and others have acknowledged that street light can increase control and safety through the vision and prospect it affords but may equally accentuate and reveal signs of disorder at different times for the self-same individuals. A key reason why empirical research into fear of crime can benefit from assemblage theory is that it offers the conceptual tools to understand and foreground ambiguity—the lack of a stable, well-determined effect—in terms of what ‘causes’ fear of crime.

To understand such ambiguity, we need to seek explanations of the generation, intensification or reduction of fear of crime that are immanent to encounters. Instead of invoking general principles or situation-transcending explanations, researchers should adopt what Stengers (2010) calls an ecological sensibility during fieldwork and analysis. This means not only that analysts should refrain from understanding inanimate materiality as ‘a silent world, the docile substrate of convictions and interpretations’ (Stengers, 2010, p. 40) and foreground its active role within assemblages and the generation of fear of crime; they should also examine if and how the roles that various human and non-human elements in a given assemblage play are ‘metastable’—i.e. shift and change when the composition or character of the assemblage changes (through the process of ‘assembling’). Thus, whilst light often reduces fear of crime among people in public spaces at night (Painter, 1996), it is also possible that a person who moves from the dark into a circle of light created by a lamp-post experiences anxiety as what happens beyond that circle is rendered extra dark and invisible (see also Morris, 2011). For assemblage thinkers, ambiguity is an irreducible part of assemblages, encounters and the on-going generation, intensification and reduction of fear of crime, and empirical research should make clear if and how ambiguities emerge and evolve.

3.2.3 Entangling Time and Space: Memory and Futurity

The preceding discussion lacks temporal depth: it focuses on short-term dynamics and is vulnerable to the criticism of ‘presentism’ sometimes levelled at non-representational geography (Rose et al., 2010). Considering how memory and a person’s past experience mediate the ways in which fear of crime brings the future into the present not only avoids such presentism, it also provides a further means to analyse how ambiguity may be central to the generation, intensification and reduction of fear of crime. In this context, we can mobilise Bergson’s (1912) habit-memory and pure memory as analytical tools. The former consists of automatic behaviours and sensori-motor mechanisms. Bodily comportments—in many ways gendered, racialised or otherwise socially differentiated (Simonsen, 2013)—exemplify this habit-memory and matter to fear of crime. Not only can their performance at a particular site in a nightlife district engender fear in others, they also shape fear of crime via perception: how we perceive an encounter is formatted by sensori motor mechanisms acquired over one’s life-course (Connolly, 2011).

For Bergson, pure memory pertains to the unconscious survival of personal memories through which the past is progressively carried forward into the present, and can become part of embodied action in a specific encounter. This view on memory helps us understand how victimisation and socialisation² over the life course—whose significance has been recognised widely in the geographies of fear literature (Mehta and Bondi, 1999; Koskela and Pain, 2000)—continues to shape people’s experience of fear of crime. Through attention for the role of memory scholars can understand how fear of crime as produced in assemblages at specific sites and times bears traces of political discourses, cultural values, rumours, stereotypes and prejudices (re)produced through social institutions (Pain, 2009). Because individuals differ in terms of the internalisation of these discourses, values and so forth, their capacities to be affected by other elements in particular encounters are also differentiated. Hence, an analysis of ambiguities in the effects of encountered elements—for example, policing practices or other consumers’ comportments—on fear of crime demands that attention be directed towards the folding of past experiences into the present.

The future also matters to fear of crime as fear concerns the not-yet. Given fear’s

intrinsic future orientation, empirical research into the fear of crime should also consider futurity. Whatever its trigger, fear of crime tends to suspend the ways in which the past (through habit-memory) propels people into the immediate future: they no longer know how to go on, but experience orientational difficulties whereby their 'action-guiding anticipations' (Shotter, 2009)—the unreflective, spontaneous and anticipatory responsiveness to the assemblage they are enmeshed in—are disrupted. One example of this is people freezing when becoming fearful; another is the triggering of cognitive thought about the range of immediate futures that might unfold—some of which might involve harm or injury— and about what to do. Herein lies another source of ambiguity: a certain element might reduce the possibility of harm and fear of crime yet also increase these, depending on how the assembling of elements unfolds and the present progresses in time. This can be illustrated with reference to critical policing studies (Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Cook and Whowhell, 2011) arguing that police presence in public places not only reassures members of the public but can also—and simultaneously among the same individuals—raise awareness that danger is imminent.

3.2.4 Towards the Empirical Analysis

We propose to analyse fear of crime in the NTE as an event—a diminution of and shift in the corporeal body's capacity to orientate itself spontaneously towards the immediate future—that unfolds as part of the on-going encounters and assembling of elements in particular sites of which individuals are necessarily part. Whether fear emerges, intensifies or is reduced is subject to ambiguity. Three forms of ambiguity, defined as the absence of stable and well-determined effects, can be identified

1. Different individuals responding differently to a particular element within assemblages, among others because of the unique—and gendered, racialised or otherwise differentiated—memories they have accumulated over the life-course.
2. The same individual responding differently to a particular element in different situation because it is part of a different assemblage and its role therein is only meta-stable.

3. The same individual responding in multiple ways to a particular element in a specific situation frozen in time because the element helps to open up different futures.

Two questions for empirical research follow from this and will be addressed in what follows. Can these forms of ambiguity be identified with regard to fear of crime and the NTE? If so, what are the elements that trigger these affective ambiguities on a night out?

3.3 Research Design

3.3.1 Context

Our empirical analysis is situated in Utrecht—a historic city with a population of ±316,000 inhabitants, in The Netherlands. Nightlife facilities are clustered in the city centre, consisting of a mix of restaurants, cinemas, (small) pubs and clubs without strict ‘closing times’ or regulation of alcohol sales (Schwanen et al., 2012). Utrecht was selected because it is the fifth-largest city in The Netherlands and one of the first to develop and implement Safe Nightlife Policies (Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012). Since 2001 the city council has implemented a broad variety of ‘safe nightlife’ measures, even though the ratio of instances of crime to the number of consumers in the nightlife districts was low given the city’s size and compared with other Dutch cities (Snippe et al., 2006). The central nightlife district is covered by many CCTV cameras, complemented with on-site patrolling of a special ‘nightlife team’ of police officers working together with pub and club owners (see Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012 for further details).

Utrecht has a young population, with many inhabitants under 18 years (20 per cent) and between 18 and 26 years (19 per cent), mainly due to the presence of a large university. According to the city’s website, almost half of the population of 16 years and older is highly educated (at least a bachelor degree or equivalent) and 22 per cent of the city’s inhabitants are of non-Western descent.³ Our previous research has shown that the nightlife district in Utrecht is disproportionately white compared with the city’s resident population (Schwanen et al., 2012): only 11 per cent of the consumers in the NTE were of non-white extraction. The whiteness of

Utrecht's NTE primarily reflects the supply of bars and clubs, which are oriented strongly towards highly educated (white) students and young urban professionals who live in/around the city.

3.3.2 Participants

For this study, we concentrated on people who actually participate in Utrecht's NTE as they are likely to have detailed knowledge of whether and where fear of crime is experienced over the course of a night out in Utrecht and what triggers such fear. To attract people who participate regularly in Utrecht's NTE, we centred recruitment efforts on students aged 18–25 at three student housing complexes: Ina Boudier Bakkerlaan in the city centre, Uithof on the fringe of the city and suburban Warande. Students were recruited by asking passers-by on streets in each complex whether they wanted to participate, via posters in residential buildings and through snowball sampling techniques. We sought to vary our sample in terms of gender and recruited 18 females and 12 males. All 30 respondents were in (applied) university education and considered themselves 'Dutch' although one participant was born in Brazil. Of course, including older participants, with other levels of educational attainment and/or persons from other ethnic backgrounds would have yielded additional insights, but it would also have made the analysis less specifically tied to the unfolding situations characteristic of Utrecht's nightlife.

3.3.3 Interviews

Every participant was interviewed three times over the Spring of 2009 with each interview attempting to answer specific research questions. This study relies on the third interview, but was informed by the earlier interviews in two ways. The first two interviews helped in creating trust and rapport between interviewer and participant, which made discussing fear of crime in the third interview much easier and enabled more intimate conversations than would have been possible otherwise. Additionally, the second interview covered the participants' familiarity with, local knowledge of, and activities undertaken in, Utrecht's city centre and nightlife district. This information was of great aid in the conduct and analysis of the third interview.

The interviews were conducted by four different persons (all white, in their 20s, two males and two females); each interviewer interviewed participants of the same sex with the idea that this might stimulate participants to discuss gender-specific and/or intimate experiences. The participants themselves chose where the interview took place. All interviewers considered that participants had spoken to them freely and without reservations. The interviews lasted 45–60 minutes and were audio-taped with participants' informed consent.

Two techniques helped to enrich the participants' narratives during the interviews. One was the use of photos, which were used not as stable, already finished visual panoramas, but as prompts inviting participants to imagine themselves as enmeshed in the nightscapes depicted. The other technique was to ask participants how *onprettig* or *prettig* they would feel when participating in the pictured nightscape on a 7-point likert scale (-3 to +3). These words are best translated as uncomfortable or comfortable, but cover a wider range of emotions. This framing, which is more neutral than fearful versus not fearful, was preferred as preliminary research had suggested that students used *onprettig* more frequently than fearful or anxious to describe their embodied responses to photos of urban nightlife. We also hoped that using *onprettig* rather than the literal Dutch translation of fearful [*angstig*] would lower participants' reticence to articulating more negative emotions.

We opted for photos taken by us to ensure a basic level of comparability across situations and persons. We selected six photos depicting scenes from the NTE in Utrecht's city centre which we expected to generate affects and emotions relevant to the fear of crime literature. Since social and environmental causes of fear of crime cannot be neatly separated (Koskela and Pain, 2000), each photo depicts specific physical elements to which a range of socially constructed and shared meanings are likely to be linked (see Figure 3.1)

—Photo 1 depicts various sources of lighting; these are widely considered to increase safety as they enable prospect (allowing others to be seen) and the possibility of natural surveillance by residents.

—Photo 2 depicts an easily recognisable empty square, with graffiti

paintings. Both Utrecht's safe nightlife policy and the 'broken windows' thesis hold that graffiti—and dilapidation more broadly—create free spaces for unwanted behaviour and trigger fear.

—Photo 3 captures differences in lighting and depicts a route through a park—a class of site that is often socially constructed as dangerous at night (Koskela, 1997)—that many students in Utrecht use to access the city centre.

—Photo 4 depicts a person whose bodily comportment and/or dress style might engender fear of crime, with the narrow alley drawing extra attention to these factors.

—Photo 5 shows a range of nightlife facilities positioned around a spacious square with NTE consumers passing by. It intends to capture the continental European ambiance which many local councils in the UK have sought to emulate through NTE policies (Roberts and Eldrige, 2009).

—Photo 6 depicts two bars and a police patrol. The police car is noteworthy as preliminary research among NTE consumers had shown that police officers in cars often evoked strong emotional responses.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and were subjected to multiple rounds of open and axial coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). We first identified elements that triggered experiences of safety and fear of crime among interviewees and then drew out ambiguities in the generation and diminution of fear of crime.

The use of interviews over some form of mobile method (Büscher and Urry, 2009) is potentially problematic in light of the view of many non-representational geographers that interviews provide at best an incomplete and deadened after-the-fact account of what took place (Thrift, 2007). Yet, based on our own experiences and the comments by Hitchings (2012), we feel that our participants were quite capable of talking about their emotions, triggers of fear of crime and their nightlife practices and experiences. Nevertheless, we readily acknowledge that

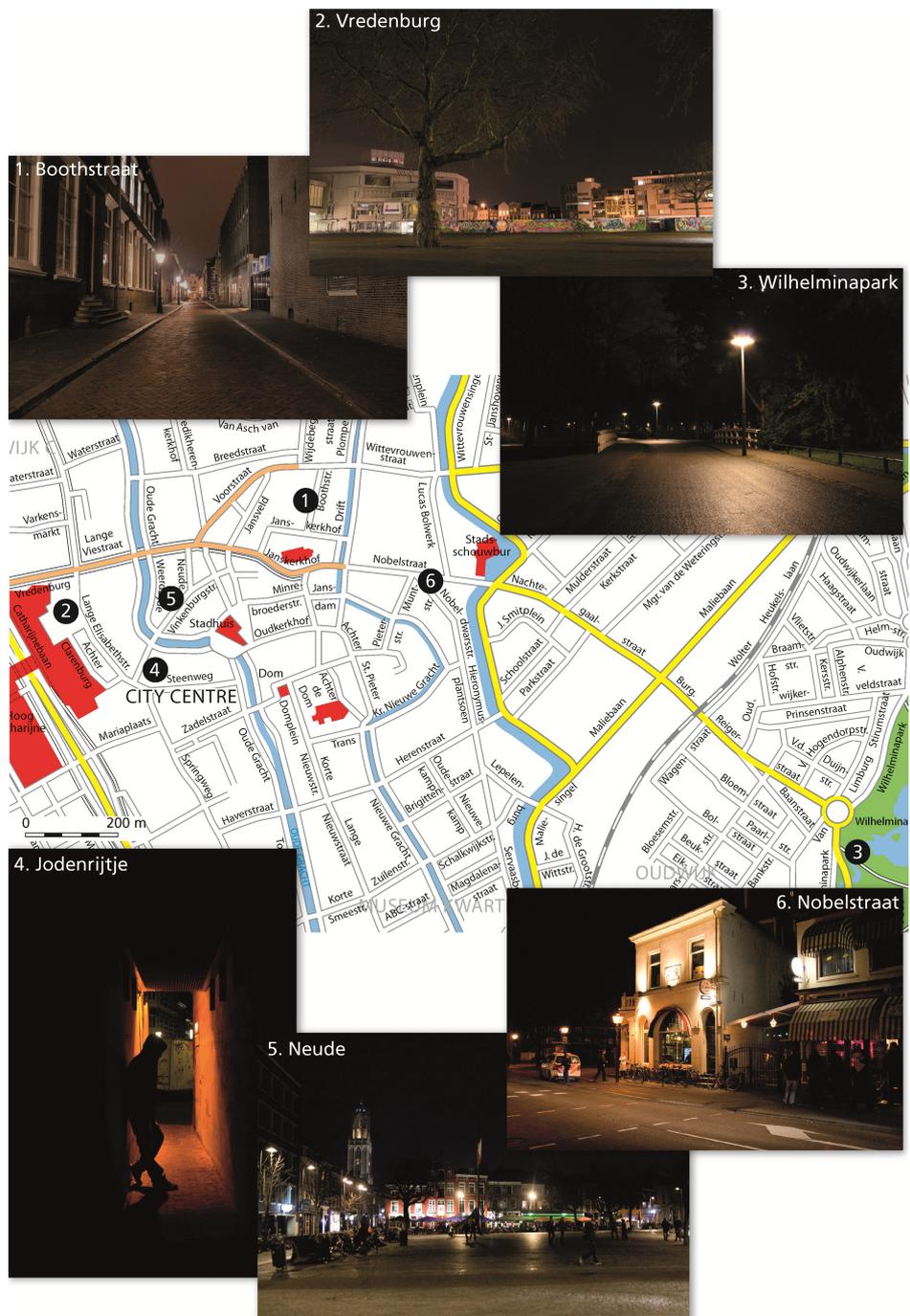


Figure 3.1: Photos and their location in the city of Utrecht

our interviews foreground some aspects of fear of crime and triggers whilst backgrounding others (but this holds for any method). For instance, only those triggers of feelings that have crossed the threshold of consciousness can be discussed in interviews, meaning that triggers that operate at pre- or subconscious levels will have been excluded. Yet, the interviews seem to have captured how memory—both personal memories and aspects of socialisation—shapes experiences on nights out rather well. Careful analysis of participants' words also enabled us to understand at least some of the ambiguities associated with the triggers of feelings and emotions.

3.4 Understanding Fear of Crime in the Night-time Economy

The 30 participants responded quite differently to the situations depicted in the six photographs. Photos 6 and especially 5 generated the highest level of comfort; photo 3 and particularly photo 4 generated the most discomfort (Table 3.1). There was a clear difference between male and female participants because the latter experienced photos 4, 3 and 1 as considerably more uncomfortable. This concurs with the extensive literature on gender differences in fear of crime in public spaces (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007). On the whole, however, gender differences were less profound than anticipated. This might reflect the relatively privileged social position—university students—of the female participants. There were also clear differences between the three housing complexes with participants from suburban Warande feeling more uncomfortable with the nightscapes in the first three photos.

Nonetheless, the photos' primary purpose was to prompt participants to discuss elements that generate or diminish fear of crime. The use of the photos was successful as many such elements were discussed by the participants and the interviews showed clearly that those elements were enmeshed in assemblages and that their roles could not be understood in isolation from those assemblages. Here we focus on three particular elements—lighting, policing and others encountered in nightlife situations—as study participants singled these out most frequently in relation to the generation or reduction of fear of crime.

Table 3.1: Average levels of comfort/discomfort per photo, by gender and residential location.

	1: Boothstraat	2: Vredenburg	3: Wilhelminapark	4: Jodenrijtje	5: Neude	6: Nobelstraat
Gender						
Male	1.4	1.0	0.0	-1.4	1.8	1.0
Female	0.2	0.2	-1.4	-2.8	1.9	1.4
<i>p</i> -value for Mann-Whitney test ¹	0.018	0.179	0.007	<0.001	0.723	0.611
Location						
IBB	1.2	1.0	-0.8	-2.1	1.8	0.9
Uithof	1.1	1.0	-0.2	-2.0	2.0	1.6
Warande	-0.20	-0.4	-1.6	-2.6	1.7	1.1
<i>p</i> -value for Kruskal-Wallis test ¹	0.051	0.059	0.085	0.224	0.808	0.317
All participants	0.7	0.6	-0.8	-2.2	1.8	1.2

¹ If $p < 0.05$, the gender/location difference for a given picture is statistically significant at a 95 per cent confidence level

Note: Participants were asked to express how comfortable [prettig] uncomfortable [onprettig] they would feel if they would be part of the depicted assemblage, using a seven-point (-3 to +3) Likert-type scale where -3 equalled very uncomfortable, 0 neither comfortable nor uncomfortable and 3 very comfortable (see section 3.3)

3.4.1 Lighting

Consistent with previous studies (Painter, 1996), the participants felt that lighting tends to reduce fear of crime in the context of Utrecht's NTE. Ambiguities across persons and situations (photos) in the effects co-produced by lighting were limited. This is a noticeable result, given the differences in lamps and in intensity, colour, texture and distribution of light across the photos. Three sets of processes tended to generate the generally positive experiences of lighting. First, the participants felt that light was related to who might be present in a particular place. It 'normalised' a site by deterring potential wrongdoers and produced safety in numbers as it meant more intensive use of streets after dark (Painter, 1996). As Willy⁴ exclaimed, 'Surely they don't put a lamp-post there if nobody ever visits!' Secondly, several participants felt that light in conjunction with bars and 'normal' people created an atmosphere of conviviality. This was discussed specifically in connection to photos 5 and 6, which depict two well-known sites with student oriented bars in Utrecht. Closer analysis suggests that the familiarity of these nightscapes also played a role in how participants experienced and discussed the light and indeed the larger assemblage captured within those snapshot pictures. This in turn suggests that it is not only the momentary 'presentism' of an assemblage that was relevant; memories became part of the assemblage and its experience.

The third and most important process was that light afforded visibility in the sense of an overview of the (moving) bodies close to one's own corporeal body. By assisting in the identification and signification of individual bodies, it also co-produced visibility in another way

The idea that you have to pass that, poorly lit, guy in the dark (...) and such a small passage I wouldn't find enjoyable (...) If there is enough light so that you can just see that guy, then you can assess [the situation] better and it will improve (...) yeah, I can't see it in the dark, so it is difficult to assess (William, on photo 4).

For William and others, light aids in the anticipation of immediate futures: it reduces the risk of assault (Painter, 1996; Pain et al., 2006), or at least makes it more manageable at both conscious and unconscious levels. The interviews make it clear that darkness in NTE settings increases orientational difficulties, unsettling people's action-guiding anticipations (Shotter, 2009). It implies unknowability—the 'big dark unknown around you' (Wayne)—and hence a distinctive futurity. Discussing photo 3, Ursel explains

Look how dark it is there, there and there [pointing to sites near the road on the photo]. You don't know at all who is hiding behind these shrubs and if there is someone—probably not (...) you have no idea, someone might be a few metres away and you just can't see it.

Lighting, then, was believed to reveal potential wrongdoers and to make some futures that could spring from encounters in the unfolding present less likely, making public spaces in NTE settings more enjoyable and secure. There nonetheless resides ambiguity in the effects of light: being illuminated raises one's own vulnerability as a 'person does see [you] since you are cycling in the light, but he is not in the light' (Ushi). In such a situation, light not only enables potential wrongdoers to take advantage of how lighting illuminates a victim-to-be; it also makes potential wrongdoers more invisible for a potential victim by intensifying darkness. Having just moved from the dark into the light, potential victims have to adjust their eyesight when a 'bubble' effect (Morris, 2011, p. 322) occurs: rather than affording an expanded field of vision, the lamp-post encloses him/her in

a circle of light beyond which the dark is extra dark. The distribution of light matters here, for bubble effects are more intense when circles of light are located in a sea of darkness, as in photo 3.

A second ambiguity regarding the effects of light was observed in connection to photo 2, which depicts a well-known square that attracts many pedestrians at night. Many participants were positive about the lighting but responses revealed more ambiguity than with photos 5 and 6 as some participants felt the lighting helped to reduce comfort levels. As Wayne said, 'that graffiti and those sharp lights there, it all makes it a bit sinister'. This second ambiguity is different from the first and represents type 1) in Sub-Section 3.2.4. The first ambiguity, however, occurred in one and the same encounter for one and the same person and thus corresponds to type 3). For lighting this type could be identified only among several participants, but it was more prevalent with regard to police presence.

3.4.2 Police

Comments on police officers were made mostly in relation to photo 6. About one-third of the study participants attributed only positive effects to police presence on fear of crime, and a few attributed little effect to policing. Yet, more participants than anticipated articulated ambiguity within one and the same situation

But then you see the police standing there and you think: well yeah, that is a bit ambiguous. For on one hand, I think, yeah, it gives some sense of security, police in the vicinity. On the other, I think well why are they here? Is there something? (Urmela, on photo 6).

Well I always feel that police are there for a reason. Look if it wouldn't be necessary, the police wouldn't be there. Apparently something is going on there (...) Yeah, or apparently they think things can go out of hand or something, you know (...) But then again it is night out, so they can also be just on surveillance (Umara, on photo 6).

Interviewees like Urmela and Umara confirmed the earlier claim that police presence triggers more than comfort among 'well-behaved' consumers in the

NTE. Whilst making certain immediate futures less likely, police presence also and simultaneously brought other possible futures into consciousness: it reminded the well-behaved of the immanent possibility that things can go out of hand. Both from first-hand experience and through exposure to global discourses about intoxication, the urban night and specific nightlife establishments, participants in our study were well aware that anger/rage, love, jealousy, etc. are more intense at night and that the encounters with elements in the assemblages depicted in photos 5 and 6 can spiral into commotion more rapidly than during daytime.

In the quote, Umara expresses not simply uncertainty about *what* might happen but also uncertainty *if* something (unpleasant) might happen or whether the police are simply on surveillance. This ambiguity triggers not only orientational difficulties, but also a cognitive reorientation towards the assemblage of which she is part and through which a (near) future of disorder becomes imagined. The practices and appearance of police officers to some extent influence whether such reorientation occurs. Ursula, for instance, tended to appreciate visible police presence because of its preventative effects and capacity to intervene when something happens. Yet she also intimated that if she arrived at the square depicted in photo 5 and saw five police officers, she would consider this disproportionate and ‘think what the f*** is going on here?’ Responses like Ursula’s align with findings reported elsewhere (Brands and Schwanen, 2014) that policing practices in the NTE—whether officers are on foot or rather on horse-back or sat in cars, and whether they are wearing batons or reflective vests—shape NTE participants’ experiences of safety. More than simple police presence, it is policing-as-practice that has an influence on fear of crime (see Cook and Whowell, 2011).

3.4.3 Others

Discussing photos 4 and 6, participants brought up multiple ambiguities across persons, across situations and for single participants in one and the same encounter. Some were highly appreciative of the crowd in front of the depicted student-oriented bar in photo 6

I don’t know why I should feel unsafe here. It is just a student bar. I know how those bars are, just attract a nice crowd, I think (Uriel).

Of course it is often drunk people who stand outside but I always like it when there are many people (...) well, you think, that is cosy [*gezellig*], you know (Ulla).

Uriel highlights how affective encounters with other nightlife consumers are mediated by memory; his knowledge has accrued from both first-hand experience and wider socialisation processes with stereotypes developed over time mediating perception and experience (Connolly, 2011). The ability to identify with the crowd and their practices narrows down the range of (un)consciously anticipated immediate futures, and therefore ambiguity, to such a degree that drunk others are felt to be manageable risk or no risk at all. Whilst encountering crowds, as in photo 6, created few orientational difficulties for Uriel and Ulla, other participants expressed more reservations. Wanda, for instance, was more cautious in this particular nightlife setting and imagined a more diverse range of immediate futures. Her unconscious and conscious anticipations appeared less entrenched than Uriel's and Ulla's because she singled out other elements as relevant within the assemblage and was less familiar with the particular bar that was depicted

It appears to be a bar with people standing outside and certainly in such a situation with police being there you just expect well they are probably there 'cause there are annoying people walking around (...) There are also people who have been drinking, doesn't have to be negative, can also be cute, o well (Wanda).

Ambiguities were more profound in relation to photo 4, which participants generally perceived as threatening. The threatening atmosphere was associated with the unusual combination of underdetermination and overdetermination that characterises photo 4. The underdetermination—lack of clarity about what the depicted person might do and hence what immediate future may unfold—was expressed through the ways in which participants discussed the invisibility of the person and his/her face

'Cause it's so dark and you just can't see anything of that very person, except that he wears a hood, but no face or something, you can't see how old he is. I think it's a man but maybe it's woman. Yeah you really can't

get an impression (Whitney).

Resonating with Thrift's (2007) emphasis on the face as a key affective site, Whitney's remarks highlight the importance of facial expressions to how likely immediate futures are imagined and to triggering fear for others.

The participants clearly disliked the underdetermination characterising photo 4 because it unsettled their capacities to anticipate the future and made them uncomfortable. Employing Bergson's concept of pure memory also helps to observe a second effect: it illustrates how a lack of information on the depicted body results in the mobilisation of stereotypes, acquired over the life-course, to make sense of the particular encounter. For Inez the person was 'a junk with a hoodie' and Immanuel made similar comments

It is a bit of a stereotypical image of people with hoodies hanging [in such places]. Yeah people who're after your wallet or whatever (...) It need not be a junk or a beggar. It can be a little pain in the neck too. And look, if a bloke in a suit or something with a tie stood there (laughs), then you'd pass quite differently (Immanuel).

These stereotypes do more than reduce the encountered body's underdetermination. They simultaneously increase the participants' sense of discomfort through overdetermination as they predisposed the participants towards immediate futures of harm or hurt over other possibilities (for example, the person stepping aside and nodding in a friendly way when somebody would like to pass) and so co-created or intensified fear of crime.

As expected, feelings of discomfort were intensified by the specific qualities and capacities of the alley depicted in photo 4: its narrowness, which makes evasion or escape difficult; the lack of light; the absence of 'normal' others who might come to one's aid; and the absence of vibrant nightlife at the end of the alley. This implies that attempts to understand what triggers fear of crime should resist the tendency to isolate or abstract persons from the assemblages of which they are part: fear of crime was triggered not simply by the depicted corporeal body, its age, gender, clothing or comportment, but by the wider body-assemblage. For

some participants the experience would have been different had the encountered assemblage been different

Interviewer: And what if we positioned this person to, say, that tree on the Vredenburg? (see photo 2).

Ulla: Oh, then I wouldn't mind so much. Yeah then it's not such a—here you can only pass him, but there you can traverse that square in many other ways. Here there is no other opportunity.

3.5 Final Remarks

Arguing that fear of crime is an event, we have analysed if and how ambiguity—the absence of stable, well-determined effects—can be identified regarding how lighting, policing and 'undesired others' help to shape fear of crime during young adults' participation in a city centre's night-time economy. The empirical analysis among university students in Utrecht has confirmed that ambiguities are an inevitable part of the experience of fear of crime on nights out, as well as the usefulness of distinguishing three types of ambiguity: across persons in a given situation, across situations for a given person, and for a single person in one and the same situation. However, the empirical analysis extends the analytical framework outlined in section 3.2 by showing that, among the participating university students, the occurrence of ambiguity differs between lighting, policing and 'undesired others': the fear-reducing effects of lighting were least ambiguous across persons and situations, whilst ambiguities for a single person in one and the same encounter were most widespread for policing practices.

The empirical analysis has also corroborated the importance of temporal depth to understanding fear of crime and ambiguities in a NTE setting: the question of which human and non-human elements in a person's close proximity trigger fear cannot be answered without due attention for how past and future are enfolded in the present. Among the study participants, the third type of ambiguity—that for a single person in one and the same situation—tended to result from different, often incompatible, immediate futures being folded into a particular present. Their habit-memory and pure memory (Bergson, 1912) explained to a considerable

degree which futures showed up with the greatest force in a present.

Moreover, the empirical analysis endorses the theoretical notions in section 3.2 and contributes to feminist thinking in fear of crime by suggesting that it was via the interlocking of past, present and future that gender (and class and race) shaped fear of crime and the associated ambiguities. Gender primarily had indirect effects on fear of crime during participation in the NTE by influencing which habit-memories and pure memories study participants had accrued over their life-course and what they considered to constitute a threat or source of potential harm. Some differences between male and female participants were observed (Table 2.1), but those were smaller and less frequent than expected on the basis of the existing literature (Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007). This is in part due to our focus on highly educated and white young adults who can afford to participate and feel welcome in Utrecht's nightlife premises.

The conclusion that ambiguities in the generation, intensification and reduction of fear of crime are inevitable has significant policy implications: the opposition of stressors or causes of fear of crime vis-a-vis remedies needs to be suspended because this dualism clouds our understanding of fear of crime. This does not imply that policy interventions to reduce fear of crime in urban nightlife are futile. We rather believe that policy-makers, researchers and others seeking to reduce fear of crime should move away from thinking about 'lighting', 'police presence' or 'undesired others' as generic, abstract categories.

One alternative would be to think about the particular qualities and capacities of lighting and how it can be made 'smarter' in specific locales. This means addressing questions for specific sites in/around nightlife districts. For example, if lighting at this particular site helps to reduce fear of crime by making certain places visible, does it not simultaneously also cover other events in darkness and so co-produce new threats? How can this specific site be illuminated without making passers-by more vulnerable? A potentially useful policy option, put forward by some study participants in connection with photo 3, consists of lighting a buffer zone of shrubbery or other places where people might be hiding along paths or routes for walking or cycling. This would enhance NTE participants' sense of control, reducing uncertainty about immediate futures and orientational difficulties. It

would also be important to reconsider policing practices—especially the number of officers patrolling the streets and the equipment they carry—as these can both reduce and generate or intensify fear of crime among NTE consumers. For instance, consumers tend to prefer officers on foot or on bike over patrols on horseback or in cars, amongst others because the latter practices make futures of harm or disorder show up more forcefully at the moment of encounter. Finally, stereotypes—a form of memory—play an important part in the enfolding of futures in the present and thereby the way NTE consumers make sense of encounters with other human beings and the generation of fear of crime. Whilst it is difficult to influence stereotypes through (local) policy, it is important to make sure that policy initiatives do not unintentionally reproduce or strengthen them.

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Notes

¹ A human corporeal body is only one manifestation of a body, so is a plant, rain, an idea or a corpus of academic studies. Here, we use 'corporeal body' to refer to the human physical body and 'body in a generalised sense' or 'body assemblage' for the generic concept.

² This refers both to 'local' processes, such as parental influence, and to exposure to 'global' discourses about women's vulnerability, the 'Other' and the night as a time of transgression that circulate through the media.

³ See: www.utrecht.nl.

⁴ Pseudonyms are used to ensure participants' anonymity. The pseudonyms reveal their gender and the first letter also the student complex where they lived at the time of the interview (I for Ina Boudier Bakkerlaan, U for Uithof, W for Warande).

4 Experiencing and governing safety in the night-time economy: Nurturing the state of being carefree

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Abstract

Against a background of widespread academic and policy interest in fear and security in urban consumption spaces across the Global North this paper explores subjective experiences of safety and the way these may be (un)affected by CCTV and on-street policing. Adopting a phenomenological perspective and drawing on the narratives of nightlife consumers in three Dutch cities (Utrecht, Rotterdam, Groningen), we propose to conceptualise safety as a range of 'meta-stable' experiential states. In the first and basic state we termed 'absorptive coping', nightlife consumers interact with the world as if on auto-pilot and are carefree; they are unconcerned about their safety and experience no trouble or worries. This state is suspended when consumers become 'on the alert'. 'Actual danger' occurs when consumers perceive one or more individuals with the intention to do harm. We find that surveillance and policing practices can induce and affect transitions between the identified states. CCTV has marginal effects in this regard; on-street policing is more effective in preventing the states of being on the alert or actual danger and in shifting consumers back to absorptive coping. Yet, police presence and practices can also be counterproductive, triggering unease in consumers and suspending absorptive coping. Implications for the surveillance and policing of urban consumption spaces are outlined.

4.1 Introduction

Across the Global North safety and fear have become pervasive aspects of both everyday life and urban policy (Pain and Smith, 2008; Ball et al., 2012). Influential among policy-makers in the current era are the ideas that residents and consumers are attracted more easily to city centres that are lively and safe, and that lack of safety is an impairment that harms city-centre economies (Raco, 2003; Coleman, 2004; Helms et al., 2007; Kern, 2010). As a result, local urban policy has become increasingly focused on repressing crime and incivilities through surveillance and policing (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Bannister et al., 2006; Ball et al., 2012): more extensive closed-circuit television (CCTV) surveillance, more police officers on the street and the criminalisation of what are perceived to be 'anti-social' behaviours are strategies that have been adopted in many city-centres. One of the unintended consequences of this orientation towards repression is that it suggests disorder and incivilities are somehow the norm in city-centre spaces, thereby unintentionally helping to reinforce moral panics and discourses on crime and uncivilised behaviour. Furthermore, it is unclear if, and to what extent experiences of fear and lack of safety are integral to persons' lived experiences of public and private-spaces in city-centres.

Criminologists, feminist geographers and others have long since studied fear of crime, providing critically important insight into its extent and triggers (e.g. Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Hale, 1996; Pain, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2009; Koskela and Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007; Rebotier, 2011; Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012). We are nonetheless also drawn to recent work on safety which, as a concept, is somewhat broader and foregrounds more positive intensities and a sense of well-being in everyday situations (Pain and Townshend, 2002; Fleuret and Atkinson, 2007; Pain and Smith, 2010; Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Lindgren and Nilsen, 2012). It thus helps to move 'the analytic framework out of its hegemonic order-centred and fear-centred fix' (Hutta, 2009, p. 258). In other words, such an approach to safety provides an opportunity to 'contextualize' fears and worries against a background of other (positive) experiences rather than immediately dissecting those fears and worries, and enables a rethinking of preventative and repression-oriented safety interventions in city-centre spaces.

In this paper we probe and explore experiences of safety by adopting a phenomenological perspective, and consider how those experiences are (un)affected by CCTV surveillance and on-street visibility of police officers. In doing so, we draw on in-depth interviews with urban nightlife consumers in the Dutch cities of Rotterdam, Utrecht and Groningen. We focus on safety at night-time for two reasons. Firstly, affective experiences in urban spaces are intensified at night compared to day-time because ‘perceptions of the ‘hours of darkness’ as a time of danger, fear, crime and sin seem to be persistent and deeply embedded components’ in Euro-American culture (Hobbs et al., 2003, p. 44). Moreover, districts in which bars, clubs and other nightlife premises are concentrated are often emotionally charged spaces at night-time, offering many opportunities for transgression of social norms that are taken for granted during day-time (Hubbard, 2005; Williams, 2008). Secondly, discourses of city-centres as spaces of binge drinking, substance use, uncivilized behaviour and disorder have increased considerably over the past decade, leading to further concerns over safety and the intensification of, among others, CCTV surveillance and on-street policing (Crawford and Flint, 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a; Jayne et al., 2011). Although CCTV surveillance and on-street policing are part of a larger repertoire of surveillance and regulatory interventions, we focus on their potential safety effects as they have gained considerable attention in the academic literature as techniques through which local governments seek to increase subjectively experienced safety (Sparks et al., 2001; Yarwood, 2007; Hadfield et al., 2009). Moreover, in the cities of Rotterdam, Utrecht and Groningen CCTV surveillance and on-street policing occupy a central position in municipal ‘Safe Nightlife’ policies.¹ We appreciate that experiences of safety in public and private spaces are closely interlinked and are constitutive of each other (Whitzman, 2007) but concentrate on safety in public spaces in this paper as local policy discourses and measures tend to concentrate on those areas.

In what follows we argue that safety is to be understood as an on-going and pre-reflective absorptive coping with the world, as if on autopilot which is felt with and through the body, and during which persons are free of care, concern and worry. Only when this absorptive coping is disturbed, does a conscious subject emerge and are bodily feelings triggered that may be articulated verbally as emotions (as

in 'I feel unsafe'). We also favour a different logic and rhetoric regarding (lack of) safety and surveillance in nightlife. While actual occurrences of danger and crime that disturb absorptive coping should be punished and prevented, it is equally—if not more—important to govern safety in city-centre consumption spaces, such as nightlife districts, in such ways that the carefree absorptive coping that we believe to be fundamental to the lived experience of safety is fully appreciated and nurtured. The remainder of this paper starts with a brief review of the literature on experiences of safety.

4.2 The experience of safety

4.2.1 Conceptualising safety

Albeit widely and easily used, the term safety is difficult to define. A first distinction is often made between objective and subjective safety. The former is about the occurrence of actual crime and is often measured through crime rates, rates of victimisation and statistical risk measures derived from such rates (Pain, 2000; Johansson et al., 2012). Subjective safety—the topic of this paper and henceforth referred to as safety—embraces a range of emotional and embodied sensations (Pain, 2000; Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Hubbard, 2005; Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012) that are not easily captured by quantitative indicators.

Safety is often defined as a double negative—that is, as the absence of a situation in which people feel unsafe—but definitions of this sort fail to capture the positive embodied sensations of safety in themselves. Given that the latter are difficult to put into words on their own terms, Hutta (2009) argues that metaphors and metonyms offer a vocabulary to flesh out more positive dimensions of the subjective-spatial experience of safety. He mobilizes the German term *Geborgenheit* which 'evokes an immediately positive sense of sheltered-ness, nested-ness, and well-being', and exemplifies this by referring to being 'snuggled up to a warm pony with winter skin, standing on a willow in the sun' (Hutta, 2009, pp. 252 and 258). Whilst the Dutch '*geborgenheid*' has the same connotations as its German counterpart, there is no equivalent term in English. For Hutta 'security' provides some semantic overlap but lacks or sidelines the connotations of sheltered-ness, nested-ness and

wellbeing. An alternative way of articulating the positive experiences of safety is to mobilize the terms of 'comfort' and 'home'. On the basis of focus-group discussions with lesbians and gay men, Moran and Skeggs (2004, pp. 84 and 86) argue that 'comfort' is a key term used by participants and 'that the language of comfort plays a central role in the characterisation of safety and security' and that 'home is comfort as an experience of location'. Hence, humanistic interpretations of 'place' and 'home' in geography (Tuan, 1976; Blunt and Dowling, 2006) might also be used to express the embodied sensations associated with safety.

Hutta's understanding of *Geborgenheit* aligns with work in emotional geographies which understands emotion as 'connective tissue that links experiential geographies of the human psyche and physique with(in) broader social geographies of place' (Davidson and Milligan, 2004, p. 524). This means that safety is relationally produced, and is constantly (re)configured and (re)negotiated as a transient and situational process, between the person and the particularities of place (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Waitt et al., 2011). These ideas can be developed further by drawing on recent work on affect and atmospheres (Thrift, 2004; Anderson, 2009; Adey et al., 2013). In so doing, we take safety in nightlife districts to be an affective quality that emanates 'from the assembling of the human bodies, discursive bodies, non-human bodies, and all the other bodies that make up everyday situations' (Anderson, 2009, p. 80) and is spatiotemporally discharged in atmospheres. These atmospheres are always unfinished and open to be taken up into individuals' experience—'they require completion by the subjects that 'apprehend' them' (Anderson, 2009, p. 80).

4.2.2 Perceiving safety

Understanding safety as relational and in terms of atmospheres that are apprehended and taken up into individuals' experience, raises the question how perception works. Certain strands of phenomenological thought can help us to address this question. According to Merleau-Ponty (1962) experience tends to be 'mute and anonymous' (Crossley, 1995, p. 49): people are always open to the world that surrounds them through sensory experience but they are often neither consciously concerned with all they encounter nor are they aware of the process

of perception or their role as perceiver. Perception in this sense is pre-reflective. For the most part it does not involve conscious thought and relies on rather crude, automatic and effortless information processing, aided by bio-cultural perceptual structures that are partly wired into people's body at birth and partly sedimented by past experience as memory (Connolly, 2011). This way of processing sensory information is crucial to the bulk of people's everyday action and interactions with the surrounding world, most of which takes place at a pace that exceeds the slow capacities of conscious thought. The result is an absorptive coping (Dreyfus, 1991) with the world as if one is on auto-pilot. Consider the everyday practice of eating (Dreyfus, 1991, p. 67): the ways in which food finds its way to our mouth—often from a plate and using cutlery—tends not to demand deliberate cognitive intervention; we cope seemingly effortless and largely self-unaware of the practice.

This absorptive coping is at the root of most practices. It implies that the heterogeneous elements that make up the world surrounding an individual are *Zuhanden* or ready-to-hand (Heidegger, 1962)—they constitute the usable and accessible space where things are known and work. It is only when the normal order of things becomes disturbed that the surrounding world becomes what Heidegger (1962) called *Vorhanden* or present-to-hand—a dysfunctional arrangement of elements that alienate and obstruct—that drag a person out of absorptive coping, and that trigger their thematic intentional consciousness. Dysfunctionality can differ both between persons (see below) and in intensity; it can be understood in terms of 'increasingly serious disturbances in which a conscious subject with self-referential mental states directed to determinate objects with properties gradually emerges' (Dreyfus, 1991, p. 71).

With regard to urban nightlife consumption, this theoretical discussion suggests that consumers may most of the time not think consciously about safety when they participate in the night-time economy. When perception takes place in the mute and anonymous mode Merleau-Ponty describes, they participate in nightlife activities as in a carefree manner; they are unconcerned about their safety and experience no trouble or worries. Such carefreeness can nonetheless be suspended at any time and place: a nightlife consumer can perceive some form of dysfunctionality in the assemblage of elements in which s/he finds him/herself then-and-there—for instance, a certain gesture by a passerby or a group

of intoxicated youth coming towards her/him—which may trigger bodily feelings that s/he may be able to articulate verbally as emotions (as in ‘I feel unsafe’). In this process, then, danger becomes more or less sharply outlined (Dufrenne, 1989).

What is usable and accessible space where things are known and work, when suspension of *Zuhandenheit* takes place and what triggers a shift between *Zuhanden* and *Vorhanden* differs from person to person on the basis of socialisation processes, past experiences, genetic factors and preparations taken before ‘going out’. While Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty tended to presuppose a generalized subject who was unmarked by gender, class, ethnicity and other social markers, more recent versions of phenomenology are more sensitive to the ways in which embodiment and processes of perceiving and being perceived—and by implication, experiences of safety—are culturally endowed, gendered, classed, and so forth (Ihde, 2003; Koefoed and Simonsen, 2012).

Along similar lines, (post) phenomenological thinking can accommodate the ways in which experienced safety is shaped by past experiences of victimization (Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012) and/or socialization processes, such as interactions with family and friends, exposure to the media and participation in formal education earlier in the life course (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Sandberg and Tollefsen, 2010). Particularly relevant to experiences of safety (in nightlife situations) may be gendered socialisation. For instance, girls are often taught by parents, peers and others to be alert and cautious around unknown men, to avoid travelling alone after dark and around deserted areas, to speed up when travelling on a bike or on foot, to create an impression of bravery when encountering strangers, and to carry a mobile phone or an object with which they can defend themselves (Koskela, 1997; Mehta and Bondi, 1999; Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009).

One way in which victimization and (gendered) socialization influence the experience of safety in the night-time economy and more generally is through their sedimentation in the perceptual structures through which (visual) perception is aided and formatted (cf. Connolly, 2011); those processes can enhance individuals’ capacity to be affected by certain elements—bodily comportments, gestures, clothing, etcetera—and trigger feelings of discomfort or alertness more quickly

than in others. Also, and particularly relevant in the context of urban nightlife, is alcohol use (Latham and McCormack, 2004; Jayne et al., 2011). Extensive alcohol consumption may diminish individuals' capacities to be affected by the assemblages of elements of which they are part and may, through neuro-chemical bodily processes, keep individuals in a state of, or akin to, absorptive coping longer than at other times.

Local governments, corporate actors and other stakeholders can and do intervene into the materiality of (semi) public spaces to increase safety, and a plethora of interventions is part and parcel of attempts to stimulate cities' night-time economy (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a; Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012). A set of interventions that are particularly popular in the context of the night-time economy pertain to increased surveillance and policing, but little is known about how these affect safety as absorptive coping and readiness-to-hand. More generally, the public often perceives police intervention quite favourably (Brown and Benedict, 2002) and visible presence of police officers in public space tends to be favoured over CCTV (Sparks et al., 2001), even if on-street policing is sometimes also considered a sign that one's personal safety is at stake (Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Cook and Whowhell, 2011; Brands et al., 2013a). Nonetheless, CCTV has in many ways 'become the standard way to restrain crime and guarantee security' (Koskela, 2002, p. 259). While persons often understand CCTV surveillance in the context of personal safety (Helten and Fischer, 2004; Brands et al., 2013b) and when discussed in general terms often support it (Germain, 2013), research has also pointed out that CCTV's capacities to increase safety and prevent crime are 'mixed' (Taylor, 2011), 'debatable' (Pain and Townshend, 2002) or limited (Germain, 2013) at best. As Sætnan et al. (2004, p. 37) argue, 'it is possible that when asked to comment on a statement such as 'I feel safe in places where there's video surveillance', most people may assume they would feel safe, and therefore agree. But when they reflect a bit more on it (...) they don't really think it gives them all that much security'. This may imply that public support for CCTV is not really based on careful consideration of what this technology can do for individuals in situations when they feel unsafe. It is thus important to explore the capacities of (CCTV) surveillance when safety is understood not as something self-evident and abstract but rather as relational, embodied and spatiotemporally discharged in atmospheres. More generally, our phenomenological informed

discussion of the experience of safety throws up several questions with regard to how participants experience surveillance (in relation to safety). One is to consider how concerned persons actually are with surveillance practices when enmeshed in the atmospheres of the nightlife districts during their ‘nights out’. A second question pertains to the moments when *Zuhandenheit* is suspended and the world surrounding the participants, potentially including (CCTV and police) surveillance, becomes *Vorhanden*; under what circumstances and (how) are these forms of surveillance agentive in inducing shifts between readiness and presence-to-hand?

4.3 Research design

4.3.1 Interviews

For our empirical analysis we relied on a combination of in-depth interviews, auto photography and photo elicitation techniques. This combination of research methods greatly helped in enriching our participants’ narratives and allowed us as researchers to some extent to ‘enter into’ an actual night out. Prior to the interviews we asked our participants to make two photographs within the public space of the nightlife area—one of the most pleasant and one of the least pleasant site. We preferred letting our participants make the photographs themselves over using researcher-led photos as we wanted the photos to capture what our participants felt as important in terms of content, location and hour of night. The photos were discussed with participants during the interview, as were their reasons and motivations for selecting the depicted sites. Generally, discussions of the photos naturally morphed into discussions of safety and the role of surveillance and policing. The motivation for using photo elicitation was twofold. First, we hoped that participants, and especially males (Pain and Townshend, 2002; Day et al., 2003; Johansson et al., 2012), would feel more comfortable about narrating their emotional experiences. Secondly, as Rose (2012) explains, using photos aids researchers in moving beyond the discursive realm and accessing the sensory and affective. More generally, we considered that by using photo images the ‘unit of analysis [would be] an occasion or event, not a phenomenon’ (Brown et al., 2011, p. 511), which we deemed crucial in light of our theoretical points of departure.

The eighteen interviews ranged in length between 35 and 100 min and were all conducted by the same researcher—a white male in his twenties. Choice for location of the interviews was left to the participants with the idea they could choose a place where they would feel comfortable. Eight interviews took place in a semi-public space, such as a coffee bar or a lunchroom/restaurant; four at an educational institution (two university, two high school); three at the participants' residence; two at the researcher's university office and one at his home. The extent to which the interview location affected the content of the interviews appears to be limited. The interviewer felt that all participants were quite comfortable during the interview, and witnessed no differences in the level of comfortableness between the different interview locations: all participants engaged in in-depth discussions without reservations, irrespective of the place where the interview was held. Moreover, a semi-structured interview topic list was utilized to structure the contents of the interview, independent of the interview location. All interviews were audio-taped, transcribed, coded and analysed using a computer software package.

There are limitations to the use of interviews aided by photo elicitation techniques for examining lived experiences of safety. Potentially problematic is our interest in participants' unconscious experiences on nights out, which are very difficult to access in a reflective interview in another space and time. Mobile ethnography and walk-along interviews (Büscher et al., 2010; Fincham et al., 2010) are potentially more appropriate to access lived experience directly but we felt that these would be unpractical and too intrusive. What is more, these methods would substantially affect the situations there-and-then in which safety is experienced because of our very presence as researchers. Based on our own experiences and encouraged by Middleton (2010), Kleres (2011) and Hitchings (2012), we felt that (our) participants were quite capable of speaking about their emotions, feelings and practices on their nights out in in-depth interviews.

4.3.2 Settings and participants

We interviewed nightlife area visitors of three different cities in The Netherlands—Utrecht, Groningen and Rotterdam (see Figure 4.1 for a general impression)—because this study is part of a broader project on surveillance and policing in city-centre nightlife districts (Schwanen et al., 2012; Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012)



Figure 4.1: General impression of nightlife in the city centres of Groningen, Utrecht and Rotterdam

which focuses on these three cities. They were selected because of differences in supply of nightlife entertainment, population composition and surveillance and policing practices which are summarized in Table 4.1. Rotterdam has the highest scores on all indicators and is also according to public opinion (especially by people outside the city) considered the most dangerous. On the whole, however,

Table 4.1: Differences in population, nightlife entertainment, and surveillance and policing practices between Utrecht, Groningen and Rotterdam

	Utrecht	Groningen	Rotterdam
Population			
Number of inhabitants in the municipality	322,000	195,453	616,319
Share of non-Western migrants in municipal population ¹	21.7%	10.6%	37.2%
Nightlife entertainment			
Orientation	Strongly oriented towards university students and young urban professionals with a mix of restaurants, (small) pubs, and clubs	Mainly oriented towards students, with a mix of pubs, snack bars, and restaurants	Catering for a wider range of consumers, including lower-educated consumers and/or those from non-Western origin and consisting of a mix of uniform themed bars and clubs but also alternative venues
Service area	Mainly for the city and surrounding suburbs	City, suburbs and the wider rural hinterland	Mainly for the city and surrounding suburbs
Spatial structure	Strongly concentrated around a main nightlife square, with additional minor concentrations elsewhere in the historic inner city	Strongly concentrated around a main nightlife square	Relatively dispersed over the city.
Surveillance and policing practices in the nightlife areas			
CCTV	8 public CCTV cameras ² , watched live on specific time intervals and days of the week.	15 public CCTV cameras ² , watched live on specific time intervals and days of the week.	24 public CCTV cameras ² , all watched live 24/7, all days of the week
Police	Moderate visible presence of police officers	Moderate visible presence of police officers	High visible presence of police officers

¹ Defined as a person who is born in, or of whom at least one parents is born in, Turkey or in an African, Latin American or Asian (excluding Indonesia and Japan) country

² Own observatory research in the nightlife areas

Source: Schwanen et al., (2012) and Utrecht (2014a), Rotterdam (2014a) and Groningen (2014a)

Table 4.2: The number of incidences of crime per 1000 inhabitants in 2011

	Utrecht	Groningen	Rotterdam	Netherlands
Violent crimes ¹	4.5	6.0	6.3	3.6
Sexual offences ¹	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.6
Vandalism	9.5	9.5	11.7	8.9

¹ Both private and public sphere

Source: Statistics Netherlands (2013)

there are no strong anti-urban discourses in The Netherlands, in part because the country always had a high urbanization level. More than in the Anglo-American world, cities are considered good and reasonably safe places to live, particularly for young adults. A look at news reports in local newspapers² for the year 2012 indicates that lack of safety was mentioned infrequently in connection to nightlife (four times for Utrecht and once each in Groningen and Rotterdam).

Eight of the interviews were conducted in Utrecht (five male, three female participants), five in Rotterdam (two male, three female participants) and five in Groningen (two male, three female participants). The interviewees' age ranged between 16 and 34 years. Although the experience of fear is known to vary in important ways with age (Pain, 2001), we consider this age range appropriate in light of the fact that nightlife entertainment in Rotterdam, Utrecht and Groningen is predominantly oriented towards young adults. The mix of the interviewees racial/ethnic backgrounds was broadly in line with the ethnical/racial composition of nightlife consumers in the three cities more generally (cf. Schwanen et al., 2012). Thirteen participants were white, two participants were from Arabic and two from Surinamese/Antillean descent, and one interviewee had a South-American background. Our sample consists of a 'non-probability' sample. On three nights in Utrecht, four nights in Rotterdam and two nights in Groningen, every passer-by (that is, when not still speaking to a previously approached person) between 10pm and 2am, was asked whether s/he was willing to participate in a longer interview at some later point in time. Thirteen participants were enrolled this way. A further five participants—two Dutch-Arabic and three white young adults—were recruited through snowball sampling. This recruitment procedure holds both advantages and disadvantages. On the plus side it ensured that most participants were familiar with the nightlife area. However, this has also excluded those who never go out and underrepresented those who go out infrequently. This may have skewed the results insofar as previous research has shown that people tend to feel safer as they are more familiar with a place (Pain and Townshend, 2002). However, each interview started with gathering some general information on, among others, use of the nightlife area, and the frequency with which the study participants visited the examined nightlife areas varied from about twice a year to multiple times a week. We therefore expect selection effects and hence bias towards greater than actual safety in the nightlife area, to be reasonably limited.

4.4 Safety and the nightlife district

When we asked participants to speak about experiences of safety when visiting nightlife areas on the basis of the photographs they had taken, they responded that they by and large considered themselves to be safe regardless of their gender, age and ethnicity. Typical were comments like those by Lily³ from Groningen: ‘In general, I feel perfectly safe on the street. And, yeah, at night too.’

Nevertheless, they experienced difficulties explaining how they understood and experienced this safety:

Interviewer: For you, what does ‘safety’ mean?

Natalie (Gr): Safety [laughs] now, that’s actually a rather difficult question!

Emma (Utr): Yeah, I don’t really know how I’d define ‘safety’. (...) But I think it’s also something intuitive. And it’s therefore something that’s really difficult to put into words.

For the study participants, safety was something that surrounded them and that they embodied. Safety was understood and felt with and through the body, although the ‘understanding’ that was implied by the interviewees was not necessarily of a conscious kind. It was rather the sense on a ‘night out’ that awareness of one’s safety was not necessary. Given this, and following the phenomenological framework (Section 4.2, Heidegger, 1962), we sought to better understand safety in the interviews by focusing on those occasions in which this experience was disturbed. In this context Heidegger’s distinction between the world as *Zuhanden vis-à-vis Vorhanden* proved to be very helpful in one sense, but was also somewhat crude. The reason for this is that the surrounding world could be *Vorhanden* in more than one way for our participants. Their narratives also suggested that shifts between states of safety experiences are not necessarily gradual, but often strongly nonlinear in character: experiences of actual danger may quite suddenly succeed situations in which the participants absorptively cope.

To bridge these gaps in the phenomenological framework we find DeLanda's approach—derived from thermodynamics and complexity theory⁴—helpful because it specifically confronts with these issues. In fact, we argue that safety can be understood in terms of what DeLanda (2002), after Gilles Deleuze, calls progressive differentiation: it can be conceptualized as an emergent set of planes or conditions of meta-stable equilibrium as in Prigogine's thermodynamics. DeLanda (2002, p. 18) states that 'events which take place at critical values of some parameter' can cause symmetry-breaking bifurcations and a transition from one meta-stable state to another.⁵ Based on the analysis of the interview transcripts, we propose that three meta-stable states can be discerned as far as experienced safety is concerned. We term these states safety as absorptive coping, on the alert and actual danger and discuss these in detail below whilst also considering which events are capable of inducing bifurcations and transitions between states. We did not find evidence for the existence of systematic differences along lines of gender, age, race, ethnicity or city in those states or the events that trigger transitions between them. This is not to suggest that such differences do not exist; they could not be detected among the participants in this study. We might well have observed such differences if our sample had been larger.

4.4.1 Absorptive coping

When I think of 'safety', well, it probably sounds stupid, but the word 'warmth' comes to mind. I mean the warmth of having people around me, the atmosphere I'm in, you know, which place I'm in. (...) And if you feel totally safe somewhere, you don't pay any attention to what's going on around you. (Layla, Utrecht)

This excerpt shows that Layla articulates safety using the affective quality of warmth which we take to be affiliated with the notions of comfort (Moran and Skeggs, 2004) and *Geborgenheit* (Hutta, 2009). It is an ongoing outcome of Layla's encounters and interactions with other persons and the particularities of a specific place in the nightlife district. When surrounded by this warmth, Layla is not consciously concerned with the particularities of the place or the persons around her—the world is *Zuhanden* and she is carefree. This way of coping with the world

as if on autopilot is further illustrated by Julia and Sophia

If the atmosphere's good, then you feel comfortable, you can relax, (...) and if you then go out on the street again to go to another bar or club, you just do it, without thinking about it. (Julia, Utrecht)

I feel safe if I don't have to worry about what's going on around me. (...) Safety means not having to think, not having to be cautious. (Sophia, Groningen)

However, as Natalie implies below, there is always an openness to the world. She is continuously affected by the elements that constitute the world she is in, and her perception operates in the unconscious and semi-conscious realms up to the moment she is triggered by an element that is 'out of the ordinary'. Natalie also highlights how not only sight (which was discussed most frequently by the participants), but also 'sound' plays a major role in the experience of safety

Natalie: When it's full of people and the atmosphere is just right. That you sense this, then you feel safe.

Interviewer: But how do you know it's right then?

Natalie: Yeah, you just register unconsciously. Well you hear people laughing, the buzz. Yeah, nothing weird or whatever is happening.

In short, warmth (Layla), comfort (Julia) and relaxation (Julia) are mobilized as metaphors to describe the atmospheric intensities they experience and that make the world of the nightlife district Zuhanden and devoid of elements that trigger conscious thought about safety. Liam seems to experience this intensity when actually traversing the Neude square in Utrecht (Figure 4.2); he also copes with the environment without thinking consciously about safety. However, when discussing this lived experience retrospectively in the interview, he encountered a paradox between living safety and reflecting on it after the actual experience

Yeah, while on a bad evening this [the Neude] can be exactly the place

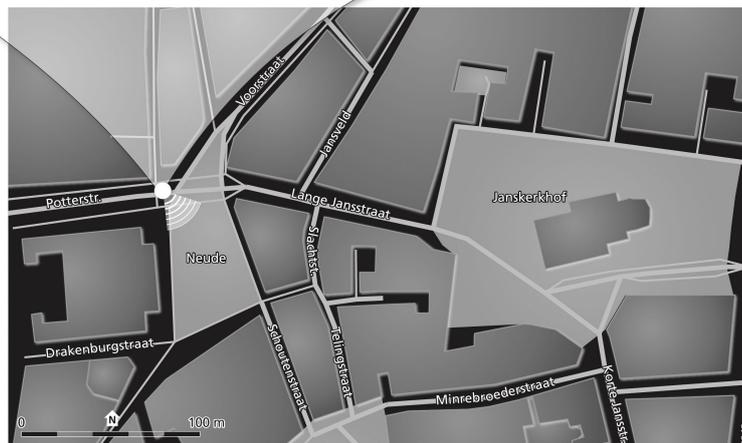


Figure 4.2: De Neude, Utrecht, photographed by Liam

where everything turns bad. (...). Yet, even though things can get out of control here [the Neude] and that it might in fact be the least safe place to be (...) I just have that feeling of safety. It's to do with all the lights, being able to see what's going on. (Liam, Utrecht)

The gap between reflective accounts of safety as in the interview with Liam and safety as absorptive coping potentially has implications for policy or other

stakeholders' initiatives to enhance safety. If the latter are only based on reflective accounts to questions about perceived safety, much of what safety experience entails is being sidelined.

4.4.2 On the alert

Our participants explained that the state of safety as absorptive coping can become more or less suspended. At times they became on the alert during a night out. Alternatives used by our participants to refer to this way of becoming ranged from feeling exposed, *qui vive*, keep your wits about, and being cautious. As Samuel from Groningen explained

If you keep your wits about you, then you're, well, what I said, you know, you keep an eye on your surroundings and then you're always ready for potential trouble. (...) that awareness means that in one way or another I'm disturbed (...) by my surroundings. And by the people around me. Or because the area I'm in has a bad reputation.

Natalie refers to the same kind of experience in relation to the Papengang alley in Groningen, that she also photographed (Figure 4.3)

In other parts of Groningen, I can just wander around, not thinking. You know, shoot the breeze a bit. But here [Papengang, Groningen; Figure 4.3], you have to keep your eyes open (...) It doesn't fit in with the rest of Groningen. (...) It's a very narrow alley. And yeah, there's not much light. And it stinks. It stinks really badly. (...) And you're, you know, wedged in by those high walls. It's such a dark alley. And that makes you look at people a bit darkly. Especially if you see they've just come out (...) that [Dutch-style] coffee shop.

Samuel and Natalie express how an assembling of elements—odours, buildings, walls, illumination, others, use of a property, and so on—makes them feel and anticipate risk, or the possibility of trouble or harm. The presence of others is not only implicated in triggering alertness, however; the participants' comments also suggest that being accompanied (by friends or boy/girlfriend) kept them in a state

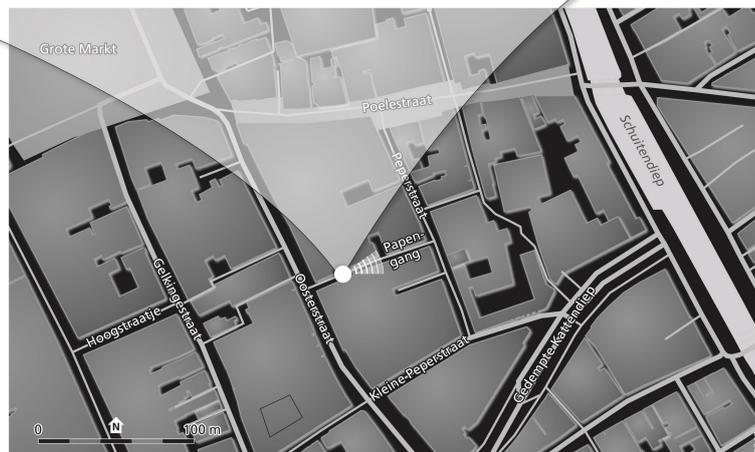


Figure 4.3: Papengang alley, Groningen, photographed by Natalie

of, or akin to, absorptive coping longer. Both interview excerpts also indicate that sedimented memory is implicated in the assembling of elements and in perception (Anderson, 2009; Connolly, 2011): earlier in their life-course Samuel and Natalie have learnt—from first-hand experience and through exposure to discourses—about particular neighbourhoods and alleys and how something harmful might happen there, especially at night-time when ‘evil incarnate walks the earth’

(Williams, 2008, p. 518). Natalie's discussion of the Papengang alley is a case in point: she is on the alert there not only because the alley has a bad reputation and the reporting of various incidents (including a shooting in October 2011) in the local/regional media, but also because of the presence of a Dutch-style coffee shop and 'the people' it attracts. It appears, then, that the degree to which nightlife consumers have been acculturated and socialized into particular discourses helps to shape the ways in which they—or rather their corporeal bodies—qualify the atmospheric intensities in particular places and turn them into emotions.

Interestingly, the meta-stable state of being on the alert could be short and long lived. Like most others, Samuel and Natalie only lived certain spatiotemporal pockets of nightlife areas in such terms and soon returned to their state of absorptive coping. However, while most participants tended not to bother about, or remained oblivious to, how safety was affected by cumulative collective alcohol consumption over the course of a night, they made Claire (who tended to limit her alcohol consumption, but was not a teetotaler) from Rotterdam be 'constantly on her toes', always anticipating unwanted futures such as annoying people, aggression and groping while going out.

Unsurprisingly, the participants' most common response to becoming on the alert was to move away from it: 'I just want to get away from this atmosphere' (Julia). Getting away from a single alley (Natalie) is easy and would result in a relatively smooth and effortless reverting to safety as absorptive coping. Getting out of a larger area with a bad reputation (Samuel) or from an alcoholised nightlife district (Claire) obviously is more difficult. Several other practices through which especially female participants coped with situations that alerted them were also discussed

Abby (R'dam): It is for my own safety. I turn a lack of safety into safety. I'm not sure how to explain though.

Interviewer: Well, could you give it a try?

Abby (R'dam): Well, if I feel unsafe somewhere, I usually grab my phone, so that I start to feel safe.

If and how Abby's use of her telephone makes her revert to a state of absorptive coping is not entirely clear from the quote, but her words do illustrate that the practices of holding a phone and/or (pretending to) make phone calls affect how the situation is experienced. Other participants explained that carrying a mobile phone did not 'guarantee her safety' (Sarah, Groningen) but that knowing they could always resort to it helped to produce a semiconscious feeling of comfort. The explanations by Abby, Sarah and others indicate not only that study participants and (female) nightlife consumers produce safety for themselves but also that such practices as carrying a mobile phone may help to keep them in a state of absorptive coping for longer than would otherwise been the case.

4.4.3 Actual danger

When we asked our participants what danger [in Dutch *onveiligheid*, which can literally be translated as *unsafety*] entailed for them in the context of nightlife, they referred to 'actual' trouble or harm to their own body

Interviewer: And is that [actual danger] another lack of safety than what you just described [being on the alert]?

Sophia: Yes, because it's less directed at me personally. Then it's just that I keep myself very alert, because I think that something could happen. But that fear is less direct than if something was to actually happen to me.

For our participants 'getting into trouble' or 'being harmed' required that another body or bodies that could do harm or cause trouble were physically proximate. Physical proximity of bodies that are *Vorhanden* was, however, not enough to trigger actual danger; interviewees mentioned that the perceived intention to do harm or cause trouble was a crucial aspect of feeling actually unsafe. This implies that, in the context of nightlife, actual danger is limited to encounters with human beings; non-human elements like walls with graffiti or litter did not invoke actual danger, they only made the study participants alert. The participants finally explained that being 'captured' in an encounter where there is no way out and 'being at the mercy' of a person was particularly frightening. In situations

like these our participants became truly 'conscious subject[s] with self-referential mental states directed to determinate objects with properties' (Dreyfus, 1991, p. 71). Sarah describes the experience of actual danger in considerable detail

Yes, unsafe. Now we're talking only about the situation. And then you don't take into account the intentions of other people. But I've never experienced that. That someone threatens me or wants something or to do something to me. (...) I think that I'd only really feel unsafe if someone clearly had bad intentions [laughs] towards me. If I were in a situation I couldn't get out of. Then I'd feel unsafe.

For the participants actual trouble or harm often succeeded situations in which trouble or harm was already anticipated. This means that on such occasions a transition from the state of being on the alert to that of actual danger takes place, which is also illustrated by Layla

There [a particular site in her place of birth that she remembers well from when she lived at her parents' house] you've got one of those underpasses, and they're really weird, unnerving places. (...) Once I was in that tunnel and a man came cycling towards me, and the moment we passed each other, he swung around and peddled really fast after me. I found it really frightening, you know, that someone turned around so deliberately, in a place that was so deserted.

Layla experienced the actions of the approaching man, amid the unnerving context of the tunnel, as an intention to inflict harm onto her and she felt actually unsafe. The fact that the tunnel was deserted was important as it made Layla feel completely at the mercy of the man; she might well have experienced the same action differently if it had taken place in the nightlife district where more people would be present and the context would be different.

Participants nevertheless also argued that actual danger could emerge suddenly and directly from a state of safety as absorptive coping. In other words, on many occasions intentions of persons cannot be anticipated, and this is especially likely in nightlife areas where, partly due to alcohol consumption, incidents come into

being rapidly and readiness-to-hand can shift rapidly into presence-to-hand.

4.5 Governing safety in public spaces in nightlife districts

Having established how safety in public spaces in nightlife districts is experienced, we can now explore if and to what degree CCTV surveillance and on-street visibility of police officers induce transitions between the states discussed in the previous section. When in the state of safety as absorptive coping the interviewees tended not to think about the presence of police officers or CCTV. Their deliberate thematic awareness tended not to be directed towards surveillance and policing. The words of Natalie from Groningen to some extent imply this argument

Natalie: Yes, it's that you ask me all these questions, while I don't ever actually think about it [safety].

Interviewer: Is it then strange that so much is done to improve safety?

Natalie: Yes. Yes, but on the other hand it may also be because so much is done to improve safety that everyone subconsciously feels safe.

Natalie's remarks have significant implications, however, for attempts to evaluate the effect of (changes in) such practices. Asking whether particular surveillance and policing practices affect subjectively experienced safety draws the latter into the realm of reflection and transcends that of pre-reflective absorptive coping, which implies that questions in interviews and questionnaires cannot straightforwardly be used to legitimise policy and other initiatives if safety as absorptive coping is in fact intended. We propose that the extent to which surveillance and policing practices sustain safety as absorptive coping can only be evaluated by considering the extent to which those practices trigger shifts away from the state of safety as absorptive coping. Not only did the study participants offer a number of useful insights into such shifts, they also indicated that the extent to which such shifts occur differ substantially between CCTV surveillance and on-the-ground policing (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Effects of surveillance and policing on experienced safety according to the study participants

	Absorptive coping	On the alert	Actual danger
CCTV	Might contribute to the sustaining of this state but analysis of the interview transcripts suggests that some participants consider the effects of CCTV small and others think they are non-existent	Incapable of letting participants return to absorptive coping Cannot prevent shift to actual danger	Can do little or nothing for participants in terms of the prevention of harm being done Incapable of letting participants return to being on the alert or absorptive coping
On-street policing	Can contribute to the sustaining of this state and the effects are greater than for CCTV If a critical mass is reached (in terms of number, stage props or practices), they can induce a shift towards being on the alert	Can let participants return to absorptive coping Can often, but not always, prevent a shift to actual danger	Can prevent harm being done but not always Capable of letting participants return to being on the alert or absorptive coping

Again, specifically referring to CCTV, Natalie found it ‘a bit difficult’ to evaluate the effects of this governmental technology ‘because [she] already felt safe’. She nonetheless questioned whether more extensive video surveillance is capable of changing her experiences of safety on a night out. Liam considered CCTV an extra, ‘a bit like the icing on the cake’. This corresponds with research in Macclesfield in the UK showing that participants tended to accept CCTV in parts of the city centre (‘outside some of the main pubs’) but considered further increases in video-surveillance elsewhere in the town excessive (Sparks et al., 2001, p. 894). Yet, for the likes of Liam, neither the absence of CCTV nor an increase in the number of CCTV cameras would result in a transition from safety as absorptive coping to becoming on the alert. It appears that CCTV lacks the capacities to trigger shifts towards, or away from, safety as absorptive coping for the interviewees on nights out in the city-centres of Rotterdam, Utrecht and Groningen (Table 4.3).

The effects of the presence and practices of police officers in the city-centres of Utrecht, Groningen and Rotterdam are more ambiguous. As with CCTV, encounters with police officers were not always consciously perceived by the interviewees: ‘I’m not that aware [of the police] when I go out.’ (Layla). Additionally, and comparable to others’ remarks regarding CCTV, Emma stated that the possibilities to enhance safety through the presence of (more) police officers is limited

If I'm somewhere where I feel comfortable, I don't feel even safer when I see a bunch of policemen standing around (...) They don't make any difference to me [and] I don't feel something like, well, three times as safe.

Yet, among other interviewees more police at times triggered deliberate thematic awareness, especially when officers presented themselves in an intruding manner

More cops on the street, okay, but preferably not too many because then people start to wonder what they're doing there. (Samuel)

It's like, Jeez, something must be going on here [if there are] six police cars, I think, oh shit, there really is something going on. (Gabriel, Utrecht)

Greater presence of police officers, their 'stage props' (Goffman, 1959)—e.g. weapons, clothing, whether they are on horseback, on foot, on a bike or in a car (Brands et al., 2013a)—and how they act in the public spaces of nightlife districts can help to bring about a situation the study participants perceived and described as tense or aggressive. This could in turn trigger a transition away from safety as absorptive coping.

The situation was different when we asked about the effects of both CCTV and police on the street in relation to the states of on the alert and actual danger. As Emma explains

If they [police officers] are in a place where I'm on the alert, they give me the sort of feeling that nothing bad can happen. If something were to happen, at least there's a policeman there.

In those very moments that participants felt on the alert, or in the event that something actually happened and they experienced actual danger, police presence was experienced as greatly empowering. This differs markedly from experiences of CCTV, which was deemed incapable of empowering interviewees in such situations—an outcome that corroborates earlier work (Brands et al., 2013b). For

interviewees who were on the alert or felt actually unsafe in a particular situation neither the practice of being filmed nor the material artefact of the CCTV camera appeared within deliberate thematic awareness

It's not like, if I walk along here I think, now I'm being watched by the camera, so I can relax. That's because I just never think about all the cameras. (Sarah)

I don't suddenly think, this is an unsafe place but luckily there are cameras on the walls. (Sophia)

As in the study by Sparks et al. (2001), on-street policing was considered active, reactive, 'human', near and visible but CCTV cameras were understood as passive. The latter lacked the capacity to prevent situations from spiralling out of control. Elijah (Groningen), for instance, explained that 'cameras don't stop you being KO'd [knocked out] or something before the cops arrive' and that they do not 'make [him] feel calmer, in any way at all'. It could nonetheless be argued that the presence of police officers may not always prevent actual danger from coming into being either—a blow is taken in a split second. Still, the interviewees considered police officers to be better capable of preventing a transition towards actual danger than CCTV, because officers can soothe tension and aggression and, if needs be, placate situations through active intervention.

4.6 Conclusions and discussion

In exploring safety experiences of nightlife consumers on nights out in the city-centres of Rotterdam, Utrecht and Groningen we find employing Heidegger's (1962) distinction between readiness-to-hand and presence-to-hand useful. Heidegger argued that suspension of readiness-to-hand and a shift to presence-to-hand only occurs when the *normal* order of things becomes disrupted, and interviews with nightlife consumers in a similar way confirm that experiences of safety tend to be the norm rather than moments of unsafety and danger, at least for the participants in our study. At the same time, our study also confirms that a transition from readiness-to-hand to presence-to-hand is always possible as a consequence of the never-ending assembling of elements into affective

atmospheres that are taken up and reworked in individual experience. It is through this reworking—partly shaped by the practices people engage in before going out, such as arranging company or carrying a mobile phone but also pre-loading, (gendered) socialization processes, past experiences and genetic factors—that what *is* a disturbance may also be perceived differently from person to person.

Our analysis also indicates that a phenomenological framework that differentiates between presence-to-hand and readiness-to-hand is too crude to capture the full extent of safety as experienced by our participants. We found it useful to borrow from DeLanda's (2002) complexity theory which enables us to understand safety in terms of an emergent set of meta-stable states that, by means of symmetry breaking bifurcations, may change into one another in a non-linear fashion. Framing safety in such a manner supported us in conceptualizing safety in terms of three different states; safety as absorptive coping, on the alert and actual danger. What is more, it provided a means to better understand how experiences of actual danger could be very acute and unheralded.

Surveillance and policing practices are one set of elements that help to shape the affective atmospheres of city-centre nightlife districts. Participants' narratives highlight CCTV as an ineffective tool in triggering shifts between the states of safety as absorptive coping, on the alert and actual danger. In contrast, when absorptive coping is suspended, the visible presence of police officers is likely to enable shifts back to absorptive coping. Nonetheless, the presence, equipment and practices of those officers can also trigger alertness, causing a suspension of absorptive coping.

In light of our empirical findings, it is evident that policymakers and other stakeholders should focus interventions with regard to personal safety on prolonging and nurturing safety as absorptive coping rather than putting too much emphasis on relatively infrequent events that may cause harm or hurt. Thus, currently popular forms of surveillance and policing, including zero-tolerance policing, should be considered much more critically: Are they really conducive to absorptive coping among nightlife consumers, or do they rather strengthen moral panics about disorder, incivilities and booze-soaked nightlife? To develop policies that nurture absorptive coping, experiments should be undertaken with

other, participatory forms of policy-making whereby nightlife consumers are involved in policy design and evaluation as active and knowledgeable agents. Such experiments could, for instance, focus on the use of illumination to encourage 'expressive play and dance, social and familial interaction, sensations of other places and times' (Edensor, 2012, p. 1117).

At the same time, it should be recognized that nightlife consumers can also produce safety for themselves and their capacities to do so can be increased through, for instance, information campaigns and education on the use of mobile phones in nightlife situations, travelling together towards or away from nightlife areas, what to bring when going out, etc. Campaigns and education should focus on enabling and continuing carefreeness, fun and enjoyment, rather than emphasizing criminality and excess in the context of nightlife to avoid positioning (alcohol fuelled) disorder and incivilities as the norm in city-centre nightlife areas. Practices such as the use of the mobile phone or travelling together are important as they can prolong absorptive coping and they might help to bring about a transition from on the alert to absorptive coping (Koskela, 1997; Pain et al., 2005).

Generally, we believe the paper confirms and substantiates what is also achieved in other analyses as part of the emotional geographies and critical surveillance studies literatures. Indeed, our analysis confirms that safety is best understood as a transient and situational process between the person and the particularities of place (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Waitt et al., 2011) and aligns with approaches that consider safety as a positive experience (Moran and Skeggs, 2004; Dutta, 2009) for which comfort, warmth and relaxation provide useful metaphors and metonyms to flesh out how the 'world is both constructed and lived through the emotions' (Anderson and Smith, 2001, p. 7). At the same time, our approach has extended the work by Dutta (2009), Moran and Skeggs (2004) and others by showing how feeling safe also entails the on-going pre-reflective perception of being part of an atmosphere that our participants qualify as comfortable, warm and relaxed, and that allows them to cope absorptively with the world and to mingle and traverse public spaces as if on autopilot. Moreover, this article has sought to discuss surveillance actors in relation to everyday experiences of safety as part of this phenomenological framework and hence

attempted to contribute to, and connect with, critical surveillance and policing studies (Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Cook and Whowhell, 2011; Brands et al., 2013a). In doing so, a central focus on the state of being carefree, at least partially, involves rethinking how surveillance and policing are applied and practiced in the context of city-centres' night-time economy, and beyond.

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Notes

¹ In the Netherlands 'Safe Nightlife' policies are a local government response to a number of severe incidents in Dutch nightlife districts. They are a form of nodal governance (Hadfield, 2008) in which the city council, the nightlife industry and the police collaborate with the aim of reducing violence and disorder in nightlife districts and enhancing consumers' experience of safety. Policy measures differ across cities but often include CCTV surveillance and on-street policing (Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012).

² A search was conducted in the regional Dutch newspapers 'AD - Utrechts nieuwsblad', 'AD - Rotterdams dagblad' and 'Het dagblad van het Noorden' with the NexisLexis academic newspaper bank, using the (Dutch) search terms for 'going out safely', 'safe(ty) nightlife (area(s))', 'violence nightlife (area(s))', and 'nuisance nightlife (area(s))'.

³ Pseudonyms are used to ensure participants' anonymity and confidentiality.

⁴ Although we are appreciative of differences in ontology with phenomenology, especially a reading of Connolly (2011) suggests that (a) the two are not as far apart as sometimes supposed and (b) that both may in fact supplement one another.

⁵ Whilst water and experienced safety are not equivalent, we believe that referring to the former is instructive in the current context. Water exemplifies progressive differentiation and bifurcation very well in that it becomes solid, fluid and gaseous at some critical temperature.

5 What are you looking at? Visitors' perspectives on CCTV in the night-time economy

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Abstract

In urban policy discourses across Western Europe, video surveillance is often considered an important tool to increase the safety of consumers in city-centre areas in general, and in nightlife districts in particular. However, the question of whether closed-circuit television (CCTV) actually promotes experiences of safety is neither straightforward nor resolved. Although this topic has received substantial attention in the academic literature, relatively little research has been conducted on how users of public spaces perceive CCTV whilst in the midst of situations. By directly confronting study participants in the presence of CCTV cameras, we explore nightlife district visitors' perceptions and understandings of CCTV in situ, in relation to safety when out at night in Utrecht and Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Potential differences regarding gender and ethnicity are also considered. We found, first, that our study participants' awareness of CCTV during the practice of 'going out' was a continuum rather than a dichotomy (aware or unaware) and that fuller awareness of CCTV is related to greater personal safety. Second, we observed a large gap between the policy discourses surrounding CCTV and the understanding of nightlife district visitors regarding how CCTV works. It is suggested that one way of aligning visitors' understanding and policy discourses is to shift the latter from a focus on ensuring safety towards offering assistance. For the delivery of such assistance in practice, CCTV needs to be integrated further with other forms of policing and surveillance, especially those forms that are compatible with a spatiotemporal logic of embodiment and situatedness.

5.1 Introduction

This paper analyses the understandings and perceptions people have of closed-circuit television (CCTV) in public spaces in the nightlife districts in the city centres of Utrecht and Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The focus on nightlife districts is in keeping with the increased interest in the night-time economy in the urban studies literature more generally. In addition to such topics as the exclusion of particular social groups from urban nightlife (Boogaarts, 2008; Grazian, 2009; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Valentine et al., 2010; Schwanen et al., 2012) and the homogenization of the types of nightlife facilities on offer (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003), the role of the night-time economy in urban regeneration initiatives and governmental attempts to stimulate urban economies across Europe has attracted considerable attention among academics (Hobbs et al., 2000; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Helms et al., 2007; Crawford and Flint, 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a). Our emphasis on CCTV reflects that public safety in urban nightlife—and public spaces more generally—has become a central concern of national and city-level governments: increased surveillance and policing have become faithful allies of policies to stimulate city-centre economies in the neo-liberal era (Raco, 2003; Coleman, 2004; Helms et al., 2007). Policy-makers' interest in public safety in the night-time economy is also intensified by, and intersects with, concerns over (binge) drinking, the health implications of alcohol consumption (Measham and Østergaard, 2009; Jayne et al., 2011) and alcohol-fuelled disorder (Hadfield et al., 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a).

We are, of course, fully aware that CCTV is not the only form of surveillance in towns and cities. In the context of the night-time economy's regulation, the practices of police officers on the ground, door staff at bars and clubs, private security firms, voluntary organizations such as neighbourhood vigilante groups and consumers of urban space are equally if not more important (Loader, 2000; Garland, 2001; Newburn, 2001; Yarwood, 2007; Hadfield et al., 2009). In this paper, we nonetheless concentrate on the relationship between CCTV and safety because in many ways CCTV 'has become the standard way to restrain crime and guarantee security' (Koskela, 2002, p. 259).

It is, therefore, not surprising that the academic literature on the public

understanding and perception of CCTV is substantial. Much of the existing literature has considered the extent to which people are aware of CCTV presence in a given area, or what we will term knowing 'of' CCTV. Less headway has been made in addressing questions about what people know 'about' CCTV—how they think it works and enhances their safety. More importantly, most past work on people's perceptions and understandings of CCTV has adopted a retrospective approach: rather than studying CCTV-related experiences in the midst of the experience, research participants are asked to reflect on their experiences at other times and often in other places (for instance, at home when filling out a questionnaire). We do not intend to criticize retrospective approaches, as they have greatly improved understanding of the links between CCTV and safety. It is nonetheless important to explore CCTV cameras when people are immersed in the situation: it can shed light on ways of being and participating in the world of the nightlife district that would otherwise be forgotten or sidelined, and provides access to what is directly felt and experienced by both the researcher and the participants in the specific atmosphere of a vibrant nightlife district. The world is after all not pre-given to the subject but emerges from his/her practices (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Simonsen, 2007).

In this paper, we use short, on-site interviews to understand people's understanding and perceptions of CCTV when out at night in the Dutch cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam. We examine their situated knowledge of the availability of CCTV and their understandings of how CCTV works and enhances their safety, by confronting them with CCTV cameras in two different nightlife districts. Concurrently, we consider differences along lines of gender and ethnicity in participants' responses for two reasons. First, participation in, and experience of the night-time economy in Utrecht and Rotterdam differ substantially between men and women and between white people and other ethnic groups (Schwanen et al., 2012). Additionally, there is an extensive literature showing that safety and fear of crime, as well as surveillance and policing, are experienced in different ways by men and women (Mehta and Bondi, 1999; Pain, 2000; Koskela, 2002; Ware et al., 2011).

5.2 Perceptions and understandings of CCTV in the academic literature

5.2.1 Knowing 'of' CCTV

Public awareness of CCTV has attracted considerable attention in the academic literature (Honest and Charman, 1992; Ditton, 2000; Helten and Fischer, 2004; Spriggs et al., 2005; Van Eijk et al., 2006) and studies are in agreement that a considerable proportion of the public 'does not know' of CCTV presence. Honest and Charman (1992) found that approximately one-third of the general public were aware of city-street CCTV when provided with a list of possible locations in a study of four UK cities. A second, site-specific questionnaire yielded comparable outcomes when participants were asked if they had noticed any cameras 'in this street'. Similarly, a Dutch study in The Hague found that 106 out of 150 passers-by—one-third of whom responded at night-time—did not know whether any cameras were present at their current location (Van Eijk et al., 2006). Ditton (2000) found that three months after the installation of the CCTV system, 33% ($n=1026$) of visitors to Glasgow city-centre knew CCTV was in operation in the immediate locality. This increased to 41% ($n=1030$) in the following year. Measuring awareness as the ability to spot 'the next or nearest' camera, Helten and Fischer (2004) found that only 8% of 203 surveyed visitors to a shopping mall in Berlin were able to point out the nearest camera, while 6% spotted another camera. Nevertheless, 61% thought the area in which they were interviewed was under video surveillance. Helten and Fischer (2004) therefore suggest that people are quite capable of guessing whether sites are under CCTV surveillance, but that they are not interested in the exact location of the cameras. Interestingly, Spriggs and colleagues (2005) tested awareness in two city centres separately for day- and night-time (recruiting ceased approximately 4 h after dusk). When asked whether there was already a CCTV system operating in 'their area' at night, awareness ranged from approximately 54% to 70% (Spriggs et al., 2005, p. 17), depending on the location studied. Day-time awareness scored about 5% (Spriggs et al., 2005) higher in both cases.

Most of the studies discussed above considered differences between men and women. Ditton (2000), Van Eijk and colleagues (2006) and Honest and Charman

(1992) showed that women tend to exhibit levels of awareness of CCTV that are 10 to 20 percentage points lower than awareness levels of men. All these studies also showed that awareness is reduced to a cognitive quality: CCTV is something a person is consciously aware of, or not. In terms of measurement, awareness tends to be examined with relatively standardized techniques and explained through *yes* or *no* answers, sometimes including *don't know*. Exactly what is measured varies, however, across studies. The study by Helten and Fischer (2004) is perhaps the most sophisticated, in that these authors have considered both people's ability to pinpoint a camera and their beliefs as to whether the area was under video surveillance. They found a marked discrepancy between ability and belief, which raises questions about what awareness actually entails for users of public spaces. There may well be more to awareness than a simple yes or no.

5.2.2 Knowing 'about' CCTV

Findings from questionnaires and interviews show that participants often understand CCTV in the context of personal safety (Honest and Charman, 1992; Koskela, 2003b; Helten and Fischer, 2004; Zurawski and Czerwinski, 2008). For example, when Spriggs and colleagues (2005) asked for reasons for supporting CCTV, the majority of the respondents answered in vague terms of it making them 'feel safer'. However, using survey data collected among 216 passers-by in Hamburg's amusement district in 2006, Zurawski (2010) showed that support for CCTV surveillance was not clearly or strongly related to the respondents' feelings of safety at the time and place of the study. He also employed regression analysis to show that feelings of safety (or lack thereof) tended to be generated by factors other than CCTV surveillance, and particularly by familiarity with the area. More generally, findings as to whether CCTV has a positive impact on feelings of safety among members of the general public are mixed at best (Taylor, 2011).

The contentious nature of the link between CCTV and personal safety means that more attention is warranted regarding the understanding and perception of how CCTV creates safety. A useful starting point in this regard is Webster's (2009) threefold typology of mechanisms in CCTV surveillance: non-active, reactive and proactive systems. Non-active CCTV systems function only as a visual deterrent,

creating the illusion of surveillance. Reactive systems are capable of recording and replaying footage and of identifying perpetrators retrospectively. Proactive systems involve real-time, live monitoring, which allows an immediate response, in addition to recording and playback facilities (Webster, 2009). In policy circles, it is often assumed that all three mechanisms reduce crime, as well as fear of crime (Hood, 2003; Webster, 2009).

Survey research has established that many members of the general public also believe CCTV to have preventative and retrospective functions. In Ditton's (2000) study, for instance, 72% of the participants thought CCTV prevented crime, 81% thought it helped to catch perpetrators, and 79% thought it reduced the likelihood of being victimized (Ditton, 2000). In a study of 1240 respondents in Helsinki, Koskela (2003b) found comparable results, but with somewhat lower values: 70% considered CCTV as helpful in crime investigation, 58% believed it helped to prevent crime and more than one-third thought it increased their personal sense of security. Nevertheless, she also stated: 'as a rule, people did not seem to know very much about video surveillance' (Koskela, 2003, p. 4). Research has, however, also found that the way CCTV surveillance is organized matters, regarding its perceived effectiveness. Studies by both Sætnan et al. (2004) and Helten and Fischer (2004) found that participants felt safest when the recorded CCTV footage was monitored live and when this was done by professionals (police/private security guards). No noticeable (statistically significant) differences were found in this regard between men and women.

While highly informative, studies such as those by Sætnan and colleagues (2004) and Helten and Fischer (2004) do not make clear why the combination of recording and livemonitoring is preferred over other video surveillance arrangements. Nor do they provide detailed insight into nightlife district visitors' own constructions of the links between CCTV and safety (given the strong researcher-led character of such studies). This, however, turns out to be of crucial importance when questionnaire data is compared with information on the safety-CCTV relationship collected with qualitative methods. If the latter are used, 'commonly-accepted safety' may become questioned by study participants: 'it is possible that when asked to comment on a statement such as 'I feel safe in places where there's video surveillance', most people may assume they would feel safe, and therefore

agree. But when they reflect a bit more on it (...) they don't really think it gives them all that much security' (Sætnan et al., 2004, p. 37). If and how CCTV should provide this 'commonly-accepted safety' is not discussed in conventional studies and, moreover, seems not entirely clear to the interviewees themselves.

The value of in-depth studies is also evident from a recent study of teachers' and pupils' understandings and experiences of CCTV in three UK schools (Taylor, 2011). Interviews showed that some of the pupils did not feel safer because they did not believe CCTV to have a deterring, preventative function: they considered it a reactive tool with little impact on the occurrence of an event in the first place. Care should, of course, be taken in generalizing these findings to other contexts, including nightlife districts. Nonetheless, they do suggest that more in-depth research into the capacities of CCTV surveillance, from the perspective of public space users, is required to alter safety perceptions.

5.2.3 Gender and ethnicity

Such research should also explore, in more detail than in previous studies, how the perceived capacities and effects of CCTV are differentiated along the lines of gender and ethnicity. Issues of safety, fear and violence in public spaces have long since been examined by feminist geographers (Koskela, 1997; Mehta and Bondi, 1999; Pain, 2000; Ware et al., 2011). Regarding nightlife districts, Grazian (2009, p. 912) has argued that 'women (as well as men) have historically experienced nightlife arenas as distinctly and overtly gendered', and that women have to deal with harassment and unwanted attention routinely (see also Sheard, 2011; Waitt et al., 2011). Widespread is the (stereotypical and unjustifiable) belief that women are more vulnerable and fearful in public spaces (Mehta and Bondi, 1999; Pain, 2000; Waitt et al., 2011) and would, therefore, benefit more from (knowledge of) CCTV cameras (Honest and Charman, 1992; Koskela, 2002). However, it has also been pointed out that 'video is unable to identify situations where a [gender] sensitive interpretation of a social situation is needed' (Koskela, 2002, p. 263). General intimidation, staring, (sexually explicit) verbal harassment and drunken rowdiness all exemplify situations that women in particular fear, and where CCTV is inadequate as an instrument. CCTV is much more effective in identifying

violence and aggression, which are not only the most common cues for fear in men, but also the forms of crime in which men are involved most frequently (Day et al., 2003; Ware et al., 2011). In a way, then, CCTV as a surveillance and policing technique has a built-in bias favouring men.

Feminist scholars have also argued that other axes of social differentiation need to be considered in relation to safety, fear and violence in public spaces (Pain, 2001; Bondi and Rose, 2003). One such dimension is ethnicity, which is particularly relevant when nightlife districts are considered. Dutch research has shown ethnic minorities, such as black people and people of Arabic descent, to be seriously underrepresented among night-time economy participants (Schwanen et al., 2012), and interviews with young people from the Netherlands of Turkish descent have indicated that many of the latter do not feel at ease and sometimes feel discriminated against in nightlife districts (Boogaarts, 2008). However, to the best of our knowledge, no study has so far considered in great depth if and how understandings and perceptions of CCTV are differentiated along ethnic lines. We will therefore look at both gender and ethnicity in our empirical analysis.

5.3 Research design

5.3.1 Research sites

Our study considers and compares the understanding and perceptions of CCTV among night-time economy participants in Rotterdam and Utrecht (Figure 5.1). These cities have been selected because of the stark differences between them in the discourses and practices of CCTV surveillance and the regulation of the night-time economy more generally (Van Aalst et al., forthcoming). Key differences include the greater number of public CCTV cameras in the city-centre of Rotterdam (350, against 87 in Utrecht) and the more extensive live-monitoring in Rotterdam (24 h/7 d, against 6pm–2am on Mon–Wed, 2pm–6am on Thu–Sat and 2pm–2am on Sun). In fact, Rotterdam has the most CCTV cameras of all Dutch cities. CCTV was first installed in Rotterdam in 2000, and in Utrecht in 2001. In both cities, CCTV's legitimization revolves centrally around crime and disorder prevention and increasing safety perceptions among night-time economy participants and

local residents. However, different discourse coalitions—assemblages of narratives and metaphors, actors and practices (Hajer, 2004)—have come into existence around CCTV, which have resulted in different roles of CCTV in night-time economy regulation in Rotterdam and Utrecht (Van Aalst et al., forthcoming). CCTV has come to be understood as a continuously watching ‘extra’ eye on the streets of Rotterdam, but as a spy that puts non-criminals under surveillance in Utrecht. It is therefore no surprise that Utrecht’s city council has recently (2008) decided to freeze the number of cameras to those available at present, whilst the possibility of a further increase in the number of public cameras is still open in Rotterdam. In both cities, live-monitoring occurs under supervision of the police, but linkages between CCTV operators and police officers on the ground tend to be developed to a greater extent in Rotterdam. In short, CCTV is more embedded in the overall policing strategies in Rotterdam than in Utrecht.

5.3.2 Short, on-site interviews

At sites from which at least one public CCTV camera was clearly visible at the Schouwburgplein square in Rotterdam and the Neude square in Utrecht (Figure 5.1), a team of two researchers—both male, white and in their twenties—approached passers-by between 10pm and 2am on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights in June and July 2010 and asked whether they were willing to participate in a short, on-site interview. Those who agreed to participate were subsequently asked for verbal consent about the researchers audio-taping the interview. The interview itself began with asking people to indicate, on a scale from one to ten, how safe they felt at that particular site, at that specific moment, and why they felt that way. Participants were also made aware of the presence of CCTV surveillance in situ. By prompting them, we first examined their awareness of CCTV and then asked whether the fact that cameras had been pointed out to them altered their feelings of safety. From the responses to this question, we were able to derive valuable insights about how participants thought CCTV worked and affected their safety. Additional questions were asked on how participants felt about being filmed by mobile devices, but these are analysed elsewhere (Timan and Oudshoorn, 2012).

The interview itself was designed to last less than 5 minutes to minimize

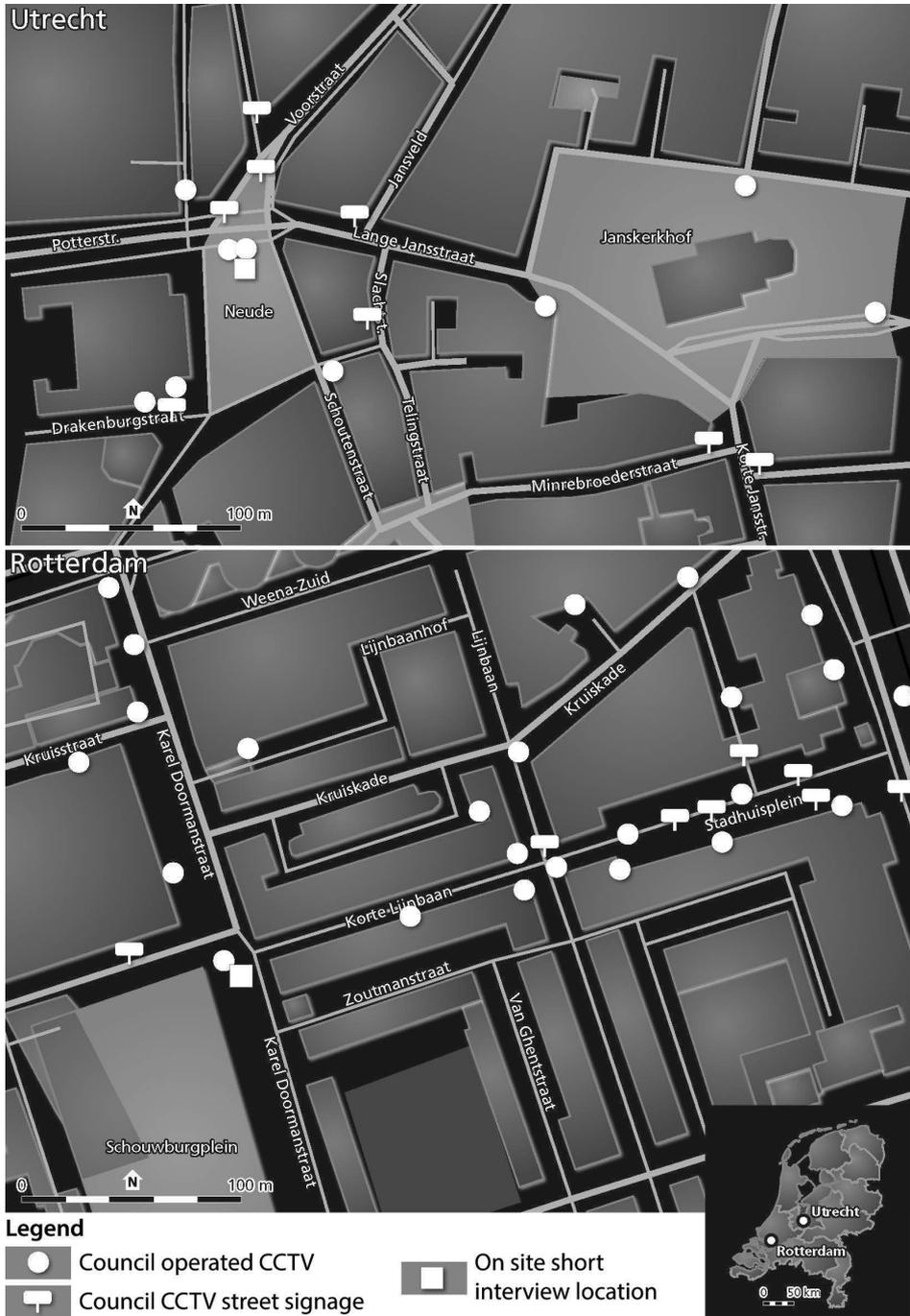


Figure 5.1: Interview locations and CCTV in Rotterdam and Utrecht nightlife districts

disruption to participants' nightlife or other practices. We decided not to ask about background characteristics (age, ethnicity, etc.), familiarity with the area or the purpose of being there. This obviously reduces our ability to explore systematic differences between participants in understandings and perceptions of CCTV, but also meant that the interviews were short and pleasurable for the participants. Gender, ethnicity and age were estimated by one of the two researchers completing the interviews on the basis of the participants' appearance. While not as robust as asking, in our opinion this proved important in keeping the short on-site interviews open, flexible and spontaneous.

As an approach, the short on-site interviews differ from other research methods in three respects. First, they were open and flexible. Second, they sought to foreground visitors' personal experience of video-surveillance. Third, they aimed for spontaneous reactions rather than reflective thoughts, because the former were probably closer to how visitors experienced video-surveillance when they encountered it during normal (that is, without interventions by researchers) visits to nightlife districts. The idea was to create an informal setting in which the co-presence of the researchers, participant and CCTV generated unique opportunities to understand CCTV in situ, for both the participant and the two researchers involved. By prompting our participants, we anticipated a range of impulsive reactions, often not acquired through other research methods.

All interviews have been transcribed verbatim, coded and analysed; the quotes below have been translated from Dutch to English. All participants have been given names that reflect their gender and start with either U or R, depending on the city in which they were interviewed.

5.3.3 Participants

Our intention was to capture the understanding and perceptions of CCTV of both men and women and of people from different ethnic backgrounds, whilst minimizing any biases to participants' responses due to alcohol intake or peer pressure social processes such as showing off in (larger) groups of young people. The researchers therefore approached every fifth group of two or three persons passing by between 10pm and 2am. However, in every occasion, only one person

of this group participated and they were interviewed separate from the group to account for in-group effects. The timing of the interviews was based on our earlier observational research in Rotterdam and Utrecht, which had shown instances of public drunkenness to be fairly uncommon before 2am (Schwanen et al., 2012). The focus on groups of two or three persons meant that groups in which peer pressure is probably strongest were excluded. It also meant that more women and non-white persons were included in our sample, as our earlier observations had shown these to be least likely to traverse the nightlife districts of Rotterdam and Utrecht unaccompanied (Schwanen et al., 2012).

In total, 84 passers-by participated in the short, on-site interviews. Table 5.1 shows that our sample is perfectly balanced in gender terms, which suggests that our choice to focus on groups of two or three persons has been effectual. In terms of ethnicity, we have been less successful in obtaining a balanced sample, particularly in Utrecht. However, Table 5.1 also shows that we have recruited a slightly higher percentage of non-white persons than the proportion in the total transient visitor population in the nightlife districts in of Rotterdam and Utrecht. In terms of age, our sample consisted mainly of young adults presumably aged 18–30. Some interviewees were estimated to be younger than 18 or above 30. The dominance of young adults also aligns with our earlier observations and studies of who participates in the night-time economy (Bromley et al., 2003).

Table 5.1: Representativeness of the study's participants

	Study participants (N=84)	Systematic observa- tions of night-time economy participants ¹	Residential population (municipality) ²
Rotterdam			
Male	50.0%	67.7%	49.1%
Female	50.0%	32.3%	50.9%
White/Caucasian	43.8%	57.8%	64.9%
Non-white (black, Arabic, Latino, Asian or other descent)	56.2%	42.2%	35.1%
Utrecht			
Male	50.0%	62.6%	48.4%
Female	50.0%	38.4%	51.6%
White/Caucasian	86.5%	88.8%	78.5%
Non-white (black, Arabic, Latino, Asian or other descent)	13.5%	11.2%	21.5%

¹ See Schwanen et al. (2012) for details

² Derived from Rotterdam (2014a) & Utrecht (2014a)

5.4 Knowing 'of' CCTV

Based on the responses to the question 'do you know that you are being filmed at this moment by a security camera?' during the short, on-site interviews, we suggest that CCTV awareness cannot be understood in a dualistic (yes or no) fashion, but that knowing 'of' CCTV lies somewhere along a continuum. About 15% of the participants held knowledge of CCTV at the level of the material artefact of the camera, and were able to specify the location of the camera(s) during the short interview. A few even spotted a camera before they were prompted (which is a type of response that is much less likely to be recorded with questionnaires or even using more reflective interviews than with our approach). Another two-fifths could be considered fully unaware of the availability of CCTV surveillance, as their response to our question began with 'no' or was negative. Some participants were even completely surprised, which suggests that, within the 'unaware' group of participants, there may be differences that might have gone unnoticed with other research methods (especially questionnaires).

Nonetheless, the remainder of our participants—slightly more than two-fifths—could not be allocated to a straightforward aware or unaware category. Their responses suggested a high degree of heterogeneity towards knowledge 'of' CCTV, to be positioned somewhere in between those extremes. A critical aspect of that heterogeneity concerned the level of geographical (un)certainly regarding the exact location of the camera(s): whilst unable to identify specific cameras, participants thought or assumed that there were cameras operating in the area, which they defined with reference to a variety of geographical scales. These ranged from the 'the big cities' (a common term to denote Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), the city (i.e. Rotterdam or Utrecht), the city centre or the square.

More generally, our findings suggest that knowing 'of' CCTV is geographical on two levels. It pertains both to people's awareness of material artefacts (i.e. cameras), which they may—or may not—be able to spot within the area in which they live, and to their beliefs about the availability of CCTV in certain areas. For some participants, these beliefs had come into existence on the basis of encounters with CCTV cameras in other places in the past. In most cases, those beliefs appeared

to have been generated through exposure to public and media discourses about CCTV systems.

Systematic differences in the level of awareness between participants in Rotterdam and Utrecht or on the basis of gender and ethnicity are fairly modest (Table 5.2). Awareness is slightly higher in Utrecht, although the difference is not statistically significant ($p < 0.20$). This finding is rather surprising, given the large number of public CCTV cameras in Rotterdam's city centre and the greater role CCTV surveillance plays in the regulation of the night-time economy of Rotterdam (see above). For gender, the differences are larger (yet also not significant at $p < 0.20$); awareness levels are somewhat lower among the female participants. The same is true for white participants. For non-white participants, the percentage in the middle category of geographical uncertainty (the 'in between' category) is particularly large. Simply using an aware/unaware dichotomy to classify awareness levels may thus yield particularly inaccurate representations for this group.

Table 5.2: CCTV awareness, by city, gender and ethnicity

	Unaware		Geographical Uncertainty		Aware of camera as material artefact		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
City ($X^2=0.6$; $p=0.74$) ¹								
Rotterdam	14	45.2	13	41.9	4	12.9	31	100
Utrecht	19	37.3	23	45.1	9	17.6	51	100
Gender ($X^2=2.2$; $p=0.33$)								
Male	13	32.5	19	47.5	8	20.0	40	100
Female	20	47.6	17	40.5	5	11.9	42	100
Ethnicity ($X^2=1.3$; $p=0.52$)								
White	26	44.1	24	40.7	9	15.3	59	100
Non-white	7	30.4	12	52.2	4	17.4	23	100
Total	33	40.2	36	43.9	13	15.9	82	100

¹ Chi-square test for difference in awareness level between the two cities

The question nonetheless remains, whether it is important to think of CCTV awareness as a continuum rather than a dichotomy. We think it does: there may well exist a (complex) relationship between people's CCTV awareness and their perceived safety. If it is assumed that greater knowledge of the presence of cameras as material artefacts on average increases CCTV's potential to enhance safety perceptions among passers-by, then combining the 'in between' category with

either the aware or the unaware group will result in an under- or overestimation of the effects ascribed to CCTV on people's experiences. The assumption that CCTV's potential to have an effect is greater when people are aware of its presence is not unreasonable. It resonates with policy-makers (including those in Utrecht and Rotterdam) and academics (Zurawski, 2010; Taylor, 2011) and with some of the study participants. According to Una, for instance, the presence of CCTV 'doesn't matter much, considering nobody knows of it' and 'if people knew about it, if it were really known about, then I think it would be better'.

Table 5.3: Perceived safety scores on a ten-point scale, by CCTV awareness, city, gender and ethnicity

	Unaware		Geographical Uncertainty		Aware of camera as material artefact		Total	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
City								
Rotterdam ($K=5.3; p=0.07$) ¹	7.8	8.0	8.0	8.0	9.1	9.0	8.1	8.0
Utrecht ($K=0.6; p=0.76$)	8.9	9.0	8.9	9.0	9.1	10	8.9	9.0
Gender								
Male ($K=0.5; p=0.80$)	8.9	8.0	8.6	9.0	8.9	9.0	8.7	8.75
Female ($K=4.0; p=0.13$)	8.4	8.0	8.5	8.0	9.4	10	8.5	8.25
Ethnicity								
White ($K=7.4; p=0.02$)	8.4	8.0	9.0	9.0	9.3	10	8.8	9.0
Non-white ($K=3.8; p=0.15$)	8.8	8.5	7.7	7.75	8.8	9.0	8.2	8.0
Total ($K=3.6; p=0.17$)	8.5	8.0	8.6	8.5	9.1	9.0	8.6	8.5

¹ Kruskal-Wallis test for difference in perceived safety across awareness levels

What is more, our interviews offer some qualified support for the notion that greater awareness of CCTV goes hand in hand with higher levels of perceived safety. If we plot the participants' scores for perceived safety at the time and place of the interview against their awareness level, we observe a positive effect in general (albeit only with a statistical significance value of $p=0.17$), as well as for participants in Rotterdam ($p<0.10$) and those of white persons ($p<0.05$) (Table 5.3). This is, of course, not to suggest that CCTV awareness *causes* peoples to feel safer. Table 5.3 only shows a statistical relation, and other—potentially more important causative—factors, such as familiarity with the area (cf. Zurawski, 2010) are not taken into consideration. Besides, the median scores for perceived safety are high in general (notwithstanding minor differences between the two cities and between white and non-white participants). Moreover, none of the participants

explicitly mentioned CCTV surveillance when they were asked why they gave a particular safety score. We interpret this as indicating that CCTV surveillance is not the dimension of a situation that they think of first, in relation to their own safety. That is, CCTV may play a role but it certainly is not the most salient factor that makes the participants feel safe. Nonetheless, given that safety scores differ between the three awareness levels, we suggest that research into the relationship between CCTV presence, people's awareness thereof and their safety perceptions is more likely to reach erroneous conclusions if CCTV awareness is dichotomized. This risk is greater for groups of participants where the 'in between' awareness category is particularly large, as with non-white participants in our study.

5.5 Surveillance, by all means

In spite of their short duration, the on-site interviews rendered rich and diversified information on how the participants perceived and thought CCTV surveillance worked. At the coding stage of the interview analysis, three central themes emerged that captured the most important aspects of the participants' understanding and perceptions of how CCTV works: temporality, human touch and heat of the moment.

5.5.1 Temporality

Ulla's remark that 'you can only look back at footage, eh?' expresses a view many participants shared. No fewer than 44 (52%) participants mentioned the retrospective capacities of CCTV systems. For them, recorded images enabled a review of what had happened, to trace, arrest, and/or prosecute perpetrators and serve as evidence. These findings align with previous studies (Ditton, 2000; Koskela, 2003b; Spriggs et al., 2005). Yet we extend that earlier work by linking those retrospective capacities to participants' experience of safety in the nightlife district

Interviewer: Does that [knowing that a camera is there] make the situation here safer now?

Rafael: Hmm. Yes, in some respects it helps, yes it does.

Interviewer: How then?

Rafael: Now, if a crime is committed you can always look back, look at what happened, you know.

Interviewer: Yes.

Rafael: That's actually the only thing that a camera is good for.

Rose: Um, now, now I consciously know that a camera is hanging there, I should feel a lot safer. Because if anything should happen now, then I know from it that it's on the film.

Interviewer: And then?

Rose: Then the person who might do something to me can be caught.

By using phrases such as 'in some respects' and 'I should', Rafael and Rose seem to suggest that there are limitations to the extent to which they feel CCTV cameras enhance their experience of safety. Further analysis suggested that the ability of CCTV to create safety depends greatly on the time frame in which its effects manifest themselves. In the particular situation when a nightlife district visitor feels uncomfortable or unsafe, CCTV cannot *do* anything: at that particular moment and in that specific place it is mute and passive and cannot offer our participants safety. It only affords some kind of post-event revenge on the perpetrators. For this reason, Udine says cameras offer *pseudo safety* rather than actual safety. Its retrospective abilities are also identified by Unia: 'Yes, it's more, perhaps not so much that I feel safer at that moment, but I find it reassuring that if anything should happen, that the chances that it's recorded and that the offender will be caught are greater'.

The workings of CCTV are, however, not strictly retrospective according to participants. Several participants (7 out of 84, or about 8%) understood CCTV

as a means to prevent and protect from ‘harm’ or ‘others’ and thus as a future-oriented and preventative measure. Note that the share of participants bringing up the preventative function is roughly six times lower than the corresponding percentage for the retrospective function. Ubbo was one of the participants foregrounding the deterring function of CCTV: ‘I know that people are less likely to do something stupid if there are cameras about. It isn’t always a help if anything happens, but people are not so likely to do stupid things if they know that there are cameras hanging there’. However, like other participants, he expressed doubts as to whether cameras were of much use at the exact moment when something is happening. Responses such as Ubbo’s and Udine’s highlight that our participants’ views on CCTV in relation to their safety depended critically on what it could do—or rather could *not* do—in the midst of a situation when something happens to them.

5.5.2 Human touch

Live-monitoring of CCTV cameras increased the feelings of safety for a couple of the participants (2 out of 84). Their number was, however, lower than was expected in light of the earlier studies by Sætnan et al. (2004) and Helten and Fischer (2004). One participant who highlighted the importance of live-monitoring was Unice. She explained that ‘because such a camera, it is being watched continually, so then you know that it’s safer here’ and thus ascribed an element of active and continuous human involvement to video surveillance. She understood CCTV not as the recording of a situation, but as somebody watching. Nevertheless, this did not automatically promote safety for other participants. Some described what is best summarized as *intervention*, prompted by live-monitoring, as what they actually believed promoted safety. Umar was one of them: ‘I think that it does make a difference for people if they see, if they experience that filming actually has an effect (...) Not so much the immediate film but more the feeling of safety it gives that immediate action will follow’.

These findings are interesting for several reasons. For one, they suggest that nightlife district visitors consider it important that CCTV surveillance is animated by human action. At least some of our participants desired CCTV to be a hybrid

object (Latour, 1999), in which the technical artefacts of camera, software and so on are seamlessly woven together with people viewing the footage in real time and with the emergency services on the ground, such as police officers and private security guards who can react on cues from the control room. To put it differently, for CCTV to enhance visitors' experiences of safety, those people engaged in and responsible for video-surveillance should be capable of mediating (Latour, 1999) in the midst of the nightlife district. These conclusions align with those by Klauser (2007, p. 345), who argues that there is poor integration between CCTV control rooms and the public spaces that people frequent that are under CCTV control—a situation which in his terms lacks 'a human element of proximity'. Therefore, CCTV is soon forgotten or ignored by users of public space(s).

Nonetheless, our interviews also suggest something else: even when that human element of proximity is present, the nightlife district is monitored live and control rooms are in direct contact with emergency services (which is the case in both Rotterdam and Utrecht), people who participate in the night-time economy may still question the effectiveness of CCTV systems in relation to their own safety. This, as our analysis indicates, is because they do not believe intervention, instigated by CCTV operators on the basis of camera footage, to be possible in the first place. In only 12/84 = 14% of the instances did our participants consider CCTV as enabling 'intervention' by police officers or others on the ground. The following remarks exemplify the mismatch between how CCTV is actually set up and how it is understood by visitors of nightlife districts

Udine: No, I don't think that at the moment I'm being attacked that I'll get help because a camera is hanging there. That's what I think. That's what I know for sure.

Umar: I did once have an experience when something happened and I thought, yes, what a pest. And then there was immediately a policeman on a mountain bike standing next to me (...). And I thought gosh, that policeman got here fast. No, the control room had phoned him (...). Yes, that certainly does give you a safe feeling.

Whereas Udine suggests that a lack of understanding of how video surveillance

is actually arranged can adversely affect her perceptions of safety, Umar's words indicate that a better understanding of those arrangements can stimulate one's sense of safety. However, they also make clear that this increase in safety is conditional upon the police or others on the ground being able to intervene within a short time-span (which reinforces our earlier point about the importance that people give to action and involvement in the midst of the situation): there are strict requirements that follow-up actions on the ground have to satisfy before surveillance assemblages comprising video technology, watchers, police officers, bikes and other agents can make a difference to a people's experience of safety in public spaces in nightlife districts.

5.5.3 Heat of the moment

Ulco's experience of being caught in a fight is even more explicit in highlighting how people's experiences can affect their perceptions of CCTV in relation to their safety. During the short on-site interview he recalled that 'when I was going out in my own town, and I was in the view of a camera, a big fellow came and stood in front of me and he began to hit me, I'd never seen him before'. CCTV surveillance did not prevent Ulco from being punched, as the system was incapable of generating some form of intervention before or immediately after he was being punched. He therefore concluded that 'It doesn't make me feel any safer particularly'.

The sentiment expressed by Ulco is more general: 20 participants (almost a quarter of the total) considered CCTV-based intervention to be ineffective in promoting their safety. For them, CCTV surveillance is always lagging behind. The response time of emergency services was considered too long relative to the perceived speed with which incidents unfold. Urias explained this in rather dramatic terms: 'But [it is] not that I immediately feel any safer. Look, suppose someone wants to stab me, then he'll stab me. That takes two seconds, not even that, it's in and out and I've been stabbed. So no, I don't really feel any safer'. Roxy is no less clear: 'Then it doesn't make much sense if someone comes along a couple of minutes later'. Consequently, there is no guarantee that nightlife district visitors feel more, and certainly not entirely, safe when CCTV is in operation. It is the 'immediacy' of an 'incident' that CCTV cannot control, especially in events unfolding after

semi-conscious, instinctive acts (that is, not the result of reflective thought). Such actions are particularly likely to play out in nightlife districts (Latham and McCormack, 2004), where expressions of anger/rage, love, jealousy and the like are often more common than during daytime. Alcohol consumption may be important here, as it can intensify emotions and diminish self-restraint among some visitors of the nightlife district. As Ulanda suggested, 'I don't know whether people who've been drinking or whatever and who could possibly do something to me would actually know what they are doing'.

5.5.4 Differences by city, gender and ethnicity

In terms of differences between the two cities, we wish to highlight two findings. First, Rotterdam participants thought of CCTV somewhat more frequently in terms of live-monitoring and 'prevention', and somewhat less as 'recording and/or reviewing images' than those in Utrecht. The retrospective function was mentioned by 15 out of 32 (46.9%) participants in Rotterdam, against 29 out of 52 (55.8%) in Utrecht. The corresponding shares for the prospective functionality of deterrence are 12.5% and 5.7%, respectively. Second, the participants in Rotterdam thought of CCTV about twice as often in terms of 'human touch' (8 out of 32, or 25%) than in Utrecht (6 out of 52, or 11.5%). No noticeable differences were found in terms of the frequency with which CCTV was described as ineffective in the 'heat of the moment'. Whilst the nature of the city-level differences described here is in keeping with the different role CCTV plays in each city's regulation of the night-time economy, perhaps the most significant findings are the rather low shares of participants who thought of CCTV in terms of 'human touch' or considered its prospective functionality of deterrence altogether. The findings about city-level differences should nonetheless be treated with caution, as the number of interviewees in our study is relatively limited. Subsequent research with larger samples is desirable.

In Utrecht, more than in Rotterdam, white participants tended to understand CCTV slightly more frequently in terms of 'prevention' than did non-whites. There were few gender differences in Utrecht, but gender did matter in Rotterdam. The participants in Rotterdam who understood CCTV as live-watching and

intervention were almost all female, whilst those who mentioned the preventative effects of CCTV were all male. Further research with different methods (for instance, in-depth interviews) is needed, in order to clarify these gender differences. However, it might be that because men tend to be more cognitively aware of CCTV presence than are women (see previous sections), men also implicitly assume that other nightlife district visitors, including potential perpetrators of crime and disorder, are also well aware of where video surveillance is in operation.

5.6 Conclusions and discussion

From the analysis of situated understandings and perceptions of CCTV in public spaces in the nightlife districts of Rotterdam and Utrecht, we draw four conclusions. First, it appears that fuller awareness of CCTV presence may result in perceptions of greater personal safety among participants in the night-time economy. Studies examining this suggestion should nonetheless avoid reducing CCTV awareness to a binary ‘yes or no’ phenomenon. As we have shown, there is a large category of people in between aware and unaware who have some sort of knowledge of CCTV. Allocating these people to mutually exclusive aware or unaware categories runs the risk of erroneous conclusions about the relationships between CCTV presence, awareness and perceived safety. In fact, to others interested in examining CCTV awareness, we would recommend developing an approach to ‘measurement’ that is as open and flexible as ours and that also explores awareness when people are in the midst of situations and practices where CCTV can have an effect. Such an approach can articulate a degree of complexity and richness of perception that would otherwise be sidelined.

At the same time, we also wish to highlight the limitations of the approach described in this paper. We did not consider people’s familiarity with a given area and their biography of past encounters with crime and disorder, but with hindsight believe that these should have been given more attention in the approach we adopted. Additionally, whereas our approach foregrounds participants’ spontaneous reactions to CCTV in situ, the questions we asked also, and inevitably, induced a form of conscious thinking in them. As a result, the awareness demonstrated in this paper is of a cognitive kind. In the exchanges between researchers and participants,

a few of the participants hinted at a form of awareness beyond knowledge of and/or about CCTV. They explained that they had such knowledge but also that they hardly ever thought about CCTV on a night out. The information we collected did not enable us to explore this dimension of awareness in any depth. More research using the method we have developed, as well as others, is needed to examine this form of awareness and its relationship to safety.

Second, there are profound limitations to the capacities of CCTV systems to actually improve people's perceived safety. This becomes evident once people's understanding of how CCTV works and relates to their own situation are analysed: CCTV surveillance is seen much more widely as a technology that is effective in the aftermath of an incident, rather than during the event or in an anticipatory manner, and CCTV is considered by many of our participants as always 'lagging behind'. We believe that the identified limitations stem from the fundamental difference in the spatiotemporal logics that underpin people's understandings of safety and CCTV surveillance. Our participants understood safety in profoundly embodied ways, and evaluated CCTV from the perspective of their own lived bodies—the bodies they are and through which they participate in the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962)—which are always tied to a concrete place in the here-and-now. The logic of CCTV is, however, disembodied and differently attuned in a temporal sense. As a system of practices, CCTV is, on balance, weaker in dealing with the present (through mobilising emergency services on the ground when an incident is taking place) than the future (through prevention) and particularly the past (through playing back). Had we adopted a research method with less emphasis on spontaneity and openness, the difference in spatiotemporal logic would probably not have been foregrounded to the same extent.

In many ways, our findings about the limitations to CCTV's capacities align with the observations by Taylor (2011) and Koskela (2002), but there is also a difference from the latter study. Koskela argued that women in particular were aware of the limits of what CCTV can control, but we found concerns about CCTV's efficacy in ensuring personal safety to be roughly equal across genders.

Third, in light of the considerable differences in the role of CCTV in the discourses and practices of regulating public spaces between Rotterdam and Utrecht, it is

remarkable that the participants' understanding and perceptions of CCTV are relatively comparable in both cities. There were differences, but these were minor and generally not statistically significant. This result was unexpected in light of Rotterdam's greater emphasis on regulation and policing of the nightlife district and the greater embeddedness of CCTV surveillance in regulation in this city. In addition to sampling effects, the lack of greater awareness among the Rotterdam participants may reflect that police officers, zero-tolerance policing tactics and private security guards (especially door staff for bars and clubs) are visibly present to a greater extent in Rotterdam than in Utrecht (Schwanen et al., 2012). This presence may push CCTV—a technology that many participants feel cannot enhance their safety when something happens as much as 'real people' can—into the background.

Nonetheless, whilst also sizable in Utrecht, the gap between policy-makers' and politicians' legitimizations of CCTV surveillance, in which prevention and increases in perceived safety are critical factors, and the views of nightlife district visitors, was particularly large in Rotterdam. It thus appears that the discourses (re)produced by local policy-makers in Rotterdam are only very partially shared by the citizens frequenting the nightlife premises in the city centre. The discrepancy in views between policy-makers and citizens is, we argue, not a consequence of poor integration between CCTV control rooms and the spaces under surveillance or a lacking 'human element of proximity' (Klauser, 2007, p. 345), as officials in Rotterdam have gone to great lengths to strengthen linkages between CCTV operators and police staff on the ground. Rather, our short interviews have revealed that nightlife district visitors, both in Utrecht and Rotterdam, are generally poorly informed about how, where and when CCTV systems are used and embedded in more general policing strategies. The implication is that information and awareness campaigns targeting city-centre users may reduce the discrepancy, but the discrepancy will probably not disappear, given that the participants in our study were sceptical about CCTV's capacity to prevent disorder and harm.

Fourth, our analysis shows that differences along the lines of both gender and ethnicity in CCTV awareness and evaluations of CCTV in the context of perceived safety are generally small in Utrecht and Rotterdam. This certainly does not invalidate more general claims that the relations between CCTV surveillance

and safety, fear and violence in public space are differentiated in terms of gender and ethnicity, but might reflect the fact that, at the specific times of night and in the particular places where our short on-site interviews have been conducted, levels of perceived safety tended to be high irrespective of gender and ethnicity. It is not unlikely that our results would have been different had we focused on the late night or early morning (when disorder is much more prevalent) or in other, more deserted places.

What then do these conclusions mean for the governance of safety in nightlife districts? We offer a threefold reply. The first and rather obvious point is that visitors should be much better informed about how CCTV systems work and how surveillance at a distance is integrated with police officers and other services on the ground. Additionally, expectations among policy-makers and politicians about the safety-enhancing effects of CCTV should be moderated and reconsidered. One way to do this is to rethink what CCTV is and what it is for. It seems to us that its scope should be diverted, from ensuring safety, to offering assistance to the nightlife district visitor. It is, after all, impossible to guarantee that 'nothing will happen': the best that public authorities, the police and others can do is offer help should anything unpleasant occur. A shift from a language of control to one centred on help aligns much better with how people seem to understand CCTV and what they expect from it.

As already implied by our insistence on offering help as the guiding principle of how CCTV surveillance in the nightlife setting should be organized, it is imperative to integrate CCTV even further into other forms of policing and surveillance. Linkages need to be strengthened, in particular with those forms of surveillance and policing that are compatible with a spatiotemporal logic of embodiment and situatedness in the here-and-now. One way to achieve more fully fledged surveillant assemblages (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000) or security networks (Newburn, 2001) that are of real benefit to users of urban spaces would be to integrate CCTV surveillance not only with police officers, but also with door staff at bars and clubs, private security firms and neighbourhood vigilante groups. In the (near) future it might even be possible to share some footage recorded with public CCTV cameras with interested or dedicated citizens who can access recordings in real time via mobile devices. What is at any rate *not* desirable

from a nightlife district visitor perspective is a 'managerialist' approach to the surveillance of public space, premised on rationalization and cost saving and which would entail replacing personal policing through CCTV surveillance and/or mechanising the interpretation of CCTV footage using dedicated computer code. Not only does that approach diminish the possibilities to identify forms of harassment that provoke fear in women and other specific social groups in particular (Koskela, 2002), it also reduces the human touch in surveillance and policing and reinforces a spatiotemporal logic that is in tension with that of the people using public space.

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6 Safety, surveillance and policing in the night-time economy: (re)turning to numbers

This chapter is co-authored by Tim Schwanen and Irina van Aalst and is submitted for publication.

Abstract

Against a background of discourses that link economic vitality of city-centres, consumption and safety to greater need for surveillance and policing, the current study takes particular interest in the city-centre night-time economy (NTE). This is a distinctive space-time where significant increases in surveillance and policing can be witnessed across cities in Europe and beyond. It is not evident, however, if and to what extent such interventions increase subjectively experienced safety and reduce fear of crime among people visiting city-centre bars and clubs on their nights out. Drawing on existing literatures on the NTE in cities, emotional geography, studies of surveillance and policing and the authors' previous research, this study develops a 'thicker' and situational quantitative approach to examining the effects on subjectively experienced safety of different manifestations of surveillance and policing in the NTE context. The visible proximity of police officers and door staff of bars and clubs are shown to have stronger effects on experienced safety than the positioning of CCTV and whether their footage is watched live or not. Nonetheless, the effects of surveillance and policing on experienced safety are rather complex insofar that they are to a considerable extent relational in nature and also ambiguous. For instance, a key difference between police and door staff is that police is more of a friend to everybody, whereas the effects of door staff depend on participants' ethnic background. It is also demonstrated that surveillance and policing reduce rather than enhance experienced safety for a minority of the study participants.

6.1 Introduction

This paper has both a substantive and a methodological aim. On the substantive level it seeks to integrate the three hitherto separate strands of literature on the night-time economy in cities, emotional geography, and studies of surveillance and policing through a focus on subjectively experienced safety on nights out in the city centre. This focus reflects cities' attempts to revitalize their city-centres into sites of pleasure and consumption in order to stimulate their local economies. To do so, the creation of vibrant night-time economies (NTEs) has become one accepted strategy (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a; Shaw, 2010).

One important aspect to the creation of sites of pleasure and consumption is the mitigation of fear; it is widely agreed that spaces that are safe and enjoyable will attract more consumers, and with them their spending (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Pain and Townshend, 2002; Whitzman, 2007; Helms, 2008). The desire to mitigate fears at night, and especially in areas where nightlife establishments are concentrated, is also greater compared to day-time consumption spaces. On top of more general concerns about (lack of) safety and fear (Pain, 2009), 'perceptions of the 'hours of darkness' as a time of danger, fear and sin seem to be persistent and deeply embedded' (Hobbs et al., 2003, p. 44; Williams, 2008) in Western culture. Nightlife spaces are also emotionally charged spaces-times in which social norms taken for granted during daytime are more easily disregarded and opportunities for transgressive behaviour arise (Latham and McCormack, 2004; Hubbard, 2005; Williams, 2008). The consumption of alcohol is widely considered a key cause of the emotionally charged nature of nightlife spaces (Bromley and Nelson, 2002; Crawford and Flint, 2009; Shaw, 2010; Jayne et al., 2011).

A common response whereby local government and the nightlife industry seek to enhance experienced safety is to attempt to manage alcohol consumption and reduce—what are widely regarded as—incivilities and anti-social behaviours through increased surveillance and policing (Van Liempt, 2013). The question nonetheless remains if common strategies and techniques to enhance experienced safety such as increasing on-street policing, CCTV surveillance and the deployment of private security services are in fact effective (Norris, 2012; Germain, 2013).

One reason for this is surveillance studies' tendency to focus on and explore the organizational structures and institutional-level power dynamics of surveillance and control rather than the ways surveillance and policing are experienced in the context of individuals' everyday lives and experiences (Koskela, 2003a; Friesen et al., 2009; Monahan, 2011).

Human geographers have nonetheless explored individuals' experienced safety and fear of crime in a more general sense (e.g., Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007; Johansson et al., 2012). A key idea underlying the current study is that for consumers participating in the NTE safety only becomes an issue in particular situations, when a lack of safety or fear of crime emerges. This fear of crime is understood as an ecological event and is produced by the continuously changing assemblage of material and immaterial elements and agents in which individuals as embodied and sentient human beings find themselves (Brands et al., 2013a). So we take from emotional geography research the idea that fear of crime is embodied and relational (Davidson and Milligan, 2004) and build on recent work on affects as ecological events that emerge with those surveillance and policing practices so prominently discussed in the surveillance studies literatures and on the way(s) these shape experience and feeling (Adey et al., 2013). From critical studies of surveillance and policing (Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Cook and Whowhell, 2011; Norris, 2012; see also Koskela, 2003a, 2012) we take the notion that the effects of CCTV and policing practices need not necessarily diminish fear of crime among individuals but can also generate an experienced lack of safety. Thus, by integrating studies of the geographies of emotions and fear of crime with studies of surveillance and policing, we can better understand variability and ambiguity in the experience of safety and the conditions under which surveillance and policing practices do (not) stimulate subjectively experienced safety in the NTE context.

In methodological terms, our research seeks to show that, in specific circumstances and if carefully designed and interpreted, advanced quantitative methods can make a useful contribution to recent geographical research on fear of crime and safety. In this regard we concur with others arguing that advanced quantitative methods can make important contributions to geographical scholarship that critically engages with developments in contemporary society (Plummer and

Sheppard, 2001; Kwan and Schwanen, 2009; Wyly 2009; Johnston et al., 2014). The use of (predominantly) quantitative methods in geographical studies of fear of crime and safety can complement the use of (mainly) qualitative methods because it allows findings acquired with more qualitatively oriented studies to be scaled up and enables researchers to understand how widespread a series of relations and interactions among elements and events is across a large number of research participants.¹ Quantification also enables researchers to better understand the strength of correlations among elements and events. We can therefore understand how the effects on safety of various manifestations of surveillance and policing vary systematically across situations and according to gender, ethnicity, going out practices and past experiences. The aforementioned point about upscaling is also important from a policy perspective. While qualitative research can inform public policy in numerous ways (Pain, 2006b), findings expressed in numbers may travel farther beyond academia and affect policy in a different and complementary manner (Plummer and Sheppard, 2001; Wyly, 2009).

The current paper seeks to realise the stated aims through an empirical study among students in the Dutch cities of Rotterdam and Utrecht. More specifically, we report the results of a stated preference experiment during which participants were asked to immerse themselves in a particular nightlife situation, and report on experienced safety by performing a rating task. Repeating this task multiple times while the characteristics of the nightlife situation, including manifestations of surveillance and policing, were varied systematically enabled participants to make trade-offs in terms of the relative importance of the characteristics presented to them. With the help of multilevel regression analysis individual ratings have subsequently been analysed. The methodological approach is explained further in Section 6.3. The following section discusses the most important theoretical approaches to experienced (lack of) safety and fear of crime and links these to preliminary research in the NTEs of Utrecht and Rotterdam. Section 6.4 reports our findings and is followed by conclusions.

6.2 Lack of safety and fear in nightlife areas

6.2.1 Fear of crime and safety

There exists a sizeable literature offering critically important insights into the nature and extent of fear of crime (e.g., Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Hale, 1996; Pain, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2009; Koskela and Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007; Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012). Situational Crime Prevention (SCP) scholarship understands fear of crime as an individually held experience that can be influenced by 'reducing the propensity of the physical environment to support criminal behaviour' (Carmona et al., 2010, p. 151). It assumes that alterations to the physical environment will bring about social change and thereby reduce fear of crime (Clarke, 1995; Welsh and Farrington, 2009). From this perspective, the physical design and layout of nightlife areas can be expected to be of upmost importance to the level of fear individuals experience (Fisher and Nasar, 1992; Carmona et al., 2010). Another scholarly tradition, which prevails in feminist geography and is also influential in the geography of emotions literature, holds that fear of crime is socially constituted but individually experienced (Pain, 2000; Sandberg and Tollefsen, 2010). Here fear of crime, and emotions more generally, are the 'connective tissue that links experiential geographies of the human psyche and physique with(in) broader social geographies of place' (Davidson and Milligan, 2004, p. 524); they are both relational and embodied.

The extensive work on fear of crime notwithstanding, less headway has been made with studying safety even if this is a useful concept in the context of city-centre revitalisation and the NTE. Safety aligns well with incentives to create sites of pleasure, vibrancy and consumption as it emphasizes positive intensities and is linked to a sense of well-being (Pain and Townshend, 2002; Fleuret and Atkinson, 2007; Pain and Smith, 2010; Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Lindgren and Nilsen, 2012; Brands and Schwanen, 2014). Previous work by Brands and Schwanen (2014) has illustrated and conceptualised experienced (lack of) safety in nightlife areas as ecological event that emerges from interactions between the perceiving subject and the continuously changing assemblages of human and non-human, material and discursive elements in which s/he is embedded (see also Anderson, 2009). The multiplicity of experiences triggered by such interactions was summarized

in terms of three meta-stable states of experience. In the first and basic state, called absorptive coping by Brands and Schwanen, individuals interact with their surroundings as if on auto-pilot. They are unconcerned about, and therefore not consciously involved with, their safety. Although visitors to nightlife areas tend to be in this state for most of their nights out, a transition in experience whereby nightlife consumers become *alerted* and/or experience *actual danger* is always possible. Being on the alert means that individuals sense a potential threat—there is the possibility that trouble or harm will occur from the assemblage in which they were enmeshed. With actual danger they experience an actual threat characterized by three aspects. Physical proximity of another person, or group of persons, who could cause harm or trouble is required; there has to be an intention among the other(s) to inflict harm or cause trouble; and individuals feel ‘cornered’ with few prospects of evading the threat.

6.2.2 Determinants and triggers of lack of safety

From the existing literature, a range of determinants and triggers can be identified that either facilitate or prevent transitions to being on the alert and experiencing actual danger, or situations in which persons experience fear of crime more generally. Closely allied with the perspective that the physical design and layout of urban space can reduce experienced fear, research—predominantly in criminology and surveillance studies—has investigated the relationships of surveillance and policing with fear of crime. Studies report that persons do understand CCTV surveillance in the context of personal safety and often support its application (Ditton, 2000; Zurawski, 2010; Ellis et al., 2013; Germain, 2013), but evidence demonstrating CCTV’s effectiveness in inducing experiences of safety is mixed or limited (Koskela, 2002; Pain and Townshend, 2002; Taylor, 2010; Norris, 2012; Germain, 2013). The authors’ earlier work with qualitative methods has shown the incapacity of CCTV to have much impact on safety in situations with a degree of threat, and this is especially the case if CCTV cameras are not watched live in control rooms (Brands et al., 2013b).

Notwithstanding a sizeable, mainly USA based literature on the public’s perceptions of the police (Kautt, 2011), studies of the effects of police presences

on experienced safety are limited. Ditton (2000) and Sparks and colleagues (2001) have however reported safety effects of police presence to be considerable greater than those for CCTV surveillance. The authors' earlier research with qualitative methods has indicated that police presence in nightlife areas is often valued positively in terms of experienced safety, especially in situations when persons experience an actual threat, because they can intervene directly if needed (Brands et al., 2013a, 2013b; Brands and Schwanen, 2014). Private security staff at the entrance of clubs and bars—door staff or bouncers—are often regarded important or even the primary agents of surveillance in nightlife contexts (Hobbs et al., 2003; Smith, 2007; Rigakos, 2008). To the best of our knowledge however, no study has examined in depth if and how door staff and their practices affect experiences of safety among nightlife consumers. They may induce experiences of safety because they are now a common and very visible feature of city-centre nightlife areas across Western Europe and can—like police officers—intervene immediately in threatening situations.

Many researchers have argued that different individuals will always think, do and experience differently (Stanko and Hobdell, 1993). In quantitatively oriented studies difference is often operationalized in (simple and rigid) categorisations of gender, race, age, which nonetheless have proven to be important correlates of experiences of (a lack of) safety. Generally speaking, women, ethnic minorities and 'older' persons tend to report greater fears (Pain, 2001; Sandberg and Tollefsen, 2010). At the same time, feminist geographers have argued that such socio-demographic categories conceal and conflate a wider range of processes that are important to persons' experienced safety. These processes include first-hand experience, and especially past experiences of victimization (Metha and Bondi, 1999; Koskela and Pain, 2000; Bromley and Stacey, 2012; Johansson et al., 2012). Familiarity with particular environments is also important (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Pain and Townshend, 2002; Zurawski, 2010). Specifically referring to nightlife situations, Carmona and colleagues (2010, p. 149) argue that 'those more familiar with the evening/night-time scene, for example, are better able to decode signals, and can assess whether they are threatening and decide what action is to be taken'. As Bergson has it (1912), first-hand experiences are sedimented as personal memory that can always become part of and shape embodied actions

during encounters at later moments in chronological time. It is also through such memories that we can understand how fear of crime is socially constituted and infused with political discourses, cultural values, rumours, stereotypes and prejudices (Brands and Schwanen, 2014).

It has also been argued that (lack of) safety emerges from the relations between the individual and the particularities of a situation (Pain, 2006a; Hutta, 2009). Others' presence in public space is important in this regard. Individuals feel more comfortable around persons with whom they share important commonalities: 'there is a general tendency to fear stereotypical 'others' who are marked out by their colour, class or other impurity and whose presence threatens disorder to mainstream life and values' (Pain, 2000, p. 373; England and Simon, 2010; Simonsen, 2013). This could also be recognized during the authors' qualitative research with nightlife consumers; ethnic minorities, youth lingering around and/or junks part of nightlife spaces were sometimes constructed as a threat, criminal or undesirable in a more general sense. This positioning of (ethnic) others seems related to what Haldrup and colleagues (2006) have coined practical orientalism. This refers to the ways in which contrasting images between the 'Orient' and 'West' or 'them' and 'us' are not 'restricted to the politics of representation but [are] profoundly rooted in sensuous everyday encounters' (Haldrup et al., 2006, p. 183). During encounters with 'others', persons are affected in a variety of ways through which a 'sedimented dominant language' of the other is constantly being (re)produced. The resulting substratum of affect and discourse comes to function as an active force that brings about practices of social exclusion and stereotyping.

Experiences of safety are also relational in the sense that they depend on the time of night; time itself may be a relevant constituent. In city-centre nightlife areas incivilities and crime tend to increase over the course of the night (Roberts and Turner, 2005; Rowe and Bavinton, 2011; Schwanen et al., 2012), meaning that fear of crime and lack of safety may also become more prevalent as the night passes (Thomas and Bromley, 2000; Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009). The cumulative effects of alcohol consumption over the course of the night, in combination with a prevalence of bodily affects (e.g., exhaustion, arousal) and the coming together of many persons on the streets and squares of nightlife areas around the closing time of bars and clubs may induce uncivilised and transgressive behaviour late at night

or in the early morning (Schwanen et al., 2012).

The effects of surveillance and policing on safety are also relational insofar that they may depend on socio-demographic markers of difference. Koskela (2002), for instance, has argued that 'video is unable to identify situations where a [gender] sensitive interpretation of a social situation is needed' (p. 263). Examples of such situations include general and sexual intimidation, (verbal) harassment, staring and drunken rowdiness, all of which women tend to fear more than do men. Little progress appears to have been made to examine the effects of CCTV, and other forms of surveillance and policing in relation to other social-demographic markers of difference. For the Dutch context there are hardly any reliable studies of citizens' perceptions of police (Van der Leun and Van der Woude, 2011) and little can be said about if and how such perceptions are socially differentiated. UK research is also scarce, but when compared to the established US-centred literature, ethnic minorities tend to perceive police somewhat more positively in the UK than the USA (Kautt, 2011). Findings regarding other markers of difference such as age and gender tend to be inconsistent across the US-based literature (Kautt, 2011). One likely reason for lower valuation among ethnic minority groups in US-based studies are reported and perceived racial profiling practices among police (Cochran and Warren, 2012). Work on such practices is emerging for the Dutch context. An Amnesty International report indicates that Dutch police is more likely to check ethnic minorities than Caucasian/white Dutch people (Amnesty International, 2014), but Svensson and Saharso (2014) argue that such unequal treatment is lower than expected against the background of public and political (negative) discourse about ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. As far as door staff is concerned, several studies in the UK and the Netherlands have suggested that bouncers sometimes deny entry to, act aggressively towards or otherwise discriminate against ethnic minority youth (Böse, 2005; Boogaarts, 2008; Measham and Hadfield, 2009). Qualitative research among Dutch university students has suggested that ethnic minority youth were less positive about whether door staff made them feel at ease than their native Dutch, white counterparts (Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009).

Apart from suggesting that the effects of surveillance and policing on experiences of safety are relational, past research also raises the prospect of those effects being

paradoxical or ambiguous. Koskela (2012, p. 52) argues that CCTV does not necessarily stimulate safety or security, but can also 'exacerbate feelings of mistrust' (see also Norris, 2012). Studies have also indicated that police presence can trigger anxiety, making people question if their safety is at stake (Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Cook and Whowhell, 2011). Similar responses to the presence and specific practices of police officers in nightlife areas were identified in interviews with NTE consumers in the authors' earlier research (Brands et al., 2013a; Brands and Schwanen, 2014).

6.2.3 Towards the empirical analysis

The previous sub-sections raise five implications for the quantitative analysis of the relationships of safety among consumers with surveillance and policing in the NTE context. First, given the difference between being on the alert and actual danger, it is important to differentiate between situations in which a potential or actual threat is experienced. Secondly, the analysis should consider multiple manifestations of surveillance and policing: CCTV and the presence of police officers and door staff can be expected to have different effects on safety and play an important role in Safe Nightlife Policies² in Dutch cities (Van Liempt, 2013). With regard to CCTV, it is also relevant to consider whether footage is watched live or not. The third point is that the analysis should take into account effects on safety of socio-demographic markers of difference and previous experiences of going out.

Fourthly, the analysis should accommodate that safety is relationally constituted. This raises questions about the extent to which the effects of surveillance and policing on safety can be studied in isolation from the particular situations and assemblages in which they emerge. Those effects should therefore be studied in relation to the time of night, the particularities of the threat and the present nightlife crowd. Interactions between different manifestations of surveillance and policing with socio-demographic markers of difference and previous experiences of going out should be examined as well. Finally, the research should allow for ambiguity: the effects on experienced safety of particular manifestations of surveillance and policing may both enhance and diminish experienced safety.

6.3 Methodological approach

6.3.1 Challenges and benefits of quantification

Advanced quantitative methods should by no means be privileged over—let alone replace—qualitative approaches in studies of experienced safety. Nonetheless, the former can complement and be combined with the latter, which have prevailed in the geographical literatures on fear of crime and emotions more generally (Pain, 2000; Little et al., 2005). Employing quantitative approaches permits large(r) samples of study participants to be considered and therefore lend themselves to scale up results obtained using qualitative methods. Perhaps more interesting is that by ‘enacting’ (Law 2004, 2009) safety and its relations with surveillance and policing, socio-demographic indicators and past experiences of going out and so forth in particular ways, advanced quantitative methods add something unique to understandings obtained with other research methods. They can address all five points raised in Section 6.2.3, whereby numerical information also offers information on the strength or intensity of relations between experienced safety and other elements and events. This means, amongst others, that the effects on safety of different forms of surveillance and policing can be compared robustly against one another, which can offer important insights to both policymakers looking for efficient ways of enhancing safety in NTE contexts and other stakeholders who are more critical or sceptical about (neoliberal) discourses that link economic wellbeing in city-centres, consumption and safety to the need for more surveillance and policing.

Quantification is nonetheless less than straightforward if (lack of) safety is conceptualised as an ecological event that is triggered and mediated by all kinds of elements, processes and other events around an individual. This means that generic questions, such as ‘to what extent do you feel safe when going out in place x?’, are not appropriate. A shift away from the generic and the universal towards the specific and the particular, or at least a rebalancing, is required. This can be achieved through a focus on paradigmatic specific situations, the characteristics of which need to be realistic and commonly recognisable to the persons participating in an empirical study. Borrowing from Geertz (1973), we might say that a ‘thick’ description of a specific situation must be given to study participants when they

are asked to indicate how safe they feel. We have therefore adopted a two-pronged approach by drawing on and rethinking a quantitative method called stated preference (SP) research (Kroes and Sheldon, 1988; Louviere and Timmermans, 1990; Walker et al, 2002; Adamowicz and Deshazo, 2006).

Other than with revealed preference (RP) methods that evaluate actual observations, participants in SP research are asked to project themselves in a particular hypothetical situation and evaluate its characteristics, the values of which are varied systematically (Kroes and Sheldon, 1988; Louviere and Timmermans, 1990). In the context of this study an SP approach is advantageous as it offers us as researchers the freedom to construct, from the ground up, these paradigmatic specific situations and configurations of surveillance and policing on the basis of the existing academic literature and our ethnographic and interview-based research with young adults participating in the NTEs of various Dutch cities.

Nevertheless, it is common practice in SP research to provide study participants with minimalist, skeleton descriptions of the situation for evaluation (because this facilitates abstraction from the particularities of space and time by researchers and allows results to travel easily from sites of production to those of consumption). This skeleton approach is, however, not commensurable with our conceptualisation of lack of safety as an ecological event. We therefore adopted what could be termed a *case study approach* to SP research by identifying paradigmatic situations of lack of safety on the basis of our earlier research with qualitative methods.

6.3.2 Designing the stated preference experiment

The advantages of quantification through a 'thick' SP experiment come at a price because the huge heterogeneity of situations in which lack of safety may emerge needs to be reduced to one or possibly a few paradigmatic situations. The attributes of those situations also need to be simplified and events and processes (e.g. the presence and actions of police officers in a given site over a particular time span) need to be reduced to fixed states (e.g. 'two police officers are within sight, at some 50 meters away' and 'two police officers have been seen a couple of times earlier that evening' in our case). It is, however, exactly the constraints imposed by what Alfred North Whitehead called (1997[1925], p. 59) 'well founded' abstractions

from the relentless ‘happenings of the world’ that SP experiments require which allow the benefits of quantification and advanced quantitative methods to be realized. Well founded for him meant that ‘everything that is important in experience’ is respected and maintained.

This is why the SP experiment was designed in such a way that it considered different manifestations of surveillance and policing, time of night, the difference between actual and potential threat and the nature of the nightlife crowd, whilst reducing respondent burden as much as possible. Based on the authors’ earlier research using qualitative methods and the literature discussed in Section 6.2, four versions of the paradigmatic nightlife situation at the heart of the SP study were designed.³ In temporal terms all versions were situated at the end of the night, around the time bars and clubs in a nightlife area are closing and there is a large crowd of consumers in outdoor public spaces, gradually going home (or elsewhere). As safety only becomes an issue when some sort of threat is experienced (Brands and Schwanen, 2013), two types of threat were considered: actual threat was operationalized through the approach of a verbal abusive person—which according to participants in earlier interviews exemplified the state of ‘actual danger’—and potential threat through the presence of a tense atmosphere, which exemplified a situation that made those interviewees ‘be on the alert’. Two versions of the crowd were created. In one it consisted predominantly of revellers of Caucasian/white ethnicity; in the other it was ethnically mixed and consisted of Caucasian, Arabic and black or Surinamese/Antillean youth (the dominant ethnic minorities in the Netherlands). Juxtaposing the types of threat and compositions of the nightlife crowd resulted in four versions of the paradigmatic nightlife situation. Study participants were randomly allocated to one of these versions.

The particularities of the paradigmatic nightlife situation were communicated to research participants using both textual description and visual representations created in collaboration with an artist (Figure 6.1). Drawings were used because, according to Rose (2012), the use of visual materials helps participants to move beyond the discursive realm and provides (better) access than mere text to registers of the sensory and affective. The artist was asked to create imaginary representations of the nightlife area and the depicted crowds rather than to base these on an existing area in order to eliminate the potentially confounding



Figure 6.1: Drawings of the nightlife areas, each with a different overlay for the present nightlife crowd

effects of participants' familiarity with the depicted area on their evaluations. Considerable effort has been taken to make the drawings look 'nocturnal', using shades of black/grey, shading- and lighting effects.

Asked to imagine they found themselves in the represented situation, study participants had to indicate multiple (8) times how safe they felt in the presence of four specific manifestations of surveillance and policing: police officers patrolling the nightlife area, door staff at clubs, the location of CCTV cameras, and live watching of CCTV footage. All manifestations were reduced to binary attributes that differentiate police, door staff and CCTV in terms of visible presence and proximity to the study participant (Table 6.1). Four manifestations consisting of two attributes yield 16 possible combinations. As asking participants to evaluate all of these may exceed participants' attention span, we used specially designed algorithms (for more information see: Box and Hunter, 1961; Louviere and Timmermans, 1990; NIST/SEMATECH, 2012) to reduce the number of surveillance and policing profiles for evaluation to eight. According to the SP literature (e.g., Kroes and Sheldon, 1988; Walker et al, 2002) eight profiles is a manageable number for study participants, minimizing fatigue and boredom effects on the final results. To reduce sequence effects, the eight profiles presented to individual participants were computer randomized. Eight times, then, participants were asked 'On a scale of one (not safe at all) to ten (very safe), how safe would you feel in the following situation?' (Figure 6.2). A ten-point rating scale was preferred because these are commonly used in primary and secondary education to mark assignments, essays and tests in the Netherlands.

Table 6.1: The manifestations of surveillance and policing in the SP experiment

Variable	Attribute levels
CCTV positioning	A CCTV camera is situated above your head
	A CCTV camera is situated some 50 meters away
CCTV watching	Camera footage is recorded; no live watching
	Camera footage is watched live
Police	Two police officers are within sight, at some 50 meters away
	Two police officers have been seen a couple of times earlier that evening
Door staff	No door staff are within sight at the bars and clubs
	Three door staff are within sight some 50 meters away, at the bars and clubs

On a scale of one (not safe at all) to ten (very safe), how safe would you feel in the following situation.

- A CCTV camera is situated above your head.
- Camera footage is watched 'live'.
- Two police officers have been seen a couple of times earlier that evening.
- No bouncers are within sight at the bars and clubs.



Those present on the square are all young, most are white and there is an equal amount of males and females. You feel a kind of tense atmosphere. Multiple persons on the square have been drinking and you hear persons shouting every now and then.

not safe at all 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 very safe

Figure 6.2: An example of the rating task for the version of actual threat (verbally abusive person) and the ethnically homogeneous nightlife crowd.

6.3.3 Data collection

The SP experiment was embedded in an online survey about nightlife consumption. Information about participants' socio-demographic profile (gender, ethnicity, age), going out practices (frequency of going out and most frequented city when going out) and past experiences (victimisation and denial of entrance) have been abstracted from this survey. It was conducted among a sample of young adults in education in the Dutch cities of Utrecht and Rotterdam. One reason for this focus is that the study is part of a broader research program investigating surveillance and policing in nightlife areas in Utrecht and Rotterdam. There are also important differences between the two cities which may have ramifications for how safety on nights out is experienced. In Rotterdam nightlife crowds are much more ethnically diversified (Schwanen et al. , 2012) and the city is the leading example in the Netherlands of 'tough' and 'zero tolerance' surveillance and policing in the NTE context and more generally (Van Liempt, 2013).

The focus is on young adults because they visit city-centre nightlife areas most frequently. Participants were recruited via educational institutions rather than in nightlife areas, nightlife establishments or through social media channels about

nightlife because this would increase the share of participants who would go out less frequently or usually visit establishments outside city-centre concentrations of bars and clubs (e.g., large clubs in the urban fringe). A clear disadvantage of this strategy is that the sample cannot be considered representative of all young people of Utrecht or Rotterdam; young people in employment or registered as unemployed are not included in the study⁴. Nonetheless, the final sample of 940 students is internally very heterogeneous, representing both genders (56.5% female), and an appropriate range of difference in terms of ethnicity (85.9% Dutch and Western, 14.1% non-Western⁵) and education (20.2% traditional university, 31.0% applied university, 29.8% vocational education, and 19.0% secondary education); the average age is 20.2 years. This diversity stems in part from the fact that institutes of both secondary and tertiary education and offering different types of courses and degrees were asked to bring our survey under the attention of students. For ethical reasons, we established a minimum age for participation of 16, based on the Dutch minimum drinking age at the time of study (Spring 2012).⁶

6.3.4 Multi-level analysis

By regressing the (8 profiles * 940 participants =) 7,520 rating scores on the variables that measure surveillance and policing, the nature of the threat, the character of the crowd, social markers, and going out practices and experience, we can determine which variables are most strongly correlated with the level of experienced safety. Because each participant evaluated eight profiles, individual ratings may not be independent from each other and it may not be possible to use standard linear (OLS) regression modelling. Multilevel regression analysis (Hox, 2010; Snijders and Bosker, 2011) can be employed to test whether this is the case and offers an alternative modelling framework in which the total variation in safety scores can be decomposed into two parts—a ‘between-individual’ part that can be attributed to differences between participants, and a ‘within-individual’ part that captures the variation among the eight profiles evaluated by each individual. Technical details on how these parts are modelled are available elsewhere (Hox, 2010; Snijder and Bosker, 2011). Suffice to say that multilevel regression analysis consists in the specification of regression equations at different

levels—the question (level 1) and the individual (level 2)—the results of which are usually presented in a single table. Included variables and coefficients are either ‘fixed’ or ‘random’. Fixed variables and coefficients are associated with indicators of surveillance and policing, socio-demographic profiles, and so forth, whereas random variables are summarised through variance terms and accommodate the multilevel structure in the data. When a model contains multiple variance terms at the level of the question or the participant, it usually also contains one or more covariance terms that express relations between the variance terms (Hox 2010). These can be interpreted meaningfully but will not be discussed in the analysis below due to space constraints.

The use of multilevel regression analysis has another important advantage (see also Duncan and Jones, 2000): it also allows us to move beyond the computation of ‘average’ effects of a given independent variable on subjectively experienced safety. Rather than estimating what the average effect of, say, watching CCTV footage live on safety is across all study participants, we can estimate the extent of variability around—and hence also ambiguity associated with—that average effect.

Below a series of models is presented in which independent variables are included and added in four steps:

- Step 1: intercept (constant) only: this model allows the total variation in safety scores to be decomposed in between-individual and within-individual parts and offers a way to test whether a multilevel model is indeed required;
- Step 2: indicators for nature of the threat, nightlife crowd and surveillance and policing;
- Step 3: indicators for socio-demographic profile, i.e. gender, ethnicity and age;⁷
- Step 4: indicators for going out practices and past experiences.

Steps 2 to 4 each consist of two models. The first of these reports the effects on safety of the added indicators as such, whereas the second analyses if and how these effects differ according to indicators added in the same or a previous step.

6.4 Results

6.4.1 Multilevel structure

In the model with only an intercept (Model 1, Table 6.2), the coefficient for the constant is estimated to be 6.5 and suggests that participants *on average* feel reasonably safe in the situations presented to them. The two variance terms in this model are both significantly greater than zero with 99 percent confidence, and a comparison of their magnitudes indicates that $(2.324/(2.324+1.863))$ 56% of all variation in the scores can be attributed to differences between participants. These results show clearly that in our case the assumptions underlying standard regression analysis are violated, and that the use of a more complex multilevel structure is required for statistical reasons.

6.4.2 Threat, crowd and surveillance and policing

Model 2 (Table 6.2) shows the effects of the nature of the threat and the nightlife crowd. The approach of a verbally abusive person diminishes safety by more than 1/3 point compared to experiencing a tense atmosphere. This result confirms that greater fear results from a threat that is perceived to be more concrete and directed at the person, and offers quantitative support for the distinction of the levels of 'being on the alert' and 'actual danger' proposed by Brands and Schwanen (2014). Being surrounded by an ethnically mixed crowd reduces safety by almost 0.3 point relative to a Caucasian crowd. This seems to suggest that 'practical orientalism' (Haldrup et al., 2006; see Section 6.2) is also at work in the NTE context in the Netherlands. The current findings are perhaps not surprising in light of open discussions in the media and political sphere in recent years of the failure of multi-culturalism and the rise to popularity of anti-immigration politics in the Netherlands and elsewhere in North-West Europe.

The effects on safety of surveillance and policing are also shown in Model 2. A comparison of the coefficients for police, door staff, CCTV positioning and CCTV watching indicate that the visible proximity of police and door staff enhances safety much more than the proximity and live watching of CCTV. The safety score increases by approximately 0.8 point on average when police officers or door staff

Table 6.2: Estimation results for safety scores, Models 1-3¹

	M1: intercept-only model			situation			M2: Effects of surveillance and policing, and			M3: M2 plus interaction terms		
	B	SE	T-stat	B	SE	T-stat	B	SE	T-stat	B	SE	T-stat
Fixed Part												
Intercept	6.515	0.052	125.29***	5.727	0.094	60.93***	5.976	0.102	58.59***			
<i>Level 1 attributes</i>												
Police (absent from sight=0)				0.778	0.037	21.03***	0.488	0.061	8.00***			
50 meters away												
Door staff (absent from sight=0)				0.840	0.035	24.00***	0.667	0.057	11.70***			
50 meters away												
CCTV watching (recording=0)				0.428	0.027	15.85***	0.428	0.027	15.85***			
Live												
CCTV positioning (50 meters away=0)				0.145	0.023	6.30***	0.145	0.023	6.30***			
Above one's head												
<i>Level 2 attributes</i>												
Nightlife crowd (homogeneous white=0)				-0.278	0.103	2.70***	-0.422	0.118	3.58***			
Heterogeneous												
Threat (tense atmosphere=0)				-0.362	0.103	3.51***	-0.737	0.118	6.25***			
Verbally abusive person												
<i>Interactions</i>												
Police * heterogeneous crowd							0.151	0.072	2.10**			
Police * verbally abusive person							0.453	0.072	6.29***			
Door staff * heterogeneous crowd							0.116	0.068	7.71***			
Door staff * verbally abusive person							0.244	0.068	3.59***			

are within sight. This increase is almost double that of watching CCTV live rather than merely recording footage, and more than five times that of the presence of CCTV in close proximity compared to 50m away. These findings align with our previous research using qualitative methods. It indeed appears that agents of surveillance and policing that can intervene if required in the concrete 'here and now' enhance safety most.

There is, however, quite sizeable and statistically significant between-individual variation around the average effects of all surveillance and policing indicators. Therefore, the fixed (average) effects on safety of visible police and door staff presence and CCTV positioning and watching should be interpreted in conjunction with this variation. We can do this by calculating the standard deviations (square root) of the variance terms for surveillance and policing. Adding and subtracting these standard deviations from the coefficients for the fixed (average) variables generates a range of values rather than a point estimate for each manifestation of surveillance and policing. This range includes 67% of the individual measurements closest to the mean and is -0.161 to 1.717 for visible proximity of police officers (relative to them being absent from sight), -0.007 to 1.687 for the visible presence of door staff (compared to none within sight), -0.129 to 0.419 for CCTV above one's head (vis-à-vis to some 50m away), and -0.058 to 0.914 for live watching of CCTV footage (versus merely recording). Not only do the estimated effects of CCTV surveillance and especially visible presence of police and door staff differ markedly across study participants; for a minority of them the tested manifestations of surveillance and policing negatively affect experienced safety. As all lower bounds on the estimated intervals are below zero, it would appear that in at least $(100-67/2=)$ 16% of the ratings the effects of surveillance and policing are not in agreement with expectations on the basis prevailing discourses about city-centre revitalisation. This percentage is likely to be higher for the visible proximity of police officers and the positioning of CCTV over one's head. These results may suffer from measurement error for various reasons.⁸ Nevertheless, given that they focus on situations in which the benefits of more extended surveillance and policing can be expected to pay the greatest divide, they do throw into doubt the—in local and national politics across the Netherlands currently popular—discourses according to which (more)

surveillance and policing in consumption spaces, such as city-centre nightlife areas, will result in higher levels of experienced safety. Ambiguity in the effects on safety of surveillance and policing should not be ignored or sidelined. Had simpler versions of standard regression analysis been employed, this ambiguity might have remained masked.

The point that the effects on safety of surveillance and policing are complex is also evident from Model 3. This model indicates the relational character of the effects of the visible presence of police officers and door staff. The effects of such present are greatest when the present nightlife crowd is more ethnically heterogeneous and with the approach of a verbally abusive person. This reinforces earlier points about practical orientalism and police officers and door staff—human agents—being more effective than CCTV in intervening in situations perceived as threatening. It may also suggest that the presence of human agents is more effective in soothing inter-ethnic tensions.

6.4.3 Social markers of difference

The effects of gender, ethnicity and age are shown in Model 4 (Table 6.3); all three social markers of difference are statistically significantly related to experienced safety. In terms of relative importance, the effects of gender and ethnicity are smaller than for the visible proximity of police officers and door staff but greater than for CCTV surveillance and the nature of the threat under consideration or the nightlife crowd. With regard to age, 25-years old participants are estimated to feel about $\frac{1}{2}$ a point safer than their 16-years counterparts. This difference may reflect greater familiarity with nightlife situations under consideration and/or greater skill in how to respond to such situations among the older participants. Compared to respondents from a Dutch or Western background, those with an Arabic background score about 0.6 point lower. As other studies have indicated that persons from a non-Western origin participate less in Dutch (mainstream) nightlife (Boogaarts, 2008; Schwanen et al., 2012), unfamiliarity with the setting provided to these person may also be important here. It could however also be the case that persons from non-Western origin avoid these settings because they feel less safe or comfortable and more vulnerable in public spaces in cities more

Table 6.3: Estimation results for safety scores, Models 4-5¹

	M4: M2 plus socio-demographic profile			M5: M4 plus interaction terms		
	B	SE	T-stat	B	SE	T-stat
Fixed Part						
Intercept	4.935	0.382	12.92***	5.058	0.381	13.28***
<i>Level 1 attributes</i>						
Police (absent from sight=0)	0.778	0.037	21.03***	0.778	0.037	21.03***
50 meters away						
Door staff (absent from sight=0)	0.840	0.035	24.00***	0.637	0.051	12.49***
50 meters away						
CCTV watching (recording=0)	0.428	0.027	15.85***	0.428	0.027	15.85***
Live						
CCTV positioning (50 meters away=0)	0.145	0.023	6.30***	0.135	0.023	6.30***
Above one's head						
<i>Level 2 attributes</i>						
Nightlife crowd (homogeneous=0)	-0.299	0.101	2.96***	-0.283	0.101	2.80***
Heterogeneous						
Threat (tense atmosphere=0)	-0.394	0.101	3.90***	-0.454	0.104	4.37***
Verbally abusive person						
Gender (male=0)						
Female	-0.593	0.102	5.81***	-0.793	0.106	7.48***
Ethnicity (Dutch / Western=0)						
Arabic	-0.588	0.282	2.09**	-0.571	0.297	1.92*
Surinamese / Antillean	0.085	0.221	0.38	-0.423	0.294	1.44
Other non-Western	0.077	0.224	0.34	0.351	0.233	1.51
Current age (years)	0.058	0.018	3.22***	0.058	0.018	3.22***
<i>Interactions</i>						
Female * door staff				0.436	0.065	6.71***
Arabic * door staff				-0.328	0.181	1.81*
Other non-Western * door staff				-0.612	0.144	4.25***
Arabic * CCTV positioning				0.323	0.129	2.50**
Surinamese / Antillean * verbally abusive person				1.153	0.441	2.61***

Random Part									
Variance intercept level 1	0.858	0.023	37.30***	0.858	0.023	37.30***			37.30***
Variance intercept level 2	3.148	0.166	18.96***	3.134	0.165	18.96***			18.96***
Variance police	0.881	0.061	14.44***	0.881	0.061	14.44***			14.44***
Variance door staff	0.717	0.054	13.28***	0.643	0.051	12.61***			12.61***
Variance CCTV watching	0.234	0.033	7.09***	0.234	0.033	7.09***			7.09***
Variance CCTV positioning	0.073	0.025	2.92***	0.071	0.025	2.84***			2.84***
Cov intercept * police	-0.757	0.078	9.71***	-0.763	0.078	9.78***			9.78***
Cov intercept * door staff	-0.574	0.071	8.08***	-0.548	0.069	7.94***			7.94***
Cov intercept * CCTV watching	-0.336	0.054	6.22***	-0.336	0.054	6.22***			6.22***
Cov police * door staff	0.301	0.041	7.34***	0.300	0.040	7.50***			7.50***
Cov police * CCTV watching	0.131	0.031	4.23***	0.130	0.031	4.19***			4.19***
Cov door staff * CCTV watching	0.172	0.029	5.93***	0.165	0.028	5.89***			5.89***
Cov CCTV watching * CCTV positioning	0.030	0.018	1.67*	0.031	0.018	1.72*			1.72*
Deviance (-2 LogLikelihood)	25522.3			25443.1					
Model improvement (χ^2)	49.3 (relative to M2)			79.1 (relative to M4)					
Statistical significance	0.01			0.01					
N cases	7520			7520					

¹ Dependent variable: Safety scores from 1 (not safe at all) to 10 (very safe).

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

generally. The observation that women report lower scores compared to men—here 0.6 point—concur with the literature in feminist geography on fear of crime and safety (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Pain, 2000; Little et al., 2005; Whitzman, 2007).

Model 5 (Table 6.3) considers if and to what extent the effects of surveillance and policing depend on participants' gender, ethnicity and age; only results that were statistically significant with at least 90% confidence have been retained in the final model. None of the interactions with the visible proximity of police officers and the live watching of CCTV footage are included in the table, suggesting that their effects are universal in the sense of not depending systematically on participants' gender, ethnicity or age. This does not, however, extend to the visible presence of door staff or the position of CCTV cameras. Youth from an Arabic or otherwise non-Western background report lower effects on perceived safety for the visible presence of door staff compared to those from a Dutch or Western background. Yet, the positioning of CCTV cameras matters more to youth from Arabic descent: having a camera above their head increases safety by about 1/3 point for them compared to other ethnic groups. These results are not only in line with previous research suggesting that non-white revellers experience or at least consider the possibility of discrimination by 'bouncers' in urban nightlife; they also suggest that youth from Arabic descent understand CCTV surveillance in a different, more positive way. Perhaps they consider CCTV cameras recording footage a more neutral (and hence beneficial) technique that is less affected by stereotyping and discrimination on the basis of appearance. The effect of door staff is also gendered: female participants' safety is enhanced to a greater extent by their visible proximity than that of males' is. This is broadly in line with earlier ethnographic research as part of the wider research program, according to which door staff are more likely to let girls and young women enter nightlife establishments and are also more protective of them. Of interest here is how the effect of the visible proximity of police officers is not dependent on ethnicity and gender. It appears that the key difference with regard to experienced safety is that police officers are more of a friend to everybody than door staff. The appeal of the latter appears to be differentiated more clearly.

Model 5 also indicates that being verbally abused instils substantially less fear in

study participants from Surinamese/Antillean descent compared to other ethnic groups. Perhaps participants from this group are more used to verbal abuse in real life situations. A notable finding is also that the effect of nightlife crowd on experienced safety does not depend with at least 90% statistical confidence on participants' ethnical background. This means that the aforementioned negative effect of an ethnically diverse nightlife crowd (Section 6.4.2) is not a consequence of the over-representation of Caucasian youth among the study participants (Section 6.3.3). Irrespective of a participant's ethnic background, a more ethnically heterogeneous nightlife crowd seems to be associated with a reduced sense of personal safety.

6.4.4 Going out practices and past experiences

Model 6 (Table 6.4) shows the effects of the frequency of going out, city most visited when going out and various categories of victimization that respondents may have experienced before. Most indicators are not statistically significantly related to experienced safety, and overall model 6 is not statistically superior to model 4. Still, it is shown that participants who have been followed on a night out in the past report statistically significantly lower safety scores. Although only statistically significant with 90% confidence, participants who go out more frequently report higher safety ratings. Greater experience and familiarity with nightlife situations explain this effect.

A wide range of interactions of socio-demographic markers of difference (gender, ethnicity, age) with practices and experience of going out have been tested, but only a few rendered statistically significant results (Model 7, Table 6.4). While feminist geographers have linked gender differences in experienced safety to fear for particular types of victimization (Koskela and Pain, 2000; Pain, 2000; Brownlow, 2005), no gender differences could be established in relation to memories of particular types of victimization in this study. The results do suggest that youth who go out primarily in the city centres of Rotterdam or Utrecht feel less safe when experiencing a more ethnically heterogeneous nightlife crowd. This is possibly explained in reference to the sizeable ethnic minorities living in these cities, meaning that those participants experience inter-ethnic differences more

Verbally abused before (yes=1)	-0.074	0.160	0.46	0.200	0.202	1.99
Followed before (yes=1)	-0.619	0.208	2.98***	-0.656	0.208	3.15***
Been in a fight before (yes=1)	0.156	0.153	1.02	0.345	0.162	2.13**
Groped before (yes=1)	0.047	0.165	0.28	0.052	0.164	0.32
<i>Interactions</i>						
Frequency of going out * police				0.167	0.087	1.92*
Frequency of going out * door staff				0.188	0.080	2.35**
Utrecht * heterogeneous crowd				-0.536	0.257	2.09**
Rotterdam * heterogeneous crowd				-0.444	0.230	1.93*
Verbally abused before * verbally abusive person				-0.533	0.267	2.00**
Been in a fight before * police				-0.329	0.098	3.36***
<i>Random Part</i>						
Variance intercept level 1	0.858	0.023	37.30***	0.858	0.023	37.30***
Variance intercept level 2	3.124	0.165	18.93***	3.101	0.164	18.91***
Variance police	0.881	0.061	14.44***	0.861	0.061	13.45***
Variance door staff	0.717	0.054	13.28***	0.712	0.054	13.19***
Variance CCTV watching	0.234	0.033	7.09***	0.234	0.033	7.09***
Variance CCTV distance	0.074	0.025	2.96***	0.074	0.025	2.96***
Cov intercept * police	-0.761	0.078	9.76***	-0.752	0.077	9.77***
Cov intercept * door staff	-0.586	0.071	8.25***	-0.587	0.071	8.27***
Cov intercept * CCTV watching	-0.338	0.054	6.26***	-0.339	0.054	6.28***
Cov police * door staff	0.301	0.041	9.71***	0.291	0.041	7.10***
Cov police * CCTV watching	0.131	0.031	4.23***	0.132	0.030	4.40***
Cov door staff * CCTV watching	0.172	0.029	5.93***	0.176	0.029	6.07***
Cov CCTV watching * CCTV positioning	0.030	0.018	1.67*	0.030	0.018	1.67*
<i>Deviance (-2 LogLikelihood)</i>						
	25505.7			25477.9		
<i>Model improvement X²</i>						
	16.5 (relative to M4)			27.8 (relative to M6)		
<i>Statistical significance</i>						
	> 0.05			0.01		
<i>N cases</i>						
	7520			7520		

[†] Dependent variable: Safety scores from 1 (not safe at all) to 10 (very safe).

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

frequently and on a more day-to-day basis through encounters (see also Haldrup et al., 2006). Additionally, the model plausibly suggests that those participants who have been abused verbally in the past feel less safe when asked to imagine a verbally abusive person is approaching compared to experiencing a tense atmosphere. Also, participants who have been in a fight on a night out in the past report lower effects on safety for the visible presence of police officers. Possibly they are more sceptical about officers' capacities to prevent or timely intervene in situations characterized by some degree of threat. Finally, the model suggests that youth who go out less frequently are less affected by differences in the visible presence of police officers and bouncers. Perhaps these participants' responses are less based on first-hand experiences and more on hearsay and media discourses, in which negative experiences with those agents are often privileged and exaggerated.

6.5 Conclusion

This paper has analyzed safety, surveillance and policing in the night-time economy (NTE) by (re)turning to numbers. Building on the existing literature and previous research with young adults going out in city-centre nightlife areas in the Netherlands, we have carefully designed a stated preference (SP) experiment and employed multilevel modelling. There are four headline findings from our study among youth in education in the Dutch cities of Rotterdam and Utrecht.

First, the proximity of police officers and door staff have, on average, considerably greater effects on participants' experience of safety than the positioning of CCTV cameras and the ways in which footage is watched (i.e., live watching or merely recording). Secondly, the effects of the proximity of police officers and door staff on participants' experience of safety are relational and depend on the particularities of situation. Those effects are greatest when participants experienced actual danger compared to being alerted (Section 6.2.1) and when the present nightlife crowd is more ethnically mixed compared to a crowd of predominantly Caucasian/white youth. To some extent these findings could be expected given that overall the experience of actual danger and presence of a more ethnically diverse nightlife crowd triggered greater lack of safety among study participants. It is nonetheless noteworthy that in those circumstances the effect of CCTV positioning and

watching regime do not have greater effects compared to situations in which participants are on the alert and amidst a predominantly Caucasian/white crowd. The relational character of the effects of surveillance and policing is also evident from the way in which the effects of door staff on experienced safety depend on participants' ethnicity. The presence of door staff is appreciated clearly less by youth from Arabic or an otherwise non-Western background than by those from a native Dutch/Western background. These findings concur with popular and media discourses in the Netherlands which suggest discrimination of non-white youth is rather common among door staff at Dutch bars and clubs, and research with qualitative methods according to which youth from Arabic descent fear being halted and banned from entering clubs (Boogaarts, 2008; Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2009).

Thirdly, the study confirms that the effects of surveillance and policing can be ambiguous. For at least for 16% of the participants, the presence or proximity of different manifestations of surveillance and policing actually *reduces* experienced safety. Finally, gender, ethnicity and victimisation are also associated with subjectively experienced safety and results are broadly in line with results reported in the literatures. Nonetheless, the magnitude of (main) effects is perhaps smaller than might be expected on the basis of the emphasis gender, ethnicity and victimisation have received in the (geographical) literatures on fear of crime and emotion (Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007; Johansson et al., 2012). Although the (main) effects for gender and ethnicity on the score for subjective safety are sizeable with approximately ± 0.6 point, they are outweighed by some 30% by those of the visible presence of door staff and police officers. Also, out of a total of six, only one type of victimization, having been followed when going out in the past, is statistically significantly ($p < 0.10$) related to experienced safety.

These results permit us to critically evaluate discourses that link nightlife consumption in city-centres, safety and surveillance and policing. For various reasons, results are not equivocally supportive of the common assumption that greater surveillance and more extensive policing will enhance experiences of safety among visitors of city-centre NTEs and other spaces of consumption. On the basis of the study it would be rather difficult to legitimize the instalment of more CCTV cameras or live watching of recorded footage from nightlife areas on

the ground that they will markedly enhance experiences of safety among visitors of city-centre NTEs in the Netherlands. Additionally, the conclusion that the effects of the presence of door staff depend on consumers' ethnicity raises important questions about whether surveillance and policing interventions are socially just. All in all, it appears that deploying (more) police officers in the space-times of the NTE is both the most effective and a socially just way of increasing experiences of safety among revellers. At the same time, given the ambiguity that seems to inhere in the effects that surveillance and policing interventions generate, it may be inevitable that also the deployment of police officers on the ground will trigger some form of anxiety or fear of crime among a minority of NTE visitors.

On the whole, the findings raise a series of issues for the protagonists of Safe Nightlife Policies in the Netherlands (Van Liempt, 2013) and the securitisation of NTEs more generally. Rather than focusing on the one-dimensional question to what degree increased surveillance and policing will enhance safety among nightlife area visitors, policymakers and other stakeholders (the police, the nightlife industry) should also address questions of paradoxical effects, of social distribution—who may be disadvantaged by increased surveillance and policing and in what ways?—and of whether the purported positive effects are not cancelled out by the (unintended) negative effects that have been discussed here. Such questions are only reinforced if the current findings are combined with results from the authors' earlier research which has suggested inter alia that situations of potential and actual threat appear to be relatively infrequently experienced by most consumers of city-centre nightlife (Brands and Schwanen, 2014).

On a methodological level, we take our combined approach of 'thicker' SP research to make contributions. The paper suggests the possibility of creating a predominantly quantitative approach to the study of safety and fear of crime that strikes a careful and valid balance between context specificity and generalizability. Internal validity of the findings is suggested by the fact that the estimated effects for different manifestations of surveillance and policing on safety are largely in line with a priori expectations based on the authors' previous research with qualitative methods; external validity is enhanced by the way in which the situation that study participants were asked to imagine themselves in was based on narratives of interviewees in our earlier research among young adults in various Dutch

cities. Another advantage is that, by asking study participants to make trade-off between different manifestations of surveillance and policing, the SP approach offers a unique approach to analytically separate the various effects that those manifestations generate. The findings reported in the current paper therefore offer a useful and robust complement to the use of qualitative methods to study fear of crime and safety as situated, embodied and emplaced emotions.

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Notes

¹ The qualifications ‘predominantly’ and ‘mainly’ reflect that in reality quantitative (qualitative) methods are never purely quantitative (qualitative); these categories are better considered as constituting a continuum rather than as mutually exclusive (see also Kwan, 2004; Pavlovskaya, 2006).

² Safe nightlife policies are structured collaborations in which various stakeholders (the city council, the nightlife industry and the police) together aim to reduce violence and disorder, and enhance nightlife consumers’ experience of safety.

³ The use of four versions has a dual advantage: it helps to make the experiment ‘thicker’ and, if individual participants are asked to only evaluate different combinations of surveillance and policing, reduces respondent burden.

⁴ Youth in education make up 86% and 91% of all young people aged 15-19 in Rotterdam and Utrecht, respectively. The percentages drop to 52% (Rotterdam) and 68% (Utrecht) of all young people aged 20-24 (Statistics Netherlands, 2013).

⁵ According to the official definition used by the Dutch government (Statistics Netherlands, 2013), persons are of non-Western descent if they themselves, or at least one of their parents, are born in Africa, Latin America, Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey.

⁶ In January 2014 the minimum age for drinking alcoholic beverages in the Netherlands was raised to 18 years.

⁷ Indicators of education were originally also considered but these were too strongly correlated with age to be included in the final model specifications.

⁸ The assumption in multilevel modelling that the random variable that captures the variation around the fixed effects of surveillance and policing are normally distributed may be overly restrictive, and it needs to be remembered that participants were asked to imagine themselves in a specific situation which they may never—in the specific way it was represented to them—actually experience.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction: safety, surveillance and policing in the night-time economy

The governance of safety in nightlife areas has become an increasingly important topic on policy agendas since around the turn of the millennium. Following the mobilization of more general discourses in Euro-American culture that link nightlife with excessive drinking and alcohol-fuelled crime and disorder, local authorities across the Netherlands and beyond have relied on surveillance and policing interventions to make urban nightlife safer and more enjoyable (Van Liempt, 2013). Such interventions are believed to reduce not only actual crime and disorder but also fear of crime, and to enhance experiences of safety among consumers of urban nightlife. It is, however, not clear whether and, if so, to what extent surveillance and policing actually bolster people's experiences of safety when out at night.

Although the capacities of surveillance and policing to stimulate safety have been examined in various strands of academic literature, and most prominently in surveillance studies, the focus has especially been on the organizational structures and institutional-level power dynamics of surveillance and control. The ways agents of surveillance and policing are experienced in the context of people's everyday lives when out at night have received far less attention (Koskela, 2003a; Friesen et al., 2009; Monahan, 2011). It is for this reason that the current study investigated the effects of surveillance and policing on experienced safety from the perspective of visitors to urban nightlife facilities. In doing so, it sought to integrate and extend three bodies of literature: 1) work in the discipline of urban studies, in particular on nightlife consumption; 2) studies of fear of crime and into the geographies of emotions; and 3) research in the surveillance studies. To study safety, surveillance and policing when out at night, we approached safety and fear of crime as events that emerge from the continuously changing assemblage of elements and agents that necessarily include surveillance and policing, in which individuals as embodied and sentient human beings find themselves. Approached as such, the following research aim was formulated:

Examine how and to what extent nightlife visitors experience safety during nightlife practices, and whether and, if so, how experiences of safety are influenced by surveillance and policing practices in urban nightlife areas.

In what follows, the research questions formulated in Chapter 1 are answered. The subsection 'Questioning excessive drinking, safety, surveillance and policing in the night-time economy' connects the answer to each research question, whilst also reflecting on the existing literature. We then continue with a discussion about the need for and desirability of surveillance and policing in nightlife contexts. This is followed by some practical recommendations on how to surveil and police the night-time economy, as well as how the safety effects of surveillance and policing might best be evaluated. Finally, a new research agenda is proposed.

7.2 Summary of main findings

7.2.1 Research question 1

What distinctive patterns in nightlife consumption practices in city centres can be identified? How do these patterns vary between cities with differences in nightlife infrastructure and the social markers, lifestyle characteristics and past experiences of going out among students?

In line with the qualitative critical urban studies literature, the current study approached nightlife consumption as the complex and comprehensive social activities and consumption practices that take place in cities' nightlife facilities, such as pubs, clubs, cinemas, theatres and so on. Chapter 2 adds a quantified contribution to the literature on nightlife consumption by reporting on the particularities of 414 nights out among students in Utrecht and Rotterdam. It reports patterns in nightlife consumption by employing cluster analyses for each city, and uses discriminant analyses to consider whether differences in participation exist in these clusters.

Like a limited number of other studies (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Roberts et al., 2006; Schwanen et al., 2012; Roberts, 2013), we found important geographical differences in nightlife consumption between Utrecht and Rotterdam. Nightlife consumption takes place in a more spatially concentrated area in Utrecht, at the level of both the municipality and the city centre. Whereas only one in nine visitors to Utrecht's nightlife facilities visited an establishment outside the city

centre, the figure for Rotterdam is one in four. In addition, close to half of all nightlife consumption in Utrecht occurs in a relatively small zone (extending from de Neude towards the east), whereas nightlife consumption in Rotterdam is more evenly distributed over the city centre. Differences in zoning plans between the cities probably explain this phenomenon. Utrecht also has much more of what could be termed a bar culture, whereas a club culture is more evident in Rotterdam. This is explained by the larger share of clubs on offer in Rotterdam compared to Utrecht (see also Table 1.1). Consistent with preliminary observational research (see Schwanen et al., 2012), the results presented in Chapter 2 also indicate that the nightlife crowd in Utrecht is disproportionately white, whereas that in Rotterdam is more ethnically diverse. It could be hypothesized that this is due to a greater diversity in nightlife facilities in Rotterdam, which include an ethnic nightlife scene (see also Boogaarts, 2008; Schwanen et al., 2012). Both findings indicate that the production and consumption of nightlife are linked in important ways (see also Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). Another difference between these cities is that more alcohol is consumed on an average night out in Utrecht compared to Rotterdam.

Reflecting on and juxtaposing the results presented in Chapter 2 with other (mainly UK) studies that investigated nightlife consumption in cities, we note some important differences. In the current study, the majority of nightlife consumers were fairly immobile during their nights out and visited only one nightlife establishment, whereas UK-based literature often reports that multiple or chains of nightlife establishments are visited on one single night out (Chatterton, 1999; Hubbard, 2013; Roberts, 2013). Nights out also tend to commence much later in Utrecht and Rotterdam compared to the UK, possibly reflecting a history of more rigid and standardized closing times in the UK (Bromley et al., 2003; Roberts and Turner, 2005), although these have been liberalized through the 2003 Licencing Act (Talbot, 2006). These findings indicate that geographical differences in nightlife consumption are not limited to the city level, but also exist at the national level, where, as indicated, institutional differences are probably important. More generally, this also means that we should not speak of 'the' night-time economy, as there are important geographical differences in the social and economic activities that make up night-time economies.

Further to this point, the analysis in Chapter 2 also indicates that different types of nightlife consumption exist within Rotterdam and Utrecht, even though they take place in a shared social, cultural, institutional and physical context. For Utrecht, these types were labelled bar crawling, temperate bar consumption, fashionably late clubbing, grouping, and evening entertainment. For Rotterdam, we distinguished between bar consumption, club crawling, temperate clubbing, education related and evening entertainment (for detailed descriptions of these patterns, see Subsections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2). Whereas differences between the types of nightlife consumption are apparent for all variables used in the cluster analysis, they are principally differentiated in terms of the type of nightlife establishment visited. However, the part or region of the city where most of the night was spent and the number of units of alcohol consumed over the entire night also differed substantially between the clusters. The finding that substantial differences exist between the distinguished types of nightlife consumption in terms of alcohol intake is also in contrast to popular discourses, reported in Chapter 1, that depict inner-city nightlife districts as marginal space–times where excessive alcohol consumption is the norm. Although all the distinguished clusters are characterized by the consumption of alcohol, and nightlife activities that extend further into the early hours are characterized by greater consumption, on many occasions people belonging to the evening entertainment clusters, especially in Rotterdam, consumed little or no alcohol. Only the bar crawling (Utrecht) and club crawling (Rotterdam) types of nightlife consumption are dominated by excessive drinking (seven or more standard servings of alcohol),¹ with the other clusters falling between these categories.

Employing discriminant analysis, we also considered whether and, if so, how the mentioned types of nightlife consumption differ along lines of social markers, lifestyle characteristics and past experiences of going out. A notable finding is that people participate in the distinguished types of nightlife consumption quite uniformly. This indicates that future research should make a clear distinction between people’s actual nightlife practices—which we studied—and the initial decision to go out, which according to the literature differs in important ways along lines of age, ethnicity, class and gender. The strongest indicator of a person’s actual nightlife practices is educational attainment, and this is more the case for

Rotterdam compared to Utrecht. In Rotterdam, people receiving the lowest level of tertiary education (MBO) are especially overrepresented in the temperate clubbing cluster, as well as in the club crawling cluster. To a lesser degree, this is also the case for those attending secondary education (VO). In Utrecht, those receiving the lowest level of tertiary education (MBO) are overrepresented in the evening entertainment cluster, but underrepresented in the grouping and bar crawling clusters. In the latter two types of nightlife consumption, people attending applied universities (HBO) and traditional universities (WO) are overrepresented. This finding seems to corroborate preliminary observations that Utrecht nightlife, and especially that in bars, is strongly oriented towards higher educated individuals and young urban professionals (see Schwanen et al., 2012)—as sometimes evidenced by the organization of special nights for these groups, when a university student card must be presented to gain entry or entitles the holder to a discount on the entry fee. This could effectively channel lower educated people into activities that do not have such entry requirements, many of which are clustered in the evening entertainment type of nightlife (e.g. cinemas, pool/snooker centres, bowling alleys).

7.2.2 Research question 2

How do people experience safety and fear of crime during nights out in city centres?

In the present research, we studied safety and fear of crime in public nightlife spaces as events that emerge from the continuously changing assemblage of material and immaterial elements and agents in which individuals as embodied and sentient human beings find themselves. We therefore consider safety and fear of crime to be emergent, relational and embodied. In this, we align ourselves with prevailing perspectives in assemblage theories, the emotional geographies and the feminist geographical literature on fear of crime. We extend these literatures through our specific focus on experienced safety and fear of crime at night during visits to nightlife areas; little research has focussed on these urban spaces and times. To study how people experience safety and fear of crime when out at night, we used qualitative research methods and held two sets of interviews (Chapters 3

and 4), one with students and the other with nightlife consumers more generally. We also designed and applied a quantitative approach (see Chapter 6) to measure, on the basis of questionnaire data, the relationship between experienced safety and fear of crime, and a range of triggers or indicators.

Whereas feminist geographical literature has outlined important gender, age, race and class differences in the experience of fear of crime, we found little evidence for systematic differences in experienced fear of crime along these lines in our interviews (Chapters 3 and 4). Obviously, this is not to suggest that such differences do not exist. The limited sizes of our interview samples are probably an important factor in this outcome. The feminist geographical literature on fear of crime, however, has reported the crucial roles of a wider range of social processes in influencing fear of crime, often differentiated according to the socio-demographic markers of difference mentioned above. These came to the fore throughout the interviews. Previous victimization, storytelling about particular areas and places in cities, and perceptions coloured by media reports are three examples. In line with situational crime prevention theory (see Chapter 1), the interviews also foregrounded a range of environmental factors that trigger the emergence or intensification of fear of crime. These included graffiti, narrow alleys, parks and underpasses, and the absence of light. The presence of 'others' was also often mentioned, for example groups of youths hanging around, ethnic others or drug users. Illustrative of the argument, however, that it is the wider assemblage including the nightlife consumer him- or herself that triggers fear of crime is, for instance, the point made by interviewees that 'stereotypical others' were more likely to trigger fear of crime when encountered in a narrow and dark alley, than in a street lined with nightlife establishments (Chapter 3). This implies that it is important that studies into safety and fear of crime are specific to the particularities of context and situation.

Our approach to studying fear of crime as an event emerging from continuously changing assemblages also drew attention to the irreducibility of ambiguities in the ways that nightlife consumers experience fear of crime during their nights out in city centres. That is, interviews (Chapter 3) indicated that the effects of particular triggers or determinants were not necessarily stable and well-determined, but could increase or decrease fear of crime depending on the particularities of the situation

or assemblage of elements and agents at hand. Such ambiguity was recognized in a variety of forms: 1) across people in a given situation, 2) across situations for a given person, and 3) for a single person in one and the same situation (see Subsection 3.2.4 for more detail). Chapter 3 illustrates and exemplifies these ambiguities through a focus on lighting, present 'others' and policing in nightlife areas. Whereas ambiguities were observed for all these elements, also important differences were foregrounded by the analysis: the effects co-produced by lighting tended to be more stable than those co-produced by police and present others. The presence of the police, for example, could make our interviewees wonder whether something was about to happen, and if so, what. Then again, if something were to happen, it comforted them that the police were around and could intervene.

If important, a framework that departs from and exclusively investigates people's experienced fear of crime when out at night inevitably carries a negative connotation, and is not very informative concerning the ways that people may also have other, more positive experiences when out at night—safety being one of them. In a way, such a perspective is also in contrast to the envisioned pleasure- and fun-oriented nature of nightlife activities that is often believed to be so crucial to the success of the night-time economy (see Chapter 1). The interviews discussed in Chapter 4 were therefore specifically designed to identify the roles and understandings of experienced fear and safety during nights out in city centres more generally. In such a light, we found that our interviewees often mobilized metaphors to put into words positive experiences they felt with and through their bodies while out at night when feeling safe, but that were difficult to express. Safety was understood as something that surrounded them and that they embodied, but did not necessitate a conscious understanding. When experiencing safety in that way, nightlife consumers tended to interact with the world through an on-going and pre-reflective coping, as though on auto-pilot, and were free of care. In these situations, the assemblages of heterogeneous elements that make up the world surrounding the nightlife consumer are ready-to-hand (Schwanen, Banister and Bowling, 2012 in reference to Heidegger, 1962); they constitute a usable and accessible space where things are known and work. We termed this particular way of being 'absorptive coping'; people coped with the affective intensities of their environment without thinking consciously about

safety. Referring to safety as the absence of fear of crime is then both too dualistic and negative; it sidelines and surpasses much of what the actual experience of safety entails. The broader implication of these findings is that they indicate that processes of awareness and consciousness play a crucial role in the experiences of safety and fear of crime in nightlife situations. This also means that awareness structures (which are addressed effectively in phenomenology) deserve greater attention in the emotional geography literature that studies safety experience.

Although interviewees (Chapter 4) said that they experienced safety as absorptive coping in most places and at most times in the public spaces of nightlife areas, they also said that their absorptive coping could always be interrupted against the background of the assemblages of elements and agents surrounding them, taken up and reworked in individual experience. On such occasions the assemblages that made up the world surrounding the nightlife consumer became present-to-hand (Schwanen, Banister and Bowling, 2012 in reference to Heidegger, 1962), and triggered his or her consciousness. Importantly, interviewees suggested that they experienced presence-to-hand differently according to two states of experience, namely 'on the alert' and 'actual danger'. The crucial difference between these is that the former is potential or expected danger, whereas the latter is actual danger. That is, in the former state the total constellation or assemblage of human and non-human elements and agents, including the interviewee, made them feel or anticipate risk and/or the potential for trouble or harm; whereas in the latter state, the respondents referred to actual trouble and/or harm to their corporeal body. Importantly again, and at least in the context of nightlife areas, the latter is therefore limited to encounters with other human beings perceived as having clear intentions to do harm. Contextual factors, acculturation and socialization into particular discourses in themselves did not pose actual trouble and/or harm to interviewees corporeal bodies. For instance, some respondents said that graffiti would not invoke actual danger, but could nonetheless make them alert.

In summary, the results indicate that 1) fear of crime is an event that emerges, increases and/or decreases in relation to particular assemblages of elements and agents in which the nightlife consumer is enmeshed; that 2) ambiguity is an irreducible aspect of fear of crime experienced as part of these assemblages; and that 3) experienced safety should not be reduced to the absence of fear of crime,

but be understood as an emergent set of three meta-stable states of experience. In Chapter 6, we presented a quantitative approach that brings together these three main findings and measures the relationship between experienced safety and a range of triggers or indicators in a specific, paradigmatic nightlife situation derived from preliminary interviewing and observatory research, which was communicated to the respondents using both descriptive and visual tools. The results provide quantified support for the differentiation between the experiential states of being 'on the alert' (typified as the presence of a tense atmosphere) and in 'actual danger' (typified as the approach of a verbally abusive person); significantly lower safety scores were reported for the latter. Respondents also reported greater fear in the presence of an ethnically mixed nightlife crowd, which is most likely connected to broader discussions in the public and political spheres about the failure of multiculturalism and anti-immigration politics in the Netherlands. Contrary to our interviewing approaches, the quantitative approach to experienced safety and fear of crime also afforded the opportunity to account for possible differences along lines of socio-demographic markers. In line with the literature, we found that women and people from Arabic backgrounds tended to report greater fear. Younger students also had lower safety scores. Finally, the method enabled us to measure and quantify ambiguity across people in a given situation (first type;² see above) in the effects of surveillance and policing together with their overall effects on experienced safety. Both are discussed in the following subsection, together with findings based on our other methods.

7.2.3 Research question 3

How and to what degree do surveillance and policing practices affect safety and fear of crime among those visiting nightlife areas during their nights out?

Chapters 3 and 4 approached safety and fear of crime as events that emerge from the continuously changing assemblages of material and immaterial elements and agents in which individuals as embodied and sentient human beings find themselves, and showed lack of safety on people's nights out to be a fairly uncommon event. At the same time, and dependent on the particularities of the

situation or assemblage of elements and agents, certain triggers or determinants were demonstrated to either increase or decrease fear of crime, or to do both at the same time. In light of these findings, to further our understanding of how surveillance and policing affect fear of crime and experienced safety we studied their roles as part of those assemblages in which a lack of safety emerges, and investigated whether ambiguity could be recognized in the ways they affect fear of crime. To report on how surveillance and policing affect safety and fear of crime among visitors to nightlife areas, we built on interviewing (Chapters 3 and 4) and short on-site interviews (Chapter 5). To measure the degree to which these agents affect experienced safety, we drew on results from the quantitative approach introduced in the previous subsection (Chapter 6).

Having conceptualized safety as a range of three meta-stable experiential states, we asked nightlife consumers (Chapter 4) whether the presence of police and CCTV surveillance induces shifts between the states of safety as ‘absorptive coping’, being ‘on the alert’ and experiencing ‘actual danger’. Starting with the latter, our findings indicate that the presence of CCTV cameras does not prevent the suspension of absorptive coping among nightlife consumers. Nor did the interviewees consider that the presence of CCTV cameras could prevent shifts from ‘on the alert’ to ‘actual danger’. CCTV cameras in themselves were also not considered capable of allowing people to regain control over the situation, and therefore induce shifts from ‘actual danger’ or ‘on the alert’ to ‘absorptive coping’. Various reasons were brought forward by the interviewees that explain these findings. In line with the literature, the findings reported in Chapter 5 indicate that knowledge of the presence of CCTV surveillance was limited, which obviously hampers the technology’s effect on experienced safety: those who are unaware of the camera’s presence cannot take its effects into consideration.

We also extend the debate in the literature on CCTV awareness in the sense that we find awareness to be a layered concept rather than a binary phenomenon (aware/unaware). Interviewees linked their knowledge of CCTV cameras to a range of geographical scales, such as ‘big cities’ in the Netherlands, ‘the city’ in which they were interviewed, ‘the nightlife area’ in which they were interviewed or ‘the square’ on which they were interviewed (Chapter 5). Very few people actually knew the exact location of a camera. The implication of this is that many people

may be aware, in the binary sense, that cameras are out there somewhere, but cannot be sure that they are actually under surveillance at those moments when their safety is at stake. The interviews also indicate that knowledge *about* CCTV cameras is severely limited: many nightlife consumers were unsure what a CCTV camera can actually do. Whereas interviewees argued that rapid intervention by emergency services on those occasions they experienced trouble would comfort them, only about one in seven knew about the capacities of CCTV to deploy and direct assistance on the ground. Increasing knowledge both of and about CCTV surveillance should therefore be considered relevant to the effectiveness of CCTV surveillance in enhancing experienced safety when a form or type of threat emerges.

Nevertheless, one in four of our interviewees (Chapter 5) highlighted that incidents in nightlife areas probably unfold faster than CCTV operators can mobilize police and other emergency services to intervene and prevent any harm or injury from being inflicted. Thus, there would still be major limitations to the capacities of CCTV surveillance to enhance experienced safety during encounters in which actual danger emerges—even if knowledge of *and* about CCTV cameras were to be increased. In a sense, the technique always lags behind nightlife consumers' actual and embodied experiences discussed under research question 2. CCTV cameras can and are more likely to empower nightlife consumers in the sense that camera footage can later serve as evidence (something one interviewee illustratively referred to as 'pseudo-safety'), or in the sense that the cameras' operators can help by alerting the emergency services as soon as possible, be this during or shortly after the fearful encounter. That the capacities of CCTV cameras to enhance experienced safety are limited when a particular type of threat emerges, and especially when not watched live, is also corroborated by the outcomes of our quantitative analysis in Chapter 6. Unlike the studies discussed in Chapter 1, our quantitative analysis does not provide evidence that the effects of CCTV surveillance on experienced safety are gendered. More generally, few differences in the effects of CCTV surveillance could be identified along lines of socio-demographic markers, previous experiences and nightlife preferences.

Interviews (Chapter 4) indicate that the capacities of the police to enhance experienced safety are greater compared to that of CCTV surveillance, which is

in line with the literature (Ditton, 2000; Sparks et al., 2001; Klauser, 2007). When interviewees experienced actual danger, a police presence was often considered capable of preventing harm from being done, and could result in a return to being on the alert or absorptive coping. The presence of police was also believed to prevent shifts from on the alert to actual danger. Results presented in both Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 indicate that because police officers are active, reactive, near and visible in ways that CCTV surveillance, however configured, can never be, they can soothe tensions and put an end to dangerous situations through active intervention. The findings reported in Chapter 6 corroborate this: the presence of police officers was twice as important to people's experienced safety compared to a camera that is watched live, and five times as important compared to being in the close proximity of a CCTV camera. The findings presented in Chapter 6 also indicate that the presence of police officers most effectively enhanced safety when respondents experienced actual danger, compared to when they were on the alert. Chapter 6 also considered the extent to which the effects of police depend on or are relational to a person's socio-demographic background, but no statistically significant differences were encountered here. Thus, to a greater or lesser degree, police officers are everybody's friends.

It is in reference to the latter that we find important differences with the ways the presence of private security staff at the entrance to clubs and bars—door staff or bouncers—affect experienced safety: the findings presented in Chapter 6 clearly indicate that the effects of door staff on experienced safety depends on the interviewee's gender and ethnic background. The overall effect of door staff on the interviewees' experienced safety is comparable to that of the police, which is a surprising finding. We considered it likely that the presence of door staff affects experienced safety, but did not expect an effect of this size. The presence of door staff is appreciated more when actual danger is experienced compared to when people are on the alert, as is the case with the presence of police. We therefore emphasize that there is need for studies that further address and scrutinize the ways that door staff affect experienced lack of safety among nightlife consumers. Attention should also be paid to the ways practices among these agents of surveillance might, perhaps unintentionally disadvantage or even exclude particular social groups. The lower valuation of door staff by people from

non-Western backgrounds in terms of experienced safety seems indicative of discrimination against non-white nightlife consumers among door staff at Dutch bars and clubs and/or fear among non-white youths of being refused entry to or banned from nightlife establishments that have door staff.

In line with the points put forward in the critical surveillance studies discussed in Chapter 1, we also encountered ambiguity in the safety effects of surveillance and policing, which was already exemplified for the presence of police under research question 2. Findings from Chapter 4 indicate that greater numbers of police officers, invasive acts, being overly present, and carrying or applying particular objects (e.g. weapons, clothing, vehicles) more easily co-produced situations in which shifts from absorptive coping to being on the alert took place. More generally, this indicates that safety is affected not only by the mere presence of the police, but also by policing-as-practice (see also Cook and Whowell, 2011). The findings presented in Chapter 6 also indicate ambiguity in the effects for all police, door staff and CCTV across people in a given situation: whereas for many interviewees, surveillance and policing enhanced experienced safety in those situations shown to them, for some it actually reduced experienced safety. The finding that ambiguities reside in the effects of surveillance and policing on experienced safety, clearly point towards the idea that the deployment of surveillance and policing in nightlife situations may strongly enhance nightlife consumers' experienced safety, but should be appropriate and proportional to the situation at hand.

7.2.4 Questioning excessive drinking, safety, surveillance and policing in the night-time economy

Having answered the research questions, we can now critically reflect on the problematization of nightlife in the public debate, media and policy circles as unhealthy because of excessive drinking and as a source of alcohol-fuelled crime and disorder, as reported in the literature (Hadfield et al., 2009; Shaw, 2010). Such concerns about the 'darker' sides of nightlife and the night-time economy are connected to broader concerns of national and city-level governments about a lack of safety in public spaces, which is broadly believed to negatively affect a city's

image and urban economy (Bromley et al., 2000; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Van Liempt, 2013). As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, a common response by local policy is the implementation of greater surveillance and policing in the night-time economy in order to mitigate these 'darker' sides of the night-time economy.

Having discussed these issues with nightlife consumers, our first conclusion is that things are not as 'dark' as they are sometimes portrayed. This is for several reasons. Although our concern was not with the health consequences of alcohol consumption as such, the current study has corroborated and provided quantified support to more qualitatively oriented studies in the critical urban studies literature, where it is shown that nightlife should not and cannot be symbolized as inherently alcoholized (Eldridge and Roberts, 2008; Roberts, 2013). Only two of the ten types of nightlife consumption distinguished in this study were characterized by excessive drinking. Although this is reason for concern, it seems unfair to reduce nightlife to the consumption of alcohol. In fact, we believe that if policy aligns with such an idea this might actually reproduce the moral panic that nightlife amounts to little more than the consumption of alcohol. This notwithstanding, Chapter 2 also indicates that the activities of those clusters characterized by excessive drinking (bar crawling in Utrecht and club crawling in Rotterdam) tend to concentrate in relatively central and geographically compact areas, which is suggestive of the existence of what other authors have referred to as 'hot spots' (Block and Block, 1995; Bromley and Nelson, 2002; Hopkins, 2004; Ratcliffe, 2012) for drinking, which in combination with the congregation of many people in particular streets and squares around closing time and the prevalence of bodily affects (e.g. exhaustion, arousal) could result in an increase in uncivilized behaviour, crimes and disorder. These particular types of nightlife consumption should nonetheless be construed in reference to the wider range of social activities that is nightlife, which implies that nightlife policies regarding nightlife consumption, and alcohol intake part of that, should be specific and tailored to the local contexts in which these types occur and account for the broader range of activities that characterize these types of nightlife consumption.

In the same way, we could question whether there is valid reason for concern about nightlife consumer's experiences of safety in the public spaces of nightlife

areas. Even if certain spaces, or ‘hot-spots’, are different from other nightlife spaces and/or daytime spaces more generally, this does not necessarily mean that a lack of safety was experienced in them. In the words of one of the interviewees, who was speaking about his experiences when, late at night, he was crossing the central nightlife square in Utrecht (de Neude) where many nightlife establishments are situated: ‘even though things can get out of control here (...) I just have that feeling of safety’. This particular remark fits in with a more general sentiment among the interviewees (Chapter 4), namely that in most spaces and at most times when out at night, safety was not much of an issue. In these moments they tended not to think consciously about their safety, and they mingled with others and traversed public nightlife spaces as though on auto-pilot; they coped absorptively. On this basis, it seems there is an important discrepancy between the views and concerns about experienced safety on nights out of the actual nightlife visitors, for whom safety is to be sustained or enhanced, and those of other stakeholders. We believe that the ‘visitor perspective’ the current study took was crucial to outline this finding. The above also implies that, above and beyond reporting the ‘safety effects’ of surveillance and policing (do they ‘work?’) as under research question 3, a broader discussion of the overall need for and desirability of surveillance and policing in nightlife contexts is in place. The following section provides such a discussion, and draws on and attempts to connect surveillance and policing with the issue of social justice. That is, it critically reflects on and links queries concerning 1) the need for more surveillance and policing in nightlife contexts in light of the centrality of safety as absorptive coping, 2) the oft presumed point that surveillance and policing (or more surveillance and policing) in nightlife contexts will improve experienced safety, if it is at stake, and 3) whether it does so equally for all who are subject to it.

7.3 The need for and desirability of surveillance and policing

Although the present study primarily investigated the ways surveillance, policing and safety are experienced in public spaces of city centres at night, the findings offer the opportunity to reflect critically on the legitimacy and appropriateness of the ways safety is governed in nightlife areas. The literature in critical surveillance

studies has been concerned with these issues, and authors have made considerable efforts to understand and reflect on the rise of surveillance and policing as part of society at large. Surveillance and policing practices have become vehicles to manage social relations and policy, to enhance economic competitiveness and to enact an 'urban renaissance' more generally (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995; Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998; Hughes 1999; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hubbard, 2005; Hadfield et al., 2009; Pratt, 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a,b). Concerns have nonetheless been expressed that the increase in surveillance and policing (securitization) has created urban environments that are increasingly predictable, sanitized and secured. Paralleling these developments is the cultivation of social subjectivities through which the unclean, the petty, the 'violators' and at times even the non-consuming are positioned as 'strangers' and 'abnormal'—people who need to be kept under surveillance and in some cases even removed from public spaces in contemporary cities (Coleman, 2004).

The concerns articulated by Coleman and others do not focus specifically on the city centre night-time economy, but resonate with discussions in the urban studies literature on the possibility of the exclusion of particular social groups from nightlife activities (Bromley et al, 2003; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hobbs et al., 2003; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Sheard, 2011; Schwanen et al. 2012; Heebels, forthcoming). It is therefore important to critically audit the results we have reported against this background and the topic of social justice. In such a light, Chapter 2 indicates important differences in the ways young people from different educational backgrounds participate in the night-time economy of Rotterdam, and to a lesser extent in that of Utrecht. Further analysis is needed to understand the mechanisms through which these differences take shape, but exclusionary practices are among the possibilities; literature has reported about 'student only' nights (Chatterton, 1999), when entry is dependent upon possession of a valid university student card. Our analysis in Chapter 2, however, investigated differences in nightlife consumption among those who do go out, and therefore cannot say much about those who choose to refrain from going out and therefore may 'self-exclude' themselves from nightlife activities. The results presented in Chapter 6, however, indicate that nightlife consumers from Arabic backgrounds had lower overall safety scores compared to those from Western

backgrounds. This intimates 'self-exclusion', which might be due to a more general lack of feelings of belonging and/or safety. Results from preliminary observations reported in Schwanen and colleagues (2012) suggest that at least some non-white youths avoid certain premises that have door staff. They also indicate that nightlife spaces that are more diverse in terms of the ethnicity of the nightlife crowd are more intensely surveilled by the police (Schwanen et al., 2012, p. 278). Most prominently, we are inclined to interpret the lower safety scores reported by ethnic minorities in Chapter 6 when door staff are in their close proximity as indicative of more general and negative experiences with these surveillance actors, having been denied entrance, for example, or having experienced aggression. Against a background of the securitization of nightlife areas, the above findings are suggestive, each in its own way, of the exclusion of particular social groups from nightlife activities.

To draw conclusions about the need for and desirability of surveillance and policing, these findings should be linked to the finding that in most spaces and at most times when out at night, safety was not much of an issue and our interviewees tended to cope absorptively much of the time. It is tempting, and feasible, to interpret this (as protagonists of environmental perspectives on fear and safety would perhaps do) as a sign that the local 'safe nightlife' policies (Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012; Van Liempt, 2013) have in fact been quite successful—issues regarding social exclusion reported notwithstanding: CCTV surveillance and the presence of police officers and door staff could be credited for their safety-enhancing capacities, helping to bring about the state of experience that makes it unnecessary for nightlife consumers to think about their own safety. Another interpretation would be, however, that because safety as absorptive coping is so fundamental to nightlife consumers' experiences, there is in fact little need for surveillance and policing. Obviously, here we reach a partially methodological impasse, which is further discussed in sections 7.5 and 7.6. We nonetheless suggest that, because experienced safety already tended to be the norm rather than moments characterized by a lack thereof, increases in surveillance and policing (for at least the three actors the present study focussed on) in nightlife contexts seem quite unnecessary, and not legitimizable if the aim is to enhance experienced safety. This is for several reasons.

- The findings reported above suggest that the presence of private security at the entrance to bars or clubs might be related to the exclusion of particular social groups from nightlife. This could also mean that with increases in private security, the degree to which such groups are and/or feel excluded also increases, which is unacceptable from a ‘socially just’ point of view.
- The position adopted above is supported by the scepticism about the capacity of CCTV surveillance to affect experienced safety (see research question 3) voiced by nightlife consumers, and especially on those occasions nightlife consumers were on the alert and/or experienced actual danger.
- The findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4 strongly suggest that increasing the number of police officers on the streets in nightlife areas can also raise awareness among nightlife consumers about possible harm that could befall them.

At the same time, we should not disregard the point made by interviewees that things can always turn sour on nights out, and that if they do, in general they appreciate the presence of surveillance and policing. We would then concur with the point that at least some surveillance and policing is desirable in public nightlife spaces, as long as their implementation does not follow a ‘one size fits all’ approach and is not regarded as a quick and general fix. Rather, their enactment should be made specific to the particularities of the social situations they are intended to act upon and affect experienced safety in. Striking a careful balance in terms of type of actors, their appearances and practices, as well as their presence and absence, is of the utmost importance in that regard. What is required is a surveillance network in nightlife areas that adapts and is proportional to the encounters that cause fear to emerge on people’s nights out. The obvious question following such a statement is, how?

7.4 Regulating the night-time economy

We argued above that there should be at least some surveillance and policing in nightlife areas. Here, we present some suggestions as to how this could be

organized. In the final subsection, we advocate a shift in the logic underlying and the rhetoric about the regulation of nightlife areas.

7.4.1 Nurture welcome and safe nightlife

Although it is important to reflect on the ways securitization through surveillance and policing may contribute to nightlife consumers' experiences of safety, it is equally important to ensure that its implementation does not come at the cost of unwittingly excluding or disadvantaging particular social groups or individuals. Regulatory approaches to nightlife, then, should not compromise Nussbaum's (2003, p. 42) 'capability of play', whereby everyone has the right to laugh, to play and to enjoy recreational activities—in our case, in those nightlife facilities on offer in cities. To host 'enjoyable and safe nightlife' (see Chapter 1), we therefore argue that it is essential that those in charge of Safe Nightlife policies (Van Liempt, 2013) ensure that the interventions implemented do not co-produce situations in which absorptive coping is suspended in nightlife consumers, and treat every 'well-behaved'³ nightlife consumer equally and are just to all who wish to laugh, play and enjoy, irrespective of their backgrounds.

This means that municipalities should be critical about how they govern their nightlife. Obviously, discriminatory acts in the cities' hospitality industry should not be tolerated. Here, both Utrecht and Rotterdam do well in providing contact points to report misbehaviour that nightlife consumers encounter at the doors to or inside nightlife establishments (Utrecht, 2014c; Rotterdam, 2014c). More generally, municipalities and the nightlife industry should think about how surveillance and policing can be practised in a way that is neutral in terms of stereotyping. Of course, the feasibility of such a practice is questionable. One effective way of at least nuancing these issues is to employ a mixed group of people, especially in terms of ethnicity and gender (Heebels, forthcoming), as surveillance agents. This might help to reduce the degree to which particular groups of nightlife consumers or individuals are actively singled out on the basis of prejudices founded on their appearance. At the same time, municipalities can take a more proactive role in diversifying nightlife, in order to welcome and stimulate diversity in terms of the crowd it attracts. In this, we align with critical comments

that authors such as Chatterton and Hollands (2003) and Gallan (2014) have made about the on-going marginalization of alternative, traditional or non-mainstream nightlife (see Chapter 1), as we observed that most nightlife facilities in Utrecht are oriented towards a highly homogeneous and mainstream type of nightlife that mainly attracts white university students and young urban professionals (see Schwanen et al, 2012). The nightlife facilities in the city centre of Rotterdam are more diverse, and tend to attract a more mixed crowd. Planning for a greater variety of nightlife establishments might thus render a more inclusive and socially mixed crowd. Although a more mixed nightlife crowd might sometimes be associated with more trouble—as the results presented in Chapter 6 also seem to suggest—marginalizing particular types of nightlife and their usual visitors from city centres should not be considered a way to get to the root of such a problem. In fact, doing so would probably only emphasize differences. Rather than going for the ‘easy fix’, efforts should focus on the structural problem in society, namely that diversity and difference are perceived as alienating.

In nightlife areas that are welcome and diverse, surveillance and policing should be implemented in such a way that it does not unintentionally co-produce experiences of being on the alert, and hence result in a shift away from people’s on-going and pre-reflective coping with the world we termed ‘safety as absorptive coping’. Municipalities should therefore be reserved with the implementation of invasive policing approaches and giving support to zero-tolerance policing philosophy. Our findings suggest that greater numbers of police officers—especially if on horseback or in cars or vans, and carrying truncheons or heavier weaponry—sooner attract the attention of nightlife consumers and co-produce imagined futures of harm and disorder. Contrary to such approaches, we argue that in situations in which safety as absorptive coping prevails, it would best be nurtured by having police remain in the background and employ more friendly approaches, such as patrolling on foot or bicycle.

7.4.2 Safety returns

At the same time, the present study substantiates that, although infrequently, nightlife consumers can become on the alert and/or experience actual danger

during their nights out. On such occasions, they want a rapid return to a situation in which they can again be free of care. Our empirical analysis highlights that in the context of the night-time economy, the police play a unique role in that regard. Because police officers on the ground are active and reactive, human, near and visible, they are broadly believed to enable shifts back to safety as absorptive coping by bringing calm to tense situations or putting an end to dangerous situations. In other words, when people experience a certain degree of threat, the police should actively intervene rather than remain in the background. This has several important implications.

More generally, it indicates that it is unwise to replace human surveillance agents (e.g. the police) on the ground with CCTV surveillance, as the former can intervene directly. This is because CCTV cameras cannot intervene in situations there-and-then and prevent harm or injury being done to nightlife consumers, or reduce such harm or injury. It should therefore not be claimed that CCTV cameras in themselves can 'stimulate' safety, and the implementation of the technique should therefore also not be communicated to the public as such. The technique (if watched live, as an important condition) can nonetheless improve response times by other agents who can intervene in threatening situations or when harm is done, and such a function is important. After all, the police cannot, and indeed should not, be around all the time because—as we have argued above—this only introduces the risks that they will induce shifts away from safety as absorptive coping on the basis of their acts and presence.

We suggest that smart combinations of a variety of surveillance and policing actors are the key to more efficient and effective surveillance and policing. These combinations should afford better coordination regarding where and when to be present to restore safety as absorptive coping by assisting nightlife consumers, and when to be absent in order to nurture absorptive coping and not unwittingly drawing nightlife consumers away from this experiential state. The CCTV surveillance and on-street policing that are currently present in nightlife areas should therefore be configured (or reconfigured) in concert, so that the police mostly remain in the background but can swiftly intervene and be directed to places where incidents occur, on the basis of live feedback from CCTV control rooms. Although such networks of surveillance are already in place, their workability and

efficiency can be further improved (Smith, 2007; Van Liempt and Van Aalst, 2012; Heebels, forthcoming), as the literature has suggested that mutual trust and/or understanding between different surveillance agents is sometimes lacking (Smith, 2007). This might be improved by letting employees ‘walk a mile in each other’s shoes’, providing a realistic view of the restrictions that are in place with either party. The findings presented in Chapter 6 also indicated that door staff may stimulate safety quite efficiently when a certain degree of threat presents itself, but at the same time important differences between social groups were outlined. Although further integration of these actors into the surveillance network in nightlife areas seems promising, further thinking is required about how this can be achieved in a way that is neutral and socially just. Below, we discuss the broader implications of our suggestions and advocate a shift in the logic underlying and the rhetoric about the regulation of nightlife areas.

7.4.3 ‘Shifting’ policies?

On the basis of the above discussion, we argue that to govern safety in nightlife areas, municipalities should first and foremost appreciate, and in their thinking about safety should depart from, what is already positive about nightlife rather than immediately framing it into a hegemonic ‘negative’ and fear-centred fix. Such a principle aligns better with our interviewees’ actual experiences during their nights out. It also connects better to the initial intentions of the city planners who influenced the mobilisation of the urban revitalization literature, and argued that economies of city centres can be stimulated by infusing them with pleasure, fun and culture oriented modes of consumption (Hall and Hubbard, 1996; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a), as discussed in Chapter 1, thereby welcoming the night-time consumer.

In contrast, we posit that there are pitfalls to more ‘negative’ approaches to governing nightlife referred to earlier. Our analysis has indicated that placing greater emphasis on control and security can also, and in itself, signal that safety is at stake. Such an emphasis could therefore have the unintended consequence of suggesting that disorder and incivilities are somehow the norm in urban nightlife districts, and thus might reinforce moral panics about binge-drinking and the

night as a time of excess and danger, rather than of laughter, play and enjoyment (Nussbaum, 2003, p. 42)

Our point is, of course, not that the repression of danger is irrelevant. On the contrary, the visible presence of police officers was appreciated by our interviewees when absorptive coping was suspended. But it should be considered highly unlikely that fear and bad incidents (which our interviewees said are fairly rare occurrences in the city centres of Utrecht and Rotterdam) can be banished completely from the public spaces of the night-time economy through a greater emphasis on surveillance and policing—in part given its emotionally charged nature reported in Chapter 1. In a way, such efforts may also be undesirable in the sense that they make public spaces homogeneous, sterile, lifeless and disheartened. It would therefore be more productive to reverse the logic and depart from a reasoning that to ‘govern safety’ in nightlife areas, it is imperative to stimulate pleasure, fun and enjoyment as much as possible, and to let the darker sides of the night-time economy fade into a fitting role; that is, not constantly on the minds of well-behaved nightlife consumers but incidental, to be acted upon if necessary.

7.5 Determining and measuring effectiveness

Studying nightlife, safety and surveillance through a multiple method approach was important to the overall research process and the results presented in this thesis. The preliminary observations (see Schwanen et al., 2012) and two series of interviews (Chapters 3 and 4) at the start of the research project were very valuable because they informed, in fact were central to the design of the survey on which Chapters 2 and 6 report. On that account, there are several methodological implications of the current study that should be borne in mind in future research and policy appraisal.

Our exploration of how people experience safety as part of their nights out showed that there are significant methodological problems with the use of direct questions during interviews and in questionnaires used to investigate the influence of surveillance and policing interventions on perceived safety. As indicated by the interviews (Chapter 4), nightlife consumers often tend not to think about

the presence of surveillance and policing while they are in the state of safety as absorptive coping. Therefore, asking nightlife consumers about the safety effects of surveillance and policing draws those experiences into the realm of reflection and hence transcends their on-going and pre-reflective coping, which we found to be so central to experienced safety as absorptive coping. That is, although studies (Middleton, 2010; Kleres, 2011; Hitchlings, 2012; Ellis et al., 2013) have argued that people can speak about their emotions, feelings and practices, it is nonetheless likely that an important part of what lived experiences of safety entail will be sidelined in reflective accounts. It might even be the case that in those moments that people reflect on the effects of surveillance and policing, particular aspects of increasing safety might be unwittingly prioritized over others because they have acquired a more central position in thinking about safety among researchers and politicians. CCTV surveillance might be one of these. On the other hand, researchers can ask questions about those occasions when people fear crime or experience actual danger, and what interventions are effective on such occasions. After all, it is then that a cognitive reorientation takes place towards the assemblage of elements and agents the nightlife consumer is part of, on the basis of which people can properly reflect during interviews or when answering pre-formulated questions in questionnaires. Research should then ask people to imagine themselves to be part of a specific situation, the characteristics of which have been carefully designed on the basis of in-depth qualitative research. The type of threat they are facing should be clear to the respondents, namely one that typifies experiences of either being on the alert or being in actual danger. Hence, we advise those who are interested in measuring fear of crime to use an approach similar to the one we employed in Chapter 6.

7.6 New research agendas

In line with approaches in the emotional geographies, the present research shows that safety is best understood as a transient and situational reciprocity between the particularities of place and person. At the same time, a phenomenological perspective that has centred on structures of unconsciousness and perception themselves, has illustrated that much of what safety entails remains inexplicit to people. Rather, it inheres not only in the reciprocity referred to above, but also in an

on-going and pre-reflective mode of perception. To others interested in subjective safety experiences, we therefore advise continuing, and taking an interest in both the emotional geographies and phenomenological theory. More specifically, we suggest that more attention is due to what we have termed safety 'absorptive coping'. Is this way of being in the world also as central, or even transferable, to other space-times/contexts? And are the other states we recognized? Is there more?

On another note, it would be especially interesting if future research were better able to advance our understanding of how different human, non-human, discursive and all other bodies that make up everyday life situations (Anderson, 2009 p. 80) actually affect our safety as absorptive coping. Whereas our analysis focused on analysing how safety experience is nurtured by considering what induces shifts away from this experiential state, and has made advances in such a light, another question is whether and, if so, how people could be kept in such a mode of experience (using stimuli). It is quite odd to us that this means asking how to stimulate people 'not to perceive consciously'. This question has simultaneously intrigued and perplexed us, but we were unable to report on it using the social research methods we employed. Perhaps building bridges and intensive collaborations with fields beyond geography (and surveillance studies) could purposefully advance these matters. Besides this broader purview of a research agenda to be developed further and/or pursued, there are also some more concrete directions in which some or all of the geographies of nightlife, safety and surveillance and policing could be elaborated further.

The study of surveillance and policing in public nightlife settings can be thematically broadened. The current study primarily focussed on CCTV and police surveillance, but we are well aware that 'there's more surveillance in town'. The safety effects of door staff deserve greater attention than they received in this thesis (in part because the analysis in Chapter 6 yields some interesting results), as do the effects of other actors such as private security firms, voluntary organizations (e.g. neighbourhood vigilante groups or street pastors) and, of course, nightlife consumers (Loader, 2000; Yarwood, 2007; Hadfield et al., 2009; Middleton and Yarwood, 2013; Timan, 2013). Few studies have focused on the ways these agents themselves, let alone in concert, may or may not be beneficial to experienced

safety.

The study of the safety and surveillance of people on their nights out can also be spatially broadened. Although this study explored safety and surveillance as part of public spaces in cities where large concentrations of nightlife establishments are situated, our interviewees repeatedly referred to other contexts that had mobilized fear of crime, or in which they had experienced actual danger. Returning to their homes after a night out is probably the most prominent of those contexts. This, in a way, suggests that there is more to governing safe nightlife than securing city centre areas; after all, a night out starts and ends at a person's front door. This generates new questions concerning the spatial concentration of surveillance and policing, and who is responsible for safety provision, let alone the actual feasibility of safe and enjoyable nightlife. In addition, the focus of this study was on the Dutch context. Yet, at various points a comparison with British literature brought to light quite sizeable differences, especially in the literature on nightlife consumption and participation. Debates would therefore, and especially, be furthered with other and additional contributions from outside the UK context.

We also propose that the methodological toolbox that is currently applied to explore surveillance and policing and fear of crime can be broadened. That is, whereas much research on these topics (at least in geography) currently has an inclination towards more qualitatively inspired research methodology (Pain, 2000; Little et al., 2005), greater critical consciousness among geographers and developments in quantitative research techniques (Schwanen and Kwan, 2009) have paved the way to further study the problematic of fear of crime, and to do so from different angles. We illustrated one such approach in Chapter 6. In so doing, we hope to have inspired others to adopt similar approaches to the topics under research. Such a suggestion comes not from dissatisfaction with other research methodologies, but from the recognition that policy is still often 'supported by numbers and quantitative analysis' (Schwanen and Kwan 2009, p. 283). Practising critically inspired quantitative approaches and applying the latest research techniques might stimulate the transferral of theory into practice.

Most important, however, we consulted those for whom surveillance is fundamentally intended: visitors to nightlife areas. We think this is important

when speaking about interventions in public spaces in cities more generally. It not only conveys the message that science and politics take ‘the public’ seriously, but also decreases the likelihood that large sums of money will be spent on interventions in public spaces in search of a mare’s nest. Having outlined current and fundamental differences between the logics of visitors to nightlife areas and those in charge of the application of (especially CCTV) surveillance and policing in terms of safety effects, we strongly advise those who are interested in further exploring safety, surveillance and policing in city centres at night to take seriously the first-hand and everyday experiences of nightlife visitors, and to fully appreciate them as knowledgeable and important agents in the issues at stake in contemporary nightlife spaces, as well as more generally (see also Lane et al., 2011). The use of participatory methods might be especially useful to arrive at a surveillance and policing apparatus that is both proportional and legitimate. That is, such approaches could be used to determine and better understand which type of surveillance is ‘needed’ where and when, and what an enjoyable night out is for people. Connecting the two offers a different and additional perspective on surveillance and policing in nightlife contexts. It makes us realize that what might be beneficial during a particular person’s night out in terms of surveillance is not necessarily so for another. It both enables an approach and contributes to the broader goal, that is, to host or facilitate a welcome and safe nightlife.

Notes

¹ On average, people who drink seven or more standard servings of alcohol are categorized as intoxicated/drunk (*zat/dronken* in Dutch), based on a typology formulated by the Dutch Trimbos Institute (2014).

² The second type (across situations for a given person) and third type (for a single person in one and the same situation) could not be modelled using the approach we took.

³ Aware of the evasive nature of such a term, we do not consider this the place to draw explicitly on what behaviour would fall in such a category and what would not.

8 Nederlandse samenvatting. Veiligheid, toezicht en handhaving in uitgaansgebieden: de bezoeker aan het woord

8.1 Leuk én veilig uitgaan in de binnenstad

Als de nacht valt veranderen stadscentra van decor: uitgaansgelegenheden openen hun deuren en vullen de straten met kleurige lampen en neon lichten en gedempte flarden van muziek. Een af en aan van mensen op straat die zich in en uit uitgaansgelegenheden bewegen, en in contact komen met medebezoekers. De uitgaansavond begint. In dit onderzoek wordt ‘uitgaan’ opgevat als het scala aan sociale activiteiten—en de daaraan gerelateerde consumptie—in cafés, disco’s, clubs, theaters, bioscopen etc. die plaatsvinden tussen 20.00 uur en sluitingstijd. Vanaf de jaren ’90 werd het faciliteren van een bruisend nachtleven gezien als een belangrijk aspect om de stedelijke economie te versterken. In dat kader spreekt men in de Engelstalige literatuur ook wel over de ‘night-time economy’ waarmee een directe relatie wordt gelegd tussen het uitgaansleven, de economische waarde en de internationale stedenstrijd. Een spetterend nachtleven zou attractief zijn voor bezoekers, de leegloop van hoger opgeleide en vermogende inwoners uit (binnen)steden tegengaan en het imago van de stad verbeteren (Bianchini, 1995; Lovatt and O’Connor, 1995; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a).

Stadsbestuurders en politici hebben er baat bij de schaduwkanten van de nacht te bedwingen, willen ze van de consumptiegerichte night-time economy een succes kunnen maken. Het optimisme over de meerwaarde van de nachteconomie staat in groot contrast met de overwegend negatieve berichtgeving van het nachtleven in zowel onderzoek als media. De aandacht gaat veelal uit naar asociaal gedrag en overlast. Media rapporteren regelmatig over incidenten en vechtpartijen in uitgaansgebieden. Het (excessieve) alcoholgebruik onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden wordt daarbij vaak als hoofdverantwoordelijke aangewezen. Dergelijke ongeregelde heden zijn niet goed voor het imago van het uitgaansleven en de stad; ze zouden gevoelens van onveiligheid veroorzaken onder bezoekers, waardoor deze weg blijven. De kwaliteitsmeter Veilig Uitgaan van het Centrum Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid (CCV) stelt dan ook dat ‘een avondje uitgaan leuk, gezellig én veilig [moet] zijn. Het uitgaanspubliek wil kunnen stappen in een prettige sfeer. Ook de gemeente, horeca en politie en omwonenden hebben daar belang bij. Een uitgaansgebied met aandacht voor veiligheid komt de werkomgeving van het horecapersoneel en de politie ten goede (...) [en geeft] de

hele gemeente een positieve impuls' (CCV, 2011, p. 1). Om de bovengenoemde donkere kanten van de stedelijke nacht te beheersen, en veiligheidsgevoelens te vergroten, wordt er sinds het nieuwe millennium een Veilig Uitgaan beleid gevoerd in veel Nederlandse steden (Van Liempt, 2013). Wet- en regelgeving zijn een belangrijk onderdeel binnen dit lokale beleid, evenals interventies in de stedelijke openbare ruimte¹. Maar vooral de implementatie van cameratoezicht en meer blauw op straat zijn centrale, maar ook zeer zichtbare, uitingen. Ook is er steeds meer private beveiliging aanwezig in uitgaansgebieden, zoals portiers voor de ingang van uitgaansgelegenheden.

Of dergelijke vormen van toezicht ook daadwerkelijk gevoelens van veiligheid stimuleren onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden is niet geheel duidelijk. Enerzijds is er weinig onderzoek gedaan naar de beleving van openbare ruimten tijdens de avond en nacht. Anderzijds is er nog weinig bekend over de beleving van toezicht en handhaving door diegenen 'onder toezicht', en de gevoelens en emoties die het oproept. In dit onderzoek is dan ook gekozen voor het perspectief van de bezoeker van uitgaansgebieden. Daarbij staat de volgende onderzoeksvraag centraal: *in hoeverre ervaren bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden veiligheid tijdens hun avond uit en op welke wijze wordt dit beïnvloed door toezicht en handhaving?*

Deze hoofdvraag is opgedeeld in een drietal deelvragen die in de volgende hoofdstukken worden behandeld:

1. Welke patronen in uitgaansgedrag zijn te identificeren en hoe varieert dit uitgaansgedrag tussen steden en bezoekers?
2. Hoe ervaren bezoekers gevoel van (on)veiligheid gedurende hun avonden uit?
3. Op welke wijze beïnvloeden toezicht en handhaving deze gevoelens van (on)veiligheid onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden?

Het onderzoek concentreert zich op binnenstedelijke uitgaansgebieden in twee Nederlandse steden: Utrecht en Rotterdam (en in hoofdstuk vier aangevuld met onderzoek in Groningen). De reden hiervoor zijn de verschillen in het aanwezige toezichtapparaat, het aanbod aan uitgaansgelegenheden en de meer algemene bevolkingsopbouw. Er is daarnaast niet één soort bezoeker: in het onderzoek

worden persoonlijke kenmerken als geslacht, leeftijd, afkomst, opleidingsniveau, verschil in leefstijl en eerdere ervaringen tijdens het uitgaan meegenomen. Op basis van een combinatie aan observerend onderzoek, drie reeksen interviews en een grootschalige enquête worden de hierboven geformuleerde vragen beantwoord.

Deze dissertatie bestaat uit een bundeling van vijf artikelen (hoofdstukken twee tot en met zes) voorafgegaan door en afgesloten met respectievelijk een introductie en algemene conclusie. Deze Nederlandse samenvatting geeft een overzicht van de belangrijkste empirische resultaten uit de vijf artikelen en biedt een summier overzicht van conclusies, beleidsimplicaties en aanbevelingen voor toekomstig onderzoek.

8.2 Uitgaanspatronen in Utrecht en Rotterdam

Het tweede hoofdstuk in deze dissertatie richt zich op uitgaanspatronen: hoe, waar, wanneer en met wie bezoeken jongeren uitgaansgelegenheden in Rotterdam en Utrecht; welke vormen van uitgaan zijn er zoal te onderscheiden? En verschillen deze vormen van uitgaan tussen bezoekers? Zodoende wordt er in hoofdstuk twee een antwoord geformuleerd op de eerste onderzoeksvraag; *welke patronen in uitgaansgedrag zijn te identificeren en hoe varieert dit uitgaansgedrag tussen steden en bezoekers?*

Binnen de geografische literatuur zijn er twee onderwerpen met betrekking tot uitgaan die relatief veel aandacht hebben gekregen: uitsluiting van specifieke groepen in het uitgaansleven en alcoholconsumptie tijdens het uitgaan (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008; Grazian, 2009; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Jayne et al., 2011; Sheard, 2011; Roberts, 2013). Bovenstaand onderzoek laat ook zien dat processen van uitsluiting en alcoholconsumptie het best begrepen kunnen worden door deze te plaatsen binnen uitgaansgedrag in meer algemene termen, in plaats van ze als 'geïsoleerde' fenomenen te bestuderen. Daarbij heeft bovengenoemd onderzoek met name gebruik gemaakt van kwalitatieve onderzoeksmethoden. Dat betekent tegelijkertijd dat bovengenoemd betekenisvol onderzoek maar gedeeltelijk in staat is geweest om na te gaan of

er patronen bestaan in uitsluiting, consumptie van alcohol tijdens uitgaan en uitgaansgedrag meer algemeen.

Met behulp van een enquête zijn 414 jongeren in de leeftijdsgroep 16-25 gevraagd naar de details van hun laatste avond uit: de locatie van en type bezochte uitgaansgelegenheden, aankomst- en vertrektijd in het uitgaansgebied, de kenmerken van de groep waarmee is uitgegaan en de genuttigde hoeveelheid alcohol. Wanneer de uitgaansavonden van de jongeren in Utrecht en Rotterdam met elkaar worden vergeleken blijken er aanzienlijke verschillen te bestaan. In Utrecht is sprake van een barcultuur terwijl er in Rotterdam een relatief groot aandeel uitgaanders een club bezoekt. Daarnaast vindt uitgaan in Utrecht plaats in een ruimtelijk meer geconcentreerd gebied (hoofdzakelijk de binnenstad) dan in Rotterdam. Ook wordt in Utrecht gemiddeld meer alcohol gedronken op een avond uit dan in Rotterdam. Tevens blijkt dat het uitgaanspubliek in Utrecht disproportioneel 'wit' is, terwijl in Rotterdam sprake is van een meer etnisch divers uitgaanspubliek. Deze uitkomst komt overeen met resultaten uit eerder door ons uitgevoerde observaties in o.a. Rotterdam en Utrecht (zie Schwanen et al., 2011, p. 2082).

Tegelijkertijd toont de analyse dat er niet enkel tussen, maar ook binnen Utrecht en Rotterdam grote verschillen bestaan in uitgaansgedrag. Er kunnen vijf verschillende patronen in uitgaansgedrag worden onderscheiden voor iedere stad. Deze typen uitgaansgedrag zijn het sterkst gedifferentieerd in termen van bezochte uitgaansgelegenheden. Opvallend is dat er in Utrecht twee verschillende typen uitgaansgedrag worden onderscheiden waarin barbezoek centraal staat. Dit is ook het geval voor uitgaansgedrag getypeerd door clubbezoeken in Rotterdam. Maar ook de locatie van de bezochte uitgaansgelegenheden in de stad en de hoeveelheid genuttigde alcohol blijken van belang in het onderscheiden van deze uitgaanspatronen (zie paragrafen 2.4.1 en 2.4.2 voor een uitgebreide beschrijving van de verschillende uitgaanspatronen). Hoewel het zo lijkt te zijn dat uitgaan vaak samengaat met alcoholconsumptie, zijn er ook uitgaanders te onderscheiden die nauwelijks of niet drinken. Dat er aanzienlijke verschillen bestaan in alcoholconsumptie tussen de verschillende uitgaanstypen staat in schril contrast met het populaire discours waarin uitgaan, alcohol en ongeregelde heden veelal onder dezelfde noemer vallen. Het blijkt ook dat deelname binnen een type

uitgaansgedrag met name samenhangt met opleidingsniveau, vooral in Rotterdam.

8.3 De rol van ambiguïteit in ervaring van 'fear of crime'

Het derde hoofdstuk gaat in op de onderzoeksvraag: *hoe ervaren bezoekers gevoel van (on)veiligheid gedurende hun avonden uit?* Binnen de sociaalgeografische literatuur is er met name onderzoek gedaan naar 'fear of crime' (vrij vertaald: angst voor criminaliteit of misdaad). Daarbij zijn twee tradities te onderscheiden. Binnen de situationele/fysieke benadering wordt 'fear of crime' gezien als een individuele emotie die beïnvloed kan worden door veranderingen in de fysieke ruimte. Men veronderstelt dat crimineel of ongewenst gedrag kan worden gereduceerd door middel van ingrepen in de fysieke ruimte. Hierdoor zullen anderen minder 'fear of crime' ervaren (Clarke, 1995; Carmona, 2010). Ook het plaatsen van camera's en de implementatie van bijvoorbeeld politietoezicht, worden vaak geassocieerd met deze traditie. De sociaal constructivistische benadering koppelt een sociale betekenis aan de individuele ervaring van 'fear of crime'. Zaken als geruchten, media, dagelijkse gesprekken en culturele reproductie van ideologieën, over bijvoorbeeld opvoeding en man-vrouw verhoudingen, spelen een rol bij de totstandkoming van deze sociale betekenissen, en beïnvloeden hoe specifieke plaatsen in de stad ervaren worden door het individu. Het derde hoofdstuk combineert de twee tradities en bestudeert hoe 'fear of crime' in uitgaangebieden wordt ervaren.

Daarbij richt het empirische deel van het hoofdstuk zich specifiek op de vraag hoe 'ongewenste anderen', politieagenten en straatverlichting in uitgaansgebieden 'fear of crime' beïnvloeden. We constateren ambiguïteiten en tegenstrijdigheden (1) binnen personen (2) tussen personen en (3) tussen verschillende situaties. Ambiguïteit wordt daarbij opgevat als het ontbreken van stabiele, welbepaalde effecten met betrekking tot 'wat' 'fear of crime' veroorzaakt. Zo ervaren bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden de aanwezigheid van politie soms op als 'wat is hier aan de hand of wat staat hier te gebeuren' terwijl diezelfde aanwezigheid ook geruststellend werkt. Als er daadwerkelijk wat zou gebeuren, kan aanwezige politie direct ingrijpen. De aanwezigheid van een persoon in een donker steegje roept ook andere gevoelens op dan wanneer deze persoon op een groot plein had gestaan. Er

wordt ook divers gedacht over bezoekers die buiten bij uitgaansgelegenheden staan. Omdat de meeste bezoekers zich kunnen identificeren met deze ‘anderen’ op basis van eerdere ervaringen en socialisatie processen over stereotypen die door de tijd tot stand zijn gekomen is de aanwezigheid vaak ‘gezellig’ of ‘prettig’. Voor enkele bezoekers gaat er echter een vorm van dreiging uit van een dergelijke situatie: de personen voor de bar zijn waarschijnlijk dronken en daarom onberekenbaar.

Het vaststellen van ambiguïteiten binnen het ervaren van *fear of crime* betekent in meer algemene zin dat—waar het gaat om stimulering van veiligheid—de effectiviteit van interventies in uitgaansgebieden geringer is dan eerder onderzoek en invloedrijke beleids- en media discoursen hebben gesuggereerd. In sommige gevallen werken dergelijke interventies contraproductief waarbij zelfs angst of gevoelens van onveiligheid worden opgeroepen bij bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden. Interventies, bedoeld om de veiligheid te vergroten, zouden dan ook niet opgevat moeten worden als generieke maatregelen die overal toepasbaar zijn. We zouden ons daarom af moeten vragen voor wie en wanneer een bepaalde interventie nu effectief werkt om de veiligheid te vergroten en wanneer niet.

8.4 Onbewuste veiligheid, op je hoede en directe dreiging

Waar het derde hoofdstuk zich met name richt op *fear of crime*, bestudeert het vierde hoofdstuk (on)veiligheid in meer algemene zin. Zo doende draagt dit hoofdstuk ook bij aan het beantwoorden van de tweede deelvraag: *hoe ervaren bezoekers gevoel van (on)veiligheid gedurende hun avonden uit?* Onderhavig onderzoek sluit aan bij recent onderzoek dat ingaat op de meer positieve dimensies van gevoel van veiligheid (Hutta, 2010; Moran and Skeggs, 2010) waar in eerder onderzoek veiligheid veelal werd geduid als ‘dubbel negatief’; als de *afwezigheid* van een situatie waarin personen zich *onveilig* voelen. Dit biedt ook de mogelijkheid om ervaring van angsten in de stedelijke nacht te contextualiseren tegen een achtergrond van andere (positieve) ervaringen, om zo een meer integraal beeld te vormen over (on)veiligheidsbeleving tijdens een avond uit.

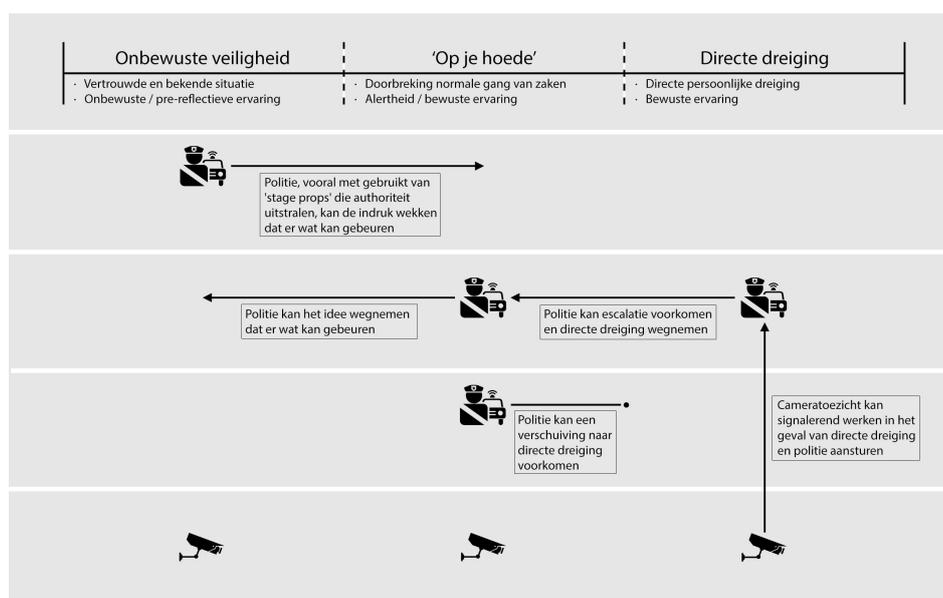
Wanneer deelnemers aan de interviews wordt gevraagd wat veiligheid voor hen betekent tijdens het uitgaan zegt een van de deelnemers, in dit geval een vrouw

uit Utrecht: 'Bij veiligheid, voor mij, dan komt het woord warmte in me op. Maar dat is dus warmte van mensen om me heen, de sfeer waarin ik zit, welke plek ik ben. [En] als je je ergens hartstikke veilig voelt, let je totaal niet op [je omgeving]'. Leuke mensen om haar heen, maar bijvoorbeeld ook de aankleding van de ruimte, verlichting maar ook de verhalen die zij over deze plek heeft gehoord zorgen ervoor dat zij warmte voelt, wat zij associeert met veiligheid. En omdat zij warmte voelt, is zij zich ook niet bewust van haar eigen veiligheid. Zaken zijn bekend en vertrouwd en waarneming vindt bij wijze van spreken plaats op de 'automatische piloot'. Deze manier van ervaren hebben wij 'onbewuste veiligheid' genoemd. De interviews geven ook weer dat een ervaring van 'onbewuste veiligheid' veelal de norm is tijdens een avond uit.

Desalniettemin geven bezoekers ook aan dat een dergelijke ervaring altijd en overal 'onderbroken' kan worden. Er vindt dan een afwijking plaats van de normale gang van zaken, wat een bewustzijn in de hand werkt. Er kunnen twee vormen van 'onderbreking' ervaren worden: 'op je hoede' en 'directe dreiging'. Het verschil tussen beide is dat bij het op je hoede zijn op een negatieve gebeurtenis wordt geanticipeerd. Een man uit Groningen geeft een voorbeeld: 'Als je op je hoede bent dan ben je dus wat ik zeg bezig met de omgeving en houdt je rekening met eventueel onheil. (...). Dat bewustzijn moet wel op de één of andere manier gealarmeerd worden. (...). Door mijn omgeving, door mensen in die omgeving, of doordat het gebied waar ik heen ga een slechte reputatie heeft'. Bij directe dreiging gaat het om de directe en bewuste waarneming en ervaring van de intentie van een ander persoon om kwaad te doen. Een vrouw uit Groningen zegt bijvoorbeeld: 'Ik denk dat het pas echt onveilig wordt als iemand duidelijk nare ideeën met me heeft. In een situatie waarin ik niet 'weg' kan. Dan ga ik me onveilig voelen'. Dit betekent dan dus ook dat omgevingsfactoren (zoals bijvoorbeeld graffiti) op zichzelf geen directe dreiging veroorzaken, maar dat personen daardoor wel op hun hoede kunnen zijn. Voor directe dreiging is menselijk handelen nodig dat dreigend overkomt, zoals iemand die scheldend op je af komt lopen.

Hoofdstuk 4 richt zich vervolgens op de vraag hoe cameratoezicht en de aanwezigheid van politie deze fasen van ervaringen beïnvloeden. Zodoende wordt hier ook ingegaan op de deelvraag: *op welke wijze beïnvloeden toezicht en handhaving deze gevoelens van (on)veiligheid onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden?*

Of, en hoe, vormen van toezicht ervaringen van onbewuste veiligheid kunnen stimuleren is lastig te achterhalen op basis van de gebruikte reflectieve onderzoeksmethoden. Immers, op het moment van ervaring zijn personen veelal niet bezig met hun eigen veiligheid (zie hierboven). De interviews hebben zich daarom gericht op de vraag in hoeverre deze vormen van toezicht verschuivingen tussen de verschillende fasen kunnen beïnvloeden.



Figuur 8.1: Effecten van camera- en politietoezicht op de verschillende staten van veiligheidsbeleving.

De analyse toont belangrijke verschillen tussen politie en cameratoezicht (zie ook figuur 8.1). De effecten van cameratoezicht zijn gering te noemen. De aanwezigheid van politie is meer effectief in het voorkomen van verschuivingen naar directe dreiging en kan zorgen voor een terugkeer naar onbewuste veiligheid wanneer een vorm van dreiging verwacht of ervaren wordt. Echter, en in overeenstemming met resultaten uit hoofdstuk drie, blijkt dat de aanwezigheid van politie ook contraproductief kan werken. De aanwezigheid van politie kan de indruk wekken dat er wat staat te gebeuren waardoor verschuivingen van onbewuste veiligheid naar 'op je hoede' in de hand worden gewerkt. Dit is vooral

het geval wanneer er meerdere agenten aanwezig zijn, wanneer paarden, auto's of busjes worden gebruikt als vervoermiddel of wanneer agenten duidelijk zware uitrusting hebben (vesten, pistolen, wapenstokken, etc.).

Bij de implementatie en legitimatie van toezicht en handhaving in uitgaansgebieden zouden daarom altijd twee belangrijke vragen gesteld moeten worden. Ten eerste of de beoogde interventie niet zorgt voor een onderbreking van 'onbewuste veiligheid' onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden. Ten tweede in hoeverre de interventie in staat is onbewuste veiligheid te herstellen op die momenten dat het uitgaanspubliek op de hoede is, of een zeer directe dreiging ervaart.

8.5 Kennis van en over cameratoezicht

Hoofdstuk vier laat zien dat de veiligheidseffecten van cameratoezicht beperkt zijn in openbare ruimten in uitgaansgebieden. Dit komt overeen met ander academisch onderzoek (Koskela, 2002; Pain and Townshend, 2002; Taylor, 2010; Norris, 2012; Germain, 2013). In de literatuur over de effectiviteit van cameratoezicht wordt hierbij vaak gewezen op een gebrek aan kennis over de aanwezige camera's (Honest and Charman, 1992; Ditton, 2000; Helten and Fischer, 2004; Van Eijk et al., 2006), vaak gereduceerd tot een dichotomie (het hebben van kennis / het niet hebben van kennis). Hoofdstuk vijf draagt bij aan de beantwoording van de derde deelvraag (*op welke wijze beïnvloeden toezicht en handhaving deze gevoelens van (on)veiligheid onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden?*) door aan te tonen dat kennis van aanwezigheid van cameratoezicht een gelaagd concept is. Tijdens straatinterviews (n=82) met bezoekers van de centrale uitgaansgebieden van Utrecht en Rotterdam blijkt, overeenkomstig de genoemde literatuur, een aanzienlijk deel van de bezoekers niet te weten dat er camera's aanwezig zijn in hun directe omgeving. Anderen merken op dat er in meer algemene zin camera's aanwezig zijn in 'de grote steden', 'de stad' waarin zij uitgaan, of op het plein waarop ze zijn geïnterviewd. Maar weinig bezoekers waren daadwerkelijk in staat de camera's aan te wijzen. Er lijkt dus sprake van een 'tussencategorie' waarin bezoekers tot op zekere hoogte kennis hebben van de aanwezigheid van cameratoezicht, maar niet zeker weten of ze binnen het bereik van de camera staan.

Anders dan eerder onderzoek gaat hoofdstuk vijf ook in op kennis over de werking van cameratoezicht. Opvallend is dat een groot aantal van de bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden niet goed weet wat een camera precies kan en doet. Bezoekers denken hoofdzakelijk dat camera's opnames maken die later teruggekeken kunnen worden. Slechts een op de zeven bezoekers weet dat cameratoezicht daadwerkelijk hulpdiensten kan aansturen (omdat er 'live' meegekeken wordt in controlekamers) en dus kan zorgen voor een snelle interventie. Een vergroting van de kennis van en over cameratoezicht zou daarom kunnen bijdragen aan een vergroting van de gevoelens van veiligheid tijdens avonden uit. Tegelijkertijd geven de straatinterviews ook duidelijk aan dat dit eerder een 'voorwaarde' is dan een 'garantie'. Een op de vier bezoekers beargumenteert dat incidenten in uitgaansgebieden met een zodanige snelheid voorvallen dat de reactietijd van de camera en hulpdiensten daar nooit tegenop gewassen zijn. Een beperking van cameratoezicht is dat de techniek altijd achterloopt op de ervaringen van onveiligheid onder het uitgaanspubliek.

Op basis van deze resultaten kan worden gesteld dat bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden veel beter geïnformeerd zouden moeten worden over de werking van cameratoezicht en de relatie met andere vormen van toezicht, zoals politie en private beveiligers. Wellicht zouden de positieve verwachtingen onder beleidsmakers en politici over de veiligheidseffecten van cameratoezicht ook bijgesteld kunnen worden. Volgens de bezoekers is het niet mogelijk om veiligheid te vergroten, laat staan te 'garanderen'. Volgens hun past het zo snel mogelijk 'hulp bieden' bij incidenten beter bij de daadwerkelijke capaciteiten van het systeem.

8.6 Veiligheid, toezicht en handhaving in nummers

Het zesde hoofdstuk onderzoekt het effect van cameratoezicht, de aanwezigheid van politie en portiers in uitgaansgebieden op het gevoel van veiligheid. Het hoofdstuk draagt daarom bij aan de beantwoording van de derde deelvraag: *op welke wijze beïnvloeden toezicht en handhaving deze gevoelens van (on)veiligheid onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden?* Het bouwt daarbij voort op de resultaten uit de voorgaande hoofdstukken. De effecten van de genoemde toezichtsactoren worden apart onderzocht voor situaties die bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden

karakteriseren in termen van 'op je hoede' en ervaring van 'directe dreiging'. Daarnaast neemt de analyse ook het belang van aanwezige 'andere' bezoekers, persoonskenmerken en eerdere ervaringen tijdens uitgaan, mee in de effecten van toezicht. De analyse vindt plaats op basis van informatie uit een grootschalige enquête (N=940).

De resultaten tonen aan dat politie en portiers, gemiddeld genomen, een veel groter effect hebben op het gevoel van veiligheid dan cameratoezicht. De effecten van aanwezigheid van politie en portiers zijn het grootst wanneer deelnemers 'directe dreiging' ervaren in vergelijking tot wanneer zij 'op de hoede' zijn en wanneer het uitgaanspubliek meer etnisch gemengd is. Opvallend is dat het effect van cameratoezicht op het gevoel van veiligheid niet verschilt tussen deze situaties of het aanwezige uitgaanspubliek. De aanwezigheid van portiers wordt minder gewaardeerd door allochtone jongeren van niet-Westerse herkomst². Dit lijkt kwalitatief onderzoek te ondersteunen dat laat zien dat deze jongeren nogal eens de toegang geweigerd wordt door portiers van uitgaansgelegenheden (zie bijvoorbeeld Böse, 2005; Boogaarts, 2008; Measham and Hadfield, 2009). Waar de effecten van aanwezigheid van portiers dus samenhangen met de etnische achtergrond van bezoekers, is dit niet het geval voor de aanwezigheid van politie; zij blijken meer een 'allemandsvriend'.

De kwantitatieve benadering stelt ons ook in staat om persoonskenmerken te correleren met ervaringen van veiligheid. Overeenkomstig met de kwalitatieve literatuur naar *'fear of crime'* blijken geslacht, etniciteit en de ervaring van eerdere incidenten belangrijke indicatoren. Vrouwen en een aanzienlijk aandeel van de personen met een 'niet-Westerse' achtergrond geven lagere cijfers voor hun ervaring van veiligheid tijdens het uitgaan. Het onderzoek voorziet daarnaast in een kwantitatieve duiding van ambiguïteit in de effecten van de genoemde actoren. Bij circa 16% van bezoekers vermindert de aanwezigheid van toezicht en handhaving het gevoel van veiligheid in de aan de bezoekers getoonde situaties.

8.7 De legitimiteit, noodzaak en het nut van toezicht en handhaving in uitgaansgebieden

De introductie van deze Nederlandse samenvatting begon met de constatering dat er steeds meer toezicht en handhaving is in uitgaansgebieden. Enerzijds om de schaduwkanten van de stedelijke nacht te bedwingen, anderzijds om gevoelens van veiligheid te stimuleren. De resultaten uit dit onderzoek lijken de veronderstelling dat een toename van toezichthouding een positieve invloed heeft op gevoelens van veiligheid onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden echter slechts ten dele te ondersteunen. En dit is om verschillende redenen:

- Belang 'onbewuste veiligheid': De resultaten uit hoofdstuk drie tonen aan dat de geïnterviewde bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden veelal in positieve termen spreken over hun gevoelens van veiligheid gedurende hun avonden uit; slechts in bepaalde gevallen zijn zij op de hoede of ervaren zij directe dreiging. Het gros van de tijd zijn bezoekers niet bezig met hun eigen veiligheid: ze zijn onbekommerd, onbezorgd en niet ongerust. Omdat de bezoekers zich op de door ons onderzochte stedelijke locaties veelal veilig voelen tijdens een avond uit lijkt een *verdere toename* van toezicht en handhaving dan ook onnodig. Met name omdat de volgende punten weergeven dat niet alle bezoekers, en in alle situaties, gebaat zijn bij (een verdere toename van) toezicht en handhaving.
- Beperkt effect cameratoezicht: Er heerst een sceptische houding onder de bezoekers over de effectiviteit van cameratoezicht, waar het gaat om het stimuleren van gevoelens van veiligheid. Veelal wordt cameratoezicht niet in staat geacht om verschuivingen tussen de genoemde fasen van veiligheidsbeleving te voorkomen en/of te bewerkstelligen (hoofdstuk vier, zie ook figuur 8.1). Hoofdstuk vijf geeft weer dat het effect van cameratoezicht in veel gevallen 'achter de feiten aanloopt'. Ook de uitkomsten van enquête (hoofdstuk zes) laten zien dat de effectiviteit van cameratoezicht klein is, vooral wanneer dit wordt vergeleken met andere menselijke vormen van toezicht, zoals politie en portiers. Dit laatste moet echter niet als vrijbrief opgevat worden om politie en

portiers te pas en te onpas in te zetten in de context van het nachtleven.

- Ambigüiteiten: Met name de effecten van aanwezige politieagenten op het gevoel van veiligheid blijken ambigu. Hoewel de aanwezigheid van politie veelal wordt gewaardeerd, blijkt dat deze tegelijkertijd ook vragen op kan roepen over wat er staat te gebeuren. Bezoekers kunnen tegelijkertijd op hun hoede raken (hoofdstukken drie en vier). Bij een klein deel van het uitgaanspubliek blijken politieagenten zelfs enkel gevoelens van onveiligheid op te roepen (hoofdstuk zes).³
- Sociale wenselijkheid van portiers: Voor toezicht door portiers blijken sterke verschillen in waardering tussen groepen bezoekers; bevindingen uit hoofdstuk zes laten zien dat de aanwezigheid van portiers lager wordt gewaardeerd door bezoekers van niet-Westerse afkomst. Dit zou kunnen duiden op discriminatie en/of uitsluiting van deze groep door portiers.

Tegelijkertijd blijken bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden de aanwezigheid en interventie van genoemde veiligheidsactoren sterk te waarderen in situaties met incidenten. Er is dus een *zekere basis aan* toezicht en handhaving wenselijk in stedelijke uitgaansgebieden. Binnen de implementatie hiervan moet goed nagedacht worden over hoe onbewuste veiligheid zo lang mogelijk te continueren is, zonder daarbij tegelijkertijd bepaalde groepen te benadelen. De vraag is vervolgens, hoe?

8.8 De implementatie van toezicht en handhaving in uitgaansgebieden

Hoe een 'een avondje uitgaan leuk, gezellig én veilig' (CCV, 2011, p. 1) kan verlopen is een belangrijke vraag binnen het lokale Veilig Uitgaan beleid (Van Liempt, 2013). Nu de bezoeker van uitgaansgebieden aan het woord is geweest, kunnen er een aantal voorzichtige adviezen worden geformuleerd over de inrichting van toezicht en handhaving.

Op basis van de bevindingen stellen we een meer algemene verschuiving voor binnen de logica en retoriek over de regulering van uitgaansgebieden. Waar het

onderzoek aan toont dat het overgrote deel van de bezoekers aan uitgaansgebieden een avond uitgaan ervaart met een onbewust veiligheidsgevoel, vertrekt beleid vaak vanuit een meer negatief perspectief waarbij eerder genoemde ‘schaduwkanten’ binnen de uitgaansgebieden bedwongen dienen te worden door middel van toezicht en handhaving. Maar, omdat het overgrote deel van de respondenten een avond uitgaan ervaart met een onbewust veiligheidsgevoel schuilen er mogelijk ook risico’s in een dergelijk perspectief. De nadrukkelijke aanwezigheid van toezicht en handhaving zou onbedoeld en tegelijkertijd kunnen suggereren dat excessen en asociaal en ongemanierd gedrag de norm zijn in de context van uitgaan. Zou het daarom niet beter zijn wanneer gemeenten vertrekken vanuit een meer positief perspectief en allereerst koesteren wat er al leuk en gezellig is aan uitgaan, in plaats van het direct te situeren binnen een *‘fear centered fix’* (Hutta, 2009). Dit perspectief komt niet alleen beter overeen met de eigenlijke ervaringen van uitgaanders, maar sluit ook beter aan bij de bedoelingen omtrent de ontwikkeling van stedelijke uitgaansgebieden onder de stadsplanners in de jaren ’90 en ’00. Een omgekeerde logica waarbij het stimuleren van vermaak en vertier tijdens een avond uit centraal staat zou hier goed bij passen. Nadrukkelijk toezicht en handhaving is dan enkel nodig op die momenten dat bezoekers problemen ondervinden tijdens hun uitgaansavond. Het overgrote deel van de avond zou het toezichtapparaat zich op de achtergrond kunnen begeven. Gemeenten zouden ook kunnen experimenteren met het inrichten van een meer ‘vriendelijk’ toezichtapparaat. Waar grote aantallen politieagenten op straat, politie in busjes of te paard en gebruik makend van een zwaardere uitrusting sneller de aandacht trekken van bezoekers en de vraag in de hand werken wat, en of er iets te gebeuren staat, lijkt dit minder het geval wanneer politie te voet of op de fiets patrouilleert.

Het bovenstaande betoogt uiteraard niet dat het bedwingen van genoemde schaduwkanten irrelevant is; wanneer incidenten of zekere vormen van dreiging zich voordoen is het noodzakelijk hierop te reageren. Toezicht dient dan juist op de voorgrond treden om zo snel mogelijk de dreigende situatie weg te nemen. De bezoekers laten weten dat politieagenten, in tegenstelling tot cameratoezicht, hierbij een cruciale rol spelen—zij kunnen direct ingrijpen en helpen (hoofdstukken drie en vier). Ook de resultaten uit hoofdstuk zes laten zien dat de aanwezigheid van politie extra wordt gewaardeerd, ten opzichte van cameratoezicht in meer

dreigende situaties. Dit geldt ook voor de aanwezigheid van portiers, alhoewel bij deze laatste groep grote verschillen bestaan tussen bezoekers op basis van etniciteit⁴. Politie zal desalniettemin niet altijd en overal direct aanwezig kunnen (en moeten, zie hierboven) zijn. Het combineren van cameratoezicht en politietoezicht zou de sleutel tot succes kunnen zijn; politie wordt dan vanuit de controle kamer aangestuurd om op de juiste momenten aanwezig te zijn en op te treden, terwijl zij in de andere gevallen op de achtergrond kunnen blijven. Dat wil zeggen, een combinatie of netwerk van (deze, maar mogelijk ook andere) actoren dient een goed inzicht te verschaffen waar een aanwezigheid van toezicht en handhaving is gewenst en waar hulp verleend dient te worden aan bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden om onbewuste veiligheid te herstellen, en waar zij op de achtergrond of weg kunnen blijven om onbewuste veiligheid in stand te houden en het niet (onbedoeld) te onderbreken.

8.9 Toekomstig onderzoek

Met name met oog op de suggestie om allereerst te koesteren wat al leuk en gezellig is aan uitgaan, en dat het stimuleren van vermaak en vertier tijdens een avond een belangrijk uitgangspunt zou kunnen zijn, is er nader onderzoek nodig. Het is van belang na te denken of en hoe vermaak en vertier (verder) gestimuleerd zou kunnen worden. In meer algemene zin zou daarom meer aandacht besteed moeten worden aan de ervaring die hier tot 'onbewuste veiligheid' bestempeld is. Waar dit onderzoek zich heeft gericht op de vraag in hoeverre deze staat van beleving verlengd kan worden onder bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden door het niet te 'onderbreken' (door middel van toezichthouding en handhaving), is dit onderzoek niet in staat na te gaan of en hoe stimuli doorwerken 'binnen' deze staat van beleving. Deze vraag heeft intrigerend gewerkt, maar is niet te beantwoorden met de (sociale) onderzoeksmethoden die hier gebruikt zijn. Wellicht dat samenwerkingen met vakgebieden buiten de sociale geografie hier aanvullende inzichten kunnen verschaffen.

Het onderzoek naar toezicht en handhaving in uitgaansgebieden kan ook thematisch uitgebreid worden. Waar dit onderzoek zich hoofdzakelijk richtte op cameratoezicht en politie, en in mindere mate op portiers, is er nog een scala aan

andere actoren te identificeren waar nog maar weinig onderzoek naar gedaan is; (andere) private beveiligingspartijen, vrijwillige organisaties zoals wijkwachten en *'street pastors'* en, niet onbelangrijk, de bezoekers van uitgaansgebieden zelf (Loader, 2000; Yarwood, 2007; Middleton, 2013; Timan, 2013).

De studie kan ook ruimtelijk verbreed worden. Waar we ons nu gericht hebben op uitgaansgebieden in stadscentra, zou het onderzoek zich ook kunnen richten op alternatieve 'scenes' buiten de centrale, commerciële en populaire mainstream. Daarnaast vertelden respondenten aan het onderzoek onveiligheid te beleven in de context van uitgaan op andere locaties in of buiten de stad. De weg terug naar huis is hier het meest prominente voorbeeld. Dit roept vragen op met betrekking tot de ruimtelijke focus van Veilig Uitgaan beleid op stedelijke centra. Een avond uit begint en eindigt bij de voordeur.

Als laatste toont het onderzoek op meerdere punten het belang aan van een bezoekersperspectief. Bezoekers blijken waardevolle en kennis hebbende informanten waar het gaat om veiligheid, toezicht en handhaving in hedendaagse stadscentra. Een belangrijk voordeel is dat het bezoekersperspectief verder inzicht verschaft in de legitimiteit, de noodzaak en het nut van toezichthouding. Te meer omdat interventies veelal gedaan worden onder het mom van 'publieke veiligheid'. Dergelijke inzichten zijn essentieel in het herbergen en faciliteren van een nachtleven dat 'leuk, gezellig én veilig' (CCV, 2011, p. 1), maar ook welkom is.

Notes

¹ Voor een volledige lijst van interventies, zie <http://www.hetccv-veiliguitgaan.nl/>.

² Volgens de definitie van het CBS is herkomstgroepering het 'kenmerk dat weergeeft met welk land een persoon verbonden is op basis van het geboorteland van de ouders of van zichzelf'. Een allochtoon is een 'persoon van wie ten minste één ouder in het buitenland is geboren'. Een niet-Westerse allochtoon is een 'allochtoon met als herkomstgroepering een van de landen in Afrika, Latijns-Amerika en Azië (exclusief Indonesië en Japan) of Turkije' (Netherlands Statistics, 2013).

³ Hetzelfde geldt voor cameratoezicht en portiers (hoofdstuk zes).

⁴ Stadsbestuurders denken actief na over manieren om zaken zoals stereotypering en exclusie in het uitgaansleven te verminderen. Panel deurbeleid (Utrecht, 2014c; Rotterdam, 2014c), waar misstanden onder portiers en werknemers binnen de horeca gemeld kunnen worden, is hier een

voorbeeld van. In de toekomst is het aan te moedigen dergelijke initiatieven te continueren en/of verder uit te breiden, ook omdat dit de legitimiteit van toezicht door portiers vergroot.

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Curriculum vitae

Jelle Brands, born on 25 July 1985 in Palo Alto, USA, lived most of his life in The Netherlands. He holds a BSc degree in Physical Geography and a MSc degree in Urban Geography that he obtained from Utrecht University in 2007 and 2009 respectively. From 2009 through 2014 he conducted PhD research at Utrecht University on experienced safety, surveillance and policing in public nightlife spaces in Utrecht and Rotterdam (The Netherlands). During his PhD, Jelle Brands was involved in various teaching activities in Urban Geography at Utrecht University. Moreover, he presented his research at various national and international conferences and meetings. His work is published in a variety of academic and professional journals (Agora, Emotion, Space and Society, Environment and Planning A, European Urban and Regional Studies, Geografie and Urban Studies). He participated in a short research project about 'creative cities' and he currently participates in a short research project about youth, identity and language in the urban public space.

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