Neoliberal Subjectivities and the Development of the Night-Time Economy in British Cities

Abstract

This paper provides a review of the academic literature on the night-time economy (NTE) of British cities. The first half of the paper concentrates on the development of the contemporary NTE by academics in the 1990s, showing how such ideas were translated to policy makers through their concomitance with other policies such as urban entrepreneurialism and market liberalization which fitted into neoliberal policy trends. The second half of the paper discusses the subsequent academic critique of NTE. Though this has focused on the regulatory practices of neoliberalism, showing how these have lead to large concentration of bars which promote unhealthy drinking practices, there has been a move in recent work to also consider the subjectivities which have developed in the neoliberal NTE. I suggest that an understanding of subjectivities informed by theoretical work of Deleuze and Guattari and non-representational theories, which see subjectivities as trans-personal assemblages which emerge through dispersed interactions between bodies and affects, can develop these insights. This moves research into neoliberal subjectivities in the NTE towards a research agenda in which the processes of the emergence of subjectivities are investigated and which thus responds to some of the recent critiques made of regulatory-focused approaches.

Introduction: The Night-Time Economy of British Cities

The phrase 'Night-time economy' (NTE) has been used to refer to a portion of night-time economic activity, specifically, the entertainment and retail provisions of cities at night, often confined even further to the 'booze economy'. The term has been conceived on the one hand as taking the activities in bars and clubs and using "the boosterist representation of these activities as a means to regenerate inner city areas" (Talbot 2007:1) and on the other as being:

> the festivals, the cultural initiatives aimed at bringing people back into the city, the office and residential developments that either incorporated or pointed to the cultural facilities of the centre, the promotion of the city as a culturally vibrant realm… the idea of the nightlife of the city, a realm of play, of socialisation, of encounter and of evasion associated with the night-time (Lovatt and O'Connor 1995:130).

It is no coincidence that the former, derisive comment postdates that latter optimistic vision by some twelve years. Hadfield *et al.*, in discussing the related idea of the 24-hour city (24HC), state that whilst the concepts behind night-time led regeneration of the 1990s had wide ranging aims, they have been "assaulted" and left "dead in streets splattered with blood, vomit, urine, and the sodden remains of take-always" by the 'Mass Volume Vertical Drinker' (Hadfield *et al.* 2001:300). These comments reflect a perception that the agenda to create an NTE based upon a 'time-shift', mixing day and night activities across the daily schedule within mixed-use residential, commercial, business and leisure spaces, has failed. Instead, a criminogenic (Hadfield 2006) "duplication of the most profitable use" (Jacobs 1961:259) of city night spaces, in which weak local authorities have followed an easy route of squeezing the highest profits out of 'errant consumers', has emerged (Chatterton 2002; Hobbs *et al.* 2005).

This paper reflects upon this change in attitude towards the NTE in literature on British cities. As such, it offers a long-term, two stage review. Firstly, it will review the role of research from urban

studies and cultural studies in the 1990s in contributing to the development of the NTE. This work had its origins in critiques of 1980s regeneration in British cities, which was perceived as business and investment lead (Gaffikin and Warf 1993). Urbanist arguments took inspiration from the work of Jane Jacobs (Jacobs 1961), and from a perceived 'Continental European' lifestyle, which would contain a wider variety of leisure and shopping opportunities than were available in pub-dominated British towns and cities (Bianchini 1993). Arguments were made for the deregulation of licensing and planning laws so that more mixed-use city centre developments could be created, in order to foster a vibrant lifestyle including street-cafes, late night shopping, theatres and late-night public festivals (Comedia 1991; Heath 1997). Such arguments had willing recipients in politicians hoping to appear more progressive in local governments, who saw an active NTE as a way of increasing revenue through increased business hours and premises occupation, and by the national New Labour government, whose urban policies were based around the concept of an urban renaissance (Holden and Iveson 2003) and who pushed for the deregulation of the night-time economy (Hadfield 2006).

Secondly, this paper will discuss the subsequent critical stance on the NTE taken by work from criminologists, geographers and sociologists. There have been concerns over the violence (Thomas and Bromley 2000; Winlow *et al.* 2001; Bromley and Nelson 2002; Blobaum and Hunecke 2005; Caiazza 2005; Roberts and Turner 2005; Roberts 2006; Hobbs *et al*. 2007; Recasens 2007) and health (Sengupta and Hoyle 2005; Jayne *et al.* 2006; Eldridge and Roberts 2008; Griffin, Bengry-Howell et al. 2009) impacts of nightlife , the inequalities in governance (Chatterton 2002; Talbot 2004; Hobbs *et al.* 2005; Talbot 2007; Winlow and Hall 2009), the damage to town centres (Hadfield *et al.* 2001; Adams *et al*. 2007) and the centring of power in large chain pub companies (Chatterton and Hollands 2001; Chatterton 2002; Chatterton and Hollands 2002). Within this work, the blame for such problems is attributed to the neoliberal enactment of the NTE which occurred due to its positioning within a specific neoliberal policy environment.

As a result of these critiques, the NTE and its associated concepts have become somewhat discredited. However, this paper argues that it is not the concepts in themselves which should be rejected. It is difficult to disagree with the arguments that sought to generate a balanced human-centred NTE (Bianchini and Schwengel 1991:227) based on play, socialisation, encounter and evasion (Lovatt and O'Connor 1995:130). Rather, it is the 'real-existing' NTE, or what Hadfield *et al.* refer to as the 'situational outcomes' of the policies of the NTE (Hadfield *et al.* 2001), which are problematic This negative view is a result of a focus on the neoliberal regulatory changes which occurred to allow the contemporary NTE to develop (Chatterton and Hollands 2002). Recent work on the NTE, however, has begun to show a shift towards an interest in the cultural and phenomenological aspects of the NTE, and in particular the subjectivities which emerge from this (Hobbs *et al.* 2005). This has be joined by calls for research into drinking which understands it as an everyday and multiply enacted practice, rather than just as an issue of health or deviance (Latham 2003; Jayne *et al* 2006; Carr 2008; Eldridge and Roberts 2008). I will use ideas influenced by recent work in social theory on affect, and particularly that influenced by Deleuze and Guattari, to suggest that that such research could create a more complex understanding of the multiple topographies of the NTE and thus begin to show: firstly, how certain neoliberal subjectivities come to dominate and where other subjectivities might emerge; and secondly how an understanding of this could help return to the original concepts of the NTE, but without their neoliberal pitfalls.

This paper will begin with stage one of this review, then, exploring the literature of the 1990s with a focus on the development of the concept of the 24HC and the ways in which it was sold to policy makers. The 24HC and the NTE are closely linked concepts – one implies the other. I will show how aspects of the literature which influenced the take up of the 24HC encouraged the development of a particularly 'neoliberal' NTE. I will then move on to the critical literature on the NTE and show the

subjectivities that it identifies emerging out of the NTE. I will then use this understanding from the literature on the NTE to suggest a research agenda based upon the techniques through which neoliberal subjectivities come about. It should be noted at this stage that the focus is almost exclusively on the British context, though similar debates have occurred in other countries. Jayne *et al.* provide a comprehensive overview of the issues relating to drinking culture in different countries (Jayne *et al.* 2006; Jayne *et al.* 2008), whilst a recent edited collection focuses on violence in night-time leisure zones across Europe (Recasens 2007).

Academic Development of the NTE and the Twenty-Four Hour City

The following section then is a discussion of the development the concept of the twenty four hour city and in particular the role of academic literature in influencing its translation to public policy. The 24HC is a term which has undergone a certain level of discrediting in recent years (Hadfield *et al.*, 2001): it has been associated with increased violence and damage to city centres as bars, staying open than later before, sell higher volumes of alcohol at low prices (Roberts 2006). Yet, the 24HC retains a certain level of presence and discursive power in policy literature. It is worth, therefore, looking at the conditions under which such a concept was brought to policy.

Though the idea can be traced back to Jane Jacobs' seminal urbanist work 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities', as well as the analyses of Murray Melbin (Jacobs 1961; Melbin 1987), the notion of the 24HC which influenced British urban policy in the early 1990s comes from the work of a group of urban academics centred around the think-tank Comedia. In 1991, this group produced a document aimed at policy makers called Out of Hours: A study of economic, social and cultural life in twelve town centres in the UK (Comedia 1991). This publication was the result of twelve months of research in fifteen town centres in Britain and called for a 'time-shift' in socio-cultural policy

(ibid:22). In this report, Comedia actually call for an 'eighteen-hour city' in which the activities of the daytime are spread out into the evening, whilst leisure facilities are used both during the day – by groups such as the elderly – and long into the night (ibid). A Comedia-organised conference in Manchester in 1993, combined with the Out of Hours trial in Manchester of extended pub and club opening hours and late evening shopping, popularised the idea (Bianchini 1995; Lovatt and O'Connor 1995). Though it has been claimed retrospectively that the conference was intended to be critical of the 24HC (Roberts and Turner 2005), this criticism is of local management and regulation preventing the development of a 24HC (Comedia 1991), as can be seen in the output of the conference: "As a few towns and cities have realised, a lively evening economy is an important way of developing a unique sense of place (Montgomery 1993:20)." Similarly, Comedia are critical of the 24HC in the sense that they see the failure to develop this as a failing of poor local management and regulation (Comedia 1991).

Related to these ideas was a call for the cultivation of a 'European' lifestyle (Heath 1997), referring to an atmosphere which is conducive to a certain series of subjectivities, namely those of the loosely defined 'European' café drinker, for whom specific urban affects, especially 'vitality' and 'vibrancy' are important (Lovatt and O'Connor 1995; Jones *et al.* 1999). The aim of this work was to provoke:

> a more holistic and expansive consideration of the totality of city centres. This includes their social and cultural dimensions, and it also has an aspirational dimension aiming to stimulate ideas and entrepreneurial activity (Heath 1997).

As this quote indicates, the concept of the 24HC was aligned with other contemporarily popular concepts and policies, such as urban entrepreneurialism and inter-urban competitiveness (Jessop 1998). Alongside the dissatisfaction with the urban regeneration of the 1980s, this opened up a 'policy window' into which the 24HC was able to place itself (Kingdon 1995).

Yet to understand the success of this literature in translating to policy solely as a matter of temporal coincidence with other aligned policies and discourses is to miss the structural links between these ideas. The coincidence of these policies can be seen as a stage in the transition between two stages of neoliberal policy labelled by Peck and Tickell, namely 'roll-back' neoliberalism and 'roll-out' neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell 2002). 'Roll-back' neoliberalism is the name for the series of policies which erode the welfare or social support systems associated with previous regimes: this is an individualising and fragmentizing process and a period of self-proclaimed 'deregulation', though as Wacquant notes, such practices of deregulation or less-state are often in actuality practices of re-shaping and re-aligning state control away from welfare and towards punitative measures (Wacquant 2008:58). Alienation, lack of access to jobs and social deprivation emerge as problems from these roll-back policies. These problems are tackled with 'roll-out' neoliberalism, which increases the responsibilities of individuals and encourages entrepreneurial style behaviour (Peck and Tickell 2002). To take such a framework is not to deny that "what we have come to recognise as ''hegemonic neoliberalism'' is a muddled set of ad hoc, opportunistic accommodations to these unstable dynamics of social change" (Barnett 2005:10), but helps explain the co-existence of these various concepts and ideas and their ability to cross over into policy.

This is explicated in the work of those such as Bianchini or Kreitzman, who sold the 24HC as part of the NTE to policy makers in the terms of 'marketization' (Castree 2007). For Bianchini:

> there are also economic opportunities [to developing an NTE]. For instance, in the case of important regional cities the night-time could be used to maximise access to urban facilities from a wide catchment area. People from that area, many of whom are working in the daytime, may need longer opening hours in order to access facilities. More generally, there is the opportunity of 'doubling' the

city's economy, starting perhaps from entertainment but then widening into other areas (Bianchini 1995:125).

This selling of the NTE promises increased revenue through the entrepreneurial exploitation of new time-spaces. Discussing the 24HC more directly, Kreitzman enthused about the qualities of the 24 hour developments at Middlebrook, Bolton in the north-west of England, including a cinema, a variety of shops and restaurants and even a football ground (Kreitzman 1999). Indeed Kreitzman is eager for a time when "the ritual of the 3p.m. Saturday kick-off and its connotations of cloth-capped working men thronging the terraces is finally substituted by a Saturday evening kick-off" (ibid:9). Quotes such as this play heavily upon class identities and a desire to control working class activities and associated spaces (Skeggs 2004): so Lovatt desires the development of "shops, gyms, cinemas, music venues, art galleries, theatres and bowling alleys" rather than "public houses, bars, bingo halls, restaurants and discos" (Lovatt 1993:10) . This 'civilization' of the city centre is about increasing middle class presence, (Helms *et al.* 2007) thus creating new consumption and markets out of low consumption working class time-spaces.

So the academic literature on the 24HC and the NTE in the 1990s was influential in creating the concepts which influenced urban policy development through that decade and beyond. Yet their influence was limited to the extent that such policies were interpreted to fit in with other contemporary discourses that resulted in 'roll-out' neoliberal policies. Before moving on to discuss the more recent critical studies of the NTE, it is worth first considering the explanations of the contemporary perceived failure of the NTE provided by those academics who played a role in its generation. In their article on the state of the 24HC in London, Roberts and Turner interview some of the academics central to the 24HC project. As Roberts and Turner report, all now hold negative views on the 24HC (Roberts and Turner 2005). Montgomery and Worpole blame liberalisation of planning laws, but also continue to suggest that it was a failure of the working class to follow more

'sophisticated' ways of living: "I certainly had visions of elegant cafe´ society, of British people strolling about civilized streets as the Italians do... this proved not to be the case" (Montgommery, quoted in Roberts and Turner 2005:190). This lingering view indicates the importance not just of regulatory change, but of evolving subjectivities, which this paper will explore in the following section.

Critiques of the Neoliberal Night-Time Economy: From Regulation to Subjectivities

Since roughly 2000, there has been a change in academic output on the NTE, reflecting too changes in public understandings of the city at night. Such critiques have emerged due to the numerous perceived problems that contemporary cities have at night, as discussed previously. The focus of critique has been on regulatory neoliberalism, but there is also a developing critique of the subjectivities encouraged by a neoliberal NTE. I will show how this can be turned into a research agenda to further our current understanding of the NTE in British cities. One of the most sustained series of engagements with the NTE has come from a group of criminologists collaborating on a variety of research projects (Hobbs *et al.* 2000; Hadfield *et al.* 2001; Winlow *et al.* 2001; Hobbs *et al.* 2003; Hobbs *et al.* 2005; Hadfield 2006; Hadfield 2007; Hayward and Hobbs 2007; Hobbs *et al.* 2007; Hadfield 2008; Winlow and Hall 2009). These have largely concerned violence in the NTE, but have also focused on regulatory changes, as well as a specific focus on the roles of bouncers. They also share many concerns with the urban geographers such as Roberts, Eldridge and Talbot (Talbot 2004; Roberts and Turner 2005; Roberts 2006; Roberts *et al.* 2006; Talbot 2007; Eldridge and Roberts 2008). Firstly, then, these scholars have been concerned by the rising levels of violence in the NTE. Violence is seen as a result of:

> the gathering together in one place of individuals and groups who embody antagonisms that may be rooted in ethnic, racial, class or territorial motives, quite apart from random or alcohol inspired aggression (Hobbs *et al.* 2000:706).

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The high levels of violence can be exclusionary (Roberts 2006), though recent research suggests that most users of the night-time city can avoid the most dangerous areas and that it is infrastructural restrictions, such as a lack of public transport, that prevent people from using the city at night, rather than violence levels (Eldridge and Roberts 2008).

Secondly, these critiques have had a regulatory focus. Hadfield, in particular, charts the development of liberalised licensing under the post-1997 Labour Party government (Hadfield 2006). Local governments of the 1990s were unable to resist the high levels of capital investment involved in the sale of disused public buildings to chain pub companies known as 'pubcos' (ibid:45). This led to a proliferation of 'vertical drinking establishments', which attempted to include as many customers as possible in a small space, selling large quantities of alcohol at low prices. Evolving regulatory laws meant that local government then lost its power to control these areas, just as the problems associated with this proliferation became apparent. With this power removed, state regulation instead began to target the consumers of the nightlife instead of these producers. As Hobbs *et al.* put it:

> at the same time as appearing to regulate, the state encourages the rampant growth of night-time consumption, which is bound to lead to an increase in crime and disorder and allows supposedly accountable local agencies of governance to remain easy prey to voracious market forces (Hobbs *et al*. 2005:173).

This contradictory trend has also been studied by the urban geographers Chatterton and Hollands, as well as others coming from critical economic geography positions. Their focus has been on the changing ownership of nightlife, in which local producers have been squeezed out by chain bars and the pubcos described above. They see this as a destruction of diversity, in which consumers "are exposed to little choice and rather than engaging in alternative or independent cultural styles

instead seek escapism in the less risky world of corporate packaged nightlife" (Chatterton and Hollands 2001:133).

These various critiques can be read and understood as critiques of neoliberalism as a system of regulation and organisation which promotes market and corporate power whilst removing the possibility of locally-based interventions. Many of the diagnoses of the problems of the NTE thus concern regulatory changes: Hadfield *et al.*, for example, call for "a much more integrated and interventionist approach to municipal regulation" (Hadfield *et al.* 2001:302). These approaches, however, have not gone uncontested. Jayne *et al.* identify such portrayals of urban nightlife as overly neat (Jayne *et al.* 2008), whilst Eldridge and Roberts warn about creating a binary between 'binge drinkers' and more 'civilised' users, noting that in research participants often had complex views of the NTE precisely because they will often move between these two categories of responsible and irresponsible consumers (Eldridge and Roberts 2008). Measham reminds us of the importance of considering the relationship between regulation and the social-cultural context of drinking, in which 'determined drinkers' may be otherwise good consumers (Measham 2006). This moves us towards the concept of the subjectivities of neoliberalism in the urban night, which many of these texts have dealt with, often indirectly. Neoliberalism has involved the "individualization of social risk, the dismantling of social rights and the subjection of people to self-regulation" (Ronneberger 2008:139), resulting in subjectivities that can be conceived as:

> a shifting ensemble of states that are received and passed on, states over which that person rarely
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> has much in the way of direct control but which can be modulated in the passing in such a way as to
>
> produce nuances or even, at the limit, quite new forms of going on (Thrift 2008:85).

In these two descriptions, alteration of subjectivities takes a central place in neoliberalism, shifting subtly from the disciplinary societies described by Foucault in which individuals' socialites are defined via shifts between multiple 'closed' institutions such as schools, factories and hospitals

(Foucault 1979) and towards 'societies of control' which involve a dispersed power based upon multiple modifications to subjectivities (Deleuze 1992; Thrift 2008).

Through the literature on the NTE, then, we are confronted by a series of different subjectivities and the modes in which they are manipulated. Hayward and Hobbs set out a distinction between those subjectivities which are promised by nightlife and those which are delivered. For them:

> the place myth of the carnival is central to the continued allure of the high street on a Friday and Saturday night...; the cumulative behaviour of the young drunk population of Britain's 'night-time high-streets' (Hadfield 2006) constitute, 'not inversions of the social order but mirrors of it' (Schechner 1993: 48) (Hayward and Hobbs 2007:443-444).

Here then, the subjectivity of the hedonistic free individual is mythical, instead brought to order by the 'real' subjectivity of compliant consumerism. Such consumerist subjectivities act, in Deleuzo-Guattrian terms as 'microfascisms', coming to dominate a certain place or individual through an ever-increasing accumulation of increasingly 'stratified' practices (Saldanha 2006:174). A subjectivity is not thought to be inherently microfascist, but can act so if it comes to endanger the existence of others subjectivities within a certain space. For Hayward and Hobbs, this is "controlled suspension of constraints" (446), that is, a relaxing of expected norms of behaviour but within limited boundaries. Many participants within the NTE, for example, will aim to achieve a strategic level of 'safe' drunkenness (Demant 2009). By permitting some escapism, consumerist subjectivities appear to fulfil the desire associated with being-different without, according to Hayward and Hobbs, allowing any significant differing to occur. Whilst Hayward and Hobbs pave the way for such an argument, they maintain the reality of these subjectivities as a dialectic between the real 'consumerism' and the mythical 'liminality'. Understanding the relationship between these to be one of conflicting subjectivities, with consumerism taking a microfascist role, we can begin instead to see this a more fluid relationship in which the desire for difference or for hedonism is often, but not always,

dominated by consumerist practices. This moves too beyond the alteration between subjectivities that Eldridge and Roberts discuss. Whilst consumerist practices dominate, it is precisely because of their fulfilling the desire for alternative subjectivities.

This argument can be further advanced by considering the mechanisms through which subjectivities are controlled and managed within the NTE, that is, the ways in which control operates. Hadfield's Bar Wars includes a deep description emerging from ethnographic and interview data of the practices involved in various actant's attempts to maintain order in the NTE. Such control is multifaceted, ranging from the architectural design of bar spaces through the formalised control of bouncers through to the subtle manipulation of lighting and sound levels by disc jockeys (DJs) (Hadfield 2006). These practices are inherently spatial and operate as much through management of what Hadfield identifies as 'mood' as through direct regulatory control (ibid). This control of mood involves the modulation of affects, bodies and spaces so that different components of subjectification are fore grounded (Guattari 2000); Hadfield's mood can be conceived as the cumulative effect of the 'maelstrom of affects' of which Thrift speaks (Thrift 2004). The example of DJs is perhaps the most interesting. Hadfield conceives of DJs as having a key role in the management of affect within a club. They are caught between the tension that "poor entertainment can induce boredom and resentment among customers and stimulate heavier drinking.... [whilst] conversely, heightened states of arousal may also contribute to aggression" (Hadfield 2006: 98). DJs simultaneously have to induce affects of excitement, joy and exhilaration through their manipulation of light, music and other sounds, whilst employing the same tools to keep these affects at a manageable level. The complexity of this process – sometimes, as Hadfield points out, self-reflexive, but often tacit and 'non-conscious' (Massumi 2002:36) – indicates the various possibilities for difference which may emerge:, power cuts, the ordering of certain songs, the mixture of different lights and sounds, or the overall atmosphere of a city on a given night may all generate events – that

is, moments of difference, of change, or of memorability (Thrift 2008). This is further complicated by the interaction with subjectivities and bodies that are altered through the consumption of alcohol, or drugs more broadly (Leyshon 2008). There are sites and practices which take on a more overtly important or 'political' role than that of the DJ, but the very point is that subjectivities emerge out of the spatially distributed events and practices that take place through the night, from the apparently momentous to the apparently mundane.

Understanding the manipulation of affects in the NTE and understanding the negative subjectivities that they produce as 'microfascisms' helps break down the binary trends in the academic literature that Jayne *et al.* and Eldridge and Roberts both detect. Whilst the literature over the last decade has comprehensively shown how regulatory changes – namely the reduction of local government regulatory power, the liberalisation of licensing and planning laws and increased focus on punitative measures for irresponsible customers – have helped contribute towards a variety of identified problems within the NTE, and despite a turn towards more cultural understandings of the NTE in recent years, its regulatory focus has resulted in an overly smooth, simplified tale of the NTE emerging. By bringing some of the poststructuralist-influenced work on subjectivities to this problem, we can see that this move beyond the identification of regulatory neoliberalism as the cause of the 'criminogenic NTE' towards understandings of the processes through which this NTE operates can reveal the complex topographies of which the NTE is composed.

Conclusion

In performing a 'two-stage' review of the literature on the NTE, this paper has attempted to track the changing role of academic work in this area from cheerleader to dissenting voice. The review

shows how the initial academic ideals (Comedia 1991) also contained the ingredients which appealed to a neoliberal policy environment. The comments by those academics in later papers (Roberts and Turner 2005) indicate that they presumed that certain changes in subjectivities – largely based around class – would occur in relation to certain regulatory changes. That certain neoliberal subjectivities have been encouraged by the NTE is not at stake, but the changes were different to those than Comedia and others wanted. Critiques built up around the regulatory framework which generated these subjectivities (Hadfield *et al.* 2001; Chatterton and Hollands 2002), yet this work produced a largely 'flat' understanding of the NTE in which the complex interplay of subjectivities was not present (Eldridge and Roberts 2008; Jayne *et al.* 2008). Though work in recent years has shown a shift away from the regulation-dominated understandings of the NTE (Hadfield 2006; Hayward and Hobbs 2007; Hadfield 2008), this project still requires development. In particular, the ideas of non-representational theories and a focus on the ongoing dynamism of subjectivities can help move towards more complex topographical understandings of the ways in which a neoliberal NTE comes to be, and the ways in which certain subjectivities come to dominate as 'microfascisms'

There are, of course, further issues to consider. This review has largely overlooked the role of both drinking practices and drug consumption more generally: though plenty of research into changing drinking habits has occurred (Jayne *et. al.* 2006), there is limited research which considers the relationship between embodiment and subjectivities when bodies are in altered states (Leyshon, 2008). Jackson suggests that such altering can make permanent radical changes to subjectivities (Jackson 2004:155), though it is more likely that experiences of drinking are merged into already complex topographies of the self (Leyshon 2008:283), as drinkers move between different subjectivities according to patterns of consumption (Eldridge and Roberts 2008). Calls for research into subjectivities also raise methodological questions, notably as to how subjectivities might be envisioned and 'operationalised'. A lengthy discussion exceeds the scope of this review, though in order to get to subjectivities we might focus on: gestures (Herzfeld 2009); processes of translation

between subjectivity and specific assemblages of sites or activities (Latour and Hermant 1998; Demant 2009); rhythms, spatial processes and diagramming of bodies (Latham 2003; McCormack 2003; 2008) amongst other themes. Such approaches could only ever be partial, but may help develop an understanding of the multiple ways in which subjectivities come into being and in doing so can help us rework the concepts which informed the creation of the NTE in ways which respond to the critiques discussed in this paper.

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