Young People, Alcohol and Urban Life

A Thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2015

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Abstract

The University of Manchester
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Degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities
Young People, Alcohol and Urban Life
2015

This thesis explores the alcohol consumption practices and experiences of 40 young people, aged 15-24, living in the suburban case study locations of Wythenshawe and Chorlton, Manchester, UK. By paying attention to how young people’s drinking practices and experiences are bound up with relationships with friends, family, and diverse spaces, this research enhances understandings of the relational nature of young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood. Theoretically, I work at the intersection of multiple more-than-representational conceptual apparatus: ‘doing’ friendship; mobilities; and atmospheres. I conducted this research with young people, using a flexible suite of methods, which they could ‘opt into’, including: interviews; peer interviews; drawing elicitation interviews; diaries; mobile phone methods; and participant observation.

Young people detail how alcohol assists with the formation of friendships, tensions between friends and strangers, and the development of ‘more-than-friendships’. I thus contribute to the children’s geographies literature by affording the role of friendship to many young people’s everynight lives greater prominence. Second, by engaging with young people’s emotional and embodied walking and vehicular mobilities, I show that young people consume alcohol on the move because it is both economically beneficial, and emotionally important. In doing so, I move beyond the typical academic and policy treatment of drinking spaces as bounded terrains. Third, I engage with young people’s atmospheric experiences of darkness and lightness. I argue that atmospheres have the ability to shape drinking practices and experiences; young people are not passive to these atmospheres, they actively co-construct them. Whilst traditional harm-reduction messages focus on the individual drinker, I urge policymakers to turn their attention to intra and intergenerational relationships. For instance, by encouraging the practice of being a ‘good friend’ on nights in/out involving alcohol; and by providing families with advice on how to construct positive affective drinking atmospheres.
Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible had it not been for the participants who gave up their time to talk to me, and shared their nights out with me. I am very lucky to have met such interesting people. Without the financial support of both the Economic and Social Research Council [ES/J500094/1], and Alcohol Research UK [RS 12/02], I would not have been able to undertake the research on which this thesis is based - so a big thank you goes to them. I would also like to say thank you very much to the CASE partner for my PhD, Our Life, because, not only did I learn a great deal from contributing to the organisation’s community engagement activities, I also made a lovely friend during my time at the organisation - Holly - who I will, undoubtedly, stay in touch with.

A special thanks must go to my supervisory team, Dr Mark Jayne, Dr Bethan Evans, Dr Fiona Smyth, and Matthew Bowen, for their encouragement and enthusiasm over the past three years - not forgetting lots of smiley faces on drafts of my thesis to motivate me 😊. I would also like to thank my boyfriend, Philip, for ‘not minding’ - more likely ‘loving’ - me working late on countless evenings. I also wish to say thank you to my twin sister, and fellow PhD student, Catherine, who proved to be an excellent proofreading resource. Catherine also made attending numerous conferences much more enjoyable over the course of the PhD. Last, but my no means least, I would like to express my gratitude to my mum and dad and my ‘brother’ (our family Pug called Percy) for being so loving and caring throughout the PhD journey.
Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mum, for her amazing strength and resilience.
Chapter One
Introducing Young People, Alcohol and Urban Life

1.1 Introduction

Alcohol consumption, and particularly young people and drinking, have, for a long time, been the focus of popular, policy and academic work. The treatment of young people in policy and press is, however, contradictory. Public debate in the UK is permeated by a rhetoric of anxiety relating to ‘out-of-control’ young people (Parkes and Conolly, 2011), who are positioned as lacking capacities of/for self-regulation (Kelly, 2003). Pickard (2014) accuses the British press of creating a ‘moral panic’ surrounding young people’s alcohol consumption in public space. The following sensationalist news headlines concerning public drunkenness, for example, present young people as “folk devils”- a bad influence on society (Oswell, 1998:36): Epidemic of Drunk Teenagers in Hospital (Telegraph, 2007); Anger of WWI Veteran’s Family after Binge-Drinking Student is Pictured Urinating on War Memorial (Daily Mail, 2009); Binge Drinking Fuels Youth Violence (The Guardian, 2008). This demonisation of young people as ‘binge drinkers’ gives the impression that contemporary young urbanites are anti-social, dangerous and lack a moral compass (Smith, 2013).

On the other hand, independent UK alcohol awareness charity, Drinkaware (2011:6) argue that, for many young people, alcohol consumption acts as a “social glue”, binding friends together, and providing common ground. Drinkaware (2011) add that episodes of drunkenness are generally shared experiences and, after a night out, young people trade
stories of drunken behaviour as a form of social currency. More recently, a report by Drinkaware (2014:5) highlights the role of alcohol in facilitating social interactions both with friends, allowing bonding, and with strangers, allowing for “social adventures”. Further, the “voice of generation Y”\(^1\), news platform Elite Daily (2015:no pagination), claims that “friends who drink together are more likely to stay friends forever”, whilst the Daily Mail (2015) states that alcohol makes people friendlier to members of “in groups”, although this may exclude outsiders. By creating a dichotomy between those who are ‘out-of-control’ ‘binge drinkers’ and those for whom alcohol contributes to friendship fun, the media and policy bodies often fail to acknowledge the nuances in the diverse drinking practices of young people. My thesis will rectify this by engaging with the complexities of the alcohol consumption practices and experiences of young people, aged 15-24, living in the suburban case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, Manchester, UK.

1.2 Research Design

Over the last decade, children and young people’s geographies have flourished. From the theoretical standpoint of the sociology of childhood, and children’s geographies, young people are valued as competent social actors with knowledge about their social worlds (Lomax, 2012; Skelton, 2008). It is from this standpoint that I undertook this research into young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences. My epistemological stance is influenced by a desire to hear young people’s voices in research (Porter et al., 2012). This is based on an understanding of young people as active agents in the social

\(^1\) ‘Generation Y’ is the generation born in the 1980s and 1990s, comprising of primarily the children of the baby boomers. This generation is typically perceived as increasingly familiar with digital and electronic technology.
world, and a perception of young people as competent and knowledgeable about their own lives and spaces, and the lives and spaces of those around them (Urichard, 2010). Whilst previously young people’s experiences have been marginalised or absent (Lomax, 2012), I join other scholars in attempting to include young people in the (co)-production of knowledge (e.g. Ansell et al., 2012; Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). The following research objectives guide this study:

1. To explore the alcohol consumption practices and experiences of young people living in Wythenshawe and Chorlton, Manchester, UK.

2. To offer insight into how young people’s attitudes and practices relating to alcohol consumption are bound up with relationships with family members and friends.

3. To investigate how young people construct and experience alcohol-related mobilities and atmospheres, in, through, and beyond, Chorlton and Wythenshawe.

4. To explore how mixed methods qualitative research can create more culturally legible research for policy.

Engaging with the above objectives is important. Firstly, the contemporary geographical imaginary of alcohol consumption tends to be one of a city centre issue (Holloway et al., 2008), typified by a large body of work on the night-time economy (e.g. Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Hollands, 2002; Roberts, 2006). With this, the drinksapes of bars, pubs, and clubs in city centres have been privileged. Consequently, the specificities of suburban indoor and outdoor drinking cultures are poorly understood (Townshend, 2013). By researching into young people’s drinking practices and experiences in bars, pubs, homes,
streets, and parks, in, between, and beyond the suburban locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, I go some way towards redressing this bias. Secondly, young people’s transitions to adulthood are often considered to be linear, marked by pre-determined stages of already established expectations, and characterised by ‘rites of passage’, involving separation, transition, and finally incorporation into a new status group (Gennep, 1960). Such transitions have typically been conceptualised as solo projects (Holdsworth, 2007a). This is mirrored in the alcohol studies literature, in which the individual drinker has been prioritised over recognising the importance of relationships with friends and family. Offering insight into how young people’s attitudes and practices relating to drinking are bound up with relationships with family and friends will allow for a more holistic and relational understanding of young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood.

Thirdly, drinking spaces have largely been treated as bounded terrains (Jayne et al., 2012a), failing to account for young people’s alcohol-related movements in, through, and beyond, drinkscapes. Other than a few notable examples (Duff and Moore, 2015; Jayne et al., 2012a), walking and vehicular mobilities, bound up with the consumption of alcohol, have been largely neglected. Moreover, drinking spaces have tended to be treated as passive backdrops (Jayne et al., 2008a;b); this fails to account for the fact that drinking spaces are capable of shaping alcohol consumption practices and experiences. More than this, young people are able to co-construct drinking spaces, thereby potentially shaping the drinking practices of themselves and others. Exploring how young people construct and experience alcohol-related mobilities, in, through, and beyond, Chorlton and
Wythenshawe will enhance understandings of young people’s drinking spaces as relative and relational. Further, engaging with atmospheres will enable an exploration of the role of drinking spaces as active constituents with the ability to shape drinking occasions (Jayne et al., 2012a). Fourthly, many alcohol-harm reduction campaigns are not culturally legible for young people. The focus on individual responsibility that characterises numerous campaigns means the group-based social nature of drinking has been side-lined (de Visser et al., 2013). Further, the positive, emotional, embodied and affective feelings bound up with alcohol consumption are often overlooked (Jayne et al., 2010). I will explore how conducting a mixed methods qualitative research project with young people can feed into culturally legible recommendations for policymakers.

1.3 More-Than-Representational Starting Points

In order to address the objectives outlined in section 1.2, I engage with more-than-representational theory. According to Thrift (2008), the two predominant characteristics of non-representational theory are movement and mutability. Non-representational geographies are concerned with the “geography of what happens” (Thrift, 2008:2, emphasis in original). Non-representational theory is thus an attempt to capture the onflow of everyday life (Thrift, 2008), and can be described as “a theory of mobile practices” (Johnston et al., 2005:556). The term ‘non-representational theory’, Lorimer (2005:83) writes, is used by those wishing to explore “more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds”. It is for this reason that I, following Lorimer (2005), prefer the phraseology ‘more-than-representational’ Geography. A more-than-representational perspective emphasises the “intercorporeality of bodies, affects and objects” (Evans et al.,
2011:337); it is interested in ‘practices’, what “bodies and things” do, over representations (Jones, 2008; Thrift, 2008:6). Instead of envisaging fully-formed individual subjects that move through more-or-less predictable spaces, more-than-representational theory provides a fundamental means to consider bodies in an emergent, relational manner in terms of their on-going reciprocity with the spaces which they inhabit (Bissell, 2014). The three major more-than-representational academic starting points for this thesis are: friendships; mobilities; and atmospheres.

First, more relational understandings of young people’s lives can be gained by paying attention to “doing” friendship (Allan, 1998:687). In much of the human geography literature, friendships are implied, and occasionally mentioned, but friendship itself is seldom conceptually central (Bunnell et al., 2012). For Bunnell et al. (2012), friendships are performances with the potential to produce sociality and sociability. Friendships can be both temporary and long-standing (Bunnell et al., 2012). Friendships can change through time; sometimes they can deepen, other times they can break off, and sometimes they can erode to the point of disappearing (Santos-Granero, 2007). In order to maintain friendships then, active, ongoing reciprocal work is required (Bunnell et al., 2012). When the alcohol studies literature has considered friendship, it is often framed in terms of ‘peer pressure’ (Pavis et al., 1997; Santor et al., 2000). More recently, Thurnell-Read (2013:14) urged scholars to consider that friendship is fundamental to many drinking practices and experiences and, therefore, must not be overlooked in favour of focusing solely on the individual body of the drinker. After which, other authors have been keen to view alcohol a “key technology in constituting friendship” (MacLean, 2015:3). Whilst the word ‘friend’
typically has positive connotations, one must not overlook that friendships can also involve various negative emotions and tensions (Bartos, 2013; Thrift, 2008).

Second, a means of overcoming the academic treatment of drinkscapes as bounded terrains (Jayne et al., 2012a), is by paying attention to young people’s alcohol-related mobilities. The importance of mobility has been recognised within the social sciences, leading Sheller and Urry (2006) to declare that a ‘new’ mobilities paradigm has been formed. Recent work within this apparent ‘mobile turn’ has made clear that young urbanites are of an age where mobility is crucial in order to take advantage of the resources, recreation and sociality offered by urbanscapes (Skelton 2013). Indeed, Skelton and Gough (2013) proclaim that this is an important aspect of ‘growing up’, and identity formation. As McAuliffe (2013) insists, young people are subject to manifold micro-politics of mobility and immobility that differentiate their experiences of urban spaces from the experiences of adults. Mobilities research then, should not only pay attention to physical movement, but also potential movement, blocked movement and immobilisation (Sheller, 2011). When young people’s alcohol-related mobilities have been considered, for instance in the transport studies literature (Gannon et al., 2014), it has typically been conceptualised in a reductive manner which theorises mobility as - what Spinney (2009:820) describes as - “a product of rationally weighed decisions”. I join a small body of work (e.g. Duff and Moore, 2015; Jayne et al., 2012a), in highlighting the emotional, embodied and affective aspects of alcohol-related walking and vehicular mobilities.
The third starting point, atmospheres, foregrounds the role of more-than-human elements to young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences. As Bohme (2013: no pagination) puts it, atmosphere is a “floating in-between”, something between things and the perceiving subjects. According to Reckwitz (2012:254), ‘atmosphere’ denotes the ‘affective’ mood that spatial arrangements evoke in the sensual bodies of their users. Anderson (2009:77) has also referred to atmospheres as ‘affective’, arguing: “to attend to affective atmospheres is to learn to be affected by the ambiguities of affect/emotion, by that which is determinate and indeterminate, present and absent, singular and vague”. In order to get to grips with atmosphere, Bille et al. (2015) note that one must actively engage with colours, lighting, sound, odour, and the textures of things - an atmospheres approach is thus inherently multisensory. The alcohol studies literature has recently begun to consider atmospheres. For instance, Shaw (2014a) explores the night-time city centre as an affective atmosphere, emerging from the coalescing of practices, materials, and bodies. Whilst geographers have begun to engage with atmospheres of darkness and lightness (Edensor, 2013), the atmospheres of dark and lightscapes have not yet been considered in relation to young people’s drinking practices. Engaging with atmospheres of darkness, lightness, and music enables me to go some way towards redressing Jayne et al.’s (2008a;b) contention that drinking spaces are too often rendered passive backdrops, with a failure to consider their role in shaping drinking practices and experiences.

This theoretical framework directs attention to interrelations, intersubjectivity and the intercorporeal nature of bodies (Evans et al., 2011; Ruddick, 2007), enabling me to pay attention to the multiple relations in young people’s embodied lives. By framing my
research using more-than-representational theory then, which emphasises lived experience (Anderson and Harrison, 2010), I go some way towards producing research that can feed into culturally legible alcohol policies.

1.4 Our Life

I undertook the research in collaboration with an external partner organisation, Our Life, a community engagement specialist, based in Manchester’s city centre. Our Life has undertaken public participation processes, research, and training to involve people in decisions and issues directly affecting them, and the areas in which they reside. Our Life (2013) were specialists in the field of health and well-being, and the organisation’s area of expertise was in establishing dialogue between people and decision-makers, empowering them to work together, along with giving them the skills and confidence to influence and promote change. Our Life have undertaken much culturally legible research on alcohol, resulting in reports on the Supermarket Scandal, concerning cheap alcohol sales in the Northwest (Our Life, 2009); Morecambe Alcohol Inquiry (Our Life, 2012a); The Fleetwood Alcohol Inquiry (Our Life, 2012b); The Ellesmere Port Alcohol Inquiry (Our Life, 2012c); Barrow Alcohol Inquiry (Our Life, 2013); Blackpool Alcohol Inquiry (Our Life, 2014); and Halton Alcohol Inquiry (Our Life, 2015). Each of the organisation’s alcohol inquiries was based on the model of the Citizens’ Jury. Our Life’s role was to create a discussion around alcohol, based on the question: “what are the things that make

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2 I use past-tense because, in July 2015, the CASE partner for my PhD, Our Life, took the decision to put the organisation into voluntary liquidation. Chancellor George Osborne’s announcement in June 2015, regarding £200 million of non-NHS public health funding cuts, and changes to the social housing sector (Gov.uk, 2015a), caused the sudden withdrawal of projects that the organisation was relying on delivering and Our Life could not afford to keep going.
it difficult to have a healthier relationship with alcohol?” (Our Life, 2012c:6). In doing so, participants hear from a variety of expert commentators, such as: police inspectors, licensees, occupational health advisors, GP commissioners, psychotherapists, community fire safety advocates, and outreach workers. After hearing from the commentators, the participants then produce recommendations for decision-makers and the public.

Our Life’s (2013) style of engagement was participatory, with participants taking part in activities such as ‘problem trees’ (which help them explore the root causes of the issue); ‘mapping exercises’ (in which participants plotted the spaces that make it easier to have a healthier relationship with alcohol); and ‘speed dating’ exercises, to share their learning with other participants. Our Life (2013) articulated that their alcohol inquiries are undertaken with the aim to enabling community members to articulate an informed view of the actions individuals, communities, organisations and decision-makers should take, in order to reduce alcohol-related harm. These inquiries enabled local residents, who may typically be excluded from decision-making processes, to become part of a local group that explores the issue of alcohol in their area. This model of engagement is reflected in my research, through my desire to conduct research for and with, rather than solely about, young people (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). Further, as Our Life did, I deploy some methods that produce data through practical activities (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008): including: peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, and mobile phone methods.
Throughout the three years of my PhD, I spent approximately one day per week at Our Life’s office. Being based in the office gave me an opportunity to observe the day-to-day workings of the organisation. In my time at Our Life, I participated in a workshop in order to critically evaluate Our Life’s ‘Under the Influence? Alcohol Discussion Kit’, consequently suggesting improvements for a more effective product. Further, community members from Halton invited me as an expert commentator to the Halton Alcohol Inquiry, in which I gave a presentation about young people’s relationships with alcohol.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis is as follows. In Chapter Two, I review understandings of young people’s independent transitions to adulthood, and argue for a more relational understanding of age (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). This recognises that young people’s transitions cannot be separated from markers of social identity (Valentine, 2003), and are bound up with relationships with family and friends (Holdsworth, 2007b). I discuss class and gender as markers of drinking identities that are not fixed, but, drawing on Goffman (1959) and Butler (1990), are performed. Rather than viewing alcohol consumption as an individual’s ‘rite of passage’ to adulthood (Beccaria and Sande, 2003; Hutton and Cusack, 2013), I highlight the conceptual apparatus of intergenerationality; friendship and care; and relationships with siblings as a means of understanding alcohol-related transitions as relational.
In Chapter Three, I highlight that the contemporary geographical imaginary of drinking is predominantly a city centre issue (Holloway et al., 2008), and thus cohere literature which pays attention to a diverse range of drinking spaces, including parks; streets; and homes. Doing so, leads me to argue that drinkscape are typically treated as fixed, bounded, terrains, with a lack of consideration for young people’s mobilities in and through spaces and places (Jayne et al., 2012a). More than this, drinking spaces are typically rendered passive backdrops to drinking (Jayne et al., 2008a;b). In order to address this neglect, I draw on the more-than-representational theories of ‘mobilities’ and ‘atmospheres’. Mobilities theory enables an understanding of the embodied and sensory aspects of movements (Spinney, 2009), and offers insight into young people’s movements as social experiences (Nansen et al., 2015). Further, an atmospheres perspective has potential to tease out the spatial, emotional, embodied and affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009), bound up with young people’s alcohol consumption practices.

In Chapter Four, I offer an overview of the case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe. Moreover, I reflect upon my experiences of conducting a mixed-methods qualitative research project with young people and parents. I highlight that employing multiple methods including: interviews, peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, diaries, mobile phone methods, and participant observation, adds breath, complexity, richness, and creativity to my research (Myers, 2009). Further, having a combination of methods for young people to ‘opt into’, made the research process more engaging for participants (Buchwald et al., 2009; Leyshon, 2002). I highlight instances where my research design was refined and developed through listening to the experiences of young
people in my study. I am reflexive about how oft-neglected aspects of positionality including my age, appearance, voice, personality, and my drinking autobiography influenced research relationships.

The three empirical chapters are structured thematically, and to some extent, temporally, offering a textured understanding of young people’s drinking practices and experiences. In Chapter Five, ‘Getting Drink, Getting Drunk’, I offer an account of intergenerational drinking geographies and private spaces, with a focus on accessing alcohol and ‘pre-drinking’ (a term I critique in this chapter). I draw on Goffman’s (1959) work on performance, and offer examples of young people’s performances, when bound up with alcohol. For instance, young people tell stories of their successful and failed attempts at playing with their identities, in an attempt to purchase alcohol, when under the legal drinking age. Moreover, through examples of parents providing their children with ‘dens’ to drink in, and of parents being key players in many young people’s ‘pre-drinking’ sessions, I highlight the importance of a “joint inter-generational” approach (Kjorholt, 2003:273), which stresses continuity and cohesion between generations, rather than treating generations as socially and spatially separate, as is so often the case (e.g. Thurnell-Read, 2013). I also demonstrate that, for young people whose families are not supportive about their drinking, elective relationships, such as friendships (Budgeon and Roseneil, 2004), can act as an additional parenting resource (Seaman and Sweeting, 2004).
In Chapter Six, ‘Being Out and About’, I pay attention to intragenerational relationships of friendship and care, both within extra-familial groups (peer group) and intra-familial groups (relationships with siblings), when alcohol is enrolled. I highlight that alcohol is crucial to ‘doing’ friendships (Niland et al., 2013); it plays a key role in creating friendships, causing tensions in friendship groups (MacLean, 2015), and enabling ‘more-than-friendships’ to develop. I show that many young men draw on hyper-masculine gender constructs when discussing their caring strategies; they claim autonomy and independence on nights out, and cite a lack of need for care. Drawing on Butler (1990:151), I highlight how, by conforming to heterosexual standards for identity, such young people are operating within the “heterosexual matrix”. However, I also provide examples of young men emotionally caring for other young men, and my findings thus show that alcohol can facilitate “slippage” in gender performativities (Butler, 1993:122).

In this chapter, I also highlight young people’s relationships with siblings. I discuss how older siblings use their embodied experiences of consuming alcohol to transmit knowledge surrounding drinking to their younger siblings. Sibling ties thus offer a source of education and protection for younger siblings when transitioning to adulthood (Gillies and Lucey, 2006).

In Chapter Seven, ‘Getting Around’, I focus on public spaces, mobilities and atmospheres. I unpack the differential spaces of drinking, including bars, pubs, clubs, parks, and streets in, between, and beyond, Wythenshawe and Chorlton. In so doing, I demonstrate that young people use their perception of the ‘classed other’ (Sutton, 2009) to justify socio-spatial processes of inclusion and exclusion. Further, I highlight young people’s alcohol-
related walking and vehicular im/mobilities. I illustrate that consuming alcohol on the move is both cost-effective, and emotionally important, and is thus a means of using ‘travel time’ productively (Lyons and Urry, 2005). Paying attention to atmospheres of darkness (Edensor, 2013), I suggest that, contrary to the prevailing cultural understanding that darkness is a negative condition (Morris, 2011), many young people actively seek dark drinkscapes, considering them to be exciting, alluring and mysterious. Yet, through discussing atmospheres of music and lighting in club-space, I make clear that sensual atmospheres do not seduce all people (Taylor and Falconer, 2015). Some young people experience a disconnection, in terms of their embodied drunkenness and the spaces they find themselves in (MacLean and Moore, 2014), and are effectively pushed out of space.

In the Conclusion, I revisit the three starting points, which I outlined in this introductory chapter: ‘doing’ friendship, mobility, and atmospheres. I highlight how my key conceptual contributions that emerged through the lens of young people’s drinking practices and experiences, around the themes of: friendship, intergenerationality, mobilities, and atmospheres, can contribute to broader social science research agendas. I draw on my culturally legible research to suggest how relational geographies of drinking can feed into effective policy initiatives. For instance, policymakers must highlight the importance of being a ‘good friend’ on alcohol related nights, and teach families how to create positive affective atmospheres when drinking at home. I also highlight avenues for future research.
Chapter Two
Young People and Alcohol

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review literature on young people and alcohol in order to contribute to debates about young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood. This is important in order to highlight that young people’s transitions to adulthood are not solo projects (Holdsworth, 2007a); they are intersectional (Valentine, 2003), interdependent (Punch, 2002), and bound up with relationships with family and friends (Holdsworth, 2007b). Secondly, through an exploration of alcohol and identity, I draw on Goffman (1959) and Butler (1990) to argue that drinking identities are spatially and temporally specific. Third, I outline avenues for viewing young people’s alcohol-related transitions as relational. These include: paying attention to “joint inter-generational” geographies (Kjorholt, 2003:273); how young people ‘do’ friendship and care (Niland et al., 2013) for drunken/not so drunken peers; and how relationships with siblings may be a means through which older siblings transmit embodied knowledges surrounding alcohol consumption to younger siblings. In doing so, I illustrate that young people’s drinking identities are not fixed but are produced through intra and intergenerational interactions.

2.2 Young People’s Geographies

Legal definitions used to define the responsibilities of adulthood are incredibly varied (James, 1986), seldom constructing young people in a uniform fashion, meaning it is unclear at what point a young person becomes an adult (Collins and Kearns, 2001). In
England, legislation and policy defines entry into adulthood in complex ways. For instance, the age of criminal responsibility in England is 10 years old. However, 10 year olds are treated differently from adults: they are dealt with by youth courts; given different sentences; and sent to special secure centres for young people, rather than adult prisons (Gov.uk, 2015b). Young people aged 18 are treated as adults by the law. However, if they are sent to prison, they are sent to a place holding 18 to 25 year olds, not a full adult prison (Gov.uk, 2015b). The apparent inconsistencies in such laws appears to reinforce the uncertainties surrounding the terms ‘child’ ‘young person’ and ‘adult’, which do not have historically or geographically fixed definitions (Collins and Kearns, 2001). Alcohol laws also highlight inconsistencies and ambiguities surrounding the definition of ‘adult’. For instance, aged five a child can legally consume alcohol in private, whilst they cannot purchase alcohol in public places until they are aged 18. On the other hand, aged 16, they can be bought beer, wine or cider in public to accompany a meal (Gov.uk, 2015b). In these laws, the assumed homogeneity of essentialised definitions of childhood and adulthood is challenged through highlighting the importance of place. What this “legal morass”, to use James’ (1986:157) phrase, shows is that the transition from childhood to adulthood is context specific.

According to Gennep (1960), life is a transition, characterised by rhythmic periods of heightened activity. This approach considers the lifecourse to be “a journey of personal discovery, during which periods of calm weather are interrupted by more tumultuous passages” (Teather, 1999:1). Conceptualising adolescence as a liminal experience in-between childhood and adulthood positions adolescence as a stage in-between (James,
1986). By being too old to be children, and too young to be adults, adolescents are effectively excluded from the category of ‘child’ and ‘adult’. For James (1986:156), this state of ‘in-between-ness’ is problematic: “neither child nor adult the adolescent is lost in between, belonging nowhere, being no one”. The conceptual boundaries separating adolescents from both ‘child’ and ‘adult’ worlds, contributes to adolescents being conceptually marginalised as “nobodies” (James, 1986:156). Much work has centred on a conceptualisation of ‘youth’ as a linear transition between childhood and adulthood, marked by ‘rites of passage’, such as the movement from full-time education into the workforce, or moving from the parental home to living independently (Evans, 2008).

‘Rite of passage’ can be defined as “a movement through socially defined and linguistically pre-determined stages of already established cultural norms, behaviours, ideas, and expectations” (a definition disputed by Curti and Moreno, 2010:415). The notion of ‘rites of passage’ was advanced by Gennep (1960), who saw ‘rites of passage’ as devices incorporating phases of: separation; transition; and finally the incorporation of individuals into a new status group. According to the author, transitions are spatial, and thus a “territorial passage” occurs too (Gennep, 1960:15), in which young people learn new socio-spatial patterns (Teather, 1999). Teather (1999) suggests that there is a fundamental link between stages in human development, and the spaces in which this takes places. ‘Rites of passage’ then, involve using and learning about new types of spaces and places (Teather, 1999). The notion of ‘rites of passage’ from childhood to adulthood can be critiqued from a children’s geographies’ perspective for conveying
“adulthood as a fixed, static disconnected end-point of youth” (Evans, 2008:1669; Horton and Kraftl, 2006).

This conceptualisation significantly downplays the fact that adult identities are also complex and fluid; put simply, all bodies ‘become’. Holdsworth (2007a) is useful here, reminding us that whilst adulthood is often associated with independence, how dependency and independence are achieved and experienced can vary between young men and young women. For instance, women who leave home to live with a partner may be perceived to be trading one form of dependency for another, whilst men who move to live with a partner may be perceived to be “giving up” their freedom (Holdsworth, 2007a:60). Additionally, the notion of a transition from childhood to adulthood can be criticised for its assumption that all children and young people will reach adulthood. Jeffrey (2010) is instructive here, reminding us that the social crisis in parts of the world means that youth is, for some, a permanent condition - as some young people are unable to reach an age associated with adulthood.

An alternative to viewing childhood in terms of a biologically defined age group, is to exercise a performative understanding (Valentine, 2003). Whilst children are often assumed less competent, less mature, and less responsible than adults are, a performative conceptualisation of age recognises that young people can sometimes act in incredibly mature ways, whilst some adults can behave immaturely (Valentine, 2003). As Valentine (2003) underscores, by acting maturely at a certain space or time, children can ‘grow’ in
terms of how they are perceived by others; alternatively, if they act in an immature manner, their perceived age can ‘shrink’. A performative understanding of age is useful for shedding light on the fact that the linear transition from childhood to adulthood, as documented by Hopkins (2006a), in which people move from school to employment; from living with parents to living independently, for instance, is rarely so smooth. As Hollands (2002) points out, young people (and adults) may start work, then lose their job; or leave home, move into rented accommodation for a while, then move back home. Indeed, the current generation of young adults in Western countries have come to be known as the ‘boomerang generation’; a term used to reflect the fact that they choose to cohabit with their parents after a brief period of living on their own, thus boomeranging back to their place of origin (Berngruber, 2015).

Moreover, young people may be simultaneously child-like and adult-like, for instance by living at home and being financially dependent on their parents, whilst also having a relationship and becoming a parent themselves (Valentine, 2003). Further, even when young people are employed and have their own home they may rely on their parents for advice or financial assistance, or for doing their laundry (Holdsworth, 2007b). Horowitz and Bromnick (2007:210) refer to a shift between dependency and independence and back to dependency as a “yo-yo-ization of posttraditional life courses”. This supports the notion of a prolonged adolescence thesis, based on the premise that an increasing number of young people are deferring or rejecting adulthood (Blatterer, 2007). However, far from living in a prolonged adolescence, Blatterer (2007:772) propounds a redefinition of contemporary adulthood in which those “twenty and thirtysomethings” who are said to
reject adulthood are actively engaged in producing a “new adulthood” of their own. This ‘new’ adulthood, echoing Blatterer (2007), rather than being associated with certainty, predictability and long-term planning, is characterised by uncertainty, risk-taking and short-term projects. As Valentine (2003) argues, transitions from childhood to adulthood are complex and fluid; they are not a one-off or one-way process.

The notion of a linear transition has also been criticised by Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), advancing instead the theory of ‘individualisation’ to indicate a non-linear, open-ended, highly ambivalent, on-going process without a preordained destination. According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), individualisation refers to the disintegration of previously existing social forms, for example: the increasing fragility of categories, such as class, gender, family and neighbourhood. From this vantage point, humans are not ‘born into’ their identities. Replacing the “normal biography” is the “do-it-yourself biography” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002:3); human identity is thus transformed from a “given” into a “task” (Bauman, 2002:xv). This means that the transition from childhood to adulthood is not predetermined with defined stages, but instead individuals are granted agency to choose their “own life culture” or “self-culture” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2006:41), unrestricted by class and gender structures, for instance. However, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim’s (2002) individualisation thesis has not escaped criticism. Valentine (2000) points out that an emphasis on individualisation obscures underlying gender, heterosexual and class relationships. According to the author, such identity markers still have a powerful hold on individuals, limiting the choices individuals can make through fear of being marginalised or socially excluded. As Evans (2008) asserts,
individuals are not entirely free to choose their own life path; structures and (extra) familial norms and expectations still limit opportunities and experiences for many young people. With this in mind, I now turn to offer more complex and fluid understandings of young people, by considering young people within broader geographies of age (Evans, 2008).

2.2.1 Relational Geographies

Instead of simply examining the experiences of different age groups, we need, as Hopkins et al. (2011) argue, a holistic and relational geographies of age. This is important because identity is relational; it only develops and operates in relation to other identities (Valentine, 2003). In this section, I propose five ways of considering age in a more holistic and relational manner, these are: intersectionality; interdependence; intergenerationality; friendship; and care. These approaches should not be used in isolation, for they relate to each other, but, for purposes of explanation, I have separated them here.

Normative models of transition have limitations, because they do not typically recognise that social differences can play a part in transitions, intersecting with the categories of childhood and youth (Valentine, 2003). By shifting the focus on age alone to encompass other dimensions, an intersectional approach allows for a more complex and dynamic understanding of young people’s experiences of, and transitions through, spaces and places. According to Brah and Phoenix (2004:76), intersectionality “signifies the complex,
irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axes of differentiation - economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential - intersect in historically specific contexts”. From an intersectionality perspective, it is not possible to separate out the categories of gender, race, class, and sexuality; nor is it possible to explain inequalities through a single framework (Valentine, 2008a). An intersectional approach is interested in the interconnected and interdependent relationships between different social categories (Valentine, 2008a). This approach recognises that identity markers, including: gender, race, class, sexuality, and (dis)ability are not stable; they are fluid and complex (Valentine, 2008a). As such, people do not have a fixed sense of identification or disidentification; rather, they are in a constant process of becoming (Valentine, 2008a). Valentine (2008a) seeks to promote the significance of space in these processes of subject formation. She suggests that the specific identities that emerge for an individual do not occur in a vacuum, instead identities must be conceptualised as situated accomplishments. Space and identities then, are co-implicated.

Valentine and Skelton (2007) talk about intersectionality in relation to young gay/lesbian deaf people and Muslim deaf young people - showing that intersections between these different identities matter. The authors use the example of D/deaf young people’s transitions to critique the transitions model for creating assumptions about normal development, suggesting that this throws up the possibility of failed and broken transitions. For instance, because it is common for D/deaf young people to underachieve at school, and experience high levels of unemployment, they are often considered as

3 ‘D/deaf’ is written in this way in order to reflect that there are two dominant constructions of D/deafness. These are: deafness as a medical matter; and the Deaf as a linguistic minority (Valentine, 2008a).
having made “failed transitions” (Valentine and Skelton, 2007:116). However, as Valentine and Skelton (2007) point out, these ideas of development are not necessarily markers of Deaf young people’s independence, as they only measure Deaf people’s participation in the hearing world, rather than their participation within Deaf culture. This does not recognise that, for some D/deaf people, experiences in the hearing world are so negative that opting out of it is a positive choice, and thus should not be read as ‘failure’ (Valentine and Skelton, 2007). The intersectional approach thus recognises that the way in which age is lived out and encountered cannot be separated out as a pure and discrete strand; instead, following Hopkins and Pain (2007), the experience of age must be appreciated as varying according to different markers of social difference.

Second, an intergenerational approach draws attention to relations and interactions between generational groupings (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). According to Hopkins and Pain (2007:288), the study of age in geography has undergone:

Striking change, with a recent explosion of interest in children and young people following a far more limited interest in the very old. Yet geographers have to break out of the tradition of fetishising the margins and ignoring the centre. While work on age might still be accused of being, in many ways, adults’ geographies…there are no geographies of adults in sight.

Directing attention towards intergenerationality, and thus connecting age groups, is a means of addressing the “explosion” of work on children and young people (Hopkins and Pain, 2007:288), and the dearth of literature focusing on adult geographies (Hopkins et al., 2011). By segregating age categories, rather than combining an interest in different
generations, much of the existing literature can be accused of marking sharp distinctions between the ‘young’ and the ‘old’ (Hagestad and Uhlenberg, 2005).

I now offer some examples in which intergenerational approaches can be seen to allow for a more inclusive and holistic view of age without fetishising the social-chronological margins (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). For instance, in the context of young people’s college experiences in the United States, Lee et al. (2015) argue that family, in the form of intergenerational solidarity, has an important influence on the well-being of young people transitioning towards adulthood. Specifically, the authors argue that young people’s connectedness to family is associated with adaptive functioning, which is associated with successful development. However, for some young people, there is a relationship between intergenerational solidarity and depressive symptoms, suggesting that high levels of familism may leave some young people vulnerable when situated away from family when in college (Lee et al., 2015). Further, Hopkins (2006b) uses an intergenerational approach to demonstrate that identities are not fixed, but are produced through interactions with other generations and should thus be seen as dynamic (see also Hopkins and Pain, 2007). In the context of Scotland, Hopkins (2006b) explores Muslim masculinities through narratives of gender and generational relations. The author contends that the young Muslim men show respect for their parents’ generation, viewing their parents as hardworking. The young men’s narratives challenge contentions that there is a culture clash between generations, and that young men are in conflict with their parents’ generation (Hopkins, 2006b). Notwithstanding this, for young Muslim men, tensions with their parents arose around relationships, specifically having a girlfriend. In an attempt to
negotiate and manage gender, generational and sexual relationships, Hopkins (200b) asserts that the young men utilised the different scales of their local everyday lives.

According to Kjorholt (2003:273), it is important to make explicit intergenerational relationships that signal co-operation and reciprocity across generations - in what he terms a “joint inter-generational” geographies approach. With a focus on children’s hut building in Norway, Kjorholt (2003) contends that children need to craft their own special places during middle childhood. Yet, children in the study made clear that their identities as autonomous individuals are constructed through a gendered generational relationship, comprised of men. That is, the young men’s social practices in forests highlight continuity between generations of men, in terms of how they use the space. As an integrated part of everyday life, knowledge of how to use the space is transmitted between generations (Kjorholt, 2003). Continuity and integration with adults is thus a fundamental characteristic of the young men’s stories. Appreciating intergenerationality as an aspect of social identity recognises that individuals and groups’ sense of themselves and others is, as Hopkins and Pain (2007) argue, in part, based on generational sameness or differences.

A third alternative to viewing youth as a transition from dependence to independence is by exercising the notion of interdependence. An interdependence perspective thinks through dependency/independence as relational states, examining young people’s transitions not as solo projects, but as processes which are shared with family and
significant others (Holdsworth, 2007a). An interdependence perspective is thus important for allowing a consideration of the ways in which young people’s lives are connected to others (Evans, 2008). For instance, Punch (2002) usefully highlights that, in rural Bolivia, interdependent house relations underlie young people’s choice of transitions; notably these relations are not fixed, but are worked out and renegotiated according to the existence of different constraints and opportunities. As such, Punch (2002:123, emphasis in original) advances the notion of “negotiated interdependence” as a useful way of understanding how young people work within their structural limitations, whilst asserting some level of agency over their choice of transition. Further, the concept of ‘negotiated interdependence’ recognises that young people engage with significant (extra)familial others during key ‘transitional events’. An interdependence perspective also recognises that this is not a one-way relationship; parents’ social identities, emotional well-being and material resources can develop through interacting with their children, such that parents can sometimes be dependent on their children (Valentine and Skelton, 2007). In doing so, the approach is intergenerational and relational, highlighting, following Hopkins and Pain (2007), that age is produced in interactions between different people. As such, it is difficult to talk about geographies of children, young people, or adults, in isolation. As Holloway (2014) says, such an approach can be praised for saving geographies of children, young people and families from an overly narrow focus on children’s micro-worlds.

An interdependence perspective moves beyond the significant emphasis that a ‘transitions’ approach places on the young person (Gillies, 2000), to take into consideration the
importance of family relationships on the individual’s life course trajectory. The importance of young people’s family relations and friendships, and the potential support received from, and created in them, was noted by Tolonen (2008), regarding the educational and work transitions of young Finns. In her comparison of the transitions out of the parental home for a cohort of British and Spanish young people, Holdsworth (2007b) explains that intra-familial relationships influence and enable young people to leave home. Exploring the specific transition experiences of lesbians and gay men, Valentine and Skelton (2003) contend that, for young people beginning to identify as lesbian or gay, the wider heterosexual family does not, or cannot, necessarily provide appropriate support. Consequently, as Roseneil and Budgeon (2004) say, networks of friends provide emotional continuity, companionship, and practical assistance, forming the context within which lesbians and gay men lead their personal lives. Rather than solely paying attention to family ties in childhood families of origin then, what Valentine (2008b:2097;2103) terms the broader “geographies of intimacy”, such as “families of choice”, merits further scrutiny.

Fourth, a more relational understanding of young people’s lives can be gained by paying attention to “doing” friendship (Allan, 1998:687). Proponents of individualisation argue that the “traditional family of fate” has begun to decrease in importance, with “families of choice”, including friendships, becoming more important (Pahl and Spencer, 2004:200). It is noteworthy that many dispute this, suggesting that family ties are still significant, whilst others talk of a blurring of roles between friends and family (Pahl and Spencer, 2004). For instance, family may confide in each other, and enjoy each other’s company in
a friend-like way (Pahl and Spencer, 2004). Equally though, where friends are loved, and where they depend on each other for help and support, they can become more family-like. Friendship, as Bunnell et al. (2012) assert, is a means through which many people maintain intimate social relations, both those that are proximate and distant. According to the authors, geography is important in the making, maintenance and dissolution of friendships, as well as in the types of friends that are important within particular space-time settings. Valentine (1993) made this explicit in her exploration of a geography of lesbian friendships. The author notes that whilst heterosexuals can meet friends in everyday spaces, lesbians struggle to form authentic friendships because they may conceal their sexuality from others and thus use a variety of strategies to search for “gay socio-spaces” (Valentine, 1993:111). Exploring the importance of friendship in dress-making practices, Hall and Jayne (2015) note that little is known about space as a constituent of the ways in which friendships are sustained and maintained, and how a plurality of encounters may, or may not, lead to the foundation, formation, maintenance, and also ending of friendships. Virtual communications, such as social networking websites, mean that it is increasingly possible to form, and sustain, friendships at a distance (Bowlby, 2011). That said, material spaces, such as schools, universities, work places, and pubs remain key sites for constituting friendships. Bowlby (2011) argues that ‘getting together’ provides a chance to share the embodied experiences of an occasion, such as dining out, or going to the cinema. These shared experiences are utilised as part of the material through which friendship is continued, in both co-present, and virtual conversations.
Friendships can facilitate or restrict certain possibilities (Bunnell et al., 2012). Friendships can be empowering for children and young people, as they learn from each other, reinforce senses of self-esteem, and have opportunities to widen their spatialities (Bunnell et al., 2012). Skelton (2000), researching with a group of teenage girls living in the Rhondda Valley, South Wales, UK, states that the young women can be conceptualised as occupying an ambiguous position of being the ‘wrong’ age, the ‘wrong’ gender, and being in the ‘wrong’ place. As Skelton (2000) argues, it is friendship that creates a strong sense of belonging and identity, enabling the young women to maintain an active geography in the public spaces of streets and parks. This is not to downplay the fact that friendships can also be characterised by tensions, and can involve a variety of negative emotions (Thrift, 2008). Further to this, friendships may have a negative effect on young people’s life chances, self-esteem, and willingness to engage with people who are different from their main friendship groups, and bullying is often undertaken on a basis of friendship (Bunnell et al., 2012).

Some authors have been keen to give a more nuanced understanding of friendship. For instance, Dyson (2010), through an exploration of young women’s work in the Indian Himalayas, argues that friendship is a contradictory resource; it is a medium through which dominant gender norms can become further entrenched, and it is a basis for effective cooperation and the improvisation of cultural practices. Additionally, Morris-Roberts (2004) contends that processes of inclusion, exclusion and belonging are fundamental to the formation and maintenance of friendships. Exploring young women’s everyday experiences of school and friendship, she illustrates how young women in her
study invoked a discourse of “distinctive individuality” in order to produce inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries of friendship (Morris-Roberts, 2004:237). The author suggests that the complex spatialities of the young women’s processes of (dis)identification are central to understanding these friendships.

Fifth, a relational geography of young people should pay attention to care. Caring involves both ‘caring for’, for instance physical care, and ‘caring about’, including emotional concern about one’s wellbeing (Bowlby, 2012; Silk, 2000). These are not mutually exclusive and, as Bowlby (2012) says, one often leads to the other. Further, care is not a one-way process; it usually involves reciprocity between the cared for and the carer. Fine and Glenndinning (2005) show that young disabled people are not only cared for, but also give care in their roles as parents and wives. Despite such interdependency and reciprocity, care relationships are often characterised by power inequalities, for instance inequalities of class, gender, race, and (dis)ability (Bowlby, 2012). Research on the geographies of care has highlighted the importance of space and place to experiences of care (Bowlby, 2012; Dyck et al., 2005; Milligan, 2003). As Bowlby (2012) asserts, much care requires copresence; that is, to physically interact with the person being cared for. However, the growth in communication via the Internet and mobile phones offers new spaces of care that, as Bowlby (2012) tells, are not reliant upon co-presence.

In existing geographical literature on care, the corporeal bodies of the old have been privileged over those of young people (Atkinson et al., 2011). This is problematic
because, as Bowlby (2012) asserts, care is important to, and exchanged between, everyone - not solely those identified with state welfare provision. When the literature has considered young people as either being cared for or caring, it has typically been biased to the global South; for instance, Robson’s (2004) work on young people caring for sick, elderly, dying or disabled adult family members in their Zimbabwe homes. A notable exception from the global North is Power’s (2008) work on caring for young adults with intellectual disabilities; yet, the young people are portrayed as solely receiving care and their role as carers for others is not acknowledged. One of the few papers to recognise that the role of cared for and carer do not necessarily occur in isolation is Fine and Glendinning’s (2005) aforementioned work on young disabled people’s experiences of being cared for, and also caring for others. Whilst there has thus been a dearth of literature regarding how young people care for other people, work has considered how young people care for nonhuman entities, such as the environment (Bartos, 2012).

A second critique of the existing geographical literature on care is that men’s role as carers has largely been denied (Fine and Glendinning, 2005). In focusing on caring as a feminine activity, private places of the home have received significant attention as carescapes (Fine and Glendinning, 2005), thereby largely neglecting public carescapes. As Roseneil and Budgeon (2004) assert, care increasingly takes place beyond the ‘family’, between networks of friends. According to the authors, friends give and receive care in a variety of situations of emotional, physical and practical need. Bowlby (2011:606) argues for a better understanding of the significance of friendship in geographies of care, arguing that an explicit consideration of friendship is excluded from the literature on caring.
geographies, “despite friendships’ place as a source of care and support in many people’s everyday lives”. She suggests that the care involved in friendship is ‘informal’ care; it is not formally organised, and is typically unpaid. Further, caring between friends involves both giving and receiving, and there is an expectation of some kind of reciprocation. Bowlby (2011) warns that persistent inequalities in the exchange of care between friends may lead to the loss of the friendship.

2.3 Alcohol and Identity

For many young people, alcohol is a fundamental component of identity exploration (Ridout et al., 2012). According to Ridout et al. (2012), many young people consider it a socially desirable component of identity to portray themselves as drinkers on social networking websites. With a focus on off-line worlds, de Visser et al. (2013) contend that young people promote the notion of alcohol as a means of cementing a mature, experienced identity. However, as Bancroft (2012) argues, this is not always the outcome. In a study surrounding alcohol consumption practices by students, the author notes how new roles and identities are constructed during transitions from school to University. During ‘Fresher’s week’, downing a bottle of wine in ten seconds without vomiting is a way in which a young man can gain the label of a “lad”, whilst, conversely, after passing out in a club, a young woman can gain the new identity of the “girl who can’t control her drink” (Bancroft, 2012: no pagination). Drinking identities then, are not static. Alcohol both enables young people to explore different identities, and can threaten the identity young people are aiming to present to others. In what follows, I explore how gendered
and classed identities intersect with young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences.

2.3.1 Gender and Class

Drinking has typically been considered a “male domain”, thought to be male dominated, male identified, and male centered (Capraro, 2000:307). Holding alcohol without showing signs of intoxication is thought to be an expression of male identity (Mullen et al., 2007). The consumption of beer with male friends is considered to be a means through which men enact standard hegemonic masculinity (Willott and Lyons, 2012), and being noisy, urinating in the streets, and passing out on the street are often deemed acceptable behaviours for men (Mullen et al., 2007). Whilst drinking and drunkenness have conventionally been considered masculine behaviours, commentators have argued that young women’s alcohol consumption has increased in recent years (de Visser and McDonnell, 2012), with young women increasingly “drinking like a guy” (Young et al., 2005:241). Kobin (2013), writing in an Estonian context, argues that, for some young women, drinking like men is thought to be rather heroic, proving they are not weaker than men; in doing so, the women are breaking codes of ‘traditional’ femininity. In the UK, the term the ‘ladette’ describes a “young women who behaves in a boisterously assertive or crude manner and engages in heavy drinking sessions” (The Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2011:797, emphasis added). Ladettes are perceived to be taking over the once-male preserves of pubs and bars, and competing with men in terms of units of alcohol consumed (Jackson and Tinkler, 2007). Nonetheless, despite drinking more
alcohol, more regularly, and consuming stronger drinks than they were two decades ago, Bailey et al. (2015) contend that young women still drink less than young men.

According to Mullen et al. (2007), the social context of male drinking is changing rapidly, and masculinities are being redefined. Recent changes to the drinks industry, alcohol advertising, marketing and the retail trade have contributed to a movement towards “female-friendly” alcohol products and drinking spaces (Bailey et al., 2015:747). Mullen et al. (2007) assert that the increasing diversity of drinking locations and alcohol products are instrumental in achieving new expressions of male identity among young men. Findings from de Visser and Smith’s (2007) study show that men also can have strong masculine identities that are characterised by an explicit reference to not drinking, or drinking in moderation (for instance, if they are successful at playing sports), whilst others in the study drank excessively without endorsing traditional masculinity. In Mullen et al.’s (2007) study, most participants prefer drinking in mixed-sex groups, which contrasts markedly with the experience of their fathers and grandfathers. This leads Mullen et al. (2007:162) to assert that there is a shift away from the conventional hegemonic masculinity to a more “pluralistic interpretation”. Similarly, in a study into female undergraduate students at a Polish University, Siemieniako and Kubacki (2013) claim that mixed-gender friendships have become more common. The authors contend that, consequently, young women often attempt to appropriate some of their male friends’ drinking behaviours and attitudes, which has led to increased levels of risky alcohol consumption. Interestingly, for women in Siemieniako and Kubacki’s (2013) study, the primary motive to consume alcohol is not to be like men, but to be liked by men. As
young women believe that their male friends find heavy drinking attractive, by drinking heavily themselves they are thus confirming their heterosexuality (see also Young et al., 2005). Echoing Siemieniako and Kubacki (2013), however, this belief is inconsistent with men’s perception of women who get drunk.

De Visser and McDonnell (2012:621) highlight what they term “gender double-standards” for alcohol use; that is, the application of different sets of expectations to men and women. As MacNeela and Bredin (2011) explain, women losing control are typically perceived more negatively than men in similar states. Interestingly, Montemurro and McClure (2005) explore bachelorette parties as occasions that challenge traditional assumptions about masculinity and femininity and raise questions about gender convergence in drinking behaviour. Whilst women’s excessive alcohol consumption has typically been viewed as deviant by society, the bachelorette party is unique because it is an intoxication-focused ritual, and consequently it is an occasion when it is the norm for women to be drunk, and act drunk, in public (Montemurro and McClure, 2005). Akin to masculine norms for drinking behaviour, Montemurro and McClure (2005) note that women in their study often recounted their drinking tales with pride.

According to Bailey et al. (2015:747), middle-class and working-class young women are faced with an “impossible dilemma” arising from the contradiction between a hedonistic discourse around attaining, and maintaining, the “right” form of hypersexual heterosexual femininity. Worries about being unable to attain and maintain the ‘correct’ form of
hypersexual femininity, when consuming alcohol, are bound up with concerns about being perceived as “drunken immoral chav[s]” (Bailey et al., 2015:755). Middle class women in Bailey et al.’s (2015:755) study drew on the figure of the “drunken immoral chav” to distance themselves from working class young women, whilst working class participants did not engage in a process of Othering. The position of young women in the night-time economy is also candidly articulated by Griffin et al. (2013:184), who assert that young women are exhorted to be “up for it”, and to drink and get drunk alongside men, but not to “drink like men”. Further, Griffen et al. (2013:187) contend that young women “are…called on to look and act as agentically sexy within a pornified night-time economy, but to distance themselves from the troubling figure of the ‘drunken slut’”. The authors explain how young white working and middle-class women mobilise figures of classed disgust to distance themselves from the disreputable drinking practices associated with (other) white working class women.

Interestingly, as Griffin et al. (2009) recognise, the upper-class as a whole is seldom subject to the same level of horrified moral outrage that has been directed at the drinking practices of white working-class young people. Despite this, as Griffin et al. (2009) make evident, there has also been a long history of ritualised drinking to excess amongst the upper-class, particularly young men. However, as the authors argue, this typically takes place in the more secluded spaces of university colleges, or private school grounds. Also of interest, Brown and Gregg (2012) focus on working class young women’s Facebook interaction surrounding binge drinking. The authors contend that, whether it is uploading drunken photos, or updating their status to demonstrate ”mocking regretfulness” about a
hangover or memory loss, young women demonstrate their “sassy and spontaneous nature” (Brown and Gregg, 2012:364). Brown and Gregg (2012) conclude that, for young working-class women, drinking and online social networking provides an opportunity to escape the confines of inherited, embodied identity. Alcohol then, permits experimentation with the performance of gender and class.

2.3.2 Performing Drinking Identities

Writing in the context of class in the 1950s, Goffman (1959:79) deploys the perspective of “theatrical performance”; that is, the ways in which people present themselves and their activity to others, with a focus on the means by which people guide and control the impression others form. According to the Goffman (1959:17), people sometimes act in “thoroughly calculating” manners, projecting versions of themselves in order to communicate a certain impression to others, to provoke a desired response. Goffman (1959) is clear to point out that the impression of ‘reality’ fostered by a performance is delicate and fragile, and can come under discredit because of minor mishaps. Goffman (1959:109;114) distinguishes between a “front region” and a “back region”. ‘Front region’ refers to the space in which the performance takes place. ‘Back region’ is where performances are openly constructed, and where performers can relax and drop their fronts (Goffman, 1959). Punch (2008) draws on Goffman’s (1959) work to illustrate that children’s sibling interactions typically consist of backstage, rather than frontstage, performances. Many participants in Punch’s (2008) study contend that techniques of impression management are not required with siblings. Punch (2008) makes clear that whilst behind the scenes may be an easy, relaxed atmosphere, because many social
conventions are dropped, backstage can also be a tense, irritable space. The author concludes that siblings are less able to perform in front of one another, as it would be impossible to sustain a continual performance, due to the knowledge they have of each other. Goffman’s (1959) work can be critiqued for predominantly focusing on backstage and frontstage performances in public arenas. Punch (2005) provides a useful redress here, showing how different degrees of performance can be enacted by siblings in the private domestic sphere, which is often assumed a backstage arena. Punch (2005) points out that children provide more of a frontstage performance with their parents, exerting more self-control in order to present more respectful and restrained behaviour.

Further, Johnson (2013) argues that teenage drinking activities are simultaneously backstage performances secluded from the adult gaze, and frontstage performances where young people stage an impression for the audience of their peers. The author advances three forms of performance authenticity, bound up with the consumption of alcohol: “over-claiming”, “pretending” and “acting hard” (Johnson, 2013:747). Regarding “over-claiming”, Johnson (2013:747) argues that young people in his study heavily criticised those who exaggerated their alcohol consumption or embellished their alcohol-related activities. For instance, some young people used class-based assumptions as a means of characterising the presumed appropriate performances for a specific group of girls. When discussing “pretending” to be drunk, Johnson (2013:747) notes that this performance was viewed as much more socially damaging than attempting to ‘pass’ as a drinker (e.g. by consuming non-alcoholic drinks which share a visual resemblance to alcoholic drinks in order to present oneself as a drinker). Finally, Johnson (2013:747) describes acting “hard”,
as an example of performance authenticity. Acting ‘hard’ can refer to acting ‘older’, ‘mad’, ‘nuts’, or ‘cool’. The author claims that drinking alcohol in an attempt to gain the approval of others, or as a means of replicating the behaviour of ‘older’ young people, is considered a major transgression to peer group norms. Whilst few alcohol studies scholars adopt Goffman’s (1959) notion of performance, it is a valuable lens for exploring young people’s backstage practices in the private sphere when drinking in preparation for their frontstage performances in public drinkscape (see Chapter Five).

In the 1990s, queer theorist Judith Butler deployed a linguistic definition of performativity, as opposed to a theatrical account of performance, in an attempt to disrupt the dominant understandings of sex, gender, and sexuality (Gregson and Rose, 2000). Butler (2011) argues that being a man/woman is not internal - gender is not innate or natural, we are assigned a gender at birth; this is not a natural ‘given’. Rather, gender is continually produced and reproduced. Butler (2011) claims that gender is performative; that is, it produces a series of effects. The ways in which people act, walk, speak and talk consolidate an impression of being a man or being a woman (Butler, 2011). The body becomes its gender through such bodily gestures, movements and enactments, which are renewed, revised, and consolidated over time (Butler, 1988).

Butler (1990:viii) considers how gender is performed, in relation to a “heterosexual matrix”. The author uses this term to designate:
That grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders, and desires are naturalized...a hegemonic discursive(epistemic model of gender intelligibility that assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality

(Butler, 1990:151)

In the above, Butler (1990) is arguing that normative gender identities are inextricably embedded and produced within hegemonic representations of heterosexuality (Renold and Ringrose, 2008); this is not a ‘choice’, it is learned behaviour in relation to socially constructed ‘norms’. Drawing on Nietszche, Butler (1990:25) argues, “there is no ‘being’ behind doing...the deed is everything”. By this, Butler (1990) means that there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender, identity is constituted performatively by such ‘expressions’. Unlike Goffman, Butler’s (1990:142) performance is not conscious; this can be seen through her assertion that “there need not be a ‘doer behind the deed,’ but that the ‘doer’ is variably constructed in and through the deed”.

Gender then, is not a stable identity; instead, it is culturally constructed through the “repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts...that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being” (Butler, 1990:33). These acts are not singular; rather, they are reiterative (Butler, 1993). As these acts are continually repeated, there is space for transgressions and “slippage” (Butler, 1993:122). This notion that the process of repetition can “open up gaps and fissures” (Butler, 1993:10) can be seen in Butler’s (1990:141) assertion that:
The abiding gendered self will then be shown to be structured by repeated acts that seek to approximate the ideal of a substantial ground of identity, but which, in their occasional discontinuity, reveal the temporal and contingent groundlessness of this “ground”.

By this, Butler (1990) is recognising that gender transformations are possible due to the likelihood of a failure to repeat certain acts, or deformities in performances. Gender then, can be seen as an “assignment” which is never carried out precisely according to expectation, and consequently one never quite inhabits the gender ideal s/he is compelled to approximate (Butler, 1993:231). This performative conceptualisation of gender is a useful means of moving away from an understanding of gender as prescribed, fixed and static, to a reconceptualisation of gender as “a constituted social temporality” (Butler, 1990:141, emphasis in original).

Drawing on Butler’s theory of gender as constituted performatively, Campbell (2000) examines how hegemonic masculinity may be achieved in the context of a pub. It is the author’s contention that, through the public performance of masculinity, dominant understandings of legitimate masculine behaviour are both reinforced and defended. Campbell (2000:562) coins the term “pub(lic) masculinity” to recognise the specificities of the performance as it relates to pub drinking, and the ways in which the practice is display-oriented and under constant public observation. The performative enactment of pub(lic) masculinity contains theatrical elements, what Campbell (2000:565, emphasis in original) terms “conversational cockfighting”. The author argues that, at such times, hierarchies of knowledge, and legitimacy are established, in which other drinkers scrutinise men’s performances. Further, Campbell (2000) contends that, for male drinkers, it is important to have discipline when consuming large quantities of alcohol, in order to
ensure the appearance of self-control is maintained. The performance thus requires that a man controls both the social and bodily aspect of pub(lic) masculinity. Whilst Campbell’s (2000) focus is on the performance of masculinity in pub spaces, Leyshon (2008) draws on Butler’s (1990;1993;2004) notion of gender as an on-going bodily performance to explore the differing experiences of drinking alcohol and pub spaces by young women who live in the countryside. The author contends that young women perform their identity by “dressing in place” (Leyshon, 2008:278). For instance, some young women purposefully “dress down” by wearing baggy T-shirts, jumpers and jeans whilst in the pub in order to avoid unwanted male attention (Leyshon, 2008:278). Further Lyons and Willott (2008) draw on Butler’s (1990) notion that gender is performative to explore contemporary constructions of femininity and how young people (re)define their gender identities in relation to men and the traditional masculine ethos of drinking in public.

Whilst Goffman (e.g. 1959) and Butler’s (e.g. 1990) approaches to performance have typically been deployed individually in the alcohol studies literature, Demant and Järvinen (2006:590) combine the theoretical perspectives of Goffman (1959;1967) and Butler (1990;1993) when seeking to show how alcohol experience and positive attitudes towards drinking are used to symbolise maturity; the teenagers who consume the most alcohol construct themselves as “socially older” than others. Further, Malbon (1999), with a focus on clubbing, fuses Goffman’s (e.g. 1959;1967) recognition of the role for territorialisations and regionalisations with Butler’s (e.g. 1990;1993) understanding that social identity and self is concurrently performed. Malbon (1999) suggests that utilising both approaches can enhance understandings as to how the consuming experience of the
crowd can simultaneously be expressive (Goffman) and constructive (Butler). Performative conceptualisations of drinking identities are beneficial for understanding that drinking identities are not fixed and static, but take different forms, at different times, and in different spaces.

2.4 Young People’s Drinking Geographies

2.4.1 Alcohol Consumption as a ‘Rites of Passage’
Initiation to alcohol, and gaining access to the spaces in which alcohol is served, are commonly thought of as important ‘rites of passage’ for young people (Harnett et al., 2000). Many authors have been keen to analyse alcohol as a substance consumed to facilitate ‘rites of passage’ from childhood to adulthood. For instance, Beccaria and Sande (2003:99) argue that young people consume alcohol to mark the transition from childhood to a new phase of life, “the individual life”. The authors go on to argue that consuming alcohol provides an opportunity to “taste a little of the adult world” (Beccaria and Sande, 2003:104). As Smith (2015) argues, alcohol consumption is typically constituted as a coming of age ritual, and young people associate drinking with the performance of an adult subjectivity. Hutton and Cusack (2013) provide insight into adolescents celebrating with alcohol, and highlight the lengths young people go to when planning for and budgeting for their purchase of alcohol. The authors conclude that alcohol is a key constituent during Australian schoolies festivals - a rite of passage celebration for young school leavers. The authors’ portrayal of alcohol consumption as an expression of transition supports Teather’s (1999:14) contention that “in materialistic, commercial, wealthy societies, individuals may choose to mark their passage by their consumption
patterns”. However, the cultural specificity of alcohol as a ‘rite of passage’ is important. For example, Järvinen and Room (2008) contend that, for some young Swedes, far from being a means to demonstrate their entrance to the adult world, drinking to intoxication is a means of protesting against adulthood, and the restrictions and conventions associated with it.

Through judging the ‘becoming adult’ of children through developmental stages, the notion of ‘rites of passage’ has been critiqued by Curti and Moreno (2010), who argue that this promotes a process of becoming-the-same. The authors seek to promote a notion of children ‘becoming-adult’ which takes into consideration children’s practices. In this sense, ‘becoming’ is not merely about how differences come about in historical stages, but the bodily forces through which difference is made. Drawing on examples of care and responsibility exhibited by a child for her alcohol-dependant mother, Curti and Moreno (2010) highlight that becomings are never exclusively in the domain of isolated human bodies; rather, becomings are more-than-human. In ‘becoming’, “children move and change in and through their own affective strivings, endeavors and imaginings, actively becoming with - while simultaneously transforming the identity, constitution and form of - objects, places, bodies and spaces” (Curti and Moreno, 2010:416). Alcohol-related transitions should thus not be seen as individual but, as I now illustrate, are bound up with relationships with family and friends.
2.4.2 Alcohol and Intergenerationality

According to Thurnell-Read (2013:5-6), “one observation of much social science literature on alcohol consumption and drunkenness…is that the full range of the life course is rarely considered. In the rush to identify the intriguing and undoubtedly salient changes in youth drinking practices…older drinkers are frequently overlooked”. There are a few notable exceptions. Paradis (2011) focuses on alcohol consumption during parenthood, contending that parenthood is related to a reduction in heavy drinking, and associated with a reduction of drinking occasions at bars, pubs and clubs. The author contends that parents may find that children restrict their choices of drinking spaces to private ones, whereas people without children may choose a wider range of drinking spaces, including both private and public locations. Further, Emslie et al. (2013) consider the context of men’s drinking in midlife, exploring how alcohol is associated with the construction of masculinities. The authors’ exploration of drinking reveals the fluidity of gender constructions - and the strategic ways in which men take up positions around hegemonic masculinity in midlife.

Nonetheless, by focusing solely on drinkers in mid-life, both Paradis (2011) and Emslie et al.’s (2013) work lends weight to Vanderbeck’s (2007) claim that research on age in geography is largely compartmentalised into separate literature on younger and older generations, and these literatures rarely intersect. There are studies that have gone some way towards addressing intergenerational drinking practices and experiences. For instance, Thurnell-Read (2013) discusses two cultural stereotypes relating to male drinking bodies; these are, the ‘lager lout’, and the ‘real ale’ enthusiast, which are
typically associated with young and old drinking masculinities, respectively. Here, Thurnell-Read (2013) is concerned with extrafamilial intergenerationality, in which a generation is almost synonymous with the concept of a ‘cohort’, referring to people born within a particular interval of time (Vanderbeck, 2007). According to Thurnell-Read (2013), whilst the lager lout is often portrayed as overtly mobile, aggressive and lacking self-control, the ale drinker’s body is depicted as sedentary, perched on a stool by the bar. Interestingly, both the lager lout and real-ale drinkers have their own geographies. Whilst the lager lout is typically seen roaming the public street, “literally spilling out of one drinking den into the next” (Thurnell-Read, 2013:12), the real ale drinker is generally located in the semi-public space of the pub. The young male body represents spatial inhabitation of new restricted drinking spaces, and the older male body that of ‘traditional’ spaces. Despite a brief remark that both stereotypes exhibit a lack of control and restraint, which is assumed to be desired of masculine bodies, Thurnell-Read’s (2013) work tends to emphasise “generational discreteness and difference such that disrupture and discontinuity between adults and children is stressed at the expense of continuity” (Kjorholt, 2003:264).

Further, Valentine et al. (2010) provide insight into patterns of intergenerational change and continuity in drinking. The authors contend that the most significant differences in patterns of alcohol consumption described by the majority population in each generation cohort occurred - not between the mid (35-54) and young generation (aged 18-24) - but between the older (over 60) and mid generations. The older generation of the majority population recalled there being little alcohol kept, or consumed, in the home when they
were younger, noting that they were inhibited from openly drinking alcohol in front of their parents when underage. Nonetheless, the men recalled ‘dabbling’ in drink without their parent’s knowledge. However, the majority of mid-generations participants recalled being allowed to experiment with alcohol at special family occasions. As with Thurnell-Read’s (2013) previously mentioned study, Valentine et al. (2010) largely treat generations as socially and spatially separate, thereby not elucidating the significance of interactions between generations.

However, Valentine et al. (2012), through their study of the affective space of family life and the generational transmission of drinking cultures, examine the alcohol consumption practices parents model to their children (aged 5-12) through everyday family life. The authors find that parents transmit messages about when and where it is appropriate to consume alcohol through their own consumption practices. Additionally, parents intentionally model drinking practices to their children by encouraging them to try alcohol. Elsewhere, the authors highlight the significance of children’s experiential learning about alcohol through a proximity effect that occurs within the affective space of the family home (Valentine at al., 2014). Intimate embodied practices thus have the potential to advance children’s individual learning about alcohol beyond that which they may gain independently from observing the public realm (Valentine et al., 2014). By foregrounding the negotiation of everyday shared attitudes and practices in families, instead of focusing on individuals within families, or aggregate patterns in parental or children’s behaviour, such work centralises the dynamic of family in geographical theory. Whilst research has been undertaken to examine the processes through which drinking
patterns may be transmitted within families with younger children (pre-teens) then, less is known about the ways in which parents are engaged in young people’s (aged 15-24) lives, when bound up with the consumption of alcohol; my research will redress this neglect.

2.4.3 ‘Doing’ Friendship and Care

Paying attention to the interrelated practices of how young people ‘do’ friendship and care (see Niland et al., 2013), for their drunken/not-so-drunken peers, enables a more relational understanding of drinking geographies. Northcote (2006) pays attention to nightclubs as spaces young people use to facilitate a ‘rites of passage’ to adulthood. The author highlights that part of the function of nightclubbing is to reaffirm friendship groups in the face of competing forces, such as: career responsibilities, and romantic relationships. However, interaction with friends is limited by club-space, as loud music makes conversations difficult (Northcote, 2006). Further, Foster and Spencer (2013), conducting research with marginalised young people in Canada, argue that drugs and alcohol are intricately woven into friendship; that is, affective relationships of trust and intimacy, belonging and sharing. The authors illustrate that drugs and alcohol offer marginalised young people a relatively cheap activity to share with friends, providing opportunities for intimacy that are difficult to find in the isolating spaces of cities, neighbourhoods, communities and institutions. Foster and Spencer (2013) are at pains to point out that a fundamental part of constructing and maintaining friendship is defining who is not a desirable friend. The young people draw boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable relationships to drugs and alcohol, for instance distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable types of drugs, and delimiting acceptable and unacceptable
times and spaces for drug use (Foster and Spencer, 2013). Through such ‘borderwork’, young people solidify the bonds they share with the people they smoke and drink with.

Young people in Niland et al.’s (2013:530) study, claim that drinking is required to form “friendship fun” and for “friends to have a “buzz”, thereby constructing alcohol consumption as a pleasurable and socially embodied friendship practice. Additionally, Törrönen and Maunu (2011) argue that drinking situations are important for managing friendship ties and social emotions; drinking strengthens emotions of solidarity and acts as a lubricant for social bonds between friends. The authors argue that women, more so than men, may worry about who should, and who should not, be invited to parties, in order for friends to attune to a mutual emotional state - women may worry that someone may ruin the atmospheres due to inappropriate behaviour. Further still, de Visser et al. (2013) argue that, for young people in their study, alcohol was considered to have a positive social function; it helps overcome shyness, lowers inhibitions, and aids friendship and bonding processes. The authors suggest that social drinking produces a sense of camaraderie, and shared aspects of group drinking. For instance, buying rounds, are considered to enhance feelings of belonging and inclusiveness. Drinking, to paraphrase de Visser et al. (2013), can be seen as important for making friends, strengthening friendships, determining who are ‘real friends’, and developing shared identities. Additionally, Rudolfsdottir and Morgan (2009) argue that consuming alcohol with friends can create camaraderie and provide feelings of safety in public spaces, which may otherwise appear threatening.
Based on research undertaken into women’s friendship in Cork, Ireland, Coakley (2002) writes that pubs are used by women to generate a sense of belonging. The author contends that, unlike meeting friends at home, meeting friends in ‘the pub’ can be used to support a proactive construction of women’s interpersonal interactions in space. Whilst the word ‘friend’ typically has warm and fuzzy connotations, I use the term with recognition that friendship can involve an assortment of negative emotions and tensions (Bartos, 2013; Thrift, 2008), for instance: frustration, disappointment, and jealousy. Smith (2013) is at pains to point out that friendships forged in the contemporary sphere can be experienced as weak and without depth, such as the friendships between bar managers and customers. From these examples, it can be seen that space is not a neutral backdrop; rather, following Cronin (2014), it is an active part of the intersubjective space of friendship.

Accounts of care in the geography literature construct care as typically enacted by a healthy person, towards people classified as ‘ill’ or ‘unhealthy’ (e.g. Andrews, 2003; Liaschenko et al., 2011; Wong, 2014). However, this conceptualisation is restrictive and must be widened to take into consideration, for instance, how people ‘care’ for friends, or even, strangers who are experiencing the effects of alcohol. The paucity of research considering the embodied nature of young people’s care for their drunken or hung-over friends or strangers is problematic because, as Lawson (2009) contends, everybody gives and needs care. There are, however, a few notable exceptions. Take Russell et al.’s (2011) study; the authors argue that friends look after one another by knowing the signs that limits are being reached, and will warn each other when they have reached their limits. In this vein, excessive drinking is seen as a risk to friendship, or means that young people
are not able to care for their friends (Russell et al., 2011). Further, Armstrong et al. (2014) explore the range of protective behaviours young women deploy in public spaces in order to moderate the adverse effects of alcohol, arguing that most of these strategies derive from the friendship group to which the women belong. Armstrong et al. (2014) argue that the friendship group offers protection against ‘other drunken people’, through what one participant identifies as ‘safety in numbers’. ‘Safety in numbers’ is perceived as particularly important when in the presence of unknown males, or whilst travelling on public transport. Further, young women in Armstrong et al.’s (2014) study commonly mentioned monitoring and regulating the alcohol consumption of group members, whilst others recalled how they had given or received suggestions to slow down the rate of their alcohol consumption. According to Armstrong et al. (2014:756), for women, more so than men, there is a “group-based culture of helping” in public space where alcohol is involved.

An additional example of this “culture of helping” (Armstrong et al., 2014:756), can be seen in Sinkinson’s (2014) research into alcohol consumption in, on, and around, water in New Zealand. The young people in Sinkinson’s (2014) study deploy strategies to keep themselves safe against the potential risks associated with combining aquatics and alcohol. These could be individual rules, such as: limiting the amount of alcohol they consume, or not drinking when participating in water activities; not swimming; or exercising more caution. Additionally, Sinkinson (2014:53) discusses “sober minders” as techniques deployed by young people to increase safety. Sober minders are the presence of people who could adopt the role of minders, along with having sober people
outnumber intoxicated people. Despite drinking in high-risk spaces, young people in Sinkinson’s (2014) study articulated strategies they utilise in order to maintain their own, and others’ well-being. However, there are barriers to the implementation of protective behaviours. Armstrong et al. (2014) contend that heavily intoxicated group members may refuse to accept the supervision or instructions given by less intoxicated friends. More than this, the authors contend that maturity, individual differences in risk perception, and attitudes towards alcohol are factors influencing the extent to which one complies with group-based safety routines. It is also worth recognising that some friendship groups lack the “culture of helping” (Armstrong et al., 2014:756) alluded to above. In such groups, as Armstrong et al. (2014) recognise, there is a tendency to encourage, rather than manage, heavy or dangerous drinking amongst group members.

Moreover, Fjaer (2012), exploring interactions during hangovers amongst young Norwegian adults, illustrates that care between friends, when bound up with the consumption of alcohol, can extend beyond the drinking occasion. By spending the morning after the party together with friends, eating breakfast, discussing events, young people can provide support for those who cannot remember what happened, or are concerned about others’ judgment of their behaviour. Fjaer (2012) illustrates that care practiced by friends towards each other is both physical - helping to obtain remedies, such as paracetamol and food; and emotional - helping to relieve binge-angst. ‘Binge-angst’ is a term used by Norwegian participants in Fjaer’s (2012) study. In a typical scenario, one would wake up and think through the night before, and have trouble remembering what occurred. This leads to feelings of concern about having done something that might harm
the impression others have of oneself. In line with Parr (2003:219, emphasis in original) and Bowlby (2011), I contend that there is something to be gained by interrogating the making of “careful” and “careless” spaces, and friendly and unfriendly spaces.

2.4.4 Towards Sibling Drinking Geographies

Whilst, as demonstrated previously in this chapter, literature has begun to focus on intergenerational transmission of knowledges and practices surrounding alcohol consumption (e.g. Valentine et al., 2012), literature on the transmission of knowledges and practices between siblings is lacking. There are a few studies on sibling relationships when bound up with alcohol. For instance, investigating the role of siblings in alcohol and substance use, Kothari et al. (2014) found that adolescents and young adults engage in alcohol, tobacco, and other drug behaviours similar to those of their older siblings. The authors find that siblings may model, facilitate and encourage emerging alcohol, tobacco and other drug behaviours. Likewise, Whiteman et al. (2013) contend that older siblings’ alcohol and other substance use is positively associated with younger siblings’ patterns of use (see also Low et al., 2012). Whiteman et al. (2013) conclude that younger siblings who endorse modelling their older brothers and sisters, and share friends with those siblings, show the greatest similarity in alcohol use.

Literature on sibling relationships, predominantly from Sociology, opens up possibilities for the study of young people’s drinking geographies. As Ripoll-Núñez and Carrillo (2014) point out, childhood sibling relationships can be characterised by
warmth/closeness; however, warmth and nurturance do not occur in isolation from conflict. According to the authors, differences in power and status among siblings means that siblings typically experience their relationship differently dependent upon whether they are the older or younger child. Ripoll-Núñez and Carrillo (2014) argue that older siblings often teach younger siblings, with younger siblings being the recipient of teaching and caregiving. Gendered power in sibling relationships is explored by Edwards et al. (2005). The authors suggest that ‘talking’ and ‘doing activities together’ are recurrent features of children’s closeness to their siblings, or divisions between them. The authors contend that, typically, girls describe talking together as a significant aspect of their connection to sisters, whilst boys regard doing activities together as a significant aspect of connection between brothers (Edwards et al., 2005). With a focus on sistering, Mauthner (2000:291) uses the term “mini-mothering” to describe the process where sisters adopt ‘big’ and ‘little’ sister roles of carer and cared for. Elsewhere, Mauthner (2005) is clear to point out that sisters can alternate between these roles, as caring and power relations between sisters fluctuate over time. It is noteworthy that sister-sister relationships have been privileged over brother-brother and sister-brother relationships in the Sociology literature. Further, only scant attention has been paid to twin relationships (e.g. Bacon, 2006; Stewart, 2000; Thorpe and Danby, 2006), and no qualitative studies, to my knowledge, have explored twin relationships when bound up with the consumption of alcohol.

As Gillies and Lucey (2006) contend, younger siblings rely on older brothers and sisters to cope with the demands of growing up and becoming adult. Siblings can provide key
sources of emotional and practical support (Song, 2010). Gillies and Lucey (2006) distinguish sibling relationships from peer relationships through their ability to withstand conflict. Whilst sibling relationships during the transition to adulthood have seldom been studied, Conger and Little’s (2010) paper sought to redress this neglect. Exploring the process of one sibling leaving home, the authors contend that when the relationship has been warm and supportive, siblings may experience a sense of loss as an adult moves into adult roles. Conversely, adolescents with conflicting sibling relationships may experience feelings of relief. Further, Guan and Fulgini (2015) contend that siblings are often major sources of companionship and intimacy during transitions to adulthood. Whiteman et al. (2011) state that, as siblings move through adolescence and young adulthood, they become more involved in relationships outside the family, and their engagement in their sibling relationship decreases (Whiteman et al., 2011). Notwithstanding this, sibling relations can be amongst people’s longest lasting social relationships (Tibbetts and Scharfe, 2015), and thus their role in young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences warrants much greater attention.

### 2.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have reviewed understandings of young people’s transitions to adulthood, and have attempted to move beyond the significant emphasis that a ‘transitions’ approach puts on the young person (Gillies, 2000). I joined Hopkins and Pain (2007) in arguing for a more relational understanding of age. Relational approaches are beneficial in helping to liberate young people from the restrictions of life-stage based stereotypes, offering more scope for understanding young people’s experiences (Collins et al., 2013). I showed that
young people’s drinking identities are relational; for instance, they are bound up with the intersectional identity markers of gender and class. Drawing on both Goffman (1959) and Butler (1990), I demonstrated that such drinking identities are not fixed and static; they are performed - whether consciously (Goffman) or unconsciously (Butler) - and thus transformations are possible. This allows for a more complex and dynamic understanding of young people’s transitions to adulthood. I incorporate the concepts of intergenerationality; friendship and care; and relationships with siblings in the empirical work in this thesis. These concepts offer a means of understanding young people’s alcohol-related transitions in a more holistic and relational manner, bound up with relationships with friends and family.
Chapter Three
Geographies of Drinking

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I show that, young people’s transitions to adulthood are not only bound up with relationships with family and friends, they are bound up with relationships with spaces. Through reviewing literature, which highlights young people’s use of diverse drinkscape, including parks, streets, and homes, I go beyond the contemporary geographical imaginary of drinking as predominantly a city centre issue (Holloway et al., 2008). In doing so, I argue that drinking spaces are often treated in a dichotomous manner (Holloway et al., 2009), and as passive backdrops to drinking (Jayne et al., 2008a;b). Following this, I propose that a more relational understanding of drinking spaces can be achieved by paying attention to young people’s alcohol-related emotional, embodied and affective mobilities in, and through, spaces (Jayne et al., 2012a). After this, I review literature on atmospheres (e.g. Bohme, 2013; Anderson, 2009), and specifically atmospheres of darkness and lightness (e.g. Edensor, 2013; Bille and Sørensen, 2007), to highlight the utility of this conceptual approach for enhancing understandings of the agentic capacities of drinkscape to shape young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences.
3.2 Spaces of Drinking

3.2.1 Urban Drinking Spaces

The contemporary geographical imaginary of drinking is predominantly one of a city centre issue, typified by a large body of work on the night-time economy (Holloway et al., 2008). ‘Night-time economy’ is a term used to describe an expansion in the number of bars and clubs operating with extended licenses into the early hours of the mornings (Roberts, 2006). This work has been useful in addressing important issues relating to young people’s experiences of alcohol, drinking and drunkenness: for instance, safety; security; and policing. Writers on the night-time economy, Chatterton and Hollands (2002:95), explore “urban playscapes”; that is, young people’s activities in pre-formed drinking spaces of bars, pubs, clubs and music venues within the night-time entertainment economy. The focus of Chatterton and Hollands’ (2002) paper is threefold: production, regulation and consumption. With regard to production, Chatterton and Hollands (2002) argue that large-scale corporate leisure and entertainment operators are providing sanitised, ‘branded’ experiences. Regarding regulation, the authors argue that the development of urban playscapes can be understood through a night-time entertainment regime based around a modified relationship between state, developers and consumers, including enhanced forms of surveillance and control. Further, Chatterton and Hollands (2002:23) assert that consumption is characterised by segmentation and differentiation based around more “exclusive” and “upmarket” identities. The authors argue that the three aspects of production, regulation and consumption combine to create a dominant mode of ‘mainstream’ urban nightlife, with ‘alternative’ and ‘residual’ nightlife increasingly under threat, or squeezed out. This notion is discussed by Hollands (2002), who examines the complex relationship between labour market divisions and cultural
identities in the night-time economy. According to Hollands (2002), although minority elements of ‘hybrid’ forms of identity and consumption exist, they are overshadowed by the dominance of a ‘mainstream’ form of nightlife provision that segregates young people into particular spaces and places.

Some literature has explored gendered positions surrounding the night-time economy. Sheard (2011), for instance, explains that the fear existing for women in her study relates to concerns about unprovoked violence towards them by men who use the night-time economy. One such act is drink spiking. Sheard (2011) illustrates that young women have numerous safety strategies, including keeping the drink in their hands at all times, and never letting it out of sight. If young women leave their drinks unattended for more than a few moments, they abandon these drinks as a way of ensuring safety. Further, Brooks (2011) conducted research into young women’s adoption of safety advice when socialising in bars, pubs and clubs. The author details strategies women deploy, in order to stay safe, such as: covering the tops of bottles; taking drinks to the toilet; pretending to be married; and staying with friends at all times, in an attempt to stay safe. Also with an eye to safety strategies in pre-formed drinking spaces, Bancroft (2012) notes how participants in her study who went out in pairs would arrange a designated meeting spot in the event of being separated. Echoing Bancroft (2012), the nature of clubs as drinking spaces means that informal management of the drinking experience is often left to friends.
3.2.2 Creating Public Drinking Spaces

According to Townshend and Robert (2013), government measures prohibiting under 18s entering pubs, bars, and clubs have been successful. This means that, whilst underage drinking in licensed premises is not as prevalent as it has been in the past, unsupervised alcohol consumption by young people is now more concealed, occurring either in private homes, or parks. According to Townshend (2013), studies focusing on outdoor drinking culture are rare and, consequently, the specificities of open space drinking are poorly understood.

As Townshend (2013) notes, outdoor drinking requires a source of alcohol. Consequently, for those young people who are unable to get served because they are underage, proxy purchase is significant in outdoor consumption. Proxy purchase involves ‘hanging around’ convenience stores or off-licences and approaching third parties to make the purchase. Underage participants in Galloway et al.’s (2007) study expressed a strong preference for purchasing alcohol from corner shops, linked to their perception that these outlets were less likely than supermarkets or off-licences to request proof of age. Galloway et al. (2007) make evident that underage drinkers specifically seek out what they deem to be shops that are struggling for trade, perceiving these businesses as desperate for profit and therefore more willing to serve underage customers. Underage young people are likely to approach shops outside their local area, believing there to be less chance of being recognised and thus more chance of being served. However, for those who were over 18 - yet without ID - the local area is preferred as such young people feel known to the shopkeeper. Galloway et al. (2007) found that smaller off-licences are
often more likely than supermarkets to chill the products, making them ready for immediate consumption. Further, the authors contend that underage drinkers prefer not to attempt to purchase alcohol themselves, due to the potential embarrassment of not getting served. Thus, they may ask the oldest member of the group to buy alcohol for the group, or depend on strangers to act as their agents. Galloway et al.’s (2007) work aside, very little attention has been paid to the spaces in which young people obtain alcohol.

In line with Townshend (2013), it is worth noting that, whilst engagement with open greenspace tends to be deemed positive for young people’s health and well-being, drinking outdoors and unsupervised in parks is often considered to be a risky behaviour indulged in by teenagers. Further, Russell et al. (2011) highlight the importance of woods and fields for young people’s drinking practices, as they are out of sight of police and parents. One participant in Russell et al.’s (2011) study expressed a preference for these spaces in contrast to play parks, noting that he would not wish young children to see him drinking in case it inspired them to try alcohol. Townshend (2013:506) argues that whilst drinking in parks is a widespread practice amongst young people, many young people disapprove of this behaviour, labelling it “trampy” or “chavvy”. Elsewhere, Townshend and Roberts (2013) remark that many young people deem drinking in parks to be pointless, or a sign of having low esteem, and thus ‘trying to be hard’ in an attempt to camouflage this. Some participants in Townshend and Roberts’ (2013) study comment on the perceived dangers of consuming alcohol in parks, asserting that it may lead to being attacked, injured, or taken advantage of sexually; there were particular concerns about being unable to summon help. The authors show that there is an unwillingness of some
young people, particularly women, to go to parks where street drinkers can dominate, or intimidate. More generally, those who admitted drinking in the park claimed it was a relatively harmless activity, and felt they were often harshly judged.

The streets are also important drinking spaces for young people who may not be permitted to consume alcohol in their home (or others’ homes), and are forbidden to consume alcohol in licensed premises (due to being underage, or barred) (Galloway et al., 2007). Penny and Room (2012) highlight that licensed premises are restrictive in multiple ways, including: size; smell; noise; permissible behaviour; and type of entertainment provided. Thus, whilst exclusion plays a role in decisions to drink outside, outdoor locations have a distinct appeal as places to consume alcohol (Galloway et al., 2007). Street drinking enables young people to feel socially and physically unrestricted, for instance by playing games, such as football, whilst drinking. Further, drinking in outdoor locations enables young people to have a cigarette, or take drugs, whilst consuming alcohol (Galloway et al., 2007).

It is important to highlight that there may be other reasons young people avoid certain spaces for drinking. Madriaga (2010) highlights that some students with Asperger Syndrome find that spaces where students tend to congregate, such as student unions and pubs, to be difficult spaces - due to their hypersensitivities to sounds, sights, and crowds. Pennay and Room (2012) suggest that some young people may prefer to drink in open public spaces, such as streets, because licensed premises are open to the public, and so
young people cannot be selective about who they are drinking with, and may find it difficult to remain together as a group with their chosen companions. Penny and Room (2012) point out that there have been attempts to prohibit public drinking in certain urban public spaces, via the implementation of street drinking bans. They argue that the enforcement of such bans can lead to displacement, often resulting in drinkers moving to more covert, less safe, spaces in which to drink.

Drinking spaces should not be conceptualised as static backdrops, against which drinking experiences unfold. This is recognised by Demant and Landolt (2014), who consider young people’s alcohol consumption in Katzenplatz - a square located in Zurich, Switzerland. The authors argue that this space is not a pre-formed drinking space. Rather, it became a “comfortable youth drinking space”, due to the “throwngettogetherness” of disparate factors, including: the square’s location; alcohol availability; and the privacy and intimacy afforded by the place (Demant and Landolt, 2014:175;172). As the authors point out, “comfortable youth drinking space” is not the only possible event of this place; when police interrupt young people’s alcohol consumption practices, the space is transformed (Demant and Landolt, 2014:175). Further, Demant and Landolt (2014) explore alcohol consumption on the street within the vicinity of nightclubs. The authors recognise that, during a night out, young people often exit and (re)enter clubs to drink the less expensive alcohol they have hidden outside on the streets. Thus, whilst the street is not initially young people’s chosen space, it is frequently visited by young people. As Demant and Landolt (2014) deduce, streets are considered to be more than ‘going outside to grab a drink’ - they are also a party zone. The authors conclude that young people
‘produce space’, for instance by intermingling with different young people and different subcultures at different locations, and drinking can also be said to be shaped by the specific space of inner-city drinking zones.

### 3.2.3 Creating Private Drinking Spaces

According to Holloway et al. (2008), studies considering drinking at home typically focus on the problems associated with drinking (e.g. Holmila et al., 2011; Jennison, 2014), such as domestic violence. Consequently, research is needed into the less problematic home drinking practices of people who would not consider themselves as having an alcohol problem (Holloway et al., 2008). This is an important neglect because, as Foster and Heyman (2013) note, the home is conventionally seen as a place where autonomy and familiarity are assured; consequently, those consuming alcohol at home may feel more insulated from harm than if they were drinking elsewhere. There are some noteworthy studies seeking to highlight the ways in which the home is used by young people in relation to alcohol, drinking and drunkenness. Drawing on this literature, four main themes are discussed in this section: the home as a space in which children learn about alcohol; the home as a ‘pre-drinking’ space; the home as a space for alcohol-related partying; and the home as a space in which to recover from hangovers.

First, the home is an important space in which children learn about alcohol. As Valentine et al. (2014) note, with the growth in home-centred drinking, children’s indirect proximity to alcohol (from observing everyday familial behaviours), as well as direct
access to alcohol at home, has substantially increased. In research into the role of the affective space of family life in shaping children’s (age 5-12) knowledge about alcohol and its social and health implications, the authors argue that parents instigate their child(ren)’s experimentation with alcohol. Additionally, the authors note that parents encourage children to imitate adult drinking rituals, albeit with non-alcoholic drinks. Consequently, Valentine et al. (2014) contend that parents advance children’s knowledge about alcohol within the interiority of family life, thus adopting a pre-emptive approach to teaching children about drinking. Nonetheless, as Jayne and Valentine (2015:9) explore, whilst parents/carers are engaging their children with alcohol through “supervised introduction”, they are failing to educate children about the broader context of extra-family norms regarding the problems and pleasures of alcohol consumption. This can be reflected through the fact that whilst children in Jayne and Valentine’s (2015) study demonstrated knowledge of specific brands, or types of drink, from family experiences, the majority of children’s understanding did not extend beyond this to an understanding of the legal framework related to alcohol consumption. Thus, despite the practice of “supervised introduction”, children demonstrate limited social and material understanding of adult drinking practices (Jayne and Valentine, 2015:6). What Jayne and Valentine’s (2015) work exemplifies is that, as parents are only concerned with transmitting intra-family norms, children are not being educated with reference to individual and collective understandings of the pleasures and dangers associated with consuming alcohol.

Second, the home is an important space for ‘pre-drinking’. The traditional pub-club model of drinking by young people has begun to be transcended by a home-pub-club
model of drinking (Barton and Husk, 2014). Put another way, the pub or bar has ceased to become the locus of early evening drinking, with early evening drinking in the domestic sphere becoming the norm (Barton and Husk, 2014). ‘Pre-drinking’, also termed pre-loading, pre-gaming, front-loading, or prinks (Gee et al., 2014) is described as the practice of intensive drinking in a pair or group in preparation for a night out, often involving drinking games (Bancroft, 2012). Holloway et al. (2008) argue that pre-drinking is facilitated by cheap alcohol available through supermarkets, which therefore minimises alcohol-related costs (see also Fry, 2011; Ostergaard and Andrade, 2014). Reasons for pre-drinking then, typically centre on the ‘it’s cheap’ approach.

However, Barton and Husk (2014) seek to move towards an understanding of pre-drinking beyond cost as the single explanatory factor. In Barton and Husk’s (2014) study, the pre-drinkers interviewed report the ‘home’ part of drinking as the best part of the evening. The home offers a safe, secure, space to relax in, prior to entering the somewhat ‘chaotic’ environments of bars, pubs and clubs. Moreover, the home provides a space for young people to cement and enhance social bonds, to gain confidence, along with an arena in which to meet likeminded people. Additionally, Ritchie et al. (2009) argue that, as friendship groups are rarely conveniently delineated by age, young people may pre-drink in order to drink with younger friends for this earlier part of the evening. Interestingly, Barton and Husk (2014) highlight the gendered differences of the pre-drinking session, arguing that, for women, pre-drinking time is often used to prepare the body and self to enter the night-time economy (see also Bancroft et al., 2014). Further, young people in Barton and Husk’s (2014) study favoured the ability to tailor the drinking
space to their tastes. For instance, through the music they play, and the volume of this music. During pre-drinking, the atmosphere and physical layout of the home can be manipulated to suit the desires of drinkers. It is thus unsurprising that the home is not only popular amongst young people for pre-drinking, but also for alcohol associated partying, as will shortly be explored. Despite the alcohol studies literature moving away from cost as the lone factor influencing pre-drinking at home, there is a lack of consideration that pre-drinking extends beyond the boundaries of the home, into travelling whilst on the move from the home to the park/pub/club etc., for instance, whilst walking; on the bus; train; or in a car or taxi.

Third, the home is an important space for house parties. The popularity of the home for alcohol-associated partying is recognised by Trell et al. (2014). The authors contend that, for rural young people, partying at home may be both safer and more comfortable than partying in a pub, or a park, for example, as it avoids young people travelling on relatively dangerous countryside roads. Moreover, in their study of Danish teenagers’ partying, Demant and Ostergaard (2007) argue that consuming alcohol during house parties is one way in which the parents’ dining room is creatively transformed into a space for teenage partying. Often the size of the house is a factor defining the size of the party, which can vary from a few close friends, to very large parties, where young people jointly invite all their friends (Demant and Ostergaard, 2007). As Demant and Ostergaard (2007) importantly highlight, at larger house parties, young people feel greater pressure to consume more units of alcohol, and likewise if they are partying with older young people. Prior to house parties, young people may gather together in smaller groups, or at ‘warm
up’ parties, where they listen to music, consume alcohol, and discuss the night ahead (Demant and Ostergaard, 2007). Consistent with Trell et al.’s (2014) findings in an Estonian context, Demant and Ostergaard (2007) remark that parents are often not home during house parties; the house party is a space where young people are in control, and parents usually have limited access. Only in this way is the place transformed into a space that allows for alternative rules of interaction. From this, it can be deduced that parental presence hinders young people’s creative transformation of space into drinking space.

Fourth, the home is also significant for the day following drinking. Fjaer (2012) explores the social context of the home as a space in which young people in Norway experience and deal with hangovers. Fjaer (2012) notes that, after a night out, or house party, young people often sleep over at a friend’s house, or have friends stay over at their home. The author contends that this is largely for practical reasons, for instance: it is safer to walk through the city in a group; or one could stay out later if one could sleep over at a house closer to the party. According to Fjaer (2012), there are both positive and negative aspects of waking up on a couch away from home. Positively, if one feels physically ill, friends can help obtain remedies, such as water and painkillers. Negatively, however, it may be an uncomfortable place to sleep; one may not have a fresh set of clothes for that day, leading to the ‘walk of shame’; or one may be expected to assist in tidying up after the party. Whilst the night of the party is typically oriented around drinks, Fjaer (2012:999) notes that the day after the party typically centres on food, and stories of the night before - the latter of which has the (un)intended effect of relieving or preventing “binge-angst”.

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4 ‘Walk of shame’ refers to the process of walking out of someone’s house wearing clothes from the night before.
Not all that dissimilarly, based on the experiences of Danish Youth at the nightlife resort at Sunny Beach, Bulgaria, Tutenges and Sandberg (2013) highlight that the space in which drinking occurs is not only important for the drinking experience as it takes place but also for fostering drinking stories which can be remembered long after the event.

Notwithstanding the above work on the spaces of the park, street, and home as drinkscapes, Holloway et al.’s (2009) contention that scholars have been somewhat fixated with pre-formed drinking spaces, such as bars, pubs and clubs - typically in city centres, still rings true. As well as this, drinkscapes have tended to be rendered fixed, bounded terrains, thereby failing to appreciate the significance of young people’s mobilities in, and through, such spaces and places (Jayne et al., 2012a). As such, we must move beyond this dichotomous construction of space and follow those who consume alcohol through their diverse drinking landscapes (Holloway et al., 2009). More than this though, drinking spaces have largely been conceived as passive backdrops to young people’s drinking practices, with a lack of consideration of the agentic capacities of spaces to shape drinking experiences (Jayne et al., 2008a;b). Drawing on the more-than-representational theories of mobilities and atmospheres, the remainder of this chapter highlights theoretical resources than can enhance understandings of spaces as relational, active agents, with the capacity to shape drinking practices and experiences.
3.3 Young People’s Mobilities

It is commonly held that, as children grow older, they increase their home range to public spaces and places beyond the boundaries of the household (O’Brien et al., 2000). Valentine (2003) points out that those aged 16-25 experience far fewer spatial restrictions than their younger peers, as it is easier for a young person in their late teens or early twenties to pass as ‘older’ than they are, in order to gain access to clubs and bars, from which they may otherwise be excluded. Mobilities are not only shaped by age, and location, yet also gender. As Childress (2004) contends, young women, in comparison to young men, are typically faced with more stringent parental restrictions on their mobilities; greater fear of unfamiliar or unsupervised places; and resistance to the use of many public recreational spaces. Additionally, Pain (1997) has drawn attention to how young women’s fear of violent crime constrains their independent mobilities in urban space, for instance, by avoiding dark, lonely and unfamiliar areas or streets.

Much literature on children and young people’s mobilities is adult-centric; that is, it focuses on child/young people-parent relations, thereby eliding other diverse relations mediating and configuring children’s and young people’s mobilities (Nansen et al., 2015). As Nansen et al. (2015) argue, this significantly downplays consideration of the ways in which, for children and young people, mobilities are thoroughly social experiences, characterised by the pervasive companionship of others, including more-than-human companion devices, such as mobile phones. Pain et al. (2005) utilise the example of mobile phones as a means for young people to negotiate their spatial mobility with parents. Mobile phones allow some young people more negotiating power about where
they are permitted to go; for instance, by updating their parents of their whereabouts and who they are with (Pain et al., 2005). Along this line of thought, Miles (2000) suggests that young people’s achievement of independence is not purely determined by structures, but how they negotiate with structures. Nansen et al. (2015) argue that children’s mobility is characterised by interdependencies that both enable and configure this mobility. There are parallels here with literature on young people discussed in the previous chapter, in which Punch (2002) argues that ‘independence’ should be reframed as negotiated interdependence.

Further, when discussing young people’s mobilities, it is important to distinguish between ‘walking’ and ‘wandering around’. When wandering around, young people are not walking to particular activities or spaces; rather, walking itself is the chief activity. In the absence of spaces to hang out, walking itself is an important means of entertaining oneself (Horton et al., 2014). This kind of everyday, circuitous walking activity - that is, walking which does not have the set intention of moving ‘from A-to-B’; or with a specific destination in mind - has been significantly overlooked in studies of young people’s mobilities (Horton et al., 2014). In accordance with Horton et al. (2014), Bissell (2013) argues that most engagements with the concept of proximity have prioritised an understanding of the term as a requirement of the social obligations of work and home life. Drawing on Horton et al. (2014), for many young people, and I am thinking particularly here of young people who are unable to consume alcohol in commercial premises or homes, moving itself is significant, without a pre-determined destination. Bissell (2013) advances an alternative means of conceptualising proximity. From this
viewpoint, proximity becomes an effect of mobility, rather than an initial requirement. Bissell (2013) uses the metaphor of a ‘loop’ to illustrate how we can consider that mobile bodies may not always be oriented by points. Bissell’s (2013) analytical tool of the ‘loop’ is thus perhaps a more apt means of conceptualising more pointless mobilities. For instance, the mobilities of young people who are not old enough or choose not to consume alcohol in commercial premises, and instead spend their evenings traversing outdoor drinkscapes, without a preordained destination in mind.

Whilst young people’s alcohol-related mobilities have been under researched, I now draw together literature which goes some way towards addressing Jayne et al.’s (2012a) claim that drinking spaces have largely been reduced to static, bounded terrains. Drink walking; that is, walking in a public place whilst intoxicated, is the focus of Gannon et al.’s (2014) work. According to the authors, it is commonplace for young people to have consumed alcohol in bars and clubs, and to walk to their next destination - or, to pre-drink at home and walk to a bar/club/pub or party to continue consuming alcohol. Gannon et al. (2014) utilise the theory of planned behaviour, based on the premise that people make rational decisions to perform a behaviour that is within their control. This theoretical framework predicts that a person would have stronger intentions to drink walk, and ultimately s/he would be more likely to drink walk if: s/he has positive attitudes towards drink walking; perceives approval/support from important others for drink walking; and believes drink walking is a behaviour that is easy to perform. However, the ‘immaterial’ embodied and sensory aspects of alcohol-related mobilities have been marginalised in this work. As
Spinney (2009:821) goes on to question: “what about the intangible and ephemeral, the meanings that accrue in the context of the journey itself?”

Duff and Moore (2015) explore the atmospheres of mobility for those young people residing in the inner city who take trams, walk or cycle to nearby venues, along with young people from periurban communities; that is, communities immediately adjoining an urban area, who use trains, buses or taxis to travel to, and from, venues in the inner city. Although I critique Duff and Moore (2015) for focusing solely on pointillist mobilities; that is, mobilities which aim to get to a preordained destination (Bissell, 2013), the authors go some way towards redressing the dearth of attention directed towards the embodied aspects of alcohol-related mobilities. According to Duff and Moore (2015), inner-city participants described ‘fun’, ‘comfortable’ journeys, whereas participants from periurban communities spoke of ‘boring’, ‘unpleasant’ journeys. These divergent affective atmospheres ‘prime’ young people to act in particular ways, having direct and indirect impacts on alcohol-related problems in the night-time economy (Duff and Moore, 2015). To elaborate, the more congenial atmospheres described by inner-city young people appeared to mitigate the likelihood of problems; whereas the atmospheres of boredom and unpleasantness described by periurban young people appeared to increase the potential for harm. Duff and Moore (2015) point out that there is a need to pay closer attention to the ways affective atmospheres are enacted and transformed in encounters in, and through, spaces of mobility.
Whilst urban space is not the focus of the paper, Jayne et al.’s (2012a) research into the alcohol-related mobilities and experiences of young backpackers goes some way towards redressing the academic preoccupation with pointillist mobilities to, and from, pre-formed drinking establishments in night-time economy. The authors provide an in-depth consideration of the embodied aspects of alcohol-related walking, contending that alcohol can help to soften a variety of (un)comfortable embodied and emotional materialities linked with budget travel; act as an aid to ‘passing the time’ and ‘being able to do nothing’; and heighten senses of belonging with other travellers and the ‘locals’. For instance, some participants in Jayne et al.’s (2012a) study describe alcohol as allowing them to generate memorable moments of backpacking travel, through behaving badly with the locals, whilst others discuss alcohol as a means of erasing tensions with fellow travellers. Engaging with mobilities theory thus holds potential for an understanding of the lived experiences of young people’s alcohol-related geographies, recognising that mobile engagements with space provide different experiences, performances and affordances (Sheller and Urry, 2006).

3.3.1 Towards Alcohol-Related Walking, Vehicular and Dancing Im/Mobilities

There is a rich literature on the embodied experiences of walking, vehicular travel and dancing, which opens up possibilities for the study of young people’s alcohol-related mobilities. For instance, through a focus on everyday pedestrian practices in the city, Middleton (2010) makes clear that walking is not a homogenous means of getting from one place to another. The author examines how objects, such as clothing, footwear, and mobile technologies, are situated in complex socio-technical assemblages that are
fundamental constituents of the embodied experience of urban walking. Further, Wylie (2002) illuminates the embodied nature of the mobilities of walking, contending that ascending Glastonbury Tor is a sensuous, embodied experience. Moreover, through his account of walking along the South West Coast Path in North Devon, Wylie (2005) discusses the affective and performative milieu of coastal walking, paying particular attention to feelings of anxiousness and nervousness. Additionally, Wunderlich (2008) argues that walking in urban space is a multi-sensory experience, in which the aural, olfactory, visual, touch and taste contribute to the process of retaining a sense of place.

All of the literature drawn upon thus far assumes that daylight is the default condition for forms of mobile travel (Cook and Edensor, 2014; and section 3.4.1 in this chapter engages with literature on darkness and lightness). However, Sidaway (2009) provides a corrective riposte to this state of affairs (see also Morris 2011). Reflecting on an evening’s walk along the section of Britain’s South West Coast Path that runs through the city of Plymouth, Sidaway (2009) makes explicit how by walking this walk, one is confronted with the affects of geopolitics. That is, how the repercussions of war and death are folded into the textures of an everyday urban fabric (Sidaway 2009). A critique that can be heralded at much of the literature on walking mobilities, is that it does not accommodate for the diversity of body forms and abilities in society (Andrews et al., 2012). For instance, there seems to be a dearth of research on disabled people, those considered or who identify as fat, those who are frail, those with mental health conditions and people with chronic illness (Andrews et al., 2012). Notwithstanding such criticisms, work on urban walking has informed contemporary debates and discourses about mobility.
by emphasising the importance of more-than-human actants to the emotional, embodied and affective experiences of mobilities, along with highlighting the multi-sensual rhythmicity of urban mobilities.

Literature has begun to pay attention to the embodied dimensions of vehicular travel. For instance, Bissell (2014) draws on not-so-representational understandings of bodies to explore how stress has an ambivalent and complex constitution through the ways in which everyday practices of commuting are implicated in processes of bodily transformation. Additionally, car travel has been explored as an embodied and emotional experience. Sheller (2004) documents the wide range of feelings elicited from cars; these include: the pleasurable experience of driving, the outburst of ‘road rage’, the exhilaration of speed, the security engendered by driving a ‘safe car’. Consequently, Sheller (2004:221) coins the term “automotive emotions” to refer to the “embodied disposition of car-users and the visceral and other feelings associated with car use”. This coincides with Sheller and Urry’s (2006) contention that means of travel is not only ways of getting as quickly as possible from ‘A to B’; each means provides different experiences, performances and affordances.

Further, authors have begun to pay attention to the emotional and embodied experiences of dancing mobilities (Boyd, 2014). For instance, Merriman (2010) argues that dance is a processual, embodied movement practice that brings about transformations in movement space. Further, Jones (2005:814) labels dancing “physically intense and emotionally
charged”. By taking into consideration the embodied, emotional and affective dimensions of dance, Thrift (1997) argues that one can move away from a negative understanding, whereby the body only has the capacity to be elusive. That is, it can avoid compliance with social controls, to an understanding of the body as a body-subject, with the capacity to jointly configure numerous different realms of experience. According to Thrift (1997), the elusive expressive power of the body, achieved through the playful nature of dance, can provide a resource for resistance against powerful networks. As such, dancing in the urban nightscape may be productively conceived as an attempt by young people to carve out a space for themselves in the public realm.

When conceptualising young people’s alcohol-related mobilities, it is important not to downplay the importance of stillness for identity construction and belonging (see Collins et al. 2013). This point was made earlier by Urry (2003), who argues for the significance of moorings that are solid, static and immobile to be appreciated. Further, Skelton (2013) contributes here, proclaiming that how, and where, young people can/cannot move with speed or slowly, with freedom or constraint, are important to consider in order to enhance understandings of the complex relationality of im/mobility and its connection with identity formation. However, as Bissell and Fuller (2009) note, a focus on the dialectic of stasis and movement neglects other registers and modalities that are not necessarily reducible to this. With this in mind, Bissell (2007) thinks through the event of waiting from the perspective of embodied corporeal experience. Additionally, Harrison (2009) has thought through the process of dreamless sleep as a corporeal experience, whilst Anderson (2004) argues that, even as boredom stills and slows time-space, movement
always accompanies boredom. Events of corporeal stillness, such as waiting, sleeping, and boredom, then, should not be conceptualised as dead periods of stasis; rather, as Bissell (2007) writes, each of these processes have the potential to be active and mobile.

### 3.3.2 Rhythmic Mobilities

Rhythm is intimately associated with movement and, as such, the spaces in which humans and more-than-humans dwell in, and move through, are composed of myriad rhythms (Edensor and Holloway, 2008). It should be noted that rhythms are distinct from mobility - the key distinguishing feature being that an analysis of rhythms is concerned with issues of “change and repetition, identity and difference, contrast and continuity” (Elden, 2004:xii). Lefebvre (2004), one of the main proponents of analysing the rhythms of cities, advanced the theory and method of ‘rhythmanalysis’. Lefebvre’s (2004:15) central proposition is that “everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is a rhythm”. Work exploring the rhythmic experiences of space when bound up with the consumption of alcohol are scarce. A notable exception includes the work of Shaw (2012), which pays attention to the rhythmicity of Newcastle’s nightlife, placing the spotlight on the rhythms of: taxis; night-time street cleaners; and bodily experiences of street and bar spaces. The virtue of Shaw’s (2012) account, for me, is the recognition that rhythms provide a useful way for thinking about the lifeworld of both humans and objects.
Additionally, Middleton and Yarwood (2015), in an attempt to provide a more nuanced account of drinking spaces, engage with work on urban rhythms when examining the growing presence of street-pastors in the night-time economy of British cities. The authors contend that a night out is characterised by a rhythmic engagement with the city, structured by licensing laws and policing, amongst other components. Street-pastors, whilst immersing themselves in the rhythms of the night, challenge and affect the socio-rhythmic spaces of a night out, for example: by walking with a lone woman who may have lost her friends (Middlewood and Yarwood, 2015). Interestingly, street-pastors are aware that, the date of the month in which people are paid from work influences the rhythmicity of a night out. At the start of the month, close to pay-day, people spend money travelling to a nearby city to go out. Towards the end of the month, with less disposable income, people elect to stay in their home town, or to stay in. Here then, to paraphrase Middleton and Yarwood (2015), the night-time economy follows a monthly rhythm that street-pastors are attuned to.

As I have illustrated, the notion of mobilities has potential to exemplify the variegated relations between people and places, thereby overcoming static, bounded conceptions of spaces and places (Binnie et al., 2007). Further, engaging with rhythms can enable an understanding of the spatio-temporal specificities of place (Edensor, 2010a). This is because rhythm analysis goes against the notion of place as static, as rhythms are dynamic, part of the many flows emanating from, passing through, and centring upon place.
3.4 Atmospheric Assemblages

When attempting to conceptualise drinking spaces as active agents with the capacity to shape young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences, insights can be gained from the more-than-representational theories of ‘assemblage’ and ‘atmosphere’. McFarlane’s (2011a) contention that ‘assemblage’ refers to the agentic distributions of a multiplicity of constitutive human-nonhuman relations, closely connects with much of the impetus of actor-network theory. For instance, actor-network theory prescribes agency, intentionality and subjectivity to nonhumans - attributes commonly reserved for humans (Latour, 2005). As Latour (2004a:226) writes, rather than solely serving as a backdrop for human action, nonhumans may also “authorise, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on…” Not all that dissimilarly, an assemblages approach attends to how entities that differ in nature and kind from one another ‘intra-act’5 (Anderson, B. et al., 2012). Yet, the brilliance of the concept of assemblage is that, more so than actor-network theory, assemblages attend to the agency of interactions, along with the agency of component parts (McFarlane, 2011b). Further, assemblages are not solely relations of stability and rigidity, but of excess, flux, and transformation (McFarlane, 2011a).

Many authors consider atmospheres to be closely connected to assemblage (Shaw, 2014a). Like assemblage, atmospheres emerge from the bringing together of different human and more-than-human elements (Shaw, 2014a). According to Bohme (2013: no pagination),

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5 The term ‘intra-act’ refers to the relationship between the apparatuses of bodily production and the phenomena produced (Barad, 2003).
“the character of an atmosphere is the way in which it communicates a feeling to us as participating subjects”. People can stage atmospheres in order to lay the ground for the sensuous, emotional feel of spaces (Bille et al., 2015). Anderson (2009) notes that atmospheres are affective qualities that emanate from bodies, but also exceed the assembling of bodies. ‘Affect’ is thought not to denote personal feeling (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). Whatmore (2006:604) comments that ‘affect’ refers to: “the force of intensive relationality - intensities that are felt but not personal; visceral but not confined to an individuated body”. Meanwhile, emotions are considered to “belong to an individual agent” (Horton and Kraftl, 2006:79); that is, emotions are personally experienced. However, Anderson (2009) point out that atmospheres do not fit neatly into any distinctions between affect and emotion; this is because they are both impersonal, as they belong to collective situations, and yet can be felt as intensely personal. An atmospheric assemblage perspective thus has potential to tease out the spatial, emotional, embodied, and affective experiences bound up with young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences.

Recently, there has been a surge in work adopting an assemblage perspective around the topic of alcohol. For instance, Jayne et al. (2010:546) talk of “drunken assemblages”, arguing that feelings of closeness, connectivity and belonging when on a ‘big night out’ are facilitated by assemblages of alcohol, adrenalin, endorphins, affect, shared emotion, alongside interaction with (non)human actants. The authors argue that consuming alcohol in the cityscape illuminates the importance of human and more-than-human actants to both individual and collective geographies of alcohol, drinking and drunkenness. That is,
affects, feelings and emotions emerge from a set of assemblages comingling the biological, technical, social and economic. According to Jayne et al. (2010:548), this conceptual framework offers a tentative explanation of how, when high levels of alcohol are consumed in different cities worldwide, a very specific set of emotional and affective registers, assemblages and performativities emerge, resulting in different “intoxicated urban geographies”, along with variations within cities, spaces and venues too.

Further, Duff (2014), using the example of methamphetamine (an extremely addictive stimulant drug) use in Melbourne, draws on an assemblages approach to transcend the putative rigidities of structural understandings of context, which obscure the specificity of place and the particular means by which contexts shape local drug use behaviour. Instead, Duff (2014) seeks to highlight the active, local and contingent role of contexts in the mediation of what bodies do ‘on’ and ‘with’ drugs. For the author, the merits of an assemblage approach is its ability to illuminate the spatial and temporal aspects of alcohol and other drug use, which may indicate novel means of transforming consumption events in order to reduce the harms that may be associated with them. According to Duff (2014), thinking with assemblage has two principal benefits. First, it enables attention to be directed towards the place and time of consumption. Second, it attends to the social, material and affective forces that participate in the event of consumption. Following Duff (2014), I suggest that seeing alcohol consumption practices as an assemblage of human and more-than-human forces may lead to the creation of reduction strategies that are sensitive to the place and time of consumption events.
Similarly, based on research across greater Melbourne, MacLean and Moore (2014) utilise the notion of ‘assemblages’ to explore outer-suburban people’s participation in the affectively charged spaces of inner-city entertainment precincts to show that trouble in the night-time economy cannot solely be attributed to alcohol and other drugs. According to MacLean and Moore (2014), more so for young people from outer-suburbs than those living closer to the city, going out in the city is an event distinguishable from everyday life. The authors posit that young people’s sense of being ‘hyped up’ in the inner-city makes different sets of practices possible, particularly in relation to drinking and being open to new engagements with friends and sexual partners. Similarly, Bohling (2015) utilises an assemblages approach in his exploration of young people’s drinking practices in the night-time economy of Copenhagen, Denmark. Bohling (2015) contends that young people’s capacities to initiate and sustain various social, musical, and sexual relationships are altered by the consumption of alcohol, in relation to the specific assemblage in which this consumption is enacted.

However, participants in MacLean and Moore’s (2014) study also articulate their concerns about discomfort, danger, and fear. Violence was most likely to occur at points where young people felt a dissonance between their heightened affective states and the spaces in which they found themselves. To draw on one of MacLean and Moore’s (2014) examples, young people may feel suddenly out of place in the night-time economy when denied entry to a club due to some perceived unsuitability. Second, having left a club, young people may feel emotionally drained when waiting for a taxi (MacLean and Moore, 2014). In both instances, there is a disconnection between the young people’s
embodied drunkenness and the spaces in which they find themselves. That is, young people are ‘hyped up’ to have a good time, yet this contrasts with the boredom they experience waiting for taxis at the end of the night. In these examples, elements of assemblages have the potential to re-constitute intoxication in potentially more problematic ways. Consequently, MacLean and Moore (2014) contend that outer-suburban young people’s positioning within the assemblages of the city centre night-time economy makes conflict and violence more likely for them.

Interestingly, Shaw (2014a) develops use of the concept of ‘atmosphere’ in an ‘assemblage urban’ approach, as a means of reconceptualising how the night-time city is understood. As Shaw (2014a) argues, certain assemblages emerge from multiple practices which collaborate and gather together to control a time and place, producing particular ‘affective atmospheres’, of which the sale, regulation, and governance of alcohol is just one part. To provide an example, Shaw (2014a) notes how taxis have a fundamental role in bringing people and objects into a particular area. Taxis enable people to make their way to the city centre late at night or in the early hours of the morning, having consumed alcohol elsewhere. Consequently, these practices contribute to the emergence of a bustling, flexible atmosphere, intensified within a small time-space. Taxis, then, assemble the bodies required to generate atmosphere. An affective atmosphere is best understood as a form of “placed assemblage” (Shaw, 2014a:87). Whilst Shaw’s (2014a) paper does not move beyond the night-time city centre, the author recognises that there is a need for more studies of places and spaces, which are not the city centre streets or the bars that surround them. My research will go some way towards addressing Shaw’s (2014a) plea
by engaging with a range of “atmospheres”, to use Anderson’s (2009:8) phraseology - a term which encapsulates that atmospheres are inherently spatial, surrounding people, things and environments. I will pay attention to the atmospheres of drinking experiences in suburban bars and pubs, along with homes, streets and parks.

3.4.1 Atmospheres of Darkness and Lightness

The atmospheric qualities of both darkened and lit space has begun to be considered in the geography literature. Prolific writer on lightness and darkness, Edensor (2012), explores the atmospheric qualities of the Blackpool Illuminations, suggesting that affective atmospheres are coproduced by visitors as part of a festive, convivial, and playful social practice. Elsewhere, Edensor (2015a) explores Durham’s Fête des Lumières outdoor light festival. Most installations were staged in central shopping districts, heritage districts and university spaces of the city, with a few installations located in spaces that are more marginal. Edensor (2015a) argues that the event acts to make familiar spaces strange; light contributes to an atmosphere that sends one to other times and places, stimulating nostalgia. Further, Edensor and Lorimer (2015) adopt the active role of walker and runner in Speed of Light, a performance event staged in Holyrood Park, produced by arts charity NVA, during the 2012 Edinburgh International Festival. For this event, the innovative use of lighting technologies harnessed to walking and running bodies creates a dramatic visual effect. The authors use the term “landscapism” to refer to a sensibility encapsulated in Speed of Light (Edensor and Lorimer, 2015:1). ‘Landscapism’ can be understood as an affect that is achieved by estranging the expected encounter with topography and atmosphere.
Moreover, Edensor (2015a), has undertaken research at an experimental concert, entitled Eclipse, staged as part of the Manchester International Festival, to explore the atmospheric affordances of darkness. In an attempt to foster an understanding of how music may be perceived in the absence of sight, the concert was crafted to take place in darkness. Edensor (2015a) found that the lack of vision resulted in the sense of hearing predominating. Interestingly, Edensor (2015a) observed that, in contrast to many concerts, the crowd was not animated; as such, he argues that darkness solicits quietness as none of the familiar cues for participation are visible. Elsewhere, Edensor and Falconer (2014) explore the experience of dining in Dans le Noir?, a restaurant in London where eating takes place in the absence of light. The authors note that the loss of vision means that the senses of sound, touch, smell, and taste predominate. Moreover, Edensor and Falconer (2014) argue that dining in the dark promotes intensified forms of intimacy and conviviality. Key to such work is an aim to highlight some of the more positive qualities of darkness, such as the potential to foster conviviality and intimacy (Edensor, 2015b). This acts as an important redress to conventional conceptualisations of darkness as associated with the primitive, evil and dangerous (Edensor, 2013). Further, an important reminder comes from Shaw’s (2014b) comment that spaces are rarely wholly dark or wholly light, and thus it is important to recognise that people experience dark and light relatedly.

As the above makes evident, much of the literature on dark and lightscapes focuses on staged affective atmospheres of dark and light; for instance light festivals, concerts, and a “gastro-tourist site” restaurant (Edensor and Falconer, 2014:1). There are a few notable
exceptions where the more ‘natural’ experiences of lightness and darkness have been considered. For instance, Sumartojo (2015) explores atmospheres of darkness at Australia’s Anzac Day Dawn Service - an Australian National Day. The author contends that participants’ behaviour was shaped, in part, by atmospheres of darkness. That is, darkness compelled stillness, by obscuring surroundings, slowing bodies, and encouraging quietness, thereby contributing to a solemn, sombre, respectful atmosphere (Sumartojo, 2015). However, the geographies of darkness and lightness literature can still be accused of focusing on infrequently occurring occasions (e.g. national days), with the more everyday experiences of lightness and darkness being largely neglected. Exceptions include, for example, Shaw’s (2014b) discussion of the manipulation of dark in the home, contending that darkness can induce feelings of relaxation and intimacy, yet also fear. The author concludes that controlling darkness in the home is an act of power. Further, Bille and Sørensen (2007:275) explore the notion of hygge in homes in Denmark; that is, “an intimate state of being and an atmosphere and a mood aspired to in social gatherings…as a means of invoking hospitality”. The authors contend that, whilst the material setting, particularly the use of candle light, influences hygge, the accomplishment of hygge is also reliant upon human agency (see also Bille, 2015). Whilst some attention has been directed towards everyday/everynight engagements with lightness and darkness in the home, there is still a need for engagements with everyday/everynight experiences of atmospheres of darkness and lightness in outdoor spaces, such as streets.

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6 I use the term ‘everynight’ purposefully, inspired by Malbon (1999).
Current work on dark and lightscapes is largely adultist, often neglecting how young people perceive and (co)produce such atmospheres. A notable exception here is the work of Milligan and Bingley (2007), which touches upon young people’s experience of darkness in woods, claiming that dark spaces can prove intimidating rather than therapeutic experiences. Further, a piece of work that acknowledges the importance of darkness for young people, with a focus on ecstasy, is Malbon’s (1999) work on clubbing. The author contends that if a club is dark and crowded and eye contact with others is problematic, then a young person is more likely to withdraw than if it is lighter and visual contact can be more easily made. Whilst the experience of consuming drugs in the absence of light (Malbon, 1999), and consuming food in darkness (Edensor and Falconer, 2014), has been explored, young people’s experiences of consuming alcohol in atmospheres of darkness and lightness has been neglected in the literature. There is thus a need to appreciate the importance of dark and lightscapes for young people, when bound up with the consumption of alcohol.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have built on Chapter Two, which sought to highlight how young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood are bound up with relationships with family and friends. In doing so, I have reviewed literature which contributes to enhanced understandings of the ways in which young people’s transitions are characterised by interrelationships with drinking spaces. This includes literature that details a diversity of drinking experiences in a range of indoor and outdoor drinkscapes, including parks; streets; and homes. I found that drinking spaces are often treated as bounded terrains
(Jayne et al., 2012a). I proposed that the more-than-representational ‘mobilities’ theory has potential to enhance understandings of the emotional, embodied and affective aspects (Spinney, 2009) of young people’s alcohol-related journeys, and can offer insight into young people’s movements as social experiences (Nansen et al., 2015). More than this, I argued that drinking spaces are typically rendered passive backdrops to drinking (Jayne et al., 2008a;b). In order to address this neglect, I drew on the more-than-representational theory of ‘atmospheres’. I argued that an atmospheres perspective has potential to tease out the role of more-than-human actants shaping young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences. This perspective is significant for my research because it enhances understandings of how young people are co-constructors of drinkscape; I will be exploring this in my thesis empirically.
Chapter Four
Methodology and Research Design

4.1 Introduction
In this chapter, along with introducing the case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, I critically reflect on my experiences of conducting mixed-methods qualitative research with young people, into their drinking practices and experiences. Understanding young people’s relational alcohol-related transitions to adulthood requires a combination of methods that have, to date, not been deployed together in the alcohol studies literature. I used the following methods over the course of a year: interviews, peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, diaries, mobile phone methods, and participant observations. As this chapter illustrates, offering a suite of methods for young people to ‘opt into’ (Leyshon, 2002) enabled participants with a variety of different skills to participate in research in ways that were meaningful to them. I also make evident that I did not deploy these methods in a ‘one size fits all’ manner; I highlight instances where my research design was refined and developed through listening to the experiences of young people in my study. Further, I am reflexive about how oft-neglected aspects of researcher positionality, including: age, appearance, voice, and personality, influenced my research relationships.

4.2 Epistemological Perspective
Influenced by participatory epistemologies, I recognise knowledge as co-constructed; this ties in with my concern for conducting research for and with, rather than solely about,
young people (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). This epistemological principle also fed into the choice of methods that I offered for young people to ‘opt into’, as they preferred. For instance, alongside more conventional methods, such as: interviews, diaries, and participant observation - I used young people-led methods, which produce data through practical activities (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008): including: peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, and mobile phone methods. A participatory epistemology is often based on the notion that knowledge produced by young people, about young people’s experiences, offers a ‘better’ understanding of these experiences than that generated by adults (Lomax, 2012).

An epistemology of this kind has not escaped criticism. It is said to privilege young people’s voices as the most authentic, thereby dismissing the voices of other age groups (Lomax, 2012). However, I am also influenced by feminist theory, which considers that all knowledge is situated, partial, relational, and co-constructed (Rose, 1997), and it is for this reason that I am reflexive about how my positionality affects knowledge production. Further, I am committed to an attitude of “methodological immaturity” (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008), which privileges an open-ended process over a predefined technique. This can be reflected in my commitment to modifying methods in light of the preferences and characteristics of different young people (Ansell et al., 2012). My research thus values an epistemology that is reflexive of the challenges and difficulties generated by the research design (Lomax, 2012). By not pinning myself to any one specific epistemology, I am able to gain a more nuanced understanding of young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences.


4.3 Qualitative Mixed Methods Design

As Buchwald *et al.* (2009) note, a combination of methods can make the data collection process more interesting for young people, providing them with a range of opportunities for participation (Nansen *et al.*, 2015). I employed what Hesse-Biber (2012:142) terms a “loose concept of triangulation”. I did not use method triangulation in an attempt to validate the veracity of certain data components (Gabb, 2009). Rather, I used method triangulation to allow for the recognition of multiple realities (Tobin and Begley, 2004). By placing each qualitative method into analytic conversation with one another, my findings have generated a deeper, and more comprehensive (Hesse-Biber, 2012), understanding of young people’s drinking experiences. In their research into children’s perceptions and experiences of place, space, and physical activity, Darbyshire *et al.* (2005) found that mixing multiple qualitative methods offered complementary insights and understandings. Employing a qualitative, mixed method approach enabled me to add rigour, breadth, complexity, richness, depth and creativity to my research (Myers, 2009).

The range of methods I presented for participants to ‘opt into’ were not dependent on a minimum sample size, nor an equal sample size across the case study locations (Leyshon *et al.*, 2013). Participants opted into the methods they perceived to be the most enjoyable and felt the most comfortable with - they were by no means obliged to participate in all of the methods, although they were more than welcome to, if they wished. This was a research strategy successfully deployed by Leyshon (2002) in his research with young people in the countryside. As Holland *et al.* (2008:19, emphasis in original) argue, “by
enabling young people to choose how they wish to communicate with us we recognise them as social actors and begin to move our practice away from adult-centric procedures”.

4.4 Case Study Approach

Case study research appreciates that, whilst phenomena may exist in numerous places, their ‘local’ articulation with other things may alter their operation across time and space (Castree, 2005). I chose Manchester as the research area because estimates for “hazardous, harmful and binge drinking” in Greater Manchester are significantly worse than both England and North West averages (Centre for Public Health, 2009:3). According to the Manchester Alcohol Strategy (a partnership between Manchester City Council; NHS; Greater Manchester Probation Services; and Greater Manchester Police), Manchester has one of the highest rates in England for alcohol-attributed hospital admissions; these have increased significantly in recent years (Manchester Alcohol Strategy, 2012). There were 13,783 admissions to Manchester hospitals for alcohol-attributable conditions in 2010/2011, approximately a 150% increase since 2002/2003 (Manchester Alcohol Strategy, 2012). Between 2007/2008 and 2009/2010, 219 young people aged under 18 were admitted to hospital for an alcohol-specific condition (Manchester Alcohol Strategy, 2012). Each alcohol-attributable hospital admission costs the NHS £1,800 on average. Additionally, Manchester Alcohol Strategy (2012) estimates that there are approximately 13,000 dependent drinkers in Manchester.
Rates of mortality from alcohol-related causes are higher in Manchester than North West and England averages. Between 2007 and 2009, 254 Manchester residents died as a result of alcohol specific conditions (Manchester Alcohol Strategy, 2012). Moreover, although alcohol-related crime and violent behaviour are decreasing in Manchester, rates remain higher than the regional and national averages. Local surveys indicate that between one in five (20% from a sample of 11-19 year olds) and one in three (29% from a sample of 14-17 year olds) young people are consuming alcohol at least once per week (Manchester Alcohol Strategy, 2012). Manchester Alcohol Strategy (2012) writes that there are high levels of parental permissiveness in relation to alcohol use by young people in Manchester; nearly two thirds of young people report being allowed to drink at home, and nearly one in four said they lived with a parent who was dependent on drugs or alcohol.

Quantitative findings often dominate popular imaginings and influence political decision-making and the formation of policy (Jayne and Valentine, forthcoming). However, such large-scale survey-based research only serves to reinforce negative assumptions about young people’s lives (Lomax, 2012). Further, such statistics can be accused of over oversimplifying the processes bound up with drinking and drunkenness (Jayne et al., 2006). Through undertaking in-depth qualitative research, I take a more positive approach to researching young people’s everyday/everynight lives (Morrow and Mayall, 2009). In doing so, I am able to tease out the nuances and complexities in young people’s diverse and heterogeneous drinking practices and experiences. I now provide a brief comparison of the chosen case study locations of Wythenshawe and Chorlton (see Table 4.1):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Wythenshawe</th>
<th>Chorlton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Circa 75,000</td>
<td>Circa 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>66.6% white</td>
<td>81.3% white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>80.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>58% private</td>
<td>90.3% private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average house price</td>
<td>£137,266</td>
<td>£236,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household composition</td>
<td>9.9% lone parent with dependent children</td>
<td>4% lone parent with dependent children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>18% no qualifications</td>
<td>4% no qualifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car ownership</td>
<td>39.0% do not own a vehicle</td>
<td>32.1% do not own a vehicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from city centre</td>
<td>Eight miles</td>
<td>Four miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport links</td>
<td>Faced with relatively poor transportation links to the city centre</td>
<td>Good road and bus access to, and from, the city centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>79.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those over 18 who report themselves as in good health</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of under 16s in poverty</td>
<td>39.64%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Characteristics of Wythenshawe and Chorlton

Author’s own (2015) using information from: Manchester City Council (2010;2011;2012); UK Census Data (2015)

The differing socio-economic status of Chorlton, compared to Wythenshawe, detailed in Table 4.1, and the varying micro-geographies within the wards, provides for an interesting comparative analysis.

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4.5 Sampling and Recruitment

I recruited 40 young people, aged 15-24, for multi-stage qualitative research (see Appendix 1 for a table of biographical snapshots of the young people, including the methods they opted into). I aimed for an equal distribution of participants between case study location, resulting in 19 young people talking part from Wythenshawe, and 21 young people taking part from Chorlton. Further, slightly more young women ended up taking part in my study (eight young men, and 11 young women in Wythenshawe, and eight young men and 13 young women from Chorlton). The slightly higher number of young women wishing to take part may reflect that I am a female researcher and young women may have felt more comfortable talking about their drinking practices with me, in comparison to young men. The young people in my study were all able-bodied, predominantly heterosexual (one participant self-identified as having a lesbian identity), and predominantly white (two participants were mixed-race). The accounts in this thesis thus relate to a specific group of young people.

Whilst individual settings cannot be named for reasons of maintaining confidentiality, in order to recruit participants, I: contacted gatekeepers at local universities, secondary schools, sixth forms, colleges, community organisations, libraries, leisure centres, and youth clubs, in, and in close proximity to, the case study locations. I also distributed flyers and business cards to houses and businesses in both case study locations; posted on online discussion forums concerning Chorlton and Wythenshawe; used Twitter to tweet about recruitment; and posted on Facebook groups about the two areas. Further, I
arranged to be interviewed by the morning host of a local community radio station, Wythenshawe FM 97.2, in order to broaden my recruitment strategies.

As with Russell et al.’s (2011) research into young people’s relationships with alcohol, my research design gave young people, who agreed to take part, the option of whether or not their parent(s) could be interviewed. In Russell et al.’s (2011) study no young participants took this route. In my study, only two young participants took this route. As such, in order to gain insight into how alcohol consumption practices, and the spaces and places of drinking, differ between generations, I also recruited 18 additional parents (aged 38-59) of young people within the 15-24 age range, living in Chorlton or Wythenshawe. To participate in my research, I did not request that people had lived in Chorlton or Wythenshawe their whole lives (although some parents had); indeed, mobilities were crucial to the stories that were told. I ended up with five mothers taking part from Chorlton, and five mothers taking part from Wythenshawe, and six fathers taking part from Chorlton, and four fathers taking part from Wythenshawe (see Appendix 2 for biographical snapshots of parents). The reason I wished to interview parents, is that I was interested in hearing about intersubjective and intercorporeal relationships with their children, when bound up with the consumption of alcohol. I do not suggest that this sample is representative of all young people or parents who consume alcohol in Chorlton or Wythenshawe, or elsewhere. In my research project, as was the case with Malins et al.’s (2006) research into spaces for women injecting drug users in Melbourne’s Central Business District, I was more interested in exploring rich, singular experiences of space, than in searching for generalisable or exhaustive patterns of experience.
Young people in my study who wished to ‘opt in’ to the peer interview method were asked to recruit friend(s) to peer interview. Ravn and Duff (2015) describe this peer based recruitment strategy as a snowballing technique. Consistent with Babbie’s (2011) depiction of snowballing sampling, a process of accumulation occurred, as each identified participant suggested other participants. This approach was useful as some young people were initially cautious about participating in the study, for instance, due to worries about teachers/parents finding out about their drinking practices. By building trust and friendship with participants (Valentine, 2013), these participants could then tell their friends about the study and, from their first-hand experience, reassure friends that confidentiality and anonymity are strongly abided by.

Whilst one may anticipate that ethical and methodological concerns are the key challenges to involving young people as researchers, gatekeepers are equally significant (Murray, 2005). ‘Gatekeepers’ are the individuals acting as intermediaries between researchers and participants (Clark, T., 2011), with the ability to help or hinder research depending upon their personal thoughts on the value of the research, along with their approach to the welfare of those under their charge (Reeves, 2010). Now, I provide an account of my experiences of gatekeepers when researching with young people, into their drinking geographies.
Prior to commencing any fieldwork, I had a DBS\textsuperscript{7} check; as Barker and Smith (2001:145) found, this reassured gatekeepers that I was a “suitable adult”, and consequently enabled me to gain access to many young people-populated field sites. When contacting schools, the response from gatekeepers to my initial e-mail was very poor. I followed up the initial e-mail with a phone call, in which it was often recommended that the e-mail was re-sent ‘FAO’ a specific person. However, yet again, this often failed to result in a reply. Some schools were hesitant to take part, due to the nature of my study; to use one gatekeeper’s precise terminology: “we should be stopping underage drinking, not watching it happen” (field diary, 01/11/2013). The nature of this response reflects a protectionist model of young people (Sime, 2008). More than this, it can be seen that the gatekeepers applied their own local ethics to define the research topic (Sparrman, 2014). It is noteworthy that some gatekeepers were wary about my involvement; one gatekeeper questioned my policy on reporting illegal activities, such as crime, asserting: “these sorts of things will happen” (field diary, 15/11/2013). This gatekeeper was dubious about involvement in the study for two reasons: first, by being willing to be involved in the study, young people may end up getting into trouble following the revelation of criminal discourse. Second, as I was - what this gatekeeper termed - a “young girl”, he worried that the “young men” would “show off in front of each other, acting macho”, and putting me in an unsafe position (field diary, 15/11/2013). Another school refused my access, commenting that whilst my research sounds very “exciting”, they “have recently felt compromised by a research project and therefore it feels right not to proceed” (e-mail correspondence, 

\textsuperscript{7} The Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) and the Independent Safeguarding Authority (ISA) merged to become the Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS). CRB checks are now called DBS checks.
4/11/2013). As can be seen then, past research projects left their traces on some of my potential research sites.

It is commonly recognised that having personal contacts to study sites can make access much easier to negotiate. Having never visited either Chorlton or Wythenshawe prior to the commencement of my research, despite having living in Manchester for seven years, this was something I lacked. Beneficially, Geography in the School of Environment and Development at The University of Manchester merged with the Department of Education during the early stages of my research (School of Environment, Education and Development). I found it was helpful to contact primary gatekeepers through colleagues in - what was originally - the Education Department. These colleagues often presented me as a ‘friend’ to gatekeepers they knew, which resulted in me gaining access to some schools and organisations.

Like Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert (2008), I often had to go through two or three tiers of gatekeepers within schools and organisations in order to gain access to young people. This, as with Berbary’s (2014) experience, proved a lengthy and frustrating process. Most gatekeepers were willing to help me build up relationships with young people, by introducing me. However, one gatekeeper suggested that I was more than welcome to “hang out” around the campus, but that she was not willing to assist me further in recruitment (field diary, 21/11/2013). This was due to a) her busy schedule and b) her perception that participants may be less willing to give an accurate reflection of their drinking practices if she was involved, for their fear that I may report back. Using
Berbary’s (2014) distinction, whilst I had physical access to this space, this did not ensure access to the personal, social spaces of individuals. In order to gain this, I had to be confident enough to approach young people during their breaks from lessons, asking if they would like to participate in my research.

Whilst I have stressed the significance of gatekeepers in this section, participants themselves are the final gatekeepers to research in young people’s spaces (Holt, 2004). This was evident in my study, with young people agreeing to participate, yet then not answering phone calls or e-mails in order to arrange interviews, or not turning up for interviews. In such instances, I had to tread the fine line between ensuring I was persistent enough to give the young people the opportunity to participate if they wished to, yet had other commitments, yet not be overly persistent so as to be accused of engaging in what Bengry-Howell and Griffin (2012:403) term “methodological grooming”.

4.6 Interviewing Young People and Parents

I conducted interviews with two predominant groups: young people (aged 15-24), and parents (aged 35-59) of young people within the 15-24 age range. 35 young people opted in to the method of individual interviews; six young people opted to take part in friendship group interviews (three young people who participated in individual interviews also took part in interviews with their friends). I also undertook 20 interviews with parents (five mothers and six fathers from Chorlton, and six mothers and four fathers from Chorlton). I gave all young people and parents a brochure (see Appendix 3 and
Appendix 4, respectively), detailing what to expect if taking part in this method. Interviews typically lasted between 45-90 minutes. In my research, I found that in-depth, semi-structured interviews were useful for researching complex behaviours, opinions, and emotions (Longhurst, 2003), enabling me to collect a rich depth of information and a diversity of experiences (Nykiel, 2007). Prior to conducting the interviews, I undertook three pilot interviews with young people within the study age range within my university; these were extremely beneficial in enabling me to refine my interview schedule (see Appendix 5 for interview schedule) (Merriam, 2009). Whilst I had a lengthy list of predetermined questions, I did not necessarily stick to these. Instead, I allowed interviews to unfold in a conversational manner (Longhurst, 2003); this enabled both young people and parents to explore issues they perceived to be important.

With the permission of the participants, all interviews were audio-recorded to preserve spoken words (Dickson-Swift et al., 2006). I typically conducted interviews with young people in schools or youth clubs, booked out rooms at my University - spaces where gatekeepers or colleagues were nearby in case I needed any assistance. Some young people, typically those above school/college age, requested that interviews took place in their homes and cafés, and one 24-year-old participant asked if we could conduct the interview in her favourite bar. When interviewing adults, I asked where the most convenient space for them would be. Interviews were most commonly conducted in their homes, and cafés; two participants asked for their interviews to be conducted in bars, and so I respected their wishes. I found interviewing young people in schools to be restrictive, due to a lack of time allocated to interview participants, due to concerns by teachers/head
teachers about the research encroaching upon lesson time (Bushin, 2007). Further, interviewing in bars was not ideal, due to the noisy location, which often resulted in their voices being less audible on the audio recordings. Bars were, however, good locations in enabling participants to use the space to prompt discussions about their drinking practices and experiences. Being flexible as to where the interviews took place, ensured, as Longhurst (2003) notes, that participants were comfortable.

First, I conducted in-depth interviews with young people. These interviews explored: early experiences of alcohol (for instance, the extent to which alcohol was consumed in their childhood homes; if/how they were introduced to alcohol by parents/siblings/friends); present-day patterns and cultures of consumption (for example, whether and what they drink; types, experiences and meanings of public and domestic consumption); and wider attitudes to alcohol (including, their views of health issues; and use of alcohol in their community). My research aimed to engage with young people for a year of their lives. Having undertaken multi-method research over the course of 12 months, 12 young people out of the original 40 participants opted into the ‘follow up’ interview method approximately a year after the initial interviews. Follow-up interviews allowed for an exploration of any transitions and changes to attitudes and practices surrounding alcohol consumption and the use of spaces and places. The relatively low opt in rate to these interviews may be explained by the timing of the interviews - taking place at a busy time in many young people’s lives, when many of my participants were settling in to a new sixth form/college/starting, or returning to, University. Second, interviews were conducted with parents; these interviews addressed the same themes as the
interviews with young people, in order to enable an understanding of intergenerational similarities and differences in drinking practices and experiences in, and beyond, Chorlton and Wythenshawe.

The interviews with the young people and parents were typically undertaken individually. However, six young people asked if I could interview them with their friends, in groups of between 2-6 people, in what I call ‘friendship group interviews’. The friendship group interview was not a style of interviewing I had intended to use; this illustrates the agency of participants to shape the research design, and the need for the researcher to be flexible. Individual interviews enabled me to gain insight into the participants’ perceptions (e.g. of their motivations for drinking, how they feel when they drink, where they like to drink), which are subjective in nature, unshaped by group dynamics (Kaar, 2007). Further, as Kaar (2007) notes, participants can feel empowered in an individual interview scenario, due to the unusualness of being listened to, combined with the anonymity afforded. Whilst the individual interview has its benefits, there are also advantages to conducting interviews in friendship groups.

First, friendship group interviews create a non-threatening and comfortable atmosphere for participants to share experiences (Renold, 2005). Secondly, the situation where people are interacting as part of a group is much closer to everyday life than the individual encounter with a lone interviewer (King and Horrocks, 2010). One of the main analytical advantages of friendship group interviews is therefore that they provide access to
interaction between participants (Miller et al., 2010) - for me, this really helped tease out the importance of friendship and care to people’s drinking practices. There are, however, negatives associated with the friendship interview approach. My own experiences endorse the view of Clark, C. (2011), who found that, when interviewing pairs of friends, a dominant friend could prevail almost entirely over a quieter friend. I handled this by encouraging quieter participants to share their points of view; for instance, asking if their drinking experiences were similar or dissimilar from that of their friend’s. Overall, friendship group interviews allowed me to collect data that otherwise may not be available (Miller et al., 2010). Although on occasions suppressed by more dominant friends, many of the less confident participants may not otherwise have participated in my research project at all. Within the interviews, upon receiving an answer to one of my questions from participants, I often followed up with ‘probing questions’ - these were useful in encouraging participants to elaborate on certain points (King and Horrocks, 2010). Further, when conducting interviews with both young people and parents, I often undertook some level of self-disclosure (Watts, 2008), about my drinking practices, in order to encourage participant disclosure (more on this in section 4.11.5).

As Hitchings (2012) notes, interviews provide a medium through which people can talk about their practices. For, as Fox and Alldred (2015:407) state, “interviews can be used to identify assembled relations, and the affects and the capacities produced in bodies that together make an assemblage work”. I did not treat interviews as a means of obtaining subjective representations of the world, but rather as evidence of how participants are situated within assemblages (Fox and Alldred, 2015). Whilst appreciating the benefits of
interviews, they had three predominant drawbacks for use in this study. First, researchers studying drinking practices must contend with the issue that people do not always do as they say they do (Holloway et al., 2008). This may be due to worries about being judged, for instance. Second, other than three interviews which took place in bars, the interviews generally did not take place ‘on location’: a) due to my concerns about people overhearing the interviews, which would be a considerable breach of confidentiality; b) because it would have disrupted the flow of participants’ nights out. As a consequence, the majority of participants did not have any direct contact with the spaces and places they were talking about (Trell and Hoven, 2010). Third, following on from the preceding point, being removed from the immediacy of embodied experience, the interview method can be said to insufficiently capture the sensual, embodied, emotional and affective nature of experiences (Falconer, 2012). It is for this reason that, following on from Murray (2009), I also used participant observation, thereby researching in, and through, the spaces the study relates to (discussed in 4.11).

4.7 Peer Interviews

13 young people in my study opted into the ‘peer interview’ method. When researching young people’s alcohol consumption practices, the presence of adults may restrict young people from speaking about their experiences and thoughts surrounding drinking (Katainen and Rolando, 2015). Recognising the ‘otherness’ (see Jones, 2008) of those participants younger than myself, I employed a peer interview method. This method acknowledges that young people’s experiences of spaces and places differ from those of adults (Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008). Young people are suitable for conducting peer
interviews because they speak the same language as other young people (Kilpatrick et al., 2007). Further, they often have first-hand insights into matters affecting peers, as they are often affected by these issues themselves (McCartan et al., 2012). As Alderson (2008:278) rhetorically questions: “if children’s social relations and culture are worthy of study in their own right, then who is better qualified to research some aspects of their lives than children themselves?” According to Schäfer and Yarwood (2008), young people can discuss topics more openly and freely in a peer interview than they would with an adult researcher. The peer interview method can therefore potentially offer what Schäfer and Yarwood (2008:4) argue is a “genuine perspective” into young people’s lives.

Alcohol Life Stories (Jones et al., 2011), a project funded by the NHS North West, had a peer research design. Jones et al. (2011) argue that peer research can enable policymakers to understand what is going on in the lives of young people, and how best to support them to understand and manage the risks created by alcohol. On the other hand, the authors contend that if decisions concerning how to deal with the issues relating to alcohol and young people were solely based on the views of young people themselves, we would end up doing very little, as many young people do not perceive alcohol as an issue in the first place (Jones et al., 2011). This highlights the need to use peer interviews as one strategy in tandem with other methods, such as participant observation, and interviews with parents (see also, Holloway, 2014). In my research project, I gave each of the participants the opportunity to interview friends about alcohol consumption. Alongside giving a brochure, detailing what to expect from taking part in this method (see Appendix 6), as advocated by Kellet (2010), I ran informal training sessions for the young researchers. By
training young people to become interviewers, they became equipped with new skills, which I perceive gave them more control over the project (Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008). More than this, the young people gained transferable skills (Lushey and Munro, 2014), such as listening skills, that they can use in the wider world, for instance, when seeking employment. I emphasised to participants that attending the training session was not connected with any obligation to carry out the peer interviews (Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008). By offering a training session, there was a danger that the peer interviewers may become ‘my’ interviewers, as the tool loses some of its emancipatory potential. I sought to avoid this by making the training session interactive, and encouraging participants to share their ideas and views - rather than imposing training in a top-down manner. As such, the peer interview method may be considered a participatory tool, which provides a way of foregrounding the perspectives of young people (Kellet et al., 2005); consequently, it can be deemed an empowering method.

After giving a brief introduction to interviewing, as a research method, and how to design, prepare and conduct interviews about the alcohol consumption practices of their friends, training sessions addressed the following issues: protecting the rights of the researched; ensuring health and safety; dealing with unpredictable situations; and planning for things that can go wrong (Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008). I also gave the young people a brochure to disseminate to their friends who may wish to take part in this method, which conveyed what to expect (see Appendix 7). Whilst some young people were happier acting as researchers carrying out the interview I had designed, others were keen to develop questions to ask on their own, with only guidance from myself (see also Schäfer and
Yarwood, 2008). In both instances, as Schäfer and Yarwood (2008) found, the interviewers were keen to read over the questions aloud several times, prior to the interview. Further, training sessions involved me introducing how to use an audio recording device. Despite this, few young people were confident using the device, and often requested I press the ‘record’ button. They would then carry the device over to me once the interview was over, and ask me to press ‘stop’, for fear of not recording, or accidentally deleting, the interview material.

Whilst I did not set a time restriction on the peer interviews, they each typically lasted between ten to thirty minutes. This is a shorter duration of time than a typical research interview between adult-researcher and young person, both in my research and reported in the literature. One reason for this is that the young people were relatively inexperienced at using this method (Lushey and Munro, 2014), and did not seem confident in following up with ‘probing questions’ (as Kilpatrick et al., 2007 likewise found). This, as Lushey and Munro (2014) recognise, can limit data obtained on issues that are fundamental to the research. Some young people in my study, despite attempting to probe for further elaboration, seemed not to grasp the idea of ‘probing’ questions. Take the following exchange where Summer clearly wants more information from Joe; yet, in an attempt to do so, she simply repeats the initial question, and follows this up with a new question - not leaving the Joe with enough opportunity to respond:
Summer: Could you explain how you would get alcohol if you were going out?

Joe: My mate gets it, or get people to go in the shop.

Summer: Get people to do in the shop? How does drinking make you feel?

Joe: It puts me in a good mood.

Summer: Puts you in a good mood? Have you ever had to look after a friend because they’ve been too drunk, could you tell me what you had to do?

Joe: Yeah, and took them outside so they could get fresh air.

Summer: Get fresh air? Has a friend had to look after you because you’ve been too drunk, could you tell me what they had to do?

Joe: No.

(Summer, 16, Joe, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

I left the interview space for the duration of time in which peer interviews took place. However, as I explained to participants that I would be listening to the audio recordings later, they were aware that they were speaking to an ‘invisible audience’. When listening to the recordings, I often felt frustrated when peer researchers did not ‘probe’ correctly, or ask for elaboration, thereby limiting the potentially rich data. Further, it became evident that some young people operated what may be termed ‘small acts of resistance’ (see Hil and Bessant, 1999, regarding how young people exert agency and resistance in public space). For instance, singing into the audio recording device, instead of partaking in the interview. Others used the device in an almost journalistic way to report on their surroundings, unrelated to the task. These are examples in which the young people can be seen to have ‘wrestled control’ from the researcher.

Accordingly to Conolly (2008), it could be conceived that young people who become trained in, and are asked to conduct, research are placed in an elevated position over their
peers. However, in my research I did not always see a hierarchy between interviewer and interviewee. Indeed, typically peer interviews took more of a conversational format:

Teresa: Have you ever drunk text someone, if so tell me a bit about this?

Joanna: I used to text all my exes, calling them bastards, telling them how much I hated them and never wanted to be back with them, and then I’d be back with them the next day. I always finish Bill and get back with him

Teresa: Ah the funniest thing is when you text them saying that, and then you text them about 10 minutes later going ‘I’m sorry’...

Joanna: ‘I love you’... I start crying, me and Annie started crying together, because I finished Bill, Annie had a fight with him, like full on fighting, hitting him in the face and everything and then instead of him crying, me and Annie started crying

(Teresa and Joanna, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

The above exchange also indicates that peer interviews allowed for great honesty and openness. I consider the peer interview beneficial in two further ways: first, the peer interview enabled peer researchers to broach topics which young people may have been embarrassed discussing with me (Lushey and Munro, 2014) - such as sexual relations engaged in whilst drunk. Second, peer interviews provided a space for some young people to playfully fabricate their drinking stories; use of play was beneficial in highlighting these young people’s engrained assumptions about alcohol consumption.

4.8 Drawing Elicitation Interviews

17 young people in my study opted into the drawing elicitation interview method. Each drawing elicitation interview took approximately 45 minutes, and took place in spaces participants felt safe and comfortable in, including: schools, homes, and cafes. The aim of the drawing activity was for young people to create a personalised map, as a means of
both harnessing the value of individual knowledge about geographic space, and to simultaneously empower the participants by encouraging them to take an active stake in the representation of their spatial environment (Literat, 2013). A benefit of employing a drawing method, over that of interviews, for instance, where an immediate response is expected, is that the participants have time to reflect on their responses. Put another way, “the visual representation becomes a process of ‘working through’, rather than spontaneously responding” (Literat, 2012:210). However, despite the potential of drawing elicitation interviews to uncover young people’s valuable knowledge on topics of personal relevance, researchers have not made full use of the strategy.

Whilst the use of drawing maps to gain insight into young people’s alcohol consumption practices is rare in the literature, there are a few notable exceptions. In a study of practices during ‘nights out’, Waitt et al. (2011:260) invited participants to sketch their ideas, commenting that the potential of drawing provided a means to “enrich spatialised narratives uniting people and place”. Additionally, in a study of young people’s drug use in private settings, Ravn and Duff (2015:124) used a ‘map-task’ to conduct observations “from a distance” in hard-to-access places, such as house parties, where researchers may not be permitted physical access to research spaces. The authors suggest that mapping is a less obtrusive method, because being present may disrupt the activities, practices and interactions of most interest. Ravn and Duff (2015) contend that, in addition to the social, contextual, spatial and health related aspects of parties, the use of an interview to elicit the map was beneficial in producing data on the progression of house parties over the course of an evening, enabling the party to unfold temporally and spatially.
After providing the young people with a blank sheet of A3 paper and a pack of colouring felt tip pens and some pencils, I asked the participants to draw free-hand sketch-maps of their drinking spaces and places. The materiality of what I gave participants will have influenced their recording of information; for instance, different types of pens and paper would have resulted in different representations. I considered giving participants printed maps to annotate, colour and fill in. However, I decided that this would give participants less flexibility in choosing how to depict their personal geographies. I also had to decide whether to implement the drawing activity in an individual, or a group session (Literat, 2013). I wished to undertake the activity in private, individual sessions, perceiving that this may relieve the sense of peer pressure, and could empower young participants who are generally less outspoken in groups. I also perceived the individual nature of the activity would eradicate the risk of copy and attempting to emulate others’ maps (Literat, 2013). However, due to factors, including school timetabling, and the preferences of some participants, I undertook three drawing elicitation interviews in groups of between two-four people.

I provided participants with a brochure outlining guidance for what to think about, when drawing their map (see Appendix 8). Nonetheless, the participants had a great deal of scope in choosing the content, design, detail and layout of their maps. Consequently, following Trell and Hoven (2010), I argue that asking participants to draw maps of their drinking spaces and places enabled participants to express themselves in a creative manner. Moreover, in line with Vanderstede’s (2011) findings, the diversity in the maps drawn by the young people show that, even within the same study area, there are different subgroups and microgeographies of young people, often competing for space. The
resultant maps are beneficial in indicating the geographical scope of the participant’s drinking activities (Jung, 2014), as well as revealing their varying uses of (dis)ordered spaces (Thomson and Philo, 2004). Whilst I anticipated that the maps would offer a static snapshot of drinking spaces, I was surprised that young people’s mobilities really came through in their drawings. Many young people drew arrows to signal their movements through drinking spaces. Figure 4.1 is an illustrative example:
Emily has two different routines for a night out in Wythenshawe, both of which are detailed on this map. Emily will either: start the night at the park, after which she will walk to her friend’s house. She would then go to a fast-food outlet and back to bed at her friend’s house. Alternatively, Emily describes pre-drinking at her friend’s house, prior to going to a club in Wythenshawe, and then returning to her friend’s house to bed.

**Figure 4.1:** Emily’s Night Out (Emily, 20, Wythenshawe)
I told the young people prior to the exercise that I would be keeping the drawings for scanning, and using in my thesis. However, I recognised that some young people put a lot of effort into drawing their maps, and seemed proud of their products. I asked participants if they would like me to take a photograph of the map using my phone and to text it/e-mail it to them on the spot; 13 of the 17 young people wished to have a photograph of their map. I then used the maps as catalysts for discussion. In some instances, participants gave me permission to voice record them whilst drawing their maps, enabling me to hear them thinking aloud whilst drawing. Others preferred drawing their maps without the pressure of being voice recorded, instead allowing me to interview them once they had completed their drawings, using their maps as elicitation. I did not project interpretations onto the images, rather I made observations in an attempt to stimulate further information from the participants, by stating things such as: “tell me about your image” or “I notice that…” It is, as Emmel (2008) says, crucial for personal maps to be analysed in combination with the participants’ explanations and narratives. Discussions of their maps enabled participants to look back on their productions reflexively, along with giving them an additional medium through which to express their thoughts (Lehman-Frisch et al., 2012). Inviting participants to interpret their own maps further facilitated a sense of empowerment as I became a respectful listener of the young participants who are in charge of the discussion (Literat, 2013). In line with Lehman-Frisch et al.’s (2012) contention, through its combination of visual and oral methods, the drawing elicitation interview enabled an understanding of the complexity of young people’s relationships with urban spaces.
This method was not, however, without limitations. Maps were not mimetic, nor were they complete recordings of cognitive worlds of the participants (Mitchell, 2006); participants negotiated what to show, and what not to show, vis-à-vis potential audience (Jung, 2014). Further, the method is, to an extent, dependent on an individual’s drawing ability (Travlou et al., 2008), and, therefore, some maps were more detailed than others. However, Rose’s (2012) words ring true here. The author contends that researchers using methods that require drawing may need to reassurance participants that the drawing is not going to be judged on its aesthetic qualities. That is, any drawing, regardless of how unskilled it is, is perfectly acceptable and useful. Despite offering reassurance, some young people did not wish to take part in this method, claiming their drawing skills were “not good enough” (field diary, 22/01/2014). This emphasises the importance of the ‘opt in’ approach (Leyshon, 2002), enabling young people to participate in methods that suit their interests.

4.9 Diaries

Eleven young people in my study completed the diary method, five young men and six young women. It is important that geographers do not dismiss written texts as merely static framings; writing is an important practice embroiled in the performativities of many spaces (Merriman et al., 2008). I asked young people to complete unstructured solicited written diaries, regarding their alcohol consumption experiences over a minimum of three weeks. Leyshon (2002) contends that utilising a written diary method with young people is challenging, as they perceive it to be time-consuming and it may feel like a form of homework. However, some young people in my study were enthusiastic about keeping a written diary; some participants claimed to have “never had a diary before” (Jemima, 15,
Wythenshawe, interview). Far from a tedious homework-like task, for some young people, keeping a diary was novel and exciting.

There are several other benefits to asking participants to complete personal drinking diaries. First, as the diary method was not undertaken face-to-face it made it easier for young people to be candid than in the face-to-face methods (Milligan, 2005). Second, by enabling participants to document their own drinking practices, in their own space and time, there was a more empowering research relationships between young people and myself. The diary could also be seen as empowering as it enabled participants to reflect on their own drinking experiences (Meth, 2003). Törrönen and Maunu (2011) deployed a diary method to examine the management of social emotions and friendship bonds by analysing young people’s drinking diaries. By asking the young Finns to write freely about all things related to the evening’s main events, the authors contend that the participants take the role of ethnographer, detailing their own lives.

I presented each participant with a blank A5 notebook and a pen. I did not provide the participants with shop-bought diaries, as I did not want them to feel limited about how much they could write about each day. Equally, however, I chose the A5 notebook with one of the least amount of pages available, as I did not want participants to feel overwhelmed by how much they perceived I expected them to write. I also provided each participant with a brochure with some guidelines for keeping a drinking diary (see Appendix 9). Whilst these guidelines suggested some things the young people may wish to write about (such as their experiences in bars, pubs, clubs, streets and parks, or their interactions with other people who have been drinking), I emphasised that these were
suggestions only, and thus young people should not restrict what they wish to write about. As Leyshon (2002) recommends, I maintained regular contact with my participants, either directly via text message, or indirectly via their school, to ensure they kept their diaries up-to-date.

Diaries are not, of course, without their limitations. One of the problems with diaries, as Buchwald et al. (2009) recognise, is that they depend on the participant’s writing skills. Additionally, three participants stated they wished to participate in the diary activity yet never returned it to me. I was often disappointed by the limited detail some of the completed diaries contained. Nonetheless, allowing diarists to write at their own pace and in reflection of, and response to, their own experiences and emotions (Bijoux and Myers, 2006), I consider that this method promotes more personal insights into young people’s alcohol consumption experiences. This can be captured through Kelly’s (17, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview) comment: “ah I’ll have to write about it, I can’t, I’m not saying that, I’ll write about it”. Whilst some young people did not feel comfortable verbally articulating their drinking experiences then, the diary was a means they could express themselves, perhaps with less embarrassment, or fewer feelings of being judged.

4.10 Mobile Phone Methods

4.10.1 Mobile Phone Interviews

I had planned to ask young people to send me photographs and videos on their nights out, via their mobile phones. Despite gaining ethical approval to do so, this approach was not suitable ‘in practice’ because of the costs involved with sending photograph and video
messages. Whilst many young people in my study held a mobile phone contract, which often allows unlimited text messages to be sent, often this does not include photograph or video messages, which, in the UK, are typically charged at 30-40 pence per message. I developed and refined the research design through listening to the experiences of a young person in my study; Heather (15, Wythenshawe, interview) stated: “there’s a party on Friday. I’ll video some of it through the night on my mobile, like video bits and I’ll come in and show you”. This links to Griffin et al.’s (2009) assertion that the use of mobile phones to video and photograph episodes during young people’s nights out is very common, and plays a fundamental role in the recounting of drinking stories after the event. Nine young people in my study opted into the mobile phone interview method, eight of which were young women. The large gender gap here may be explained by the fact that, in everyday life, it is common for young women to take more photographs than young men (Martínez-Alemán and Wartman, 2009). These interviews typically lasted between 30 and 45 minutes.

Mobile phone interviews involved asking young people to use their mobile phones to take photographs and videos on their nights out, and then, a few days later, to navigate through relevant photographs and videos on their mobile phones, using the visual data as prompts to elicit discussion in an audio-recorded interview. I gave participants a brochure with guidelines on mobile phone methods (See Appendix 10). The use of novel methods that respond to participants’ preferences aligns with Law’s (2004) notion of a ‘method assemblage’. For Law (2004), ‘method assemblage’ is not a set of procedures listed in textbooks that need to be mastered, rather it is performative and more-than-
representational. Mobile phone interviews enabled young people to take me with them on a tour of their mobile phone photographs and videos, often navigating through a variety of mobile phone applications: for instance, Instagram\(^8\); Facebook; WhatsApp\(^9\); and Snapchat\(^10\), and primarily their photograph and video albums. I did not have a list of prescribed questions to ask and, whilst I had some prompts, these generally were not needed, as young people were easily able to talk around their photographs and videos. In other words, their photographs and videos provided “a stimulus for story-telling” (Langevang 2007:277), sparking lively discussions (Cook and Hess, 2007).

As Albury and Crawford (2012) contend, young people make aesthetic discriminations about their use of mobile technology, and what to share with others. The use of a mobile phone is significant because, unlike disposable cameras, young people have more editing options, and opportunities to review images, to potentially delete them, and to retake them (Croghan \textit{et al.} 2008). With the bricolage features of editing and deleting photographs and videos on mobile phones then, auto-photography and auto-videography are performances (Latham, 2003), rather than reflections of actuality. Importantly, though, I advocate that this is more ethical than the use of disposable cameras, giving young people more autonomy over their self (re)presentations.

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\(^8\) ‘Instagram’ is an online mobile photo-sharing, video-sharing and social networking service that enables its users to take photographs and videos, and share them on a variety of social networking platforms.

\(^9\) ‘WhatsApp’ is a cross-platform mobile messaging application, which enables users to exchange messages without having to pay text-messaging costs.

\(^10\) ‘Snapchat’ is an ephemeral messaging mobile application where photographs, videos and texts evaporate seconds after they are viewed. Despite their ephemeral nature, young people were able to show me these photographs, videos and texts by taking a screen capture of the Snapchats using their mobile phones.
Some of the benefits of mobile phone interviews are as follows: I found that asking participants to take photographs and videos provided me with “ethnography by proxy” (Bloustein and Baker 2003:72), for otherwise difficult-to-access spaces, such as homes of participants’ friends and relatives. Further, the mobile phone offered participants an opportunity to ‘show’, rather than solely ‘tell’, aspects of their identity that may have otherwise remained hidden (as Croghan et al., 2008 note of photo-elicitation methods). In line with this, the interview acted as a means of triangulating what young people said they did, with what the photographs and videos showed they did. Further, mobile phones changed the materiality of interviewing participants; the young people were, to some extent, ‘in charge’, whilst I largely watched the scenes unfold. Moreover, as the young people looked at the photographs and videos on their phones, the situation felt relatively ‘casual’, enabling participants to talk freely, without continuous eye contact with me (Pyyry 2015). “Thinking with” the photographs and videos then, enabled participants to discuss themes that were important to them, in a manner that was meaningful to them (Pyyry, 2015:149). Further still, this “methodological hybrid” (Latham, 2003) is of great value for its virtual mobility potential; instead of going to physical places, the phone virtually transported me as a researcher.

4.10.2 Text Messaging

Ten young people in my study opted into the text messaging method (eight of which were young women, and two young men). The differences in gender uptake to different methods is seldom mentioned in the methods literature, however, it is worth reflecting on here. I speculate that the lower uptake of male participants to this method may have been
because I am a female researcher; I certainly got the impression from one young man that his girlfriend thought it was “weird” that he was exchanging text messages with me (field diary, 9/05/2014). The one-to-one functionality of mobile phones lends itself to romantic practices where young people can flirt, and texting often provides new opportunities for young people to create meaning and develop relationships with the opposite sex (Ling et al., 2014). It is worth considering that this may have been a reason why other young men may not have opted in to this method.

Researchers often use mobile phones when conducting fieldwork, in order to contact participants. For instance, Pelckmans (2009) used mobile phones in his multi-sited fieldwork in Africa, noting that the devices enabled participants to connect with him anywhere, at any time. However, researchers have typically undervalued text messages as a source of data. Whilst diary entries are often perceived to require literacy skills, texting requires a different type of literacy skill, enabling the inclusion of young people with a range of abilities (Walker et al., 2009). Further, social anxiety may cause some young people to prefer technological communication, rather than face-to-face communication (Pierce, 2009). As previously mentioned, young people in my study had mobile phone contracts, in which they were able to send unlimited text messages with no associated costs. Other young people were on ‘pay as you go’ price plans, which had ‘bundles’ of text messages included in the cost. Consequently, asking participants to send text messages did not ‘price them out’ of taking part in my research.

Before discussing how I used text messaging in my research, I provide a few examples where text messaging has been used as a method in the existing literature, involving
young people. Based on the notion that memory deficits lead to distortion when long recall periods are used to assess alcohol consumption, Kuntsche and Labhart (2012) developed an Internet-based phone-optimised assessment technique. According to the authors, this method provides a convenient means of obtaining detailed information about the progression of young people’s alcohol consumption over the course of several evenings. Additionally, Mikkelsen and Christensen (2009) conducted research into 10-13 year old children’s mobility in Demark. Alongside ethnography, and global positioning system tracking, the authors deployed a rolling mobile phone survey. Each of the participating children were asked to answer questions five times a day, via text messages sent to mobile phones - what Mikkelsen and Christensen (2009:43) term - “an always-at-hand-media”. According to Mikkelsen and Christensen (2009), the interactive survey generated data about practices, activities, and social relationships in real time, thereby enabling researchers to virtually follow the movements of participants. In Mikkelsen and Christensen’s (2009) study, all questions but one had fixed reply categories for the children to respond. In my study, I utilised text messages in a much more qualitatively-driven sense, considering that quantification of young people’s mobilities does not go far enough in enabling an elucidation of their subjective alcohol-related experiences.

I used text messages as data in two predominant ways. First, conversations I had with the young people, via text messages, regarding nights out they invited me on was a valuable form of data. This provided insight into: what time they were planning on going out; what they were planning on wearing; what they were planning to drink; how they intended to source their alcohol; where they were intending to go; and whom they were intending to meet, for instance. Second, I asked participants to update me, via text messages, of their
experiences and practices during their nights in/out involving alcohol, when I was not present. The use of text messaging was beneficial, as I was only able to undertake participant observation with one group of young people at a time (Christensen et al., 2011). By still maintaining contact with other participants through text messaging, I did not completely ‘miss out’ on their drinking experiences as they were occurring. An additional benefit of text messaging is its ability to update me of events that occur without my presence. For instance, one club was notoriously cautious about letting groups of young men in. When I accompanied the young men during participant observations, they had no problem entering the club; when I was not with this group on another occasion, they texted me telling me that they were not permitted to enter. My presence during participant observations, as a female researcher, thus interrupted how the young men typically experienced their nights out, whereas text messaging was beneficial in enabling insight into the usual proceedings. Further, text messaging is a beneficial method because most other methods, such as diaries and interviews, require participants to remember and recall events. However, the date-and-time-stamped text messages provided me with an “experience snapshot” (Plowman and Stevenson, 2012:539) of young people’s alcohol-related, present-tense, action. Overall, text messaging offered an informal, undemanding, and unobtrusive, means of understanding young people’s drinking practices and experiences, as they unfolded.

One of the limitations of this method is that often, as the young people were becoming increasingly involved in the night’s activities, and as their levels of drunkenness increased, they forgot to send texts, or the language in their texts became less decipherable. Further, there were occasions when young people told me their mobile phones ran out of battery,
restricting me from understanding how their nights unfolded. Notwithstanding this, text messaging is a research technique in line with many young people’s everyday/everynight practices. For young people in my study, and as Leyshon et al. (2013) make clear, text messaging is a culturally legible means of communication. It is, as Thompson and Cupples (2008:100) articulate, “a comfortable, easy and effective means of communication for young people”. More than this, text messages have the ability to provide insight into young people’s situated practices and lived meanings across time and space.

4.11 Participant Observation

I undertook participant observation over the period of 12 months in order to observe the drinking practices of young people, and the spaces and places in which such practices occur. I handed out a guidance brochure regarding what to expect if the young people took part in this method (see Appendix 11). In the end, I undertook participant observation with seven different groups of young people participating in my study, and their friends. I went on 21 nights in/out in total, lasting a minimum of three hours, and up to a maximum of twelve hours. I undertook approximately 96 hours of participant observation in total, in a diverse range of spaces, including: streets, car parks, pubs, bars, clubs, casino, and homes, and for a variety of occasions, including: routine nights out, to more celebratory occasions, such as an 18th birthday party. I reflect on my positionality later in this chapter, but it is worth noting that I consider my age, appearance, personality and drinking biography were key factors that enticed young people to invite me on their nights out. I cannot help but thinking that an older researcher, for instance, would not have been so openly invited to selectively invited ‘special occasions’, such as 18th
birthday parties. Participant observation enables researchers to ‘immerse’ themselves in settings (Hemming, 2008). In so doing, researchers are able to uncover the processes and meanings undergirding sociospatial life, thus gaining an understanding of the richness and complexity of lived experience (Herbert, 2000). This method allowed me to observe drinking occasions first hand, thereby enabling me to verify or refute the veracity of young people’s recollections (Johnson, 2013). Further, it enabled me to build up my familiarity with the spaces and places discussed by young people through other methods, which, as Leyshon et al. (2013) say, aided my interpretation and analysis.

Since both people and objects are mobile (Hannam et al., 2006), participant observation must begin to engage with movement, rather than overlooking it, as is commonly the case (Wittel, 2000). Put simply, “a mobile subject demands a mobile method” (Cresswell, 2012:647). However, the mobile nature of young people has hitherto largely been neglected in participant observation of drinking practices, exemplified through the fact that the ethnographer simply observes drinking practices whilst in places, such as: clubs, bars and beaches (e.g. Graham et al., 2000; Briggs and Turner, 2011). Such primarily static encounters fail to appreciate the fluid nature of young people’s drinking practices - how young people move through places whilst drinking. Indeed, Larsen (2008:153) has labelled traditional ethnography “a-mobile”. As such, it is necessary to develop a research method that is “on the move” (Buscher and Urry, 2009:103). As Watts and Urry (2008) state, whilst movement between spaces is inherent to ethnography, it has only recently become a site for fieldwork. As Larsen (2014:60, emphasis in original) advocates: “through ethnographic participation one needs to be on the move, to study it as it takes
place *in situ* - on the street and in the city, *as and when* it is performed”. Consequently, I adopted “natural go-along” participant observation (Kusenbach, 2003:455), in which I, as researcher, travelled with people and things, participating in their continual shift through time, places and relations with others (Watts and Urry, 2008).

What sets the ‘go-along’ apart from static participant observation is the potential to access what Kusenbach (2003:455, emphasis in original) refers to as: “some of the transcendent and reflexive aspects of lived experience *in situ*”. Kusenbach (2003) says that ‘go-along’ participant observations are particularly well suited to explore spatial practices, whilst DeLyser and Sui (2013:297) claim that this method can “vibrantly apprehend mobile worlds”. Mobile participant observation allowed participants to ‘lead’ me through their drinking spaces and places, thus situating the research encounters in the spaces typically frequented by participants (Ross *et al*., 2009). By “hanging out” with participants, to use Kusenbach’s (2003:463) phraseology, I was able to explore their streams of experiences as they moved through, and interacted with, their surroundings. Langevang (2007) contends that, by following young people in and between different spaces, knowledge is acquired of their embodied practices - something not easily obtained through other methods. Further, I argue that going along with participants produced a shared rhythm of movement, which promoted conversation, and the sharing of understandings (Porter *et al*., 2010).
Whilst the ‘go-alongs’ were primarily ‘walk alongs’, they involved an array of mobilities (Kusenbach, 2003), including: running, dancing, taxi-ing and bus journeying. When I traversed the multi-sited spaces during my mobile observations, inspired by Latourian actor-network theory, I followed the relational practices of (non)human actants, such as lighting, drinks, glasses, clothing, and music, thereby engaging in the world-making activities of those I was studying (Latour, 2005). Thurnell-Read (2011) has argued that the emotional and sensory aspects of ‘being in the field’ has conventionally been side-lined. By immersing myself in the embodied, emotional and affective spaces of young people’s drinking experiences, I was able to pay attention to data, which are multi-sensory, including: movements, sounds, smells, rhythms, emotions, and feelings (Ross et al., 2009). I achieved this by complementing Latourian actor-network theory with Lefebvre’s (2004) rhythmanalysis, an approach urging researchers to call upon their senses, and the polyrhythms of the self, in order to appreciate external rhythms.

When conducting participant observation, I adopted an active role as ‘participant’, rather than solely observing participants in a detached, emotionless manner (Laurier, 2010). I was not, however, a full participant. Whilst participants often smoked drugs in my presence - predominantly weed11 - I refrained from joining in with this. I made a decision prior to entering the field that I would not consume any substances I would not normally take (Sandberg and Copes, 2013). I did, however, consume alcohol, perceiving that this enabled me to “join the party”, without breaking the law (Sandberg and Copes, 2013:11).

11 ‘Weed’ also known as marijuana is the most commonly used illegal drug globally (Fischer et al., 2015).
However, my consumption of alcohol was limited, in order to ensure that my observations were not impaired.

I found that consuming a small amount of alcohol during most participant observations helped ease my incorporation into the groups. On many occasions, I found that participants tried to encourage me to get drunk or, at least, were always trying to ensure that I was drinking. I utilised the strategy of nursing a drink, as deployed by Donnelly (2014), allowing me to blend in when others were drinking, yet in a manner that allowed me to regulate my intake (Joseph and Donnelly, 2012). Another strategy I utilised was to buy a drink that participants may perceive to be alcohol. For instance, visually, people may presume a Coke to be a vodka and Coke. This enabled me to maintain relative sobriety, without young people perceiving me as an outsider (Joseph and Donnelly, 2012). Typically, I moderated my consumption of alcohol to a few drinks. As Mura (2015) and McDonald and Sylvester (2014) suggest, drinking large amounts of alcohol is not good for data collection; I may not have remembered interesting discussions. Further, as Donnelly (2014) likewise notes, I did not wish to deal with hangovers, as this may have prevented me from undertaking interviews or observations the following day. There were some occasions in which I decided that I would not have my ‘researcher hat’ on. I drank in a manner that lowered my inhibitions, using such situations, not to observe, but as opportunities to develop rapport. There were also occasions when I chose to consume no alcohol at all. In such instances, I opted to drive my own car to and from participant observation sessions. This was typically when I felt less comfortable with participants or the area, for instance: if the rapport was not as strong, or if the participants had, on a
previous night out with me, tried to provoke fights with strangers; if I knew the lighting was poor; or the space had a bad reputation. Having access to my own car gave me the flexibility to leave whenever I felt the need, with ease. Young people accepted the ‘excuse’ that I was driving as a legitimate reason for me not to consume alcohol.

I had some participant observation ‘prompts’ (see Appendix 12), that I looked over prior to a night in/out with participants, which helped refresh my mind of the kinds of things I may look out for. I recorded some brief, important notes during the nights out/in with participants using the ‘notes’ function on my mobile phone. I typically did this when I went to the toilet, however I did not have to be too discrete about utilising this function, as it just appeared as if I was texting and, as such, I was able to avoid the impression of supervision (Cattan and Vanola, 2014). I then wrote detailed field notes regarding my participant observation sessions the morning following the night in/out with participants.

4.12 Positionality

For quite some time now, influenced by feminist researchers, geographers have been urged to examine their positionality reflexively (Kobayashi, 2003); that is, to analytically scrutinise one’s positionality, and to actively acknowledge that this position has an impact on the research process and outcome (Berger, 2015). As Hurd (1998) notes, being self-reflexive is beneficial for facilitating more complex and layered understandings. My multiple positionings as a white, female, heterosexual, researcher, in my twenties, inevitably had an impact upon the tenor of the research relationships (Bondi, 2003; Wilson, 2013). However, I claim that a consideration of positionality must go beyond
unmasking the key, ‘categorical’ frames of social subjectivities: that is, class, gender, race and ethnicity (Noble, 2009), if it wishes to grapple adequately with the messiness of the everyday. I explore this by elucidating how other aspects of my positionality, including: age; appearance; voice; personality, and my drinking biography, influenced my research relationships.

4.12.1 Age

I speculate that being a young researcher may be advantageous in some respects. My age relative to those participants younger than myself is lower than that of an older researcher, and thus I believe participants perceived me as being ‘more like them’, and thus felt more able to divulge their drinking stories. De Visser et al. (2013) note that participants may feel that university researchers who are older than them do not condone excessive alcohol consumption. Indeed, in Szmigin et al.’s (2008:362) study with drinkers aged 18-25, the research was carried out by two “younger” researchers (see also Hackley et al., 2013), with the view to putting participants at ease when discussing their alcohol consumption practices.

Rather than assuming adult superiority, when undertaking research with those younger than myself, I adopted the “least-adult role”, by assuming an active observational stance, and following the young people, doing largely what they were doing, and interacting with them in as least an adult manner as possible (Mandall, 1991:38). However, the stance I was opting for often went against the way others presented me to the participants. One gatekeeper at a school stated in front of a participant “there are some cups, and tea and coffee there for Miss, if she’d like to help herself” (field diary, 4/11/2013). Referring to
me as ‘Miss’ shaped some young people’s perceptions of me as an adult and teacher-like figure and, consequently, whilst conducting research with those younger than myself, my subject position was constituted in, what Katz (1994:72) terms, “spaces of betweenness”. During one participant observation session, Vera (15, Wythenshawe) told me: “we don’t see you as a teacher, we see you as a friend” (field diary, 5/11/2013). I felt ambiguous about this contention. Initially, I had never intended to present myself to Vera as a teacher, perhaps suggesting she had noticed the way members of staff introduced and interacted with me, and that I was afforded ‘teacher’ privileges, for instance access to the staffroom (Valentine, 1999). Nonetheless, Vera was able to see beyond this, viewing me as a friend. Being viewed as a ‘friend’ is not unproblematic (I discuss this further in 4.12.4). Echoing Reeves (2010), it is therefore worth recognising that a researcher’s position is not simply something that they, alone, can ascribe - it is also ascribed to them.

4.12.2 Appearance

The ways in which the appearance of the researcher, beyond relatively fixed attributes, such as race and gender, shapes research encounters has been largely neglected in the literature. There are certain exceptions. Throsby and Evans (2013:339), as “women whose bodies would in some circumstances be identified as fat/overweight/obese” reflect on moments where they, as part of the research encounter, found themselves as both complicit actors in fat-phobic contexts and the objects of anti-fat sentiment. Further, Jansson (2010), conducting research with a Southern nationalist movement, argues that his “straight appearance” helped make participants feel comfortable with him. The author speculates that if his appearance had given participants reason to suspect he was gay, he
would have been received differently. Additionally, Spanger (2012), conducting research into female Thai migrants selling sexual services in Denmark, investigates how looks and bodily practices become important when conducting research. Spanger (2012) writes how, aware of how the intersection of the categories of race and gender could position her as a sex worker from the male customers’ gaze, she decided not to wear ‘sexy’ or ‘provocative’ clothing during her visits to bars at night. Instead, in order to perform ‘another’ femininity, she opted to wear jeans and a jumper, with a polo neck. Researcher appearance was also something my identical twin sister reflected on whilst undertaking research with young people at a community radio station. She questions whether, what she terms, “embellishments”; for instance: make-up, hair extensions, fake nails and fake eyelashes, were responsible for a crush a participant had on her (Wilkinson, 2015:3).

Whilst I aimed for subjective, intimate, and emotionally close relationships in the field, in some ways, I became “too good at fitting in” (Berbary, 2014:1205), leading to moments of “over-rapport” (Irwin, 2006:157). What Blackman (2007:707) refers to as “sex in the field” - including love, romance and flirtation - are often part of the “hidden ethnography”. I wish to open up about my experience of flirtation in the field. The following example illustrates that no amount of ethical guidelines could have prepared me for the everydayness/everynightness of research encounters, where situations happen suddenly, meaning I could not think through an ethical procedure in advance. In such instances, I had to respond in what I felt to be an ethical manner in situ:
During the night out, it transpired that Milly fancied Carl a lot. I asked Carl if he liked Milly (after Milly had asked me to do so numerous times that night), and he told me “not in that way” – he declared really fancying me and said he loved my eyes and blonde hair and my accent and that obviously I’m older so I “won’t be interested”, but he reassured me that I can have anyone I liked (Friday 20/12/2013, night out with Vera, Milly, Danny, Carl 15-16, Wythenshawe).

Upon receiving the compliments, my emotional reaction was discomfort at Carl’s attraction towards me. I also worried about the tension this may cause in the friendship between Milly and I. At the time, I was embarrassed by the comments, and tried to change the topic. Following this encounter, prior to the next time I went out with the group, I managed my appearance, by not adorning myself with fake eyelashes, ‘toning down’ my makeup, and deliberately ‘dressing down’ (see Leyshon, 2008). Through these restrictive bodily acts (Campbell, 2005), I actively ‘undid’ femininity. That is, I worked to negotiate how my body could be ‘read’ by Carl (see Parr, 1998). It is worth considering, however, that such restrictive acts may have been unnecessary. As Bohling (2015:128) details, alcohol can contribute towards the production of “beer goggles”, thereby broadening the range of bodies Carl found sexually attractive. Alcoholic assemblages then, may have brought me into being as ‘momentarily’ attractive, rendering future efforts to make myself undesirable pointless.

According to Leyshon (2002), the researcher mimicking the appearance of young people to gain acceptance can damage the researcher’s credibility. I am a researcher in my twenties, with an eye for fashion. It is not that I was attempting to ‘mimic’ the young people’s appearance; rather, that I engineered my body by choosing outfits from my wardrobe that I perceived would suit the spaces in which I conducted the research. This varied between whether I was conducting a daytime interview or accompanying young...
people to a nightclub. It also varied if I was conducting an interview in a heavily male dominated college (in which I would dress casually), interviewing women (in which I played on my fashionable nature a lot more), or interviewing parents (in which I dressed more smartly). As Thrift (2008) argues, clothing produces particular corporeal stances. This point is echoed by Gokanksel (2009), who claims that dress acts upon the body; it transforms the self physically and emotionally. With this in mind, when interviewing young people, wearing fashionable, casual clothes is one way in which I learned to deploy my body in research settings in an attempt to ‘fit in’ (Thurnell-Read, 2011), rather than distancing myself as ‘other’ (as may have been the case if I turned up in a suit). This dress code also assisted in making me feel comfortable which I feel, in turn, enabled both participants and I to relax (Leyshon, 2002). Perrone (2010:730) encapsulates my argument made in this section well through her claim that “we negotiate our gender and sexual identities, and shift our personalities and style of dress to represent ourselves in the most appropriate and comfortable manner for gaining access and establishing rapport throughout the fieldwork”. Following the line of argument expressed by Berbary (2014), I argue that highlighting similarities to participants through my self-presentation, in an attempt to develop rapport, functioned as a methodological tool for negotiating continued personal connections with participants. However, as I detail in the next subsection, differences, along with similarities, were also a means of developing research relationships.
4.12.3 Voice

I lived in Devon until I was 18 years old, and thus have a southern accent. Conducting research in the North of England, I found that my accent did not go unnoticed. For instance, one gatekeeper asked: “where are you from?”. When I stated that I grew up in Sidmouth, in Devon, he retorted: “it’s just, you sound posh” (field diary, 8/11/13). This reflects the stereotypes around ‘northerners’ and ‘southerners’ - a geographically imagined divide which constructs residents of the South of England as more economically privileged than their ‘working-class’ northern counterparts (Anderson, J. et al., 2012). This was qualified by assertions from participants, particularly from Wythenshawe. For instance, one participant noted that my voice was “posh and girly” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, field diary, 11/11/13). During my first participant observation session, Dan (21, Wythenshawe) remarked: “I love your accent” (field diary, 15/11/2013). Further, a man leaving a bar questioned: “that’s not an accent from around here, where are you from?” (field diary, 15/11/2013). Additionally, one participant, Lewis (20, Wythenshawe, interview) questioned: “are you at uni?”. When I answered “yes” he stated: “you know how I can tell you’re a uni student? You speak different to all us lot, you speak posh”. My linguistic capital thus positioned me in a particular way in relation to my participants (Giampapa, 2011). Other participants questioned whether I was from Essex or London, one even asked me if I was from Scotland, telling of the fact that they could not ‘place’ my accent.

Whilst the significance of accent in developing research relationships has largely gone unnoticed in the literature, Hall (2014), based on research conducted into geographies of
families and intimate relations, remarks how she was positioned as an outsider, due to her regional (Yorkshire) accent, marked by her ‘flat vowels’. Indeed, Boland (2010:17) contends that “sound is an important, if not defining element in the constitution of identity. Those who possess the appropriate accent/dialect are deemed to rightfully belong while those exhibiting a vocal deemed out of place are consequently sonically excluded”. Researchers often aim to be insiders in the culture of their participants, perceiving that minimal social distance offers the basis for rapport (Duncombe and Jessop, 2008). I contend that being perceived as slightly ‘different’ from my participants (for instance, in terms of my accent; where I was brought up; and my education) was beneficial. Being viewed as somewhat quirky and exotic, participants were intrigued by me and what I did, which I argue motivated some of them to take part in my research. In some instances then, difference, rather than sameness, facilitated productive research relationships. This was something Loftus (2009) found when undertaking research with Northshire police officers, although not in relation to voice. The author contends that being a female, and a health conscious vegetarian, she did not blend in easily with the male dominated police force that ate various takeaways. However, for Loftus (2009), this ‘quirkiness’ facilitated access.

The way in which I played with my identity; that is, by enhancing certain aspects of my identity and downplaying other aspects, when I felt it necessary, is consonant with my more-than-representational orientation, and had great affective significance. In Leyshon’s (2002) experience, young research participants place great value on how a researcher speaks to them. In this regard, I was conscious to use language that reflected the
preferences of the research participants (Watts, 2008). With participants whom it became apparent swore frequently, I interlaced my vocabulary with mild expletives, in an attempt to bridge the gap between us. With other participants, however, for instance those that explicitly declared being ‘middle-class’, and were openly aspirational about their education, I played on my academic abilities in an attempt to gain their interest in me as a person, and therefore in my research.

4.12.4 Personality

According to Moser (2008), the literature on positionality has almost entirely overlooked how personality affects the process of field research. As Marks (2004:881) contends, “the personality of the researcher is...key to the stories that are told or hidden, and the exposure the researcher will be afforded in the everyday lives of those whom he/she is studying”. Jansson (2010) makes explicit the impact of his personality on the research process, contending that it was unfortunate for him that, conducting predominantly interview-based research, he was rather shy and reserved. In contrast, I am very bubbly and chatty, and I believe my personality is one in which I can easily make friends and put people at ease; traits that I consider were essential to shaping power relations in the social encounters with participants (Moser, 2008). When transcribing the interviews, I noticed that the audio-recordings were imbued with laughter. Additionally, one of the gatekeepers told me that the participants at his school: “ask every day when Sam will be coming in, they really enjoy coming and speaking to you” (field diary, 11/11/2013). My personality

12 ‘Sam’ is an abbreviation of my full name, Samantha.
assisted me in developing bonds with participants, which maintained their interest in the research project.

Initially, I viewed this as positive; I believed I had gained the status of an ‘insider’ which Taylor (2011) claims is so often favoured by ethnographers. The below excerpt from my field diary illustrate my initial happiness at the friendships I began to form with participants:

The next day, following the night out with Evie and her friends, I was greeted by a Facebook friend request from Evie; this made me feel like an insider. I accepted the request and Evie had sent me a message asking me if I had a good night (Field diary, 5/07/2014, night out with Evie, 24, and friends, Chorlton)

I argue that my status as a ‘friend’ arose due to an assemblage of my performed appearance, and personality, along with alcohol, bodies and other actants. Interestingly, whilst Hall (2009) accepted Facebook friends requests from her participants, she went to some lengths to prevent participants finding out detailed personal things about her, such as: disabling the ability for them to see certain information; people she knows; or for her ‘friends’ to see them. Prior to the research, my Facebook account was already set up to ensure high levels of privacy, and thus it was not that I took such precautions specifically, but rather, participants had the same restrictions as any of my other Facebook friends.

Like Hall (2009), I argue that research friendships, as with any friendships, can be tested. Whilst existing literature on research friendships has considered how researchers can ‘use’ participants in order to obtain data, for instance, by only staying in contact ‘when they need something’ (see Cotterill, 1992; Hall, 2009; 2014), I saw signs of this in reverse
occurring throughout my research. A close reading of the following comments elucidates this notion:

When in the school interviewing Vera and Jemima [15], they asked me if I would come out with them that Friday, stating, “you can go into the shop for us”. Basically, they believed that in exchange for me observing their drinking practices, I would purchase alcohol on their behalf.

(Field diary, 21/01/2014)

You meeting us tonight? We’re going to try and get into The White Lion [pub]

(Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, text message)

Whilst it is perhaps self-evident as to why I was concerned by the situation recounted in the above field diary, the text message from Vera needs to be read in relation to a previous interview excerpt in order to highlight its significance:

No, I’ve never tried to get in anywhere. There’s a pub round here that you can go to, everyone can get in. I’ve never been, I’ve never been. I wanna go, but I don’t want to get turfed, I don’t like that, I really, really don’t, it’s so embarrassing. “Have you got ID?” “No”. I’m too scared.

(Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

Put simply, I was concerned by Vera’s contention that she was “going to try and get into The White Lion” because, having interviewed her only a few days previously, I was aware that she had never tried to access a bar, pub or club. Through both these situations, the friendships I had with young people were being tested. The research affected me (Briggs, 2013), as I begun to experience feelings of annoyance and stress. I believed that both Jemima and Vera, as young people under the legal drinking age, were ‘using’ me - as a then-23 year old - in order to help negotiate their access to alcohol and commercial premises. This ethically complex situation did not materialise, as Vera sent a follow up text message shortly after stating she had changed her mind and that she going to “hang around the streets” instead. Regarding the encounter with Jemima, I explicitly told her that “I am not allowed to purchase alcohol for her, under any circumstances” (field diary,
Further, when she invited me out on subsequent occasions, in my text message responses back, I stated: “don’t forget, I’m not allowed to get you drink” (SW, text message). I began to realise that I was not, and could not, be friends with my participants. Yet, as Blackman (2007:703) found in his research with young people, this is not to downplay the fact that we shared “friendship moments”. For instance, I met some participants for chats, over multiple cups of tea, about (prospective) partners. For others, I sent Birthday and Christmas wishes, over Facebook, after the completion of the research phase.

4.12.5 Drinking Autobiography

I conceive of my positionality as an assemblage; that is, as a collage of comingling elements (Law, 2004), including, but not limited to, age, appearance; voice and personality. More than this, I appreciate that my attitude towards alcohol, and my personal experiences regarding alcohol, are aspects of my positionality that cannot be simply tucked away (England, 1994). It is for this reason that I now provide an autobiographical account of my alcohol consumption experiences between the ages of 12 and 25 years:

Growing up, I lived in Sidmouth, a town in Devon, with my mum and dad, and my twin sister. From approximately 12 years of age, my parents allowed my twin sister and I to consume wine on special occasions, as an accompaniment to meals. In addition, upon asking, I would be allowed a ‘sip’ of my dad’s beer. In comparison to some of my friends’ parents, my parents weren’t ‘big drinkers’. Other than an accompaniment to their meals on rare occasions, my parents never frequented pubs/bars with the intention to drink, and they certainly never drank to ‘get drunk’. My mum doesn’t like the taste of alcohol. My dad had a ‘drinks’ cupboard’ which had a selection of beers, wines, and whiskies, but these typically sat accumulating dust.
My friends’ parents seemed to have a much more liberal attitude to alcohol. Consequently, from around the age of 14, my friends would ask their parents to purchase alcohol on their behalf for more ‘everynight’ occasions. However, when my twin sister and I were approximately 16 years of age, we plucked up the courage to ask my parents to buy alcohol for special occasions, such as: prom, Christmas, and New Year’s Eve. From the age of 14, I typically drank at friend’s houses, at small gatherings or house parties, or alternatively, we went out and drank in public gardens, on the beach, in public toilets, in a local cemetery, and in bus stops. We chose places to drink which we felt were largely hidden from the gaze of adults and the police. I can remember when my twin sister and I were 15, two teachers, on separate occasions, called us to one side and said they were aware we were going out a lot, and that they felt our academic achievements were suffering. I would say that 15 years of age was when I consumed alcohol most frequently, largely because the risk and thrill of drinking underage excited me. As soon as I was old enough to frequent bars, the excitement of doing something ‘illegal’ had gone. Moreover, my response to alcohol has changed over time. Initially, it was inevitable that vomiting would occur, as I was not aware of my limits, or how to reach my desired level of drunkenness. Now, I am much more knowledgeable about how many drinks I can ‘handle’, and what sort of drinks have what sort of affects, for instance.

I found that being a twin was advantageous in trying to negotiate with my parents for curfews, and trying to persuade my parents to buy my sister and I alcohol. We often targeted my dad, the more lenient parent, so it was ‘two against one’, and thus a better chance to convince him that “it’s so unfair”, “everyone else’s parents let them drink”. Before my parents were aware that I drank alcohol socially, my twin sister and I often ‘stole’ bottles of wine and beers from my dad’s ‘drink cupboard’ to consume with our friends at their houses. I wouldn’t have been brave enough to steal alcohol without my sister being involved in the act. We were ‘partners in crime’, my twin sister often took the alcohol, whilst I had the, arguably less unnerving, role of being on ‘lookout’. I can remember on one occasion my mum having an argument with my dad because she had noticed how much drink had gone from the cupboard, and accused him of drinking too much.

When I reached 17 years of age and was attending sixth form, I typically used alcohol as a release, to feel liberated, and to ‘let my hair down’ on Friday and Saturday nights. At this age, and due to the rural area in which I lived, ‘field parties’, where camping was available, were very popular. Additionally, the club in my local town permitted entry at the age of 17 with a red stamp to indicate that you were unable to consume alcohol; those aged 18 and over had a black stamp to indicate to bar staff that they could be served. On several occasions, my friends and I tried, largely unsuccessfully, to use eyeliner on our hands to imitate the black stamp in an attempt to be served alcohol. Also, my friends and I began to enter pubs we knew were lax on ID. If asked for ID, I would show my provisional driving licence. Despite the fact that the date indicated that I was underage, the door and bar staff tended not to notice this.

At the age of 18, I went on my first ‘girls holiday’ to Kavos, and since then have frequented other destinations associated with excessive drinking, including: Falaraki, Magaluf, and Ibiza. Aged 18, I moved to Manchester for university. I found drinking at
halls of residence almost as exciting as the night out itself. The taxi/bus journey from halls to the chosen night-time venue provided a further opportunity to drink, so as not to allow my level of drunkenness to decline before accessing the club. Throughout University, my alcohol consumption levels have decreased. Whilst undertaking my MSc, due to financial constraints, I rarely went out/drunk alcohol. Now, whilst undertaking my PhD, I find myself going out, yet seldom with the intention to ‘get drunk’, as had been the case in my teenage years, but with the aim to ‘be sociable’. My drink of choice has changed from alcopops to gin and slimline tonic or white wine. Alcopops are frowned upon by my male friends for being a ‘child’s drink’. Also, I am now conscious of the high amount of calories in alcopops, and how many of them I need to consume in order to feel ‘tipsy’. Gin and Slimline tonic, in contrast, has higher alcohol content, less stigma associated with it, and fewer calories.

Now, as many of my friends and I are in relationships, I feel I go out a lot less on ‘big nights out’ with the girls to ‘get drunk’. I now mainly drink with my boyfriend, starting with consuming alcohol alongside a meal, and often continuing drinking after. Whilst the intention is never explicitly to ‘get drunk’, it often occurs.

As can be seen then, the spaces and places in which I drink, my access to alcohol, the amount and type of alcohol I consume, and my intention for drinking have changed considerably. I attribute this to a range of factors, including: age, familial ties, my change in location, my educational status, income, my desire to consume less calories, and relationships with my friends and boyfriend. It should be noted that my drinking experiences differ from some of my participants in various ways, for instance: due to the rural area in which I grew up, and thus the prevalence of camping parties; and the club in my town allowing people aged 17 to enter, yet not drink. Nonetheless, the fact that I enjoy drinking was, I believe, fundamental in establishing my credentials as someone who was genuinely interested, and also someone who could empathise with many of my participant’s drinking experiences - as opposed to a researcher who was largely disinterested in drinking as a practice (Malbon, 1999). I happily disclosed aspects of my drinking biography in conversations with participants, to order to facilitate a trustworthy relationship, in which I was, in some ways, ‘one of them’. As Advocat and Lindsay (2013)
speculate, when interviewers are not peers, participants may downplay negative aspects of their drinking, instead portraying their drinking practices in a positive light. However, as can be seen through my drinking autobiography, my positionality is one that I feel facilitated more intimate, detailed conversations with those participants that share similar interests and lived experiences (Waitt and Jong, 2014). Such an engaged peer-to-peer mode of address does not render results ‘invalid’. Instead, it provided an opportunity to give an empathetic account of the role of consuming alcohol (Waitt and Jong, 2014).

4.13 Data Analysis

Initially, I transcribed the interviews with young people; follow-up interviews with young people; interviews with parents; peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews; diaries; text messages; mobile phone interviews; and field notes. With regard to analysis of the sketch maps/photographs/videos, approaches based purely on content analysis of texts fail to appreciate the meanings invested in different spaces (Cloke, 2008). Consequently, I placed emphasis on participants’ narratives accompanying their products, in the form of drawing elicitation interviews, and mobile phone interviews. This chimes with Barker and Smith’s (2012) contention that the interpretation of images should be undertaken with the participants to ensure that their intended meanings are explored, rather than interpretive meanings given by the researcher. By ascertaining young people’s own justification for taking the photographs/videos, I managed to avoid imposing ‘adultist’ interpretation and assumptions to the products (Conolly, 2008). In my research then, I went some way towards analysing ‘with’, rather than analysing ‘for’ the young people.
As advocated by Armstrong et al. (2014), I undertook data analysis throughout the research process, allowing interview schedules to evolve as themes emerged over the course of the study. I opted for the manual method of coding by pen and paper because, having attended an NVivo training workshop, I was of the impression that computer-assisted qualitative data analysis distances researchers from the data (Davis and Meyer, 2009). The data analysis was dependent upon a good understanding of the data. In order to familiarise myself with the data, as recommended by Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003). I read and re-read transcripts, and through this process, I was able to identify coherent categories.

Following Miles and Huberman’s (1994) three-stage model, a process of data reduction occurred first, in which I organised the mass of data and attempted to reduce this. This involved a process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the data from transcriptions. During data analysis, I singled out data for description based on a combination of deductive and inductive analysis. To elaborate, whilst initial categorisations were shaped by pre-established study questions, I remained open to inducing new meanings from the available data. Thus, rather than beginning with pre-set categories; that is, starting with a list of themes in advance and searching the data for these themes, I used an emergent approach (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003). I read the text and noted themes or issues that recurred in the data (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003). The data analysis then, was inductive; there was an emic focus (representing the setting in terms of the participants and their viewpoints), rather than an etic focus (in which the setting and its participants are represented in terms that the researcher brings to
the study) (Schutt, 2012). I then began to identify patterns and connections within and between categories. Following this, I interpreted the data, attaching meaning and significance to the analysis. Here, the role of iteration was fundamental, not as a repetitive mechanical task but as a reflexive process, to sparking insight and developing meaning. As Srivastava and Hopwood (2009) say, reflexive iteration is at the heart of (re)visiting data and connecting them with emerging insights, progressively leading to refined focus and understandings. The data analysis then, was a fluid process.

I assigned words and placed them next to identified themes and ideas. This helped me organise the data into categories. I provided a descriptive label for each category. As I categorised the data, I identified other themes that served as subcategories. Along with exploring the content of participants' views, I also took note of the relative frequency with which different issues are raised, dependent upon age, gender, and location. Second, following Miles and Huberman (1994), I undertook data display, in the form of a table (see Appendix 13) - this provided a new way of arranging and thinking about the data. In this format, I was able to begin discerning patterns and interrelationships. Here, initial themes emerged from the data that went beyond those first discovered during the initial process of data reduction. Third, following Miles and Huberman (1994), I undertook a process of conclusion-drawing and verification. Conclusion-drawing entails stepping back to consider what the analysed data mean and to assess their implications for the questions at hand. Verification is part of this process and involves revisiting the data many times to cross-check the emergent conclusions to ensure they are credible, defensible and warranted.
All quotations used in the empirical chapters are verbatim. I have not corrected the young people’s English where it was grammatically incorrect, and I decided not to use the term ‘sic’ to indicate errors originating with the participants. Following Townshend and Roberts (2013), this is in order to provide the young people with a voice and to avoid interrupting the narrative’s flow. Further, whilst being aware of the argument that the presence of ‘bad language’ in academic papers can result in ‘messy texts’ (Barker and Weller, 2003), when transcribing the data I paid conscientious attention to the language participants used, in order to give an authentic representation of their views. Removing the swear words used by participants would be stripping emotion and affect out of the writing. By quoting participants extensively verbatim then, instead of solely representing participant’s views, I hope to re-present their views. It is worth noting that, in the few instances where parents and their children took part in my research project, alongside interviewing parents individually from their children, I did not link quotations together in the analysis, as this may have enabled identification of family members.

4.14 Ethical Considerations

Ethics should be central to all research, but it was especially so in this research, due to the age range of my participants (involving those under the legal drinking age); the potential harms of excessive drinking; and of making public intimate experiences and practices (Waitt et al., 2011). Along with seeking approval from the University of Manchester Research Ethics Committee, what Guillemin and Gillam (2004:263) refer to as “procedural ethics”- I also consulted, and adhered to, the ESRC’s 2010 Framework for Research Ethics (see latest version, ESRC, 2015). My research was undertaken overtly, in
which my research intentions were explained to participants prior to, and during, their involvement in the project.

I informed all potential participants about the research in an accessible information sheet (see Appendix 14 for young people’s participant information sheet, and Appendix 15 for parent/carer participant information sheet), and gave them two weeks ‘thinking time’ before deciding whether, or not, they wished to participate in the research project (Waitt et al., 2011). I had a variety of methods I was willing for participants to use and, as mentioned throughout, I emphasised to participants that they could ‘opt into’ whichever methods they wished, rather than putting them in a situation where they had to ‘opt out’ (Leyshon, 2002). I also made it clear to participants that they could withdraw from the research project whenever they wish, without having to justify their actions (Valentine, 1999).

Further, I gained written informed consent from all participants for their involvement in this research project; for interviews to be recorded using an audio recording device; and for information to be used in future publications (see Appendix 15 for young person over 16 years of age and adult consent form). For those under 16 years of age, alongside gaining assent from the young person, I also gained consent from parent(s) (Valentine, 1999) (see Appendix 16 for parent consent form regarding their child’s participation). Moreover, I ensured that I translated ethical procedures into ‘person friendly’ language that participants understood, and in a young-people friendly font type (Kesby, 2007).
Aware of the potential medical risks of long-term excessive drinking (Waitt et al., 2011), participant information sheets provided contact information for Drinkline, the national alcohol helpline.

Maintaining the strict confidentiality of individual parents and young people was crucial. Thus, in line with Kesby (2007), in seeking to maintain truly informed consent, I outlined the circumstances in which information provided throughout data collection must be acted upon in some way, due to legal responsibilities, prior to conducting each method (interviews, peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, diaries, mobile phone methods, participant observation). Fortunately, there were no instances where I had to compromise the confidentiality of a young person or parent. As a multi-stage research project, I valued ‘process’ assent and consent, rather than an initial one-off agreement (Helseth and Slettebo, 2004); as such, I reminded participants of the opportunity to withdraw at different stages of the research process.

When observing young people’s alcohol consumption practices in public spaces, I concur with Spicker (2011) that undisclosed research in informal settings must be accepted as a normal part of academic enquiry; as such, it is not necessary to gain consent from everyone. This also applies to the participant-generated photographs and videos taken in public spaces. During participant observations with young people who were consuming alcohol, I deployed a strategy to retain informed consent. Deciding whether to include data acquired when participants appeared drunk was achieved by following up with
participants on another occasion, when they were sober, to gauge whether they were comfortable with the inclusion of my observations of their inebriated behaviour, a strategy also utilised by Joseph and Donnelly (2012). As this illustrates, rather than ethical practice being secured by a single act of informed consent (Small, 2001), my approach to ethics was situational and responsive (Morrow, 2008). Whilst ethical guidelines were useful, they, alone, were insufficient in ensuring I acted in an ethical manner. This is because ethical guidelines are not sufficient for addressing “ethics in practice” - that is, the day-to-day ethical quandaries arising through the process of doing research (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004:264). Spaces and happenings are perpetually in process, and consequently ethical incidents constantly arise (Horton, 2008). This necessitated me to be ‘ethically reflexive’ (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004) throughout the research process. Further, during participant observation, in order to ensure that I did not encourage participants to drink more (in terms of quantity, cost, or alcohol content) than they otherwise would, I did not purchase drinks for, or accept drinks from, participants.

With regard to ethical considerations for mobile phone interviews, participants in my study provided intimate details of themselves and their friends’ drinking behaviour through the photographs and videos; this is something Trell et al. (2014) likewise found when using participant-led video to research into young men’s alcohol consumption practices in rural Estonia. Despite telling the young people in advance that I would not be disseminating their photographs and videos, several participants showed me their photographs and videos, asking: “are we famous?” It seemed that they wanted to be identified (Valentine, 1999), and to show and tell others that they had been involved in
the research (Wiles et al., 2010). However, coinciding with Trell et al.’s (2014) stance, I decided that revealing photographic and videographic data would compromise the anonymity and privacy of the participants, which may have negative future implications, for instance, when seeking employment. Consequently, as is commonly the case, whilst I utilised visual means of researching, I present the data as text (Phelan and Kinsella, 2013). This approach recognises, echoing Muir and Mason (2012), that photograph and video data can inform thinking and analysis in a backstage manner, without being publicly presented.

Another word of caution, when using text messaging to explore young people’s drinking experiences, is that young people may send text messages in the mire of drunkenness that, when sober, they may no longer wish to be used as data. To overcome this ethical quandary, I met participants a few days after their nights out, and presented them with a printed copy of the text messages they had sent me, and asked if they were still happy for me to use this data. No young people withdrew any text messages they sent me. As the text messages remained on young people’s phones, they had physical evidence of the texts themselves. Many young people could recall sending me ‘drunken’ texts, and sent follow-up texts the next day. Young people found their drunken texts comical and were excited about them being used as data, again the ‘are we going to be famous’ vibe prevailed. I made it clear to young people at the outset that text messages we exchanged were not casual interactions. However, due to the significant amount of time I spent with some participants over the course of a year, I experienced a problem identified by Cotterill (1992:599) of the blur between “research friendship and friendship”. It was thus
important to keep reviewing informed consent to remind the participants that I was not only a friend, I was also a researcher.

In order to ensure confidentiality, all participants, names of friends, pubs, parks etc. referred to by participants feature in this thesis with a pseudonym (Morrow, 2008). This protects the anonymity of the participants, both on a day-to-day basis, and in the process of disseminating research findings. Prior to the drawing task, I also asked participants to use fake names for names of people and places. I checked with participants after the task if the names of people and places were made-up, and some young people admitted forgetting to do so for all items (e.g. some remembered to anonymise friend’s names, but still named pubs/clubs). In such instance, the reader will see that, with the permission of the young person, I have blanked out text on the participant’s drawing to protect anonymity. With regard to ethical considerations during the diary method, it is not inconceivable that parents/siblings/friends may take an interest in the diary, partly to know what the young person ‘gets up to’, and partly for fear that the young person will ‘inform’ on the family (Buchwald et al., 2009). If anyone were to gain access to the diary, it would have constituted a considerable breach of confidence, as the diary contains confidential material. As such, I emphasised to the young people that they must have a safe space in which to store the diary.
4.15 Health and Safety

Health and safety concerns the practical steps researchers take to reduce the likelihood of incidents or accidents causing harm to themselves or others during fieldwork (Bullard, 2010). To ensure my own personal safety, as part of my lone-worker strategy, I conducted all interviews during daylight hours (Palmer and Thompson, 2010). In contrast to my interviews, the majority of my participant observations were undertaken during hours of darkness. As such, I adopted a ‘buddy’ system, whereby I notified a few colleagues of where I was going, what time I would be expected to return, and the procedures they should follow if I did not (Palmer and Thompson, 2010). Moreover, following Palmer and Thompson’s (2010) procedure, I had a protocol in place in case I felt uncomfortable during any research situations. Thus, I had a pre-prepared excuse to leave the research setting (such as stating I felt unwell). If I had found myself in a situation whereby the participant refused to let me leave, I would inform them that I needed to contact a colleague in order to cancel my next interview/participant observation. At this stage, I would have called through with a coded message: “please inform Miss Spencer that I cannot meet her today” - which my ‘buddy’ would have agreed meant ‘danger’, and that the police should immediately be called. Fortunately, I never had to follow through with this process, but it put my mind at rest knowing it was in place. Further, I always had a ‘basic kit’ with me, as recommended by Bullard (2010), including: pens; University ID; and a mobile phone. I also ensured that I had a taxi-number to-hand, so that, if spaces ‘became’ risky, I was able to leave - there were no instances where I had to do this.
It could be argued that, through asking young people to photograph and video spaces on their alcohol-related nights out, I was potentially placing them at risk (as Leyshon, 2002 recognised when encouraging his participants to video/photograph places within their villages). I minimised this risk by asking the young people to take photographs and videos using their own mobile phones. To expand, as I did not give young people cameras/video-cameras, I was not changing their habitual practices (Langevang, 2007), which would have arguably placed them at greater risk. There was, nonetheless, a chance that the young people’s mobile phones may be stolen. As Pain et al. (2005) argue, mobile phones are a significant site of victimisation. If young people are acknowledged as social actors, there is the argument that they have the necessary agency to avoid putting themselves at risk (Langevang, 2007). Whilst appreciating this, I briefed participants beforehand, reminding them not to take photographs or videos in any situations where they do not feel comfortable. Moreover, I instructed the young people to take photographs and videos only in places they usually go, in ways that they habitually would, whilst being mindful of the risks associated with roads and traffic. Despite these precautions, because photography and videography are a normal part of many young people’s nights out, I found that participants in my study did not have any concerns about their safety when undertaking this method. I got the impression that they thought I was being overly cautious and perhaps ‘mothering’ them. During participant observations, my original stance was that I would have a limited duty of care towards participants, offering help to those in vulnerable situations, yet recognising that this help may not always be wanted or accepted. However, I found that friends were often very effective at looking after one another and my assistance was never required.
4.16 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I outlined the methodology and research design I deployed in order to enhance understandings of how young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences are bound up with interrelationships with people and spaces. I illustrated that combining mixed qualitative methods provided young people in my study with the space and time they need to communicate the complexities of their lives (Langevang, 2007). Moreover, the diverse methods I used proved to be complimentary, with the strengths of one method offsetting the weaknesses of another (Cresswell and Clark, 2011). This chapter made evident that I privileged an open-ended process to conducting research, (Gallacher and Gallaghar, 2008); this can be seen in my commitment to modifying methods, for instance the ‘mobile phone interview’ and friendship group interviews, in light of the preferences and characteristics of specific young people (Ansell et al., 2012). Further, and somewhat related, this chapter has demonstrated that I value an epistemology that is reflexive of the challenges and difficulties generated by the research design (Lomax, 2012). I was reflexive about ethical situations that emerged in situ, and how aspects of my positionality, including my age, appearance, personality, voice, and drinking autobiography influenced rapport with participants.
Chapter Five
Getting Drink, Getting Drunk

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the ways in which young people ‘get drink and get drunk’ ahead of their alcohol-related nights in/out involving alcohol. In order to do so, I offer an account of intergenerational drinking geographies and private drinkscape, with a focus on accessing alcohol and ‘pre-drinking’, what I term ‘home drinking’. I draw on Goffman’s (1959) work on performance, and provide examples of young people’s presentations of self, for instance, when young people under the legal drinking age attempt to obtain alcohol. Whilst generations are often considered to be socially and spatially separate, when bound up with the consumption of alcohol (e.g. Thurnell-Read, 2013), I propose a “joint inter-generational” (Kjorholt, 2003:273) drinking geographies approach, which stresses continuity and cohesion between generations. This is important because, as I illustrate, parents are key players in many young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood, for instance by: purchasing alcohol on behalf of their children, providing their children with ‘dens’ to consume alcohol in, and participating in young people’s ‘home drinking’ sessions.

5.2 Accessing Alcohol

Many parents, in both Wythenshawe and Chorlton, recall that, from around the age of 16, they primarily accessed alcohol by purchasing it themselves from commercial premises, such as bars and pubs, citing the lack of need for age identification verification cards. This is evidenced in the following excerpts:
This pub was full of very young people…probably most of them were underage, you know, when I think about it, it happened then. You could get away with it. You didn’t have ID. They use to trust you to say “yes I’m 18”

(Gail, 52, Wythenshawe, interview)

There was a lot of people who started earlier, but I was always the smallest in my class, so it wasn’t until I was about 15 hmm 16 that I went into pubs, because I couldn’t get away with it. I think they all knew we were underage but so long as you didn’t draw attention to yourself as such

(Duncan, 50, Chorlton, interview)

By 17 yeah we were certainly, we’d know which of the local pubs would let you in and wouldn’t be too fussy about whether you were underage or not, if you looked close enough, and if you were sensible, we’d be alright with it

(Joel, 44, Chorlton, interview)

As Hopkins and Pain (2007) articulate, people have different access to places on the grounds of their age; however, people can actively create and/or resist particular identities through their performances in spaces and places. The above quotations indicate that, when those in their 40s/50s were teenagers, so long as one acted sensibly, publicans were, as Duncan put it, “laid back” about letting underage young people purchase, and consume, alcohol in their premises. However, controls of sales from licensed premises have become more strictly enforced since the parents’ early drinking experiences. Alongside seeking to facilitate civilised drinking, the Licensing Act (2003) sets out the offences, defences and penalties that relate to underage sales of alcohol. In an attempt to avoid fines and prosecutions, many licensed premises now engage in more robust age-verification practices. For instance: ‘Challenge 21’ and ‘Challenge 25’ schemes - in which customers attempting to buy age-restricted products are asked to prove their age if, in the retailer’s opinion they look under 21 or 25; and staff training to prevent underage sales. Licenced premises are also faced with compliance checks, in which law enforcement officials supervise undercover young people who attempt to purchase alcohol; if the attempt is successful, the establishment is penalised.
Rather than attempting to purchase alcohol in a bar, pub or club, as was most commonly recalled by parents when reflecting on their early alcohol consumption experiences, my findings suggest that it is now more common for young people to attempt to make direct alcohol purchases at shops, such as newsagents, corner shops, and supermarkets, when underage. Nonetheless, as parents also recalled doing during their early drinking experiences, one can see that young people undertake, what Morgan (1996:152) terms “age work”; that is, exhibiting maturity, in an attempt to obtain alcohol. Consider Becky’s comment below:

I’m really good at pretending. I got asked for ID once, and pretended to look through my purse and was like “oh god, I don’t have it”, and then I just went “oh, it’s cool, I’ll go somewhere closer to home”, playing it cool, and then he went “oh, it’s alright”

(Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

As Becky details above, on appearance alone, the shopkeeper did not buy into her impersonation; he asked Becky to provide ID, in order to verify her age. However, as a consequence of Becky “playing it cool” and, thereby, performing maturity, the shopkeeper in turn believed that Becky was of legal drinking age, and she was served. Whilst the parents, as with the young people in my study, remember performing their age in terms of their personality, they did not recall playfully manipulating their appearance when under the legal drinking age, in an attempt to obtain alcohol. However, as the below excerpts illustrate, this is something young people now commonly attempt:

Today I tried to get served for the first time in the offy [off-licence]! To begin with I was going to try and look older, wear something nice like heels and a dress for example, but then I thought I would go for the casual look, which really isn’t me, but to make it look that I was that much older that I was over going out and dressing up, if you get what I mean? So I wore a big jumper, jeans and flats [flat shoes], and it actually worked, I’m amazed!

(Kirsty, 16, Chorlton, diary)
Connor [Alice’s friend] can get served cos he looks so old and he had stubble at the time cos he was growing it out so he could get served. And he’s really tall and just kinda looks a bit older

(Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)

Here then, Kirsty and Connor - through Alice’s account - can be seen to have exercised a rational, yet also performative, use of bodily adornments, so as to project a particular corporeal stance (Thrift, 2008); that is, of a person of legal drinking age. Kirsty demonstrates acute awareness of the presentation of self and one’s relationship to others (see Cahill, 2000). This perspective on identity links with the view of young women consuming alcohol in rural pubs, highlighted in Leyshon’s (2008) work. Kirsty performed her identity by “dressing in place” (Leyshon, 2008:278); that is, wearing the types of clothing she deemed acceptable in the off-licence. As Kirsty articulates, the “casual” dress sense really “wasn’t her”. Whilst Kirsty is positioned ‘in place’ in the off-licence, she is ‘out of place’ in terms of her identity (see Leyshon, 2008). According to Goffman (1959), when an individual is performing, they request observers to take seriously the impression they are fostering; they wish the observers to believe they genuinely possess the attributes they are appearing to possess. As Kirsty was successful in purchasing alcohol, it indicates that the shopkeeper ‘believed’ the impression she fostered for her audience.

One can see that the dressed body offers possibilities, the promise of some kind of transformation. However, as Goffman (1959) contends, members of an audience question whether the impression the performer seeks to give is true or false. Consequently, audience members give particular attention to features of the performance that cannot be so “readily manipulated” (Goffman, 1959:66), in order to judge the authenticity of the
More misrepresentable cues in the performance. One aspect of identity that Jack found could not be “readily manipulated”, prior to his attempt to get served, was his voice:

I tried to get served the other day, and the guy didn’t even look up, he was just, he was texting on his phone and I was like: “can I have some vodka?” and he was like “ID”, I was like “come on! You haven’t even looked at me, what if I am some 18 year old or something?”

(Jack, 16, Chorlton, follow up interview)

As Jack indicates, his performance failed because the shop assistant did not believe it was sincere (see Goffman, 1959). Consequently, he was unable to perform the identity he wished to embody. Whether or not they were successful in making a transaction, throughout the research process, I discerned that underage young people in Wythenshawe were much less confident at playing with their personality and appearance in an attempt to obtain alcohol than those in Chorlton; the quotations from Olivia and Vera are illustrative of this point:

SW\textsuperscript{13}: Would you have tried to get served there yourself?

Olivia: No. With what I was wearing I probably would have, I’m not saying it was very…it was just, I looked a lot older but I still wasn’t going to try it because if they asked me for ID, and I said “oh I’ve left it at home”, they still wouldn’t have served me

(Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

I get scared in case I get turfed, and I don’t like the rejection, it’s embarrassing

(Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, text message)

Indeed, the confidence of young people in Chorlton was enhanced by what Cahill (2000) would refer to as their environmental learning, and the production of site-specific knowledge. For instance, Annie (15, Chorlton, interview) claims that it is easier for her to obtain alcohol in the Northern Quarter, in Manchester’s city centre, in comparison to in Chorlton. This is due to her perception that there is an increased likelihood that she will

\textsuperscript{13}SW denotes my initials.
be mistaken for a university student there and, as such, deemed old enough to purchase alcohol. Further, Lucas articulates well a contention made in various guises by participants in my study; that it is easier to obtain alcohol from an off-licence than a supermarket when underage:

Supermarkets have more to lose from breaking the law by not checking, or by serving underage customers, whereas an off-licence feel like they want to get away with it, and get as much money as they can sort of thing. Feels smaller and less intimidating, whereas a big supermarket chain is official and like yeah, more powerful and also maybe more people there, you’re under more scrutiny

(Lucas, 19, Chorlton, interview)

From the perspective of young people attempting to obtain alcohol, Lucas suggests that off-licences offer less visibility and gaze from shoppers and shopkeepers, suggesting that if one was refused a sale it would be less embarrassing. Further, he believes that off-licences are unlikely to suffer adverse consequences if they sell alcohol to minors; as such, he perceives such sales to be relatively low-risk for them. Indeed, Lucas’ perception is borne out by broader research findings regarding where young people are more likely to obtain alcohol when under the legal drinking age. For example, Forsyth et al. (2014) contend that the outlet types most often implicated in sales to minors are local convenience stores, or small, licensed grocer or corner shops, rather than supermarkets.

More than lacking confidence in an attempt to purchase alcohol, some young people in Wythenshawe seemed to have a greater awareness of the risks of manipulating one’s appearance in an attempt to look older. Take Heather’s comment:
If you look too young, people won’t share their alcohol with ya, or like their weed and everything, and it’s like [pulls a sad face], you’re getting left out. Like, if you try to look older that’s also a risk, because old men can target you and stuff like that. Like, it’s best to be yourself. If they don’t think you look old enough to drink then that’s a good thing, because they’re realising. If you look about ten and someone’s saying “oh try this cocaine” or “try this beer” then obviously they’re not responsible enough to realise that they’re not supposed to be drinking at that age

(Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

Heather appears to recognise that, in the “heterosexual economy”, young women are responsible for the desires they evoke in others, and the consequences of such desires; young women must therefore carefully manage their bodies (Rudolfsdottir and Morgan 2009:503). As I have argued thus far then, some young people in Wythenshawe lack confidence in their ability to obtain alcohol when underage, whilst others expressed a lack of desire to look older than their biological age, recognising the potentially risky consequences of this. Thus, rather than dressing up/down in an attempt to obtain alcohol, as was popular with many underage young people in Chorlton, many underage young people in Wythenshawe choose to stand outside shops, with the aim of asking strangers to purchase alcohol on their behalf. Summer’s statement may be taken as an illustration:

I couldn’t get served to go in the shop. So I just asked a random person. You don’t want to pick someone too old, or too young

(Summer, 16, Wythenshawe, interview)

Indeed, as hinted at by Summer, many young people in Wythenshawe consider that there is an art to choosing the ‘right’ person to go into the shop to purchase alcohol for them. The following comments support this idea:
Rik: We’d look at someone and think, would they go in the shop? Cos you get people who would just ignore ya, and you’d get the people who just say “no”, and you’d get the people who would say “yeah”, and you have to find those people

SW: What sort of person is someone who would say “yes”?

Rik: Urm, either someone who looks like us, and you can tell they would go in the shop, or people like, young adults, that’s who we’d ask, but we wouldn’t ask old people or like nanas or granddads, we wouldn’t ask people like that

(Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

Look here [shows me a photograph of her and her friend waiting outside a shop in order to ask someone to go and get drink for them], I wouldn’t ask like a posh person, I’d ask one of them crack heads. I’d ask maybe an old man, not very old though….or like thugs, no one that would steal our money

(Jemima, 15, Wythenshawe, mobile phone interview)

Just stand outside the shop and if you see someone that’s like not too old, cos they’d usually say “no”, but you know 18-19 that maybe somebody’s brother’s friend or something, just say “oh can you go in and get us this beer?”

(Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

Through their accumulated experiences of analysing passer-by’s responses to their requests to go in to the shops to buy alcohol, young people have practiced, applied and acquired a particular form of social and experiential knowledge (Cahill, 2000). They have developed a sophisticated typology for who is/is not an eligible candidate to purchase alcohol on their behalf. The young people quoted above ‘read’ the environment in specific ways, and can be described as being, what Cahill (2000:251) terms: “street literate”; that is, they have experienced informal local knowledge grounded in personal experiences. Resultantly, young people demonstrate a mastery of negotiating urban public space, and share a language of street practices and strategies (Cahill, 2000); this collective wisdom enables them to shape their drinking biographies. This truly lends credence to Moore et al.’s (2015:4) claim that young people are “experts in their lives”. 
In recognition of the lengths young people go to, in order to access alcohol, as demonstrated above, many parents in my study articulated that they would rather purchase alcohol for their children, than leave them to obtain alcohol from other sources. By doing so, parents believe they can exert greater control over the quantity, and type (e.g. beverage type, alcohol content), of alcohol being consumed. More than purchasing alcohol for their children so that they can monitor their levels of alcohol consumption, in the words of one parent, by purchasing alcohol for her children, she can prevent them from being “ripped off” by certain shops:

I thought it would be stupid for my sons to be going to some dodgy off-licence, that’s got completely inflated prices, cos they would let people in with ID that was a bit questionable. I’d always buy it from the supermarket for them

(Sue, 53, Chorlton, interview)

Punch’s (2002) concept of negotiated interdependence is useful here, recognising that young people engage with significant familial others during key ‘transitional events’. Young people, and adults, are interdependent agents whose power to shape alcohol consumption practices and experiences is negotiated within various possibilities.

Elizabeth and Grace, below, also prefer to supply alcohol for their children. To this end, these parents allocated “dens” in which their children could consume this alcohol. For these parents, the dens were a means by which they could regulate their children’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences:
When she was 14 [Whitney, daughter] I found out she was drinking round the streets, and I put a block on it. I said, “if you drink, give me a list so I know what you want. I’ll get it so I can monitor what you’re drinking”. So when they’re asking for three bottles of Jack Daniels [Whiskey] I’m like “not a chance”…And I was lucky, because I had a converted garage, so it was like a den…I said to her: “you’re drinking, you’re in there, you’re not coming out there, so I can keep an eye on you, you can do your giggles and your dancing and listen to music”

(Elizabeth, 38, Wythenshawe, interview)

Probably around 14 urm 15, Tom [son] was going to parties round his friend’s houses and they were having drink and, what I tended to do, sounds like I’m a facilitator here, but I use to like to be able to keep an eye on the situation. Because, I knew they were going to drink, whether I said no or not. So I thought, if I could at least be around to control it, so we have a, a separate garage that the lads use as a den, because we’ve never put a car in it. So it was like the local den. I mean obviously it use to get to me sometimes because there’d be 12 or 13 lads in there, but while they were there, I could keep an eye on it, and I could keep a check on it, and I could see what was going on, and I was aware they took drink, and in fairness, when it was a Birthday I would provide them with a few beers, but I would make sure they were just small beers

(Grace, 50, Wythenshawe, interview)

The above quotations indicate signs of cultural convergence with the phenomenon of keten (dens) used by rural young people in the Netherlands (see Haartsen and Strijker, 2010). Keten are typically associated with young people consuming large quantities of alcohol, and are described by Haartsen and Strijker (2010:163) as spaces where young people define their own ways of socialising and using space, “without having to consider the rules of parents”. However, when in their dens, Whitney and Tom are not entirely outside of the parental purview; their parents could still “keep an eye” on them, and monitor their alcohol consumption practices and experiences. The den, in effect, operates as an “extension of ‘the home’” (Haartsen and Strijker, 2010:165). Indeed, for both young men and young women, the den-like spaces described above do not function as concrete and symbolic boundaries between generations (see Kjorholt, 2003). Dens typically allow children to become “the authors of [their] own experience”, as described by Sobel (1990:8). However, the young people in my study noted that, as their parents owned the
spaces, their experiences in the dens were strongly influenced by parental values about what can, and cannot, be done in the space. For instance: the volume of music played; the type and quantity of alcohol consumed; the time spent in the den; and the number of friends allowed to access to den. Here, I see some links with children and young people’s use of bedrooms as leisure sites, in which they attempt to territorialise this private space, for instance by setting up rules for entry (James, 2001; McKinney, 1998). Yet, this privacy is tentative and fragile, as ultimately the bedroom is located in the parental home (James, 2001; McKinney, 1998). Further parallels can be seen in the fact that many children and young people, particularly young women, may spend a lot of time in their bedrooms, not solely out of free choice, yet due to parental restriction from certain places, particularly after dark (James, 2001).

In order for the dens to function efficiently then, there is an unwritten intergenerational pact or, what Ali (49, Chorlton, interview) describes as, a “tacit understanding” that parents will not interfere in the evening’s proceedings, if the young people abide by parental expectations. My research thus contributes to work on intergenerationality. Generations are often considered in a binary manner in the existing geography literature (see however, Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Vanderbeck, 2007). My findings highlight the importance of intergenerational relationships that signal co-operation and reciprocity across generations - what Kjorholt (2003:273) terms a “joint inter-generational” geographies approach. My findings show social cohesion between generations: parents are often key players in many young people’s early experimentations with alcohol, in
terms of purchasing alcohol for their children, and providing ‘safe’ spaces for their children to consume this alcohol.

However, it is problematic that some young people are only consuming alcohol in quasi-domestic spaces; that is, spaces that have some, but not all characteristics of domestic spaces, one example being dens. The reason being is that, by providing safe spaces for their children to drink in, parents are restricting their children’s drinking performances to the private sphere, thereby curtailing such performances in public spaces. By keeping their children out of marginal outdoors drinking spaces and commercial drinking premises, parents are not teaching these young people about the range of public drinking spaces, practices and experiences they may experience throughout their lives; a point also made by Jayne et al. (2012b), regarding the transmission of drinking cultures within families.

5.2.1 ‘Families of Choice’

Most young people in my study assert that their parents aimed to introduce them to alcohol in small quantities from an early age, and facilitated their moderate early experimentations with alcohol, in order for alcohol not to be “taboo”, or “a forbidden fruit”, as Kirsty puts it (16, Chorlton, interview). However, not all young people in my study portrayed their parents as having a lenient attitude towards them consuming alcohol. Some young people under the legal drinking age reported that they would, as Jack (16, Chorlton, interview) puts it, “be in lots of trouble” if their parents found out they were
drinking. Indeed, Kirsty wishes her parents had a more relaxed attitude towards purchasing her alcohol, suggesting that it may make her drink more sensibly:

If it was easier to get drinks you could make sure they were sort of, better quality and lower sort of percentage, so you get drunk less quickly. Sort of catered to your needs. But if you can’t get it easily, you sort of get whatever you can, like gin, someone brought gin to the party and it was horrible. But I think it would be nicer if we could sort of be more specific like if we get lower ones like alcopops, it would be better if we could chose but obviously we can’t

(Kirsty, 16, Chorlton, interview)

Here, Kirsty explains that, as her parents do not have permissive attitudes regarding underage drinking, she is unable to ask them to purchase the drinks for her with relatively low alcohol contents, such as alcopops, that she would ideally like to consume. Consequently, Kirsty must access alcohol in an opportunistic manner, drinking whatever is available. As such, Kirsty is consuming drinks, such as gin, which are much stronger in alcohol content. Further, consider Stacey’s account:

I’m not allowed to drink. The rules are very strict on it. Well my mum is. I’m not allowed to drink. I recently got drunk and my dad knew, and my granddad knew, and they didn’t tell my mum. My mum has been teetotal for the last two years because her ex-husband was an alcoholic, he died from alcohol

(Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

In this instance, Stacey justifies her mother’s “strict” attitudes towards her consumption of alcohol on the basis that her ex-husband died from alcoholism. This shows how a major biographical event can lead to the development of a certain parenting style (Besten, 2011). Indeed, Kaynak et al. (2014) contend that experiences with substance use disorders in others, or a death in the family related to alcohol use, may make parents less likely to allow their children to drink. In the absence of parental provision of alcohol, Stacey adopts a “‘do-it-yourself’ solution” (Duncan and Smith, 2006:172), by turning to
alternative support from what may be described as her “family of choice” (Pahl and Spencer, 2004:218):

My best friend, as I said is 18, and her boyfriend is 18, and they are both two of my closest friends ever. And they always make sure I am completely safe, and they know where I am. So although they don’t drink much now, they accept that I am going to drink, because they’ve been through it, and they are better providing it for me than me going out trying to get it anywhere else

(Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

Stacey contends that Josie, her best friend, would refuse to buy her alcohol if she believed she had consumed too much in a given period; Stacey (16, Chorlton, interview) continues: “I fully trust her to decide my limit, and I know that if my mum found out she would trust her cos she’s a really close family friend, I’ve known her all my life”. Here then, in the absence of a lenient parent to purchase alcohol for her, Stacey is adaptive and compensates for this missing link by turning to a friend (see East and Rook, 1992). Consequently, Josie acts as an additional parenting resource (Seaman and Sweeting, 2004). Whilst the family remains a significant source of support for many young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood, one can also see the increasing significance of elective relationships, such as friendships (Budgeon and Roseneil, 2004), for many young people’s early experimentations with alcohol.

Through the data, I saw evidence of an intragenerational transmission of ideas and attitudes surrounding alcohol. This can be seen through Stacey’s comments below, in a follow up interview, in which she appears to have adopted Josie’s style of introducing a friend to alcohol, for one of her friends who was “new” to the alcohol consumption scene:
My friend who was new to drinking, she wanted to try it. So I got the alcohol for her, and then limited her amounts, and then monitored how she was acting because she kept asking for more obviously because she wanted to experience it. So when I could see that she had enough, I just stopped her completely and cut her off, and although she was irritated with me, she could tell in the morning that it was the right thing to do, so I looked after her for the entire evening. But, so I’ve kind of helped her limit herself for drinking, and kind of opened her up to it, which she’s happy about

(Stacey, 16, Chorlton, follow up interview)

As can be seen then, one of Stacey’s friends helps her, and Stacey helps one of her friends to experiment with alcohol in a sensible manner, and in a safe space. During transitions to adulthood intragenerational reciprocity is thus important; one can see the occurrence of, what Guan and Fuligni (2015) describe as, a relational process of seeking, negotiating, and reciprocating support. Put simply, support relating to experimentation with alcohol is both given and received by young people.

5.3 Pre-Drinking … or Home Drinking?

The terms ‘pre-drinking’, ‘pre-loading’, ‘pre-gaming’, and ‘pre-partying’ are commonly deployed in the alcohol studies literature (for instance, Barton and Husk, 2014; Fry, 2011; Ostergaard and Andrade, 2014), and were frequently used by participants in my study. However, these terms are unhelpful for public understanding about drinking practices and experiences. The term ‘pre-drinking’, and many of its commonly deployed variants, has come to be largely conceptualised in a negative light, associated with various practices, such as drinking to get drunk, increased risk of nausea, blackouts, alcohol poisoning (Pedersen and LaBrie, 2007), and incidences of vandalism and violence (Bosari et al., 2007). There are a few exceptions in the literature where some of the more sociable and convivial aspects of pre-drinking have been brought to the fore (see Bancroft, 2012;
Barton and Husk, 2014). Notwithstanding this, ‘pre-drinking’, and related terms, remain shrouded in negative connotations. Further justification for rethinking the term comes from my findings. My findings show that ‘pre-drinking’ is not ‘pre’ anything; it is a fundamental, and often the most enjoyable, element of young people’s drinking occasions. The emphasis on ‘pre’ does not do justice to this complex practice. It is for this reason that I use the phrase ‘home drinking’ throughout this chapter. I advocate use of this phrase; it shifts the focus away from associating pre-drinking with determined drunkenness (Measham and Brain, 2005:268), to an understanding that young people desire to drink before going out due to the appeals of drinking in the space of the home.

Parents in my study, particularly in Chorlton, conveyed a limited understanding of the reasons young people drink at home prior to going out:

I know there’s a culture of like pre-loading isn’t there for young people, of drinking before you go out, so things like drinking for the sake of it. Urm, and I suppose that’s like getting into binge drinking isn’t it, so I think I don’t really like it, like the idea of it

(Linzi, 50, Chorlton, interview)

I don’t pre-drink, if anything, I try and do the opposite in that I’ll have, you know, I’ll have some water or make sure, try and remember to make sure that I’ve eaten well enough to have a few drinks and not, for it to not knock me too badly, so that’s the opposite of what young people are trying to achieve isn’t it

(Joel, 44, Chorlton, interview)

One of the things that I see particularly the youngest one doing, is this thing of friends coming round and drinking before they go out. Whereas, when I was that age, what you did when you went out was drink. Whereas they’ll get, you know, loaded before they go out, because it’s cheaper, and I find that really weird. That was totally different to the drinking practices that I was used to, whereas they’ll get bottles of really cheap vodka, and it’s all about what’s going to have the biggest hit quickest, so I find that quite bizarre

(Sue, 53, Chorlton, interview)
In the above examples, parents view home drinking as “drinking for the sake of it”; something young people do “because it’s cheaper”; and part of a desire to “have the biggest hit quickest”. Young people in my study recognised the price discrepancy between off-licences and supermarkets, compared to commercial premises, asserting that home drinking enables them to “get pissed quicker, cheaper” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, interview). However, they also articulated a variety of additional appeals of home drinking. Coinciding with findings from Barton and Husk’s (2014) research, many young people in my study saw home drinking as the most “fun” part of the night because, as John metaphorically puts it, it offers the “calm before the storm” of commercial premises, such as bars, pubs and clubs:

It just gets you in the mood because it tends to be in a room, say you’re drinking at someone’s house, you’d all just be in one room, there could be 8-10 of us, you know, shots getting passed round, beers going down and it’s just, to be fair you can probably have more fun doing that, than on an actual night out, because you’ve still got music on, except you get to choose the playlist so, that is quality. You can have a nice relaxed beer before, like calm before the storm, you know what’s going to happen later, but for now you just want to have a beer, you just want to sit back, have a relax, just have a chat before you go out and get shitfaced (John, 22, Wythenshawe, interview)

Costs are benefits of pre-drinking, but also I think it makes it more of an event, everyone coming together and then going on to the club, the journey in is like a sort of parade, and everyone gets drunk together, rather than, rather than in the club where you sort of lose people really quickly. But yeah, it’s a social thing. Like, you can play your own music, the games and stuff, everyone gets like, yeah, you get to welcome everyone in or whatever if you’re hosting the night (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, interview)

Supporting findings from other studies, Charlie and John suggest that home drinking is a valued social event, enabling them to enjoy camaraderie with friends (Barton and Husk, 2014; MacLean, 2015; Wells et al., 2009). Indeed, home drinking provides opportunities to enhance social bonds, which could be threatened in the club-space (see Bancroft, 2012) because, as Charlie says: “you sort of lose people really quickly”. Similarly, Kelly (17,
Wythenshawe, interview) admits enjoying the home drinking phase of the night out, because it offers an inclusive space where some of her friends who are not yet 18, and who are thus unable to gain access to commercial premises, can join them. Further, for Charlie, home drinking enables him to perform the relatively adultist identity of a host, and to welcome in his guests; this level of ownership over space cannot be obtained in commercial drinking premises.

Other commonly cited reasons given for home drinking are to “avoid the long queues” (Dexter, 19, Wythenshawe, peer interview) to obtain alcohol in busy bars, pubs and clubs, and avoid the “slow service” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, interview) typically experienced in commercial premises. Additionally, coinciding with the perspectives of participants in Bancroft’s (2012) study, Charlie seems to appreciate the rhythmic qualities of home drinking, in that “everyone gets drunk together”. Rex (24, Chorlton, peer interview) supports this, asserting: “whenever you get everyone in that situation, everyone’s drinking for the same place, the same sort of level”. Indeed, undermining parents’ understanding of home drinking, and many contentions made in existing literature, some young people articulate that home drinking is not about extreme intoxication. As Louisa (22, Chorlton, interview). says, “if we do pre-drinks, it wouldn’t be to the extent of getting really drunk, it would be for my friends from home to have a good chance to catch up”. In such instances, far from undertaking home drinking in order to achieve, what Measham and Brain (2005:268) term, “determined drunkenness”, as parents believe, young people use the home drinking session as an opportunity to talk to their friends, without the noise associated with bars, pubs and clubs.
Some young women articulated desires to drink at home that are distinct from the reasons given by their male counterparts. Take the comments from Eve and Jenny below:

Even if I’m with people who I’ve known for a while, I worry about conversation and stuff, and I think having, I always have a drink before I go out, and I think it just helps me relax a little bit, cos I can be quite shy in some situations  
(Evie, 24, Chorlton, peer interview)

We’d probably drink a bottle of vodka before we went in [to the local pub], so we didn’t feel nervous, then we’d go to the club  
(Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

As both young women explain, they drink at home prior to going on a night out, in order to prime themselves for the drinking occasions ahead, and to reduce social anxiety. This is consistent with motivations for home drinking noted in studies by DeJong et al. (2010) and Read et al. (2010). For Evie, the specific reason she drinks at home is because she wishes to relax and gain confidence, whilst Jenny drinks at home in an attempt to eradicate feelings of nervousness she experiences when attempting to access a commercial drinking space when under the legal drinking age. In both instances, home drinking can be seen to lubricate social situations (Kloep et al., 2001).

Further, some young women in my study describe home drinking as intertwined with the “getting ready” process. Jenny and Harriet give voice to this notion:

I’ll pre-drink at home before a house party, like when we’re getting ready. I love drinking when I’m getting ready. That’s probably when we drink most  
(Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)
Just having a few glasses of Rose [wine] while doing our tan, makeup, straighten our hair and pop our falsies [false eyelashes] on…feeling tipsy :) Going to be an epic night in Manchester, we are on it like a car bonnet\textsuperscript{14}

(Harriet, 24, Chorlton, text message)

As Jenny and Harriet articulate, and coinciding with the work of Bancroft (2012), home drinking provides an opportunity to prepare the body for the night out, through the choice of clothing, and by grooming the body in terms of applying fake tan, and other bodily adornments, such as make up and fake eyelashes. Indeed, participant observations showed me the extent to which clothing was not ‘fixed’, but an on-going process. Whilst some young women began the home drinking phase in more conservative clothing, several young women changed their outfits as the home drinking session progressed, into more ‘daring’ (for instance, short skirts, low neckline) outfits that they had previously not felt confident enough to wear. For some young women then, the home drinking space clearly feels like a safe space where they can experiment with their femininity. In addition to this, some women described home drinking as being safer than drinking in commercial premises; they can consume alcohol without fear of their drinks being spiked. Further, some young women talked about being able to relax and enjoy themselves during home drinking, without worrying about, as Jenny tells: “pervy men trying it on” (16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview), as she recalls frequently experiencing in nightclubs.

Participant observations also showed me that women used the home drinking session in order to take photographs, particularly “selfies” - that is, self-portrait photographs - of

\textsuperscript{14} ‘On it like a car bonnet’ is a phrase used to describe the action of becoming excessively inebriated under the influence of alcohol.
their polished appearances, before their physical appearance deteriorated in hot, sweaty club-spaces, or was threatened by bad weather when outside journeying between drinking venues. Women use the home drinking session to take multiple photographs in a relaxed environment, in an attempt to capture the ‘perfect’ shot. Data from mobile phone interviews shows the great lengths young women go to, in order to portray a particular drinking identity. As Harriet says:

Up until this point [the moment the photograph was taken], I had been perfectly happy drinking wine out of my housemate’s mug, but like knowing a picture was going on Facebook I realised this looked pretty chavvy, so I clambered around the kitchen tidying up and looking for posh wine glasses, so we looked the part (Harriet, 24, Chorlton, mobile phone interview)

Harriet shows signs of a theatrical performance, presenting herself and her activity to others, with an awareness of the ways in which she “guides and controls the impression” (Goffman, 1959:xi) others form of her. Drinking out of a “mug” is, according to Harriet, “chavvy”; it is something she must conceal, as it is inconsistent with the “posh” performance she wishes to offer her Facebook audience. The term ‘chavvy’ suggests drinking out of a mug is something white working-class men and women who are tasteless, excessive and ungovernable would do (Skeggs, 2005). As such, Harriet purposefully engineers the expressions she gives off, by incorporating into the photograph a “wine glass” which - in Goffman’s (1959:32;46) terms - can be seen as a “stage prop” and a “status symbol”. Harriet utilises this “sign-equipment” to “embellish and illuminate” her performances with, what Goffman (1959:45;46) would term, “a favourable social style”. Further, one can see evidence of Harriet seeking “coherence among setting, appearance and manner” (Goffman, 1959:35), by tidying the kitchen, and drinking out of an appropriate glass, in order to craft her social front. Achieving coherence is crucial
because, in line with Goffman’s (1959:72) contention, “minor disharmonies”, in the performance, may lead to the fostered authenticity being discredited.

Adopting Goffman’s (1959:9) language and applying it in the context of home drinking and social networking, I argue that whilst home drinking is “real and sometimes not well rehearsed”, social networking platforms can be seen as a “stage [to] present things that are make-believe”. To draw on Goffman (1959), some young people in my study appeared to act in a calculating manner, expressing themselves in a particular way in order to foster the impression they desire, in order to evoke from an audience a specific response they are keen to obtain. Indeed, through participant observations, I witnessed young women had motives for acquiring the role in which they were performing. That is, to accumulate ‘likes’ on photographs on social networking websites, such as Facebook. Or, to monitor whether prospective boyfriends opened their photograph on Snapchat. Both of which were, to use Goffman’s (1959:17) words, a “specific response” women wished to obtain in order to give them increased confidence. Home drinking then, provides a safe, comfortable space for young women, in particular, to perform their drinking identities for the camera, and ultimately a wider audience (people on social networking platforms).

My findings thus far have shown that home drinking itself is a pleasurable event. This undermines the validity of Bancroft’s (2012:2) contention that “pre-drinking was seen more in terms of preparation for pleasure than pleasure itself”. Nonetheless, participant
observations showed me that some young people do, also, use home drinking to prepare for the evening’s pleasure:

Tonight I saw how the young women use the home drinking phase as an opportunity to ensure the night runs smoothly and safely. Louisa was hosting the night, and I heard her telling Katy [a relatively sober friend], to ensure she looked after Imogen (who, by this point, was rather drunk) when they accessed the club. Additionally, the women were arranging strategies for what they would do if they received unwanted attention from men. Katy said to Louisa “I will just pretend we are lesbians”

(Field diary, 11/03/2014, night out with Louisa, 22, and friends, Chorlton)

In this extract from my field diary then, I can see signs of a “controlled decontrol” (Brain, 2000:9); that is, young people “let loose” and enjoying the pleasures of alcohol consumption whilst seeking to avoid any potential risks - in what can be described as a “hedonistic yet bounded drinking style” (Measham and Brain, 2005:274). The above excerpt indicates that young women used the home drinking session to organise caring and safety strategies between friends for the night ahead. For instance, allocating a relatively ‘sober’ carer for a drunken friend; and discussing performing the identity of lesbians, in an attempt to avoid unwanted attention from members of the opposite sex. Here then, home drinking can be seen as the “back region”; that is, the setting where the performance is planned; whilst commercial premises can be seen as the “front region” - the setting where the performance takes place (Goffman, 1959:114). Whilst I did not witness men designating carers, or articulating how they would avoid unwanted attention from women, I did notice men utilising the home drinking session to set out what they wanted to achieve later that evening: planning how drunk they would get, and discussing who, or what kind of person (in terms of class and appearance, for example), they were aiming to “pull” that night. For instance, Rex (24, Chorlton) declared: “I’m after a fit
posh blonde tonight” (field diary, 14/03/2014). From this, I argue that young people also use the home drinking session to prepare for their public performances.

All the examples shown thus far highlight that home drinking is a pleasurable event, something some young people proclaim to “love” (Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview). However, there were dissenting voices to this cultural consensus. For instance, rather than valuing home drinking in economic terms, some young people expressed a sophisticated understanding of how home drinking could, in fact, be a “waste of money” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview). Craig (22, Chorlton, peer interview) described an occasion when he was denied access to a club by a bouncer, due to consuming too much alcohol during the home drinking phase. Consequently, he recalled regretting the money he had spent on a new shirt he purchased in anticipation of the night out; the money he spent on the taxi to the club; and resultantly the taxi back home by himself not long after. Further, young people explained how home drinking may lead them to spend more money when out in commercial premises. Lewis articulates this well:

Pre-drinking has its advantages it’s, like I said, you’re spending less money, hopefully, unless you’re, sometimes you get to that certain stage where you’re drunk and you just carry on drinking, you think “here you go”, you’ve just got paid, and you’re thinking everyone’s your friend, and you just carry on buying drinks for everyone

(Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

More than this, many young people attributed getting too drunk as a consequence of home drinking to playing drinking games, particularly ‘ring of fire’\(^{15}\), during the sessions. Interestingly, young people found strategies to overcome drunkenness associated with

\(^{15}\) ‘Ring of Fire’ is a drinking game that uses playing cards. The player must consume and dispense drinks based on cards drawn. Each card has a rule that is predetermined before the game starts.
home drinking, such as “tactical throw-ups before going to the club” (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, interview). An additional, unrelated, reason given for disliking home drinking is articulated by Louisa:

When the taxi has arrived at the end of pre-drinks you’re always rushed finishing off your drink. My housemate actually use to, it was so annoying he was always like the guy that always use to control everything, and we would always sit in his room and drink, and he would call a taxi and it would arrive and he would be like “I’m just jumping in the shower!”, and I’m like “come on let’s go” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, peer interview)

Louisa articulates disliking the regimental, structured nature of the home drinking session, as her housemate ‘controlled’ it. For Louisa, there was a lack of mobility and flexibility, because her friends would all have to sit in one person’s room and drink. Further, as the above excerpt makes clear, home drinking requires synchronisation - everyone being ready to leave the house at the same time. One reason young people articulated for attempting to achieve synchronisation is in order to share taxis, which they recognised as being cheaper than travelling to clubs individually. However, as Louisa proclaims, this is not always achievable; as such, there are conflicts around waiting for others to get ready. Indeed, this is one reason why drinking often extends into the taxi journey (this will be touched upon in Chapter Seven when I discuss the mobilities of nights out).

### 5.3.1 Intergenerational Drinking Geographies

As young people have intimated so far, home drinking provides an opportunity to tailor the drinking space to suit their preferences; for instance, what they drink; what drinking accoutrements they use; the volume of the space; who they drink with. This idea of
manipulating the micro-geographies of the home for drinking is supported by an extract from my field notes:

What really caught my attention tonight was the significant amount of effort Evie put into moulding the sitting room into the perfect drinking space for her friends. Evie had tidied, vacuumed, and arranged all the cushions nicely for this occasion. She told me how she had spent all day choosing which songs would feature on her playlist for that night, and had chosen songs that would “make people feel like going out”, “nothing too depressing”. She had turned the heating up and asked me if the temperature was comfortable. She switched the main lights off, but put some table lamps on, and lit some candles. She told me this felt more “cosy”. It struck me that this degree of personal preference and attention to detail could not be obtained when drinking in commercial premises

(Field diary, 17/05/2014, drinking with Evie, 24 and friends, Chorlton)

In the above field diary excerpt, I highlight the attentiveness paid to minutiae; Evie makes multiple adjustments in order to tailor the drinking space to her preferences, and the perceived preferences of her friends. It is interesting to note that, whilst parents often expressed a lack of understanding of the reasons why young people drink at home prior to going out (seen in section 5.3), as the quotation below illustrates, the reasons parents give for drinking at home strongly resonate with the reasons young people express for home drinking:

I like drinking at home - you can chose exactly what you want to drink; exactly the glasses, and you know coldness, and specifications. You can have a chair of your own choice. You can listen to the music of your own choice. You can have the people you like. You can hear them. And all that really. And you can have the temperature you want, nibbles. I suppose that’s again being old, you’ve got everything you want. I mean, it is cheaper, but I don’t think that really is an influencing factor

(Claire, 48, Chorlton, interview)

Research by Paradis (2011:1259) suggests that, given the contemporary cultural belief that mothers should always be “on call” for their children, having children may mean parents have fewer opportunities to drink in bars, and thus their choice of drinking spaces is restricted to private ones. However, Claire does not factor children into her desire to
drink at home. Rather, as with many young people in my study, Claire intimates that bars, pubs and clubs are not conducive to the spaces she desires to consume alcohol in during the early evening; a conclusion also reached by Barton and Husk (2014). Here then, there are significant similarities in the reasons young people and parents give for enjoying consuming alcohol at home.

More than this though, in Wythenshawe, some young people articulated that generational intermingling characterised their home drinking sessions. The quotations from Kelly and Olivia, below, provide a counterpoint to Barton and Husk’s (2014) contention that the absence of parents is crucial in ensuring that young people feel they have ownership over the home drinking space:

We just all get drunk, everyone comes and then we just have a drink, and then me mum ends up coming back and she has drinks with us. Normally everyone else’s mum would be like, “right, bye now”, but my mum is like “woo” dancing with us, last time she was like “why is the music so quiet?”

(Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

I think it’s important to have an adult around there somewhere. Like whenever we pre-drink at Hazel’s, her mum is always there, so say if any of us get sick, she’ll always be there to help. She comes, she’s like one of us, she comes downstairs and starts talking about boyfriends and everything, which is like, she’s like a little child

(Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)

Here, Kelly explains that her mum is a full participant in the home drinking session. In Olivia’s extract, she does not state that her friend’s mother joins in with the act of drinking, yet she participates in the home drinking experience in other ways - such as through conversing about boyfriends. Nonetheless, both Kelly and Olivia provide evidence of what Aquilino (1997:675) terms “mutuality” during the transition to adulthood. That is, parents and their children sharing activities that both members of the
dyad find enjoyable; in these examples: drinking; dancing; listening to music; and conversations about boyfriends. As Pahl and Spencer (2004:213) contend: “where people choose to spend time with their family, enjoying their company, rather than simply fulfilling obligations, where family members share interests and confide in each other, then family become more ‘chosen’ and friend-like”. In the quotations from Kelly and Olivia above, one can see a blurring of generational boundaries, and suffusion between familial and non-familial relationships, as family members and friends play rather similar roles in the home drinking session. This can also be seen from an extract from my field diary below:

We were pre-drinking at Milly’s, a combination of vodka and wine. Milly’s mum, Sandra, was sat in the sitting room with us, talking to us, offering Milly advice regarding a boy at school that she fancied (who we were meeting out later that evening!). Despite Milly offering Sandra some of her alcohol several times, she declined. Nonetheless, Sandra was an integral part of the home drinking process, by allowing us to drink, and through sharing tales of her previous dating experiences (Field diary, 10/05/2014, with Milly, 15, Vera, 15, and Sandra, 50, Wythenshawe)

In contrast to much of the existing alcohol studies literature then, my findings show that generations are not always socially and spatially separate (Vanderbeck, 2007), when bound up with the consumption of alcohol. Thurnell-Read’s (2013), in his study on ‘real ale drinkers’ and ‘lager louts’ (stereotypes for older male drinkers and younger male drinkers, respectively), contends that generations are spatially separate; the young male body represents spatial inhabitation of new restricted drinking spaces, and the older male body that of ‘traditional’ spaces. Further, Trell et al. (2014) remark that parents are often not present during young people’s drinking experiences in the home. Likewise, Demant and Ostergaard (2007) contend that young people are in control, and parents usually have limited access to the drinking space. In contrast, my findings point to the importance of
joint intergenerational and relational geographies of age for young people’s experimentations with alcohol.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

Through this chapter, I have contributed to theories of intergenerationality, by promoting the importance of considering moments when generations mix. My data illustrate that parents are often key players in many young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences. Many parents, in both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, admit purchasing alcohol on behalf of their children. Some parents, particularly in Wythenshawe, go further still, providing ‘safe’ spaces, such as dens, for their children to consume alcohol in. Further to this, several young people, particularly in Wythenshawe, recall their parents being key players in their home drinking sessions: for instance, consuming alcohol with them, dancing, and participating in conversations about prospective romances. When researchers have considered generations together, they have tended to emphasise discreteness and difference, in which disrupture and discontinuity between generations is emphasised at the expense of continuity (Kjorholt, 2003). Whilst, as Vanderbeck (2007) recognises, the existing literature often considers generations in a binary manner, I advance this by highlighting the importance of considering joint intergenerational geographies for young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences. My research thus addresses Hopkins and Pain’s (2007) plea to consider more relational geographies of age, along with Vanderbeck’s (2007) contention that research on age in Geography is compartmentalised into separate literatures on younger and older generations, that rarely intersect.
Chapter Six

Being Out and About

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, building on the previous chapter, I advance understandings of how young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood are not only bound up with relationships with parents, they are also bound up with relationships with friends and siblings. In doing so, I highlight that alcohol is crucial to doing friendships (Niland et al., 2013), along with contributing towards tensions between friendship groups. Further, I show how alcohol can be enrolled in unfriendly encounters with strangers in public, such as fights, yet also how alcohol can enable ‘more-than-friendships’ to develop - a term I use to refer to a host of acts, from flirting to sexual intercourse. When discussing caring strategies on nights out, I illustrate that many young men draw on hyper-masculine gender constructs citing a lack of need for care. Yet, by offering instances of young men emotionally caring for other young men, I also show that alcohol can facilitate “slippage” and transgressions in gender performances (Butler, 1993:122). Further, I highlight how older siblings use embodied knowledges and experiences of alcohol consumption to transmit practices and attitudes relating to alcohol, drinking and drunkenness to younger siblings. I point out how older siblings sometimes utilise this embodied knowledge to restrict younger siblings consuming alcohol and ‘being out and about’.
6.2 (Un)Friendly Drinking Geographies

Alcohol consumption enables both responsiveness to, and openness towards, the lives of others, providing opportunities for young people to engage with friends and strangers in ways they may not, had they not been consuming alcohol (Jayne et al., 2010). Many young people in my study, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, consider that alcohol is crucial to doing friendship (see Niland et al., 2013), suggesting that it helps facilitate closeness. See the quotations from Heather, Simon and Rex, below:

When we’re drunk we’re always just like hysterically laughing, like laying on the floor, and we’ll be more caring towards each other as well. I think in school it’s just like “hiii” “hiii”, it’s not as more of a friendship than it is, like when we’re drinking like everyone gets closer
(Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Urm, I mean, by friends, you definitely meet a lot of people when you’re drinking. You’re in a bar and you just end up talking to the person next to ya. You might not see him ever again, but certainly for the duration of the night they are your new friend
(Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

As everything was going well the drink started to flow a bit more and I was definitely ‘tipsy’ at this stage. As usual I become very friendly when drunk. We fell in with another group who were having pre-drinks before heading out in Warrington [town in North West England]. Before long we were in a taxi bus heading to Warrington with them. I was oblivious to the fact that I had no idea how to get home
(Rex, 24 Chorlton, diary)

For Heather, drinking moves her away from the restraints of socialising in school into a “freeer and more playful time-space” (Bohling, 2015:135), which enhances the pleasure of friends socialising together (see Niland et al., 2013). Heather suggests that alcohol consumption strengthens the emotional and intimate bonds that sustain friendships, through a shared desire to create intimacies, to relax, and to talk (Waitt and De Jong, 2014). For Simon and Rex, however, alcohol goes beyond strengthening pre-existing friendship ties. As aforementioned, it is a “social lubricant” (Lyons and Willott,
giving them the confidence to approach strangers and incorporate them into their friendship circles, even if only for a short moment during the night. The words of Heather, Simon and Rex offer support for Jayne et al.’s (2010) contention that alcohol mediates affective relationships, be that friendships which are long-standing, or friendships which emerge in the course of the night out; the latter can be long-lasting or ephemeral.

Alongside recognising alcohol’s role in constituting friendship, some young people in my study, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, also articulated how alcohol can present risks to friendships (MacLean, 2015), thereby potentially undoing friendships. This can be gleaned from the following quotations:

The house party that I went to with Pete, I regretted going with him, because he was showing us up. Like, before the guests were coming he was drunk, that’s before people started coming, he was drunk about half six and people started coming at eight o’clock. I was like “you’re basically wasted, and the night hasn’t even started yet”. I was like “it’s disgusting”. And then he was sick half way through the night and started rolling about in the garden, to the point where people were threatening to phone the police because he was being loud

(Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

With me friends, when someone’s drunk and then the rest aren’t, and the person that’s drunk at the time is acting up, then everyone gets a bit annoyed with them. So I’d say for instance, when I was on holiday earlier this year, I think I was the one that was drunk to be fair, and I was, I was being stupid, and they fell out with me, not for the rest of the holiday but just for like an hour or so. I just ended up walking off on my own, because I was being an idiot, and then I realised, and I went back and apologised when I sobered up a bit, but luckily I came to my senses, but I’d say at other times, it can cause divisions between friends

(Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)
According to Törrönen and Maunu (2011), friends often desire to drink to the same rhythm. Here, one can see that Heather expresses feelings of “disgust”, which she experienced as a result of Pete not drinking to the same rhythms as herself and others, as Pete reached peak drunkenness prior to the official start of the house party. Meanwhile, Lewis suggests that, as a consequence of him “acting up” and being “stupid” on holiday, when in a state of drunkenness, it caused a temporary ‘division’ between friends. The temporality of this friendship rift relates to Jayne et al.’s (2010:550) notion of “emotional reciprocity”, when “bad behaviour”, as a consequence of alcohol, is more often than not forgiven by friends. For Becky, unlike for Heather and Lewis, alcohol is not attributed with sole agency in creating tensions amongst her friendship group. Instead, Becky suggests that feelings of drunkenness amplified an existing source of tension in her friendship group, allowing her friend to say things she would have wished to say sober, but did not have the confidence to. Despite these subtle differences, for each of the young people quoted above, alcohol plays a role in undoing friendships, at least momentarily.

In addition to being detrimental to pre-existing friendship bonds, young people also discussed how alcohol can be enrolled in unfriendly encounters with strangers in public spaces, such as fights. This was something young men and young women, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, spoke about. Take the excerpt from Rex’s diary below:
Whilst on the dance floor, and talking to a couple of girls, Carl accidentally bumped into a young teenager wearing a cap, and he took it personally. He was shouting and pushed Carl, who was ready to punch him. I stood in the way and politely told the other lad to “fuck off if he knew what was good for him”. Countless vodkas later, the night came to an end and we exited the club, only to find that the aforementioned aggressive lad was waiting with 3 friends. Me and Carl walked around the corner, where they followed us and decided to start a fight. After a minor scrap, the 4 lads ran away, and me and Carl entered the takeaway next door victorious

(Rex, 24, Chorlton, diary)

Rex’s account is similar to Benson and Archer’s (2002:6) study, which states that it is relatively common for fights to arise between young men from arguments over trivial issues, such as “bumping”; such fights are also typically preceded by verbal conflict. Further, the authors claim that whilst conflict may start in pubs, the fights are more likely to occur in the streets. For Rex, the fact that the young teenager was “wearing a cap”, seems to be significant in distinguishing the ‘classed other’ (Sutton, 2009). Through Rex’s story of this event, he portrays himself as conforming to key attributes associated with masculinity, including aggression and physical strength (Day et al., 2003a) as he managed to fight off “4 lads”, in what he trivialises as a “minor scrap”. The diary extract is written in a humorous tone, despite involving events that may be perceived as unpleasant. Indeed, this account contradicts Fjaer’s (2012) contention regarding young people’s interactions during hangovers, in which the author argues that fights are rarely events young people recognise as positive. Instead, Rex’s account lends credence to Tutenges and Sandberg’s (2013) recognition that stories involving alcohol consumption, followed by acts of transgressions, including fighting, are recounted by some young people with amusement or pride.
Willingly inviting fights are, as Waitt et al. (2011) recognise, conventionally regarded as the territory of men. However, in line with Waitt et al.’s (2011) findings, my study shows that some young women, predominantly those from Wythenshawe, find pleasure in participating in a bodily comportment, such as fights, that transgresses norms of respectable femininity; in doing so, they display ‘ladette’ type behaviour. The following quotations illustrate this point:

Last night at the end of the night some guy was holding me against the wall telling me “you need to calm down”. I was like “I’m not, no” - just get off me”. I was going mad, moving him out the way. I said “please move out my way, now”. Then my mate Alisha was crying to me because I kicked her. She said “I’m supposed to be your mate”. I was like “yes, but you’re annoying me”. I’m just nasty, I’m just so horrible, but I’m good because I’m always the one causing drama. You’ve got to make it exciting

(Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, diary)

Jemima: What do you think makes a good night out?
Lottie: Just being really happy. It’s not good until you see a fight, and it’s not good unless you’ve argued with someone I think to be honest.

Jemima: Do you think? When I’m drunk I don’t.
Lottie: I think if you argue with someone when you’re drunk it just feels so good because you’re just like “SHUT UP” and can be like “ah, I was drunk”

(Jemima, 16, and Lottie, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Both Vera and Lottie suggest that alcohol is central to modifying their performances in public spaces, enabling them to be verbally and physically aggressive. For these young women, pleasure stems from, what Vera describes as, the “drama” generated from excessive alcohol consumption; a conclusion also drawn by Waitt et al. (2011). Day et al. (2003b) claim that many working-class young women position themselves as both perpetrators and supporters of physical and verbal abuse during nights out; the examples above support this, whilst the diary extract from Rex demonstrates that this is something also enjoyed by some middle-class men.
In addition to facilitating or (un)doing friendships, participants also discussed alcohol’s role in facilitating ‘more-than-friendships’. The peer interview was a useful method for exploring this theme, as it enabled friends to broach topics that I would have felt too embarrassed and uncomfortable to initiate. I illustrate this through the following exchange:

Jemima: Have you ever done, with like two people on the same night? Like, not having sex, but say foreplay?
Lottie: Haha no.
Jemima: With like two people on the same night when you was drunk?
Lottie: Right, I think right, I think I tossed two guys off\textsuperscript{16} on one night…
Jemima: At the same time?
Lottie: No (laughs), but ah it was just horrible

(Jemima, 15, and Lottie, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Here, Lottie initially responds to Jemima’s question stating she has not ‘done foreplay’ with two people on the same night. However, Jemima then rephrases the question, asking whether she has ‘done foreplay’ with two people on the same night, \textit{when she was drunk}. It is at this stage that Lottie reveals that she “tossed two guys off” on one night. Here then, one can see that alcohol - with the presumed disinhibiting pharmacological effects - provides Lottie with an excuse for transgressing boundaries (see Johnson, 2013). Lottie’s display of ladette-type behaviour, through engaging in casual sexual contact, shows that, through alcohol, she expresses herself in ways that do not concur with acceptable behaviour codes for women (see Rudolfsdottir and Morgan, 2009). Alcohol then, echoing Rudolfsdottir and Morgan (2009:498), can provide “time out” from normal sober behaviour.

\textsuperscript{16}‘Tossed off’ refers to someone touching and rubbing a man’s penis until it is fully erect. It is typically done for sexual pleasure.
The contrast between Lottie and Jemima’s peer interview exchange (above), and Rik and Oscar’s peer interview exchange (below) is of interest.

Rik: Can you tell me what you get up to on a night out?
Oscar: Get a taxi to town [said in an ironic tone].
Rik: And get wankered in the Union [laughs].
Oscar: And meet some ladies.
Rik: Meet some ladies and take them back to my house.
Oscar: [Laughs].
Rik: And you know where to go from there don’t ya.
Oscar: [Laughs].
Rik: No, I’m only joking, only joking
(Rik and Oscar, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Lottie expresses reluctance to admit to sexual promiscuity. However, this is something some young men in my study boasted about, even fabricated, without shame. This reflects that, for young men, being known for sexual prowess can enhance their reputation, whilst, for women, being known for their sexual activity can cause a loss in reputation (Holland et al., 1998). Here one can see what Holland et al. (1998:11) term “sexual double standards”. This phrase encapsulates the belief that behaviour that makes men “successfully masculine”, can cause a woman to be seen as “a slag” (Holland et al., 1998:11).

15 year old Oscar and Rik, quoted above, playfully fabricated accounts of their drunkenness, through hyperbolic descriptions, in order to perform and produce particular kinds of ‘cool’ masculinities through their alcohol consumption. The notion that this story is an embellished one can be gleamed through: the ironic tone in which the young people
spoke; the laughing which permeated this section of the peer interview; and Rik’s frank admission at the end, in which he states “no, I’m only joking, only joking”. As von Benzon (2015) says, silencing playful contributions can risk losing valuable data, and ignoring one form of young people’s voices. I argue that the young people’s fantasies were interesting in illuminating their ingrained assumptions about alcohol consumption (Kraftl, 2014). For instance, Rik and Oscar appear to assume that alcohol is associated with enabling men to meet women, and to have sexual relationships. Supporting Phipps and Young’s (2012:10) contention that “young men’s forays into masculinity can be cloaked in a knowing irony”, in my opinion, Rik and Oscar were knowingly utilising the techniques of irony and play as a sophisticated way of expressing such embedded assumptions (see Korobov, 2009 on irony and play in masculine gender constructions). The drinking performances help the young men cement a future manhood by utilising ‘adult’ signifiers of drink and sexual activity. By doing so, Oscar and Rik reassembled their present youthful status. Further, from the above, one can see that drinking stories are not just attached to individuals; spaces are also enrolled in drinking stories due to their perceived reputations for sexual adventure (see Cullen 2011). For instance, ‘town’, and the Student Union17. Oscar and Rik used imagined mobilities to transcend the materiality of place, and these can be seen as becoming as much a part of their emotional mobile experience as corporeal mobilities (see Murray and Mand, 2013).

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17 NUS (2012) undertook research into campus cultures and the experiences of women students. It found that student unions across the UK have played a role in allowing ‘lad culture’ to take root amongst students. ‘Lad culture’ is one of the varieties of masculinities and cultures in university communities; it is defined as a group or ‘pack’ mentality taking part in activities, such as sport and heavy alcohol consumption, and ‘banter’ which is often sexist, misogynistic and homophobic.
In order to facilitate more-than-friendships, many young women in my study negotiated outfit choices with friends, prior to going out. This was a means of affectively preparing oneself for consumption experiences to come (see Duff, 2012). The quotations below indicate that men were key actants in young women’s desire to ‘dress in place’ (see Leyshon, 2008):

We text each other to find out what they’re wearing. Because you don’t want, if like imagine if we came out in wedges and heels and everyone else has got trainers on, so, you’d feel like a right muppet, you want to look good for the lads

(Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)

I text my friends for the first party asking what they were wearing as I had no idea what the protocol was, and obviously with boys being there you want to feel good

(Kirsty, 16, Chorlton, interview)

What are you wearing tonight? I’m wearing a low cut top so the guy bouncers actually let me in

(Jemima 15, Wythenshawe, text message)

The quotations from the young women above lend support to Duff’s (2012:154) notion that it is important to be aware of the “stylistic norms of one’s designated tribe”, and Szmigin et al.’s (2008) notion that, for young women, routines ahead of nights out of texting and checking what everyone is going to wear are common. Kelly and Kirsty hint at the sensory possibilities of clothing (Duff, 2012) in its capacity to make the young women “look” and “feel good for the lads”, thereby potentially facilitating more-than-friendships. Jemima intimates at the affective potential of both clothing and flesh; she suggests that breasts are visible objects that are appropriated and consumed (see Millsted and Frith, 2003) by bouncers. From Jemima’s perspective, a low cut top showing cleavage would enable her to gain access to a club when under the legal drinking age. Indeed, Jemima was not alone in perceiving that club admission policies are not gender neutral (Tan, 2013). Many young women in my study ‘played up’ to the gaze of bouncers,
deliberately managing the space of their own bodies by wearing low-cut clothing in order to display their breasts, short skirts to accentuate their legs, and crop tops to show their torsos. This coincides with findings from Waitt et al.’s (2011) study, regarding the Wollongong, Australia, nightlife economy, in which women who reveal body contours and flesh are more favourably evaluated by some bouncers. Here, I see links with Holland et al.’s (1998) notion of ‘male-in-the-head’. The ‘male-in-the-head’ is characterised by a male gaze, along with a recognition that the power of the ‘male-in-the-head’ to judge and control is produced in connections between this policing of femininity with other, interrelated levels of male power. To draw on Holland et al. (1998), in producing themselves as feminine, the young women in my study can be said to be playing an active role in constituting and reproducing male dominance. Further, the young women can be seen to be producing gender in relation to a “heterosexual matrix” (Butler, 1990:151); that is, their gender performances are inextricably tied to dominant notions of heterosexuality.

6.3 Careful and Careless Drinking Practices

There is a stereotypical dichotomy in which self-disclosure and emotional intimacy through talk are thought to be key elements of female friendship styles, whilst men’s friendship styles are characterised by inarticulate companionship and practical support (Bowlby, 2011). Richardson (2015:158) posits that deep-seated emotions are rarely articulated by men; if they are, the man may be accused of being “in touch with his feminine side”. Many young men in my study, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, drew heavily on hyper-masculine gender constructs when discussing their caring strategies. Take the comments from Tim and Scott below:
I don’t think boys care. I think boys try to be a bit more macho, or they’re in control. So no. I mean, sometimes your mate can tell you’re getting a bit too pissed and try and stop you. So that probably just starts to make you drink a bit more

(Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

I could be twisted as I want yeah, I could be stumbling, and not one person has helped me. I would always keep up. I could fall over, and stand back up

(Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

In the above quotations, young men claim to assert autonomy and independence on nights out, citing a lack of need for care and thus can be seen to draw on notions of “hard masculinity” (Lyons and Willott, 2008:706). For Tim, attempting to help a drunken male friend can be counterintuitive - as it may serve to spur them on to drink more. When young men did speak about caring for friends, sometimes it served to emphasise their physical strength, as John and David demonstrate:

My mate passed out in the bath tub, I had to lift him out of the bath tub, and bearing in mind he’s six foot two, and built out here, it wasn’t the easiest thing to do, and then I had to walk him home

(John, 22, Wythenshawe, diary)

My flatmate got so drunk that his legs couldn’t support his weight, so I had to carry him home and put him into bed, so I had him over my shoulder

(David, 21, Wythenshawe, diary)

In the above excerpts, John describes lifting his drunken “six foot two”, well-built friend, whilst Dan describes carrying his intoxicated friend over his shoulder. Both John and David, by conforming to hegemonic, heterosexual standards for identity can be seen to be operating within the “heterosexual matrix” (Butler, 1990:151). In addition to using the discussion of care to make explicit their physical strength, some young men produced their masculine identity relationally in their role as protectors of women. By positioning women as in need of care, men simultaneously established their own masculinity (see Day, 2001):
I think if you go out in a mixed gender [group], or I certainly drink less cos I think, especially when there’s girls, you know, if some of the girls wandered about by themselves, you know, you want to sort of make sure they’re alright and nothing happens to them. Whereas if it’s just all guys then you’re all just encouraging people to get drunk, so I think especially when it’s mixed you sort, or I think the guys I know all try and stay less drunk to sort of make sure everyone’s alright, cos I know a lot of my friends go out clubbing have tried to be touched up by random men in clubs, and some of them can’t really, you know, say no to them

(Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

Tim moderates his alcohol consumption when in female company (consistent with findings in Harnett et al.’s, 2000 study). This is because he considers that young women may “wander” off by themselves, or be “touched up by random men” in public spaces. By positioning public spaces as dangerous, and young women as endangered in such spaces, Tim creates a stage for his performance of masculinity (see Day, 2001).

Along with supporting socially ascribed ideals of masculinity, alcohol can also threaten it (Thurnell-Read, 2013). This can be explained by drawing on Butler’s (1988:519) contention that gender is not a stable identity; rather, gender is constituted in time through a “stylized repetition of acts”. As gender is performative, and gendered identities do not pre-exist performances of them, identities are, for Butler (1990), profoundly uncertain (see also Rose, 1997). The insecurity of gender identity arises precisely because the construction of gender relies on repeated performances (Butler, 1990); as such, there are opportunities to ‘do’ gender differently. My data, below, demonstrate that alcohol can facilitate “slippage” and transgressions in gender performances (Butler, 1993:122):
I get a bit gushy when drunk, like my mate, he’s dead clever, and he’s dead hard-working, and he’s really down on himself, he was going on about it the last time we were both drunk, and I just said “do you know what? You’re brilliant” just, went on for about twenty minutes, and everyone was just sat there like “Jesus, are you two going to kiss, or what?” Yeah it was, I think it’s just that, just saying things I wouldn’t usually say

(David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

When sober in the car park at the start of the night, Carl and Danny were very quiet, and appeared to be relatively devoid of emotion, they weren’t particularly physically affectionate towards one another. However, later in the night, and multiple swigs of whisky later, Carl told Danny he “loved him”, and that he was “perfect”, his “best mate in the whole wide world”

(Field diary, 6/12/2013, night out with Vera, Milly, Danny, Carl, 15-17, Wythenshawe)

From the above excerpts, one can see that alcohol enabled David and Carl to exhibit a lack of control and restraint over their emotions (see Thurnell-Read, 2013), getting “gushy”. Here, one can see the fragility of the “heterosexual matrix” (Butler, 1990:151). The consumption of alcohol opens up spaces of resistance to the ‘heterosexual matrix’, enabling David and Carl to carve out distance from heteronormative practices. In Carl’s case, one can see that the car park was brought into being as a “caringscape” (Atkinson et al., 2011:567). Space is not a neutral backdrop; it is an active part of the intersubjective space of care. Emotions then, echoing Cronin (2014), are actively generated between friends and in specific spaces, facilitated by alcohol. It is of note that, as a female researcher, the young men referred to above may have felt more able to talk about/express their drunken emotions than if a male researcher was present, due to strong associations between alcohol consumption and upholding hegemonic masculinity (Day et al., 2003a; Emslie et al., 2013).
As the above demonstrates, Carl practiced, what may be termed ‘transgressive’ masculinity, by failing to comply with the “masculine norms” of “controlling and restricting expression of emotion” (Iwamoto and Smiler, 2013:371). Further to this, Carl fails to conform to the masculine norm of “striving to appear heterosexual” (Iwamoto and Smiler, 2013:372) by kissing his male friend on the lips. This can be seen in the following extract from my field diary:

Carl started stating that he loved his mum and his little baby brother and that he wanted to go home and kiss him. Carl then kissed Danny on the lips, just a little kiss, but something I got the impression he wouldn’t have engaged in without the influence of alcohol. Vera and Milly remarked that Carl was very sweet, and Vera stated that she wished Milly was this affectionate when drunk (Field diary, 6/12/2013, night out with Vera, Milly, Danny, Carl, 15-16, Wythenshawe)

From the above, it is evident that embodiment of drunkenness helped Carl to articulate and express his emotions - both in talk and touch - thereby simultaneously threatening the male body, which is typically identified as being associated with control and boundedness. This closeness, touching and physicality between men is an act often considered to transgress the performance of normative gendered expectations (see Waitt et al., 2011). My findings thus support Thurnell-Read’s (2013) contention that, for younger drinkers, the ties between drinking and maintaining a bounded, controlled, male body may not be so clear. Drinking with friends allowed Danny to ‘turn a blind eye’ to Carl’s non-hegemonic practices, such as kissing him (see Emslie et al., 2013). As Emslie et al. (2013) recognise, drinking with friends is often thought to promote excessive drinking. However, the above lends credence to Emslie et al.’s (2013) contention, although based on pub-space, that drinking with friends can also have health-promoting behaviours, by enabling young people to share emotions, thereby potentially safeguarding their psychological wellbeing.
A care strategy predominantly talked about by young women under the legal drinking age in Wythenshawe and Chorlton, involves sober, or less inebriated, friends supervising heavily intoxicated friends (see Armstrong et al., 2014). This strategy can be illustrated by the following comments from Heather, Olivia, Stacey, and Kelly below:

So like, the most amount of people I’d probably go with is like eight people, that is it. I wouldn’t go any higher than that because then I’d probably just worry about losing them. But I make sure it’s in the two times table if you know what I mean. Like it’s either two, four, six, or eight people, so then we can pair up and look after like one person. Cos if there’s seven of us that means that there’s gonna have to be a group of three, and two groups of two. So like make sure there’s pairs of two so like we can look after each other. We’ll tell one person “which one of you wants to get more drunk, and which one wants to stay sober to look after one of us?” Like he’ll say “I’ll get more drunk” and the other one will say “I’ll look after them”. So there’d be two, and one of them would be sober so we’d know what we’d be doing. So like, I think that’s sensible

(Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

A good night out needs people who you feel comfortable with. Safe environment, that is really important, urm and someone there to take care of you…Someone who is the designated carer of everyone, so if anything goes tits up they are there to take care of you. Yeah, cos I don’t like going out when there’s no designated carer, even if it’s someone that’s the same as me that doesn’t drink, they drink, but they don’t drink as much as everyone else, so they know what they’re doing and the surroundings so and they’re throwing up and they can be like “right come on, it’s time for you to…” you know

(Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)

Here’s all of us together [pointing to a photograph of all her friends sat together at a house party], but sometimes only a few of us will drink, but we will more or less sit together, with a couple of sober people who will look after us. So it’s really a close-knit group of friends I’ve got. So we all know each other’s limits more or less and we’ll all keep an eye on each other

(Stacey, 16, Chorlton, mobile phone interview)

I stop drinking when I’ve got to look after somebody else or like if I’m at a party and there’s loads of people there like I’ll just put them in bed and then I’ll go and check on them all the time

(Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

As the above quotations suggest, being a (relatively) sober minder is something young people commonly undertake; it can be pre-planned, or occur without being planned as a

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18 ‘Tits up’ is a phrase used to describe a situation where something goes wrong.
result of analysing the drunkenness and drunken behaviour of friends. For instance, whilst Heather, Olivia, and Stacey explain that the ‘buddy system’ is agreed in advance, for Kelly it is less planned, and more tacitly encoded in mutually understood rules of friendship (see MacLean, 2015). The buddy system/use of a sober minder was not something young people typically spoke negatively about, or objected to in any way. These findings contradict many conclusions drawn in the existing alcohol studies literature. For example, MacLean (2015) concludes that many young people dislike going out with friends who do not drink. To the contrary, my findings suggest that the use of a (relatively) sober minder was a common sense tactic. This was also the case with Sinkinson’s (2014) research into young people’s strategies for keeping safe when combining alcohol consumption and water activities in New Zealand. The author found that the presence of a sober person, or people who could perform the role of minders, and having sober people outnumber drunken people, were strategies young people commonly utilised to increase safety. Here then, my findings lend credence to the use of the term “calculated hedonism” (Szmigin et al., 2008:359), a term recognising that young people manage their pleasure around alcohol.

For the young people we have heard from so far, physical co-presence is important for their caring geographies (see Bowlby, 2011). However, some young people in my study make evident that caring relationships can transcend face-to-face acts. Take the comment from Stacey below:
Josie who was the first one I got drunk with she is now 18, so I gave her money and she bought me alcohol, after making sure that one of my friends was there to supervise me, and wouldn’t be drinking. Calling up my friends every single hour to make sure I was okay, and ensuring that I would be fine...I get texts in the middle of the night saying “drink water” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

In line with the findings from Armstrong et al.’s (2014) study, Stacey expresses a sense of safety derived from the knowledge that she is looked after by her friendship group. The notion of, what Armstrong et al. (2014:758) term, a “culture of helping” is evident here. Interestingly, Stacey enrols the mobile phone into consumption network; it is fundamental for facilitating an affective engineering of her experiences of drunkenness (see Duff, 2012). Josie would call Stacey’s friends to ensure she is “okay”, alongside sending her text messages to ensure she is drinking plenty of water. Digital technologies, such as mobile phones, can thus facilitate care about embodied experiences beyond one’s immediate space and time (Farrugia et al., 2015). From this, it is evident that technology does not mean that physical care is being supplanted by caring at a distance. Rather, technology supplements proximate care; the caring gaze mediated through technology enables bodily transformations in “real space” (see Parr, 2002:85).

Whilst friends expect that they should care for each other when drunk, the provision of care within friendship must be managed carefully, so as not to intrude on the autonomy of the friend who does the caring (MacLean, 2015). This was something commonly expressed by young women in my study, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe. Take the following comments:
It ruins your night though if someone, if one of your mates gets too drunk, cos then you have to look after them

(Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

A couple of people have drank too much, and they’re just kinda annoying, cos they’re like, you have to look after them, and it’s like “I don’t want to, I don’t want to look after you, it’s your fault”

(Amy, 18, Chorlton, interview)

As the above quotations from Vera and Amy indicate, some young people judge the behaviour of friends who drink too much (see de Visser et al., 2013). Both Vera and Amy appear to resent it when one of their friends gets “too drunk” because caring for them can restrict their social and spatial freedom on a night out. However, equally, young people recognised that not acting in line with the role of ‘carer’ or ‘protector’ can be detrimental to friendship bonds. Consider the diary extract from Louisa below:

Kate and I had 2 cocktails at The Dainty [a bar in Manchester city centre], just chatting and catching up. Then we went to a cheap bar on Wayward street for cheap drinks (2 shots and 2 double mixers each). We stayed there for about half an hour then decided to go back to a house party in Chorlton. We bought a bottle of wine for the bus journey back. Kate drank most of the wine and was wayyyy to drunk by the time we got to the party: my friends helped me look after her in the bathroom until she passed out on a bed for about half an hour. Everyone at the party was taking drugs (not drinking much) and I took some MDMA\(^\text{19}\) whilst Kate was asleep. When she woke up I had to help carrying her home, made sure she was asleep and went back to the party (BAD FRIEND!)

(Louisa, 22, Chorlton, diary)

Here, Louisa describes acting under the influence of alcohol and drugs whilst attempting to look after her intoxicated friend, Kate. Whilst performing some caring strategies, such as getting her drunken friend home, Louisa describes herself as a “BAD FRIEND!” for leaving Kate whilst she resumed partying. Louisa seems to recognise, in hindsight, that care is very important to friendships. This supports contentions made in the literature. For

\[^{19}\text{MDMA is commonly known as ecstasy and, more recently, ‘Molly’. It is a synthetic, psychoactive drug that has similarities to both the stimulant amphetamine and the hallucinogen mescaline. It produces feelings of increased energy, euphoria, emotional warmth and empathy toward others, and distorts sensory and time perceptions (NIH, 2013).}\]
instance, in relation to drinking, MacLean (2015) argues that being let down by a friend is distressing, and can damage friendship bonds. Further, Niland et al. (2013) contend that friends who do not stay together when sharing drinking fun are negatively positioned.

Several young men and women in my study, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, spoke about being triggered into a state of sobriety, in order to perform the role of carer. This lends credence to the contention that care is relationally produced, and is constantly (re)configured and (re)negotiated as, what Brands and Schwanen (2014:68) term, “a transient and situational process”. In the alcohol studies’ literature, the notion that affective atmospheres can influence feelings of drunkenness has begun to be explored (see, for instance, Jayne et al., 2010, and Chapter Seven in this thesis). However, the notion that affective atmospheres can induce feelings of sobriety has been virtually neglected. My findings demonstrate that this is an important omission. Take the quotations below:

We also take care for one another. So if I notice one of my friends has gone missing regardless of how pissed I am, I will become sober²⁰, I snap out of it. I have no idea how it happens but my body does it automatically

(Louisa, 22, Chorlton, follow up interview)

If I’m drunk and something bad happens, there’s just something in me that goes “stop” [clicks fingers]. It’s like my body speaks to me. If I see a fight though, it’s like I was saying, my body says “stop”, then I’ll start sobering up and realising that if anyone’s arguing not to get involved and try and help, try and make them realise they’re friends, they’re not enemies like they’re not supposed to be arguing

(Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

²⁰ When I refer to ‘sober’ in this chapter, I am not talking about it in any legally defined sense of sobriety (e.g. “not being under the influence of an intoxicating beverage”, The Law Dictionary, n.d: no pagination). Rather, I am using the term to reflect the affective and embodied experiences of young people in my study who described ‘feeling sober’, despite not ‘being sober’ by any legal definition.
SW: How does it make you feel if you get involved with, or witness, trouble?

Simon: Well, you sober up don’t you, for like ten minutes when something serious happens. Which is like the strangest feeling ever. Because you can be SO drunk, and when something happens, you you automatically become normal again. So that, that’s strange, but yeah I do find that when something serious happens to you or one of your friends you just come out of it

(Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

Louisa, Heather, and Simon state that their carefree states are disrupted when “something serious happens”, something also found in Brands and Schwanen’s (2014) study. When someone perceives danger or a threat, cells in the nervous and endocrine systems work closely together to prepare the body for action; this is often referred to as the ‘fight or flight’ response, and is an example of cell communication eliciting instantaneous and simultaneous responses throughout the body (Genetic Science Learning Centre, 2014). Put another way, being perceptive that a friend is missing, or trouble is occurring, are elements that trigger an altered state of embodied being into a ‘sober’ state. An additional factor potentially contributing to these young people’s shifts in embodied feeling is that their initial feelings of drunkenness were constituted by more than their blood alcohol concentration levels; their feelings of drunkenness were also constituted by various human and more-than-human actants, such as friends, music, lighting, thereby shaping their embodied feelings of drunkenness. This explains the fact that, whilst Louisa, Heather, and Simon’s blood alcohol concentration levels would have remained the same, the social element to being drunk means that when something serious happens, it acts as a trigger, meaning it is possible to perceive an ability to gain some control over the feeling of drunkenness.
6.4 Relationships with Siblings

During participant observation, when drinking outside of the space of the home, I found that young people always consumed alcohol with friendship groups, rather than with siblings. Older siblings were more lenient about allowing their younger siblings to consume alcohol with them when in the space of the home, than in public spaces. For instance, Jack (16, Chorlton, follow up interview) recalls that his older sister [17] has never purchased alcohol for him, and that he has never accompanied her on a night out. However, he does recall one occasion where his sister had a number of friends around, without his parents’ knowledge or permission. Jack describes how his sister and her friends were playing drinking games, and asked him if he wanted to do shots with them. Here one can surmise that alcohol is used, almost as a form of bribery, a manipulative tactic used by his sister in order to strike a ‘deal’ for his silence (see McIntosh and Punch, 2009).

Other than allowing their siblings to taste alcohol in the space of the home, interviews with young people reveal that siblings were unlikely to facilitate their access to alcohol. Consider the following remarks:

Ethan: My friends use to get it [the alcohol]. I don’t know where they got it from, but they always use to run about with like WKDs [a brand of alcopop] and other bottles, like whisky.

Scott: Would you have ever asked your older brothers to get it for you?

Ethan: Na, they’d kill me, they’d kill me if they knew what I was doing (Ethan and Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, peer interview)
My brother don’t really like me drinking, but me mum said I can, so he can’t really stop me. My brother never introduced me to alcohol. Me mum did, but not me brother

(Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

Jess often goes to parties in the park and stuff, that’s my older sister. There’s this place where her friends hang out called The Fields. I don’t know where it is cos I’m the younger sister, I’m not allowed to know. Like she specifically said to me when I started drinking, “I’m not being one of those sisters who buys you alcohol, that’s not happening”

(Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)

As these quotations illustrate, older siblings do not have a permissive attitude regarding providing their younger siblings with alcohol. Further, Alice suggests that her sister has a special drinking space, one that she is excluded from knowing its location. As I argue then, younger siblings in my study were often subject to enforced separation from older siblings who wished to assert, what Edwards et al. (2006:39) refer to as, their “individuality”. This is achieved by expressing a desire for separateness and autonomy from younger siblings outside the home (Hadfield et al., 2006). Take the following exchange:

Kelly: I’ve got two older brothers, one’s 22 and one’s 21 and I’ve asked them if I could come out with them and they say no.

SW: Why do you think that is?

Jenny: Cos they’ve seen it, and they’ve, this sounds ‘angin’, but they’ve probably slept with girls that are probably dead young, so they probably think it’s going to happen to us

(Kelly, 17, and Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

Both Kelly and Jenny suggest that their older brothers distance themselves spatially from them on their alcohol-related nights out. My findings support those in Gillies and Lucey’s (2006) study, where eldest brothers were more likely to be protective of their younger siblings, watching out for potential threats. When asked why they believe their siblings do

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21 ‘Angin’ is a word used to describe something particularly unpleasant.
not invite them on nights out, Jenny claims that their siblings are aware of the risky situations young women and men can find themselves in when they have been consuming alcohol. For instance, engaging in unsafe sex, or having sexual liaisons they may regret, and that their older brothers would not wish for them to find themselves in such situations. An alternate reason for siblings not joining each other on nights out can be gleaned through a close reading of the excerpt below:

My step brother is quite the opposite to me. He’s called Ian, he’s the one who’s a few years younger than me. He kind of came out with my friends, like he wasn’t good friends with them, but because it was convenient to come out he kind of, in the nicest way possible, tagged along. But he didn’t use to drink much. He didn’t really fit in as much, cos he was being different and a bit quieter so that’s possibly why I only let him come out with my friends on one occasion

(Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

In the above, whilst Ian is “only a few years younger”, Collin details disallowing him to come out with his friends. This supports Gullies and Lucey’s (2006) findings that maintained friendship networks are separate from their siblings, even where the age difference is small. Here, by only allowing his sibling to “tag” along with his friendship group on one alcohol-related night out, Collin structured his younger sibling’s socio-spatial opportunities. Further into the interview, Collin revealed that he was “quite popular at school, without kind of blowing my own trumpet, cos like I’m quite confident, I always speak to everyone”. I surmise that Collin no longer allows his brother to accompany him on nights out, due to the threat siblings can pose to the negotiation of the social hierarchies required to sustain school and social relations (see Gillies and Lucey, 2006). As Gillies and Lucey (2006:489) articulate, “stakes are high in this process, and attempts to carve out a respected identity are easily undermined”. Indeed, the sociological literature documents the tendency for younger siblings to embarrass their older sisters and brothers (Edwards et al., 2006). Relatedly, in the excerpt below, Alice tells how her older
sister, Chloe, 18, used preventative practices to avoid embarrassment; that is, telling her not to mix certain drinks, due to the physical, and potentially reputational (‘throwing up’), consequences:

…So she was like “don’t mix spirits and beers, cos that won’t work, you’ll throw up” urm and I was kinda too scared to get completely drunk

(Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)

Here, we can see that Chloe wishes for Alice to project the identity of an experienced drinker when she appears before others. However, as Goffman (1959:63) tells, “the impression of reality fostered by a performance is a delicate, fragile thing that can be shattered by very minor mishaps”. Had Alice mixed her drinks and shown tangible evidences of drunken embodiment, by being physically sick, this event could have thrown doubt upon/discredited the identity her sister wished for her to project. From this, one can infer that performing drunkenness in an inappropriate manner, for instance, by mixing drinks and thereby being physically sick, could have embarrassing reputational consequences, not only for the individual, yet also for siblings.

Contrary to what has been said thus far this section, one participant in my study, Rik, describes that he did go ‘out and about’ with his brother. Rik’s brother is in fact his twin. Rik does not describe restricting his twin brother’s access to alcohol, or alcohol-related spatial range; nor that his brother seeks to restrict his alcohol-related experiences. Indeed, as the young brothers are both transitioning through their drinking careers together, they often experience drunkenness together. Take the exchange between Rik and Ashley, below:
Rik: I had to look after my brother once, my twin.

Ashley: So what happened?

Rik: Urm, we was at some house and then, he was like dead drunk, and he was falling all over the place, so I had to take him home, but I put him on the bus, but he was throwing up on the bus, so I put his head on the side, so he didn’t swallow his tongue

(Rik and Ashley, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Whilst accompanying each other on nights out, Rik resists dominant discourses of twins as characterised by sameness (Bacon, 2006), by drawing a distinction between their bodies (Stewart, 2000). Rik presents his brother as ‘bad’ for getting intoxicated, falling over, and being physically sick on public transport. In contrast, Rik presents himself as ‘good’ by adopting the role of carer in order to ensure his brother’s safety. As can be seen above, Rik does performative work in order to highlight that differences characterise twinship (see Bacon, 2006 on child negotiations of twin identity). Indeed, being an identical twin myself, I can relate with Rik; a snippet from my auto-biographical account below illustrates that my early alcohol consumption experiences were likewise thoroughly intertwined with my twin sister:

My twin sister and I would always go out together. I can’t recall a drinking experience between the ages of 15-18 where we didn’t consume alcohol together. We would get ready together, and source our alcohol together, either by: convincing our parents to purchase it for us; by using our contacts with slightly older men to purchase alcohol on our behalf; or by taking drink from our dad’s drinks cupboard. We would then meet our friends out. Despite our drinking practices being thoroughly joint, I was always aware that I was the slightly older sibling and, as such, I would take it upon myself to analyse my sister’s drunkenness. If I felt she was too drunk, I would stop drinking myself, stop her from drinking, and adopt the role of carer

As my account details, when under the legal drinking age, my twin sister and I were co-conspirators. Our ability to obtain alcohol, and attend nights out, was very much a team effort. Nonetheless, I suggest that despite being only four minutes older than my twin sister, I would draw upon this status and adopt the duty of carer if I noticed my twin sister
became, what I perceived to be, too intoxicated. Here, to echo Stewart (2000:720), it can be seen that “a few minutes difference at birth…may be crucial in structuring the behaviour of the to-be-labelled ‘elder’ and ‘younger’ twin”.

With the exception of sibling twin relationships then, in my study I found that young people are often not keen to supply alcohol to their younger brothers or sisters, or to allow them to go ‘out and about’ with them on alcohol-related nights out. However, what I did see, in both case study locations, is a shift towards relatively open intragenerational dialogues around alcohol. The following example from David brings this to light:

My younger brother is 18, and he doesn’t drink, and he does have a very good reason why. In September, we had an uncle that died from alcohol-related illnesses, he didn’t drink before that, and I think now he won’t bother. I had the conversation with him, and it’s something you need to, if you start waking up in the morning and thinking “Jesus I need a drink” you ought to be worried, but otherwise I think you’re alright

(David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

In this excerpt, David describes an “affective encounter” (Oswin and Olund, 2010:62) with his younger brother, in which he conversed with him about how to distinguish whether one has an alcohol problem. As noted in the literature, older siblings typically seek to educate and protect their younger brothers and sisters, with younger siblings being recipients of teaching and protection (Hadfield et al., 2006; Ripoll-Núñez and Carrillo, 2014; Song, 2010). It is commonly recognised that having a sibling can enable access to information not easily obtainable elsewhere (Gillies and Lucey, 2006). Edwards et al. (2005:499) explore “talk” and “activity” as gendered features of children’s relationships with their sisters and brothers. The authors contend that, for women, talking together is a significant aspect of their connection to their sisters, whilst doing activities together is a
significant aspect of connection between brothers. However, contrary to Edwards et al.’s (2005) contention, through my data, the importance of talk for educating siblings about the consequences of alcohol consumption was seen to be a practice transcending gender differences. Rather than putting emotional connection and dependency on their siblings aside as they are growing older, David’s aforementioned account highlights the importance of identification and affective ties (see Valentine et al., 2014) with siblings for intensifying learning about alcohol.

Whilst David and his brother, introduced in the previously discussed excerpt, are only a few years apart in age, this age spacing is still significant; unlike Rik and his twin brother, the siblings are at different stages on the pathway to adulthood (Conger and Little, 2010). In David’s account, the “sibling practice” of talk (Edwards et al., 2006:60), enabled the older sibling to construct his identity as having acquired corporeal knowledge of alcohol consumption. This “‘doing’ of sibship” (Bacon, 2012:308), is practiced by the older sibling to signal that he has transitioned closer towards the status of adulthood (Punch, 2008); this therefore distances him from his younger sibling. This notion is further evidenced through the quotations from Jack and Alice below:

My sister [Helen, 17] has told me that when you start feeling light-headed, that’s when you stop

( Jack, 16, Chorlton, interview)

My sister [Chloe, 18] likes to act like my mum, so she’s always telling me stuff…When I first started drinking, I flat out refused to try vodka, because I was so scared. My sister had like had a whole talk with me before I left. She was like “don’t try this” and “don’t drink this” and “don’t mix these”

(Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)
The older siblings, referred to above, have acquired an enhanced ability to judge drunkenness, and an improved knowledge of the effects of certain alcoholic drinks on their bodies. This chimes with Latour’s (2004b:205, emphasis in original) contention that the body has to “learn to be affected”; that is, “effectuated”, moved, propelled into motion by different human and more-than-human agencies - for instance, various types of alcohol. Through experience and practice, both older siblings demonstrate signs of having learnt the ‘skills’ of sensible drinking. First, Jack describes his older sister using her embodied experiences of drunkenness to provide advice to him regarding when to stop consuming alcohol. Second, Alice recalls her initial fear of obtaining a certain level of drunkenness. This was due to her older sister using “accumulated experience” (Punch, 2001:809) about the differing affective capacities of certain types of alcoholic drinks. As Kothari et al. (2014) suggest, where young people’s alcohol consumption is concerned, siblings are potentially noteworthy agents of influence and change.

More than this, the quotation above from Alice is typical of a theme I saw in the data of siblings performing as “assistant parents” (Seaman and Sweeting, 2004:183). Through her maternalistic pedagogue, Alice’s older sibling treads a fine line between expressing caring concern, and attempting to control, contain or shape the behaviour of her younger sister (see Gillies and Lucey, 2006). Indeed, throughout my research, I did not only see examples of older sisters ‘becoming’ mum, but also older brothers ‘becoming’ dad. Consider the following quotation from Jenny:
My brother disapproves of how much I drink. Like, my mum would buy me beer, he would never buy me beer. He doesn’t think I should drink...But he would do that when he was my age, probably worse. He’s 24 but he thinks he’s my dad. So I wouldn’t drink in front of him probably

(Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

Here, Jenny describes her brother’s disapproval over the quantity of alcohol she consumes, contending that, as a consequence, he will not purchase alcohol on her behalf. However, birth order and age are not fixed hierarchies; younger siblings can contest, resist and negotiate intragenerational power imbalances (McIntosh and Punch, 2009). According to Punch (2005), siblings that are relatively close in age are less likely to take seriously a command from the sibling. Despite being eight years apart in age, Jenny describes not drinking in front of her brother, thereby creating her own micro-space of hanging out, as a way of avoiding his authority. Further, a text message I received from Alice, shown below, illustrates her autonomy, as she describes her intention to consume vodka, despite her 18 year old sister (as shown earlier in this section) telling her to avoid it:

I’m sticking with beer and cider but with the occasional bit of vodka. But, if my sister finds out I’ve been drinking vodka she will go MENTAL, she hates the stuff, so many of her friends have got drunk on it

(Alice, 16, Chorlton, text message)

The above text message from Alice highlights that the idea of an intragenerational transmission of practices and attitudes relating to alcohol, drinking and drunkenness between siblings is overly simplistic. By consuming a type of alcohol she has been told to avoid, Alice resists subjugation from the “mini-mothering” of her older sister (Mauthner, 2000:291; 2005). In a later interview, Alice states:
I don’t think my sister likes the fact that I don’t follow her rules when drinking, so like at the first party I went to, after she told me not to drink vodka and beer, I did have a sip of vodka anyway. And she asked me when I got home “so what did you drink?”, and I told her and she was like “I told you not to drink vodka”, and I was like “yeah, and, you’re my sister not my mother”

(Alice, 16, Chorlton, follow up interview)

Thus, whilst birth order can be viewed as a structural constraint, Alice practiced, what Punch (2002:123, emphasis in original) refers to as, “negotiated interdependence”. That is, acting within and between this structural limitation, by shaping her own personal drinking geographies (see Valentine and Hughes, 2011). By establishing spatialities of freedom to consume vodka, away from the surveillance and constriction of the sibship gaze, Alice actively manages her drinking biography. In line with Guan and Fuligni (2015), my data demonstrate that siblings offer compensatory sources of support within families, and have unique qualities that situate them somewhere between parent and friends.

### 6.5 Concluding Remarks

Whilst an emphasis remains upon the significance of intergenerational transmission in the formation of young people’s drinking practices (e.g. Jayne et al., 2012b; Jayne and Valentine, 2015), the role of intragenerational transmission between siblings and friends has remained largely unaccounted for in geographical theory. This chapter teased out the roles of friendship and care when bound up with the consumption of alcohol. In doing so, I highlighted the importance many young people place on being a ‘good friend’, by adopting the necessary caring duties for drunk friends, thus signalling a potentially fruitful avenue for policy intervention. My findings thus lend credence to Thurnell-Read’s
(2013) contention that friendships and, I would add, more-than-friendships are central to many young people’s drinking practices and experiences, and should not be side-lined in favour of a focus on the individual body of the drinker. Further, I have highlighted the important role of older siblings in younger siblings’ knowledge and learning about alcohol. Older siblings were generally not permissive in providing younger siblings with alcohol, or allowing them to accompany them on alcohol-related nights out. Some younger siblings in my study displayed tactics to circumvent the authority of their older siblings, such as crafting spaces to experiment with alcohol away from the ‘sibling gaze’. Despite a strict attitude towards supplying their younger siblings with alcohol, I have shown that there is a relatively open intragenerational dialogue surrounding alcohol; older siblings seek to transmit their acquired embodied knowledge about alcohol consumption to their younger siblings. Geography as a discipline has tended to focus on the role of parents in shaping young people’s behaviour (a criticism likewise heralded at the discipline of Sociology by Davies, 2015). My thesis thus contributes to geographical scholarship by illuminating how being, and having, friends, brothers and/or sisters can shape young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences.
Chapter Seven
Getting Around

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I build on chapters 5 and 6, illustrating that young people’s alcohol-related transitions to adulthood are not only bound up with relationships with people, they are also bound up with relationships with spaces. First, I move beyond the contemporary imaginary of drinking as a city centre issue (Holloway et al., 2008) to unpack diverse drinkscapes, including bars, pubs, clubs, parks, and streets in, between, and beyond, the suburban areas of Wythenshawe and Chorlton. In so doing, I demonstrate that young people use their perception of the ‘classed other’ (Sutton, 2009) to justify socio-spatial processes of inclusion and exclusion from drinkscapes. Second, I highlight young people’s alcohol-related walking and vehicular im/mobilities. I illustrate the emotional, embodied and affective nature of ‘getting around’, to argue that journeys are not simply a means to get to nights out; they are fundamental constituents of nights out. Third, I pay attention to atmospheres of music, lighting, and darkness, to illustrate that drunkenness is not about alcohol alone (Jayne et al., 2010). I show that these atmospheres have the capacity to influence young people’s drinking practices and experiences. More than this, I argue that young people must not be conceptualised as passive to atmospheres; young people have the agency to intervene in drinking assemblages, thereby shaping the drinking practices and experiences of themselves and others.
7.2 Diversity of Drinking Spaces

7.2.1 Commercial Drinking Spaces

Many young people from Chorlton, above the legal drinking age, identified distinct appeals to consuming alcohol in the commercial premises in the local area; this can be seen through the following quotations:

[Showing me a video of friends drinking in the outside seating area of a bar in Chorlton]. Bars round here are kind of, normally there’s somewhere to sit outside, and it’s also like you can, just kind of, I don’t think you have to censor what you say when you’re outside. It’s a nicer feel. I think when you’re surrounded by people who only want to get drunk it can be like annoying, but in Chorlton people just wanna sit and have a chat and not cause a fuss. In Chorlton I either go to a bar with music and nice drink or like a proper pub where I can get a pint and its quite quiet and warm, those are my favourites

(Louisa, 22, Chorlton, mobile phone interview)

Obviously in Chorlton, there are some like really cheap places, and some like more expensive places, so sometimes that will play into it if we’re kind of a bit skint towards the end of the month, we’ll be like “ah, shall we go to The Marine [a pub] for a few”, or if money’s not a problem then there’s a few nicer bars where we choose to go, so maybe like Tipples, or all the bars around Moat Road are quite nice, or kind of the new Calico’s [a bar] that has opened. But it’s nice to just wander along to a few different ones. You’re not really short of choice to be honest. But we also, yeah sometimes quite enjoy going in the more rough kind of pubs, like The Langham is like really rough, don’t ever go when football is on, you’ll just be like “ah, I’m going to get stabbed” [laughs]. But that’s when I go with my housemate because she quite likes old men’s pubs, whereas I like kind of like bars and things. We go everywhere really, we don’t really stick to one kind of place just like “ah, let’s go here today, or let’s go there”

(Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

Above, Louisa describes the importance of elements, such as outdoor seating, in making commercial drinkscapes in Chorlton alluring. For Louisa, the ability to drink outside is liberating; because there is less of an audience when drinking outdoors, compared to indoors, she does not have to “censor” what she wishes to say. Louisa characterises the clientele in Chorlton as people who “want to have a chat”. She explains that their aim is not for, what Measham and Brain (2005:268) term, “determined drunkenness”. Both
Louisa and Evie highlight that the appeal of consuming alcohol in Chorlton is due to the diversity of commercial drinkscapes available. As Evie claims, Chorlton offers a range of: cheap and expensive spaces; bars and pubs; and rough and un-rough spaces. It is interesting that Evie does not necessarily equate “cheap places” as ‘good’ and “expensive places” as ‘bad’. Rather, she proclaims to favour the ability to vary the spaces of her alcohol consumption practices; this can be influenced by factors, such as duration of time since pay day. Following on from this, Evie likewise does not consider “rough” spaces as somewhere to necessarily avoid. Rather, consuming alcohol in such spaces is something she proclaims to “enjoy”. For both Louisa and Evie then, suburban drinking is a diverse and heterogeneous practice, and there are clear classed spaces that they move between for their drinking experiences.

More commonly, many young people, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, articulated a variety of classed reasons why they did not enjoy consuming alcohol in bars, pubs and clubs in their local areas. Consider the following comments:

I go out in the Gay Village in town. It’s way cheaper and it’s just like easier. Like in Chorlton it’s like, it’s kind of busier as well, and everyone’s a little bit, not to be offensive, but everyone’s a little bit pretentious, and I’m like “really?”, like - I don’t know. I think everyone just, not everyone - that’s a really big generalisation, but I think like there’s kind of like this air of everyone thinks that they’re like, I don’t know, a little bit kooky and special, but it’s not really my thing that

(Lucie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

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22 Manchester Gay Village is in Manchester city centre, and is populated with gay bars and restaurants.
SW: What do you think of the pubs in Wythenshawe?

Collin: They’re not the best, there’s a few in Wythenshawe that are full of 16/17 year olds and you get a few that are your old men pubs, as you call them, others that are people who aren’t working that just sit there all day every day, shouting and swearing at people, so it’s not the nicest place to go for a drink.

(Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

SW: Where do you usually go to drink?

Olivia: Town, Sale, Altrincham or Stockport

SW: Why wouldn’t you drink in Wythenshawe?

Scott: Cos there’s pure fag heads in the pub.

SW: There’s what?

Scott: Fag heads

SW: What does that mean?

Olivia: They always start fights

( Olivia and Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

In the first quotation above, Lucie - who earlier in the interview disclosed that she is a lesbian - hints that Chorlton does not offer commercial gay space, choosing instead to access Manchester’s Gay Village (see Binnie and Skeggs, 2004 for an overview of the production and consumption of sexualised space in Manchester’s Gay Village). More than this though, Lucie expresses judgment about the kind of people that inhabit bars in Chorlton. Lucie comments on the “pretentious”, “kooky” and “special” people that frequent commercial premises in Chorlton, distancing herself away from such traits. The notion that particular people can make commercial drinks scouts undesirable was also a theme in young people’s accounts of consuming alcohol in Wythenshawe, as exemplified above through comments made by Collin, Scott and Olivia. According to Collin, Wythenshawe predominantly has ‘old man pubs’, which are often frequented by the unemployed, and are consequently unappealing drinks scouts for young people. Collin
expresses disapproval over the types of people drinking in such spaces by highlighting their auditory capacity to offend, as they “shout” and “swear”. Additionally, in the subsequent exchange, Olivia and Scott contend that they avoid going out in Wythenshawe, their local area, due to the types of people that frequent the commercial premises; that is, “fag heads” who “always start fights”.

In addition to expressing disapproval over certain types of people frequenting commercial premises, young people in my study contend that encounters with material culture and sensual atmospheres have the ability to pull them out of place (see Taylor and Falconer, 2015):

Teresa: I’d go to pubs and stuff like that cos I can get in The Otter but I just sit there and I just think, well I can have more fun at home, do you know what I mean?

Joanna: I think The Otter smells like old men, and the pool table’s like wonky, so all the balls go to one side

(Teresa and Joanna, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Some of the bars here [points to a spot on the map] play their music so loud. I went to Walley’s [a bar] with my sister, couldn’t hear a word she was saying. Loud music, really expensive beer or alcohol in general, urm and if it’s too crowded. Like sometimes if it’s too crowded you can’t hear yourself think either, or it takes ages to get served and you get annoyed and want to leave. I just don’t like it. I think if it was slightly cheaper and a bit more friendlier. I mean a lot of the bar staff working in it as well, they tend to be a bit up themselves, so you don’t really fit in. And I think they [Chorlton] could do with a nightclub or something. The bars try and be quirky, and if you just want to go out for a drink with your girlfriend or whatever, you’re not arsed if it’s quirky, if they’ve got a lager from Beijing or whatever

(Tim, 19, Chorlton, drawing elicitation interview)

I went to that Tantra [pub] one once and that was well scary. It’s a bit council housey, council house people would go there I think. I just met some friends there once and yeah, it smelt like, you know like proper horrible lager. I can’t cope with it. I like pubs that smell like not like they’re pubs really, no I wouldn’t go somewhere like that

(Coral, 24, Chorlton, interview)
The exchange above, between Teresa and Joanna, highlights the importance of the olfactory elements of drinking spaces in Wythenshawe, along with the significance of material constituents, such as the pool table. The quotation from Tim demonstrates how the soundscape of a bar in Chorlton, combined with the high density of people, and expensive alcohol, leads to a feeling of ‘annoyance’, provoking him to want to leave this bar. Further, Coral describes the sensory atmosphere of a pub in Chorlton that accommodates, what she describes as, “council house people”. Coral exercises her “middle-class gaze” (Skeggs and Loveday, 2012:487) and reveals her anxieties about consuming alcohol in this pub through statements of symbolic distinction (council house people) designed to hold the working-class at a physical and metaphorical distance. Unlike these “council house people”, Coral is put off by the smell of the pub, and is thus secure in her boundaries that she is not them (see Taylor and Falconer, 2015). Smell then, “is held to signal a dangerous proximity, which must then be guarded against, since to do otherwise would be to threaten the stability of middle-class claims of respectability” (Lawler, 2005:440). Here then, middle-classness relies on the expulsion and exclusion of working-classness (Lawler, 2005). Recognising the problems with consuming alcohol in commercial premises, many young people in my study, particularly those from Wythenshawe, articulated a preference for consuming alcohol in the space of the home, as discussed in Chapter Five.
7.2.2 Outdoor Drinkscapes

My findings show, consistent with the findings in Galloway et al.’s (2007) study, that streets are important drinking spaces for many young people under the legal drinking age. In addition to consuming alcohol in such spaces, the street is commonly used by young people, particularly from Wythenshawe, to take drugs. Consider the following quotations:

Tonight was spent on the streets, mainly wandering around and sitting occasionally on walls. Whilst Vera and Milly were drinking whisky and coke - neatly camouflaged in a Coke bottle, Danny and Carl seemed less interested in drinking, and wanted to get some weed instead. They rang up the “drug dealer”, walked to get the weed, and then came back and joined the rest of the group. Whilst the young people’s consumption preferences differed, all the young people shared a desire to play fight; have running races; and to play loud music from their mobile phones - the street seemed to offer the ideal space for such activities (Field diary, 11/04/2014, night out with Vera, Milly, Danny, Carl, 15-17)

Friday was good started off at the ramps [skate park] smoking ganja [cannabis] a couple of hours later we went to my friends house and rang a drug dealer got some pills and got wired23 on the streets and it was sick24 went home at 2.30am and got the biggest feast of my life

(Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, diary, 2/05/2014)

From my participant observation extract above, one can see that the street offers a space where young people with different consumption preferences (alcohol and/or drugs) can mix. Further, I highlight that the spatiality of the street makes it an appealing drinkscape for young people, as it enables them to engage in playful fights, running races, and to ‘claim space’ by playing music loudly from their phones (see Hil and Bessant, 1999). Additionally, through Rik’s diary entry, he highlights that streets are the “terrain of social encounters” (see Gough and Franch, 2005:150), enabling him to get “wired” with his friends. As Gough and Franch (2005) recognise, although in the context of Recife, Brazil, the street cannot be considered in isolation. The authors explain that people regularly

23 ‘Wired’ is a term used to refer to being ‘high on stimulants’.
24 ‘Sick’ is a term used by some young people to refer to something which is ‘crazy’, ‘cool’, or ‘insane’.
move in and between the spaces of the home, the street, the neighbourhood, and the city. In the example from Rik, he describes moving between the space of the skate park; his friend’s house; the streets; and his own home. Nonetheless, it is in the street that he creates his own public realm (Lieberg, 1995), in order to experiment with drugs.

The drawing by Jemima, see Figure 7.1, likewise exemplifies that places are relative and thus are not solely valued on their own merit, but also how they are part of a larger urban tissue (Cele, 2013):
Here Jemima details a typical night out. First, she would get ready at her house, and get money sorted. Then, she would wait for someone to go in the shop to purchase alcohol for her. Following this, she would have a few drinks at the carpark. On this occasion, Jemima then went to Rach’s party, which she describes as “too posh”. Following this, she made a spliff on the way home.

**Figure 7.1:** Jemima’s Night Out (Jemima, 15, Wythenshawe)
Jemima uses the spaces of the home to get ready with her close friends; it is here that the young people pool together money, in order to purchase alcohol. Following this, she waits outside a supermarket, for someone who is willing to go in to the shop to purchase alcohol on her behalf. Jemima then moves to a car park to consume this alcohol. After this, she recalls going to a friend’s house, but leaving shortly after because it was “too posh”. This is noteworthy because, whilst much of the existing literature is concerned with how moral judgments about the working-class are used to justify socio-spatial processes of exclusion (Valentine and Harris, 2014), here the opposite can be seen to have occurred. Throughout the drawing elicitation interview, Jemima distinguished herself from the “posh” people at ‘Rach’s party’, explaining to me that she had to remove her shoes at the door, and that the young men at the party took more pride in their appearance than she did. Here, Jemima perceived her socio-economic situation in relation to others (Sutton, 2009); whilst she did not refer to herself as ‘rich’ or ‘poor’, she acknowledged social difference through her discussion of others at Rach’s party as “posh”. Consequently, Jemima chose to retreat to the space of the street, making a “spliff” as she walks home. Here, the street can be seen as a “thirdspace”; it acts as “a marginal space for young people, a place they can occupy by default, as they lack the power to control other spaces” (Matthews et al., 2000a:63;71). It allows Jemima to “stand apart” from the posh people at Rach’s house party; she shows signs of “separatedness” (Matthews et al., 2000a:77) by smoking - something she considers would have been unacceptable inside. Jemima’s experience lends credence to Lieshout and Aarts’ (2008) contention that whilst there are certain rules in public space, these are different from those at home and, further to this, they are not strict nor rigidly enforced. Whilst the street is

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25 A ‘spliff’ is a cannabis cigarette.
often considered to be the principle domain of young men, Jemima’s account supports Matthews et al.’s (2000b) contention that the street is also an important space for young women.

Along with streets, my findings suggest that parks are an important space for young people to consume alcohol, away from the adultist gaze (coinciding with findings in Townshend and Robert’s, 2013, study). Maisy’s use of a line in Figure 7.2 connecting the park, house party, fast food outlet, and bedroom together, indicates that the spaces she visits on nights out are relational, and should not be considered alone:
Here Maisy describes starting her night with drinks at the park. Subsequently she would go to a house party. Following this, she would purchase food from McDonalds, before going to bed. Maisy also includes a list on her map of other spaces she sometimes drinks: field, park, red rock [an area in Wythenshawe with a large rock where people jump into the water], pub, streets, bus stops, and friends’ houses.

**Figure 7.2: Maisy’s Night Out (Maisy, 18, Wythenshawe)**
Whilst, as Figure 7.2 indicates, some young women did admit to drinking in the park, this space was more often recounted as a drinkscape by young men in my study, from both case study locations, as the following quotations from Liam, Jacob and Oliver illustrate:

Everyone has a park that they go to, so we had a park that we used to drink in, um some people’s parents were quite liberal in terms of letting people drink in their house, but never to the extent where people were getting smashed in their house. Any other time it would just be wherever you wouldn’t get caught, and that was really it, just parks. It’s just kind of that thing where you know you shouldn’t be doing something but you’re doing it and everyone is kind of outdoors, and everyone was together, and everybody was sort of having fun, and when you were in the park you didn’t feel like you had to keep your voice down or hide things as much, you could quite openly drink, so that was probably the best thing about it really

(Liam, 18, Chorlton, interview)

Drinking in the park is fun because…you can throw up wherever you want innit, just do what you want

(Jacob, 18, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

It’s a bit more of a rush int it drinking in the park cos it’s like “what if we get caught?” that’s good to know in a sense, it makes you more excited. It makes you wanna do it more so I dunno, it feels more out of order than drinking in a house

(Oliver, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Above, Liam reflects on his early drinking experiences, and suggests that the park was an appealing drinkscape; it provided an inclusive space, as everyone could have fun together. Liam contrasts the park with the space of the home. He contends that he would restrict his alcohol consumption levels at home, so as not to get “smashed”. In comparison, Liam does not restrict his alcohol consumption practices in the park, and contends that he is free to express his drunkenness, such as through the volume of his speech in this drinkscape. Rather than keeping the volume down then, in order to avert the gaze of authorities, volume of speech could be perceived as a means by which Liam affirms his presence (Pennay et al., 2014). The park thus allows for what Lieberg (1995:722, emphasis in original) terms: “places of retreat and places of interaction”. Such spaces, on
the one hand, provide young people with an opportunity to withdraw from the adult world and to one’s own friends; yet, on the other hand, provide young people with the space to “to meet and confront the adult world, to put oneself on display, to see and be seen” (Lieberg, 1995:722). This notion that the park is socially and physically unrestrictive (Galloway et al., 2007) is supported by Jacob, who feels free to experiment with his alcohol tolerance levels, by being physically sick in this space. This intimates that, at home, Jacob may not reach the same level of drunkenness, for fear of parental reprisals due to being sick in such a space. Further, Oliver admits to enjoying consuming alcohol in parks, due to the risk of potentially getting caught, which he considers contributes to an atmosphere of excitement. As White (1993:113) said of urban public space, it can be seen that parks provide a space where young people can get together, and spend their time amongst friends “in an atmosphere of relative anonymity and excitement of the senses”. As I have illustrated, parks are not solely sought out by young people in the absence of anywhere better to go; rather, they have their own distinct appeals as drinkscapes, and are thus, to quote Hall et al. (1999:506), “deliberately sought out as places of action and incident”.

Not all young people, however, spoke highly of the park as a drinkscape, as Townshend and Roberts (2013) similarly found. Reasons young people provided for not liking consuming alcohol in the park include the perceived lack of safety surrounding consuming alcohol in such an outdoor space. Others, however, expressed disapproval towards the identities of those consuming alcohol in parks. The following comments illustrate these perspectives:
I think there’s safer places to get drunk than in the park. Like you hear, in Year 10 we were hearing stories of like people in our year who got drunk at the park and then like the police turned up, so they all ran away and one of them like fell over and wacked their head on a rock or something and got concussion or something, so I think it’s not attractive to drink in the park because of that

(Richard, 15, Chorlton, interview)

When I was in Year 10, 11 everyone was like “are you coming to this park to get drunk?” I was like “no”. It’s stupid, why would you want to drink outdoors, in the cold, at night - you can’t see anything. I don’t see much point in drinking outdoors, unless it’s in the safety of someone’s back garden, then no

(Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

I’m not one of those people to drink in a park. I’ve never wanted to. I mean, if friends have I’ve not joined in. I prefer to drink at a house or a party, it’s not as chavvy. You look a bit of an idiot drinking in a park

(Peter, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

As the above quotations indicate, Richard and Olivia conceptualise the park as an unsafe drinking space. They discuss the lack of surveillance, which means that if someone hurt themselves it would be problematic to find help. Peter is not so worried about the safety aspects of consuming alcohol in the park; he is more concerned with the negative connotations of doing so. Peter mobilises the figure of the “chav” - a term often used to demean an individual or group, often to express class-based disgust (Tyler, 2008). However, here, the term is used by a participant who is working-class, to express a critical attitude to others of his social status - those who consume alcohol in parks (Valentine and Harris, 2014). Further to this, both Peter and Olivia are keen to distinguish themselves from the ‘idiotic’ and ‘stupid’ people consuming alcohol in parks, that they perceive as inferior to them. Peter and Olivia then, can be seen to have expressed their identity through processes of inclusion and exclusion, stereotyping and stigmatisation.
7.3 Alcohol-Related Mobilities

7.3.1 Walking Mobilities

Some young people in my study, predominantly those under the legal drinking age, walked through outdoor drinkscapes when on their alcohol-related nights out. In opposition to purposeful walking, which is characterised as “necessary walking” (Wunderlich, 2008:213); that is, to get from ‘A to B’, many young people in my study often walked in a spontaneous way, characterised by varying pace and rhythm. Contrary to Urry’s (2002) discussion of why travel takes place then, it was not the requirement of proximity that gave rise to their mobilities. In other words, their mobilities were not “pointillist” (Bissell, 2013:349). Rather, they should be seen as what Bissell (2013:349, emphasis in original) terms “pointless” mobilities, as they are not oriented by points. Take the comments from Scott and Rik below:

It’s better travelling around, because you just mooch around and you get lost, whereas if you’re drinking in your area, then you know everyone, it gets old
(Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, interview)

If it was just on a night out and we weren’t drinking, we’d just stay in one spot, but if we was drinking, we’d go and explore places, just go somewhere
(Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

Scott and Rik make clear that their mobilities, bound up with the consumption of alcohol, are ostensibly aimless. Indeed, their accounts, through reference to ‘exploration’, and ‘getting lost’, have an almost situationist vibe of the ‘dérive’; that is, drifting without motive, letting themselves be drawn by the attractions of the space and the encounters they find there (see Bassett, 2004). As the young people were not walking to particular spaces or activities, walking itself is the chief activity (see Horton et al., 2014). In Horton et al.’s (2014:94) research into the importance of walking, young people often appeared to depreciate the significance of their everyday walking practices, dismissing them as
“just walking”. This resonates with the findings in my study, in which, despite recognising how such mobilities are central to their nights out, experiences, and friendships, many young people downplayed the significance of such mobilities through the prefix “just”; that is, they “just mooch around”, and “just go somewhere”.

Whilst Horton et al. (2014) highlight the significance of young people’s largely taken-for-granted mobilities, the importance of relative immobilities did not come through in their work. My research, however, shows that this notion of “just-ness” (Horton et al., 2014:111) also suffused many participants’ accounts of sitting. It seems that, for young people in my study, moorings are often as important as mobilities (see Cresswell, 2010). Take the quotations from Heather and Rik, below:

I was with Evie and we were drinking in the woods in Wythenshawe, and we were sat on the grass, we were sat in there with her friend and my friend, but they were both boys, but we weren’t going out [they were not in a relationship], and we just sat there for a bit, just like chilling out...You just walk, you just walk about, and park, park somewhere, like sit down and drink, and then probably couldn’t be bothered to get back up cos we’d be drunk, and just sit there for a bit
(Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, mobile phone interview)

SW: Does alcohol help you relax?

Rik: No, cos I’m dead hyper. It does sometimes, cos you get to that stage where you’re too drunk, and you just sit down and chill, and you’re like proper comfy and you don’t feel like moving or anything until you’ve sobered up a bit
(Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

The above excerpts could be conceptualised as highlighting the importance of the rhythm of stillness (see McCormack, 2002); Heather and Rik value the opportunity to “just sit”.

However, in line with Bissell (2007), rather than thinking through the event of sitting as
slowed rhythms, I suggest that it takes effort and therefore some form of intentional action to sit. From this perspective, sitting is an event in itself, an active doing, and should not be conceptualised a dead period of stasis (Bissell, 2007). To explain, the “ephemeral mooring” (Vannini, 2011:273) of sitting is actively and strategically undertaken by both Heather and Rik in an attempt for the embodied feelings of drunkenness to lessen, thereby enabling the young people to resume their mobilities. Further, for Heather, sitting provides an opportunity to cement friendships with members of the opposite sex. Young people’s nights out should thus be conceptualised as, to borrow Vannini and Taggart’s (2012:236) phrase, “‘balettes’ of movement, rest, and encounter”.

My research highlights that young people’s alcohol-related walking mobilities incorporate performances: different styles of walking in different spaces, at different times, and with different people (see Middleton, 2011, who explores the experiential dimensions of urban walking). For instance, as the below quotations illustrates, Charlie and Tim utilise the rhythms of the micro-mobilities of their bodies - that is, walking - as an embodied tacit knowledge to avoid potentially dangerous situations:

> You see people getting into bust-ups on the streets after closing time. So it’s maybe if it’s getting to closing time, you walk a bit quicker, don’t hang about too much

(Charlie, 23 Chorlton, interview)

> When I was coming back from Fresher’s26 in September, I decided to walk home, about half two in the morning, and about an hour’s walk, and I was stood five minutes from my door and I felt these two people riding on their bikes behind, following me, one of them cornered me, and the other one came next to me and said “give me your phone”. Anyway, usually if I wasn’t drunk I’d have given it to them, but I was so out of it, I legged it and managed to get to my door

(Tim, 19, Chorlton, follow up interview)

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26Fresher’s’ is a period of time, typically a week, at the beginning of the academic year at a university or other tertiary institution during which a variety of events are held to orient and welcome new students.
From the above quotations, one can see that the young people were confronted with potential threat; this causes their walking to change, as they pick up speed (see Karrholm et al., 2014); Charlie ‘walks a bit quicker’, and Tim ‘legs it’. These are examples of what Jensen (2010:389) terms “negotiation in motion”. Both young people explain that, in order to avoid being “mobile with” those involved in ‘bust ups’, or perpetrators of crime, they negotiate the speed of their motion in relation to the “mobile Other” (Jensen, 2010:393;395). Here, one can see that fear animates rather than paralyses (see Sharpe, 2013, on the animating potential of fear) the young people’s walking practices. As Creswell (2010:23) contends, “velocity is a valuable resource”. According to Jackson (2012:730), “knowing an area is seen as important in order to be able to read it, which in turn is equated with safety”. As a consequence of Charlie’s embodied knowledge of closing rhythms, he does not conceptualise the street as an inherently dangerous space; there is a temporal dimension to his feeling of danger.

In addition to controlling the style of movement, some young women in my study attempt to walk together in friendship groups as a means of being more spatially confident. This practice of walking together can be referred to as being “mobile with” (Jensen, 2010:293). Indeed, when friends walk out of sync with each other, this can cause tensions. This idea can be seen through the following exchange:
SW: What do you think of the streets in Wythenshawe during the night?

Vera: Urm, oh it was early in the morning, and I was with one of me mates, and it was really dark and we was walking over a bridge, but I get dead scared, I do get scared, really scared, I was holding on to her like “please wait for me”. And we was drunk as well, and I was high, so I was like para [paralytic] terrible, I was nearly crying, and she was going fast, she was walking really fast

(Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

Here, Vera tells that her friend was walking too fast, ‘stretching’ the mobile formation (see McIlvenny, 2015 on biking together), by walking away from her. Resultantly co-presence was not maintained, increasing Vera’s feelings of fear. Much more commonly, however, many young people in my study, predominantly women, habitually walked together to negotiate risk and promote safety (Burght, 2015). However, the young people expressed disapproval that their attempts at keeping safe by remaining in groups were compromised by the current police practice of dispersing large groups of young people (something likewise noted by young people in Galloway et al., 2007’s study). The following exchange is quoted at length here to illustrate this tension:

Jenny: I was with my cousin, like down Withers [a small locality in Wythenshawe], and like we were walking down the road, there was, I think there was nine of us, but you’re not meant to be in a group of more than three, it’s got to be a group of less than three less now

SW: Why?

Jenny: I don’t know, in Wythenshawe

Kelly: In most places now

Julia: Oh right, so you’re supposed to walk across the road from each other?

Jenny: Pretty much, yeah, so that’s what we had to do and they [the police] said to us, because we were all together at this moment, we was all like shit-faced, all had bottles of vodka and coke in our hands, and like they said to us, they were like “what are yous doing tonight?” we was just like “oh, we’re going to a house party”, and all that lot, and they were like “are you old enough?”. I was like “yeah, I’ve just not got my ID on me, and my cousin was like “I’ve got mine so I can vouch for her and all that lot”, and then the police was like “well, you can’t be in a group of like nine, you’ve got to be in a group of no more than three”. So the lads
were like “oh right, we’ll meet you there” or whatever. So we walked off and they started following us again cos the others like crossed back over the road and started standing with us again, and so we went to the shop and some of them went in the shop to get cigs [cigarettes] and they came out, and the police were there again, so we were like “right, we’re all going to the same place, so why do we have to split up?”

Julia: That’s really stupid, you’ve got more chance of getting raped

Jenny: Isn’t it

Kelly: But apparently it’s cos you could be in a gang or rob somewhere or something

(Jenny, 16; Kelly, 17; Julia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

As the above exchange illustrates, being together with friends is very important to these young people (see also Matthews et al., 1999); they deploy this mobile formation in order to each other against the risk of “rape”. The above exchange lends credence to Leyshon et al.’s (2013) contention that young women’s mobility is commonly predicated on a sense of vulnerability, and this is exemplified through their preference to move around in friendship groups. In line with Horton et al. (2014), this example shows that young people’s gestures of care and responsibility, by walking together, contrast markedly with popular representations of ‘anti-social’ young people in public spaces (see Brown, 2013). Nonetheless, it is this “we-ness” of young people’s mobilities - in which the focus of group members is directed inwards towards each other, rather than forming outward connection with others (Milne, 2009:115) - that the police find threatening in the ‘hanging out’ behaviours of young people. The police consider the young people to be, what Matthews et al. (2000a:279) term, “unacceptable flaneur[s]”. The young people quoted above feel stereotypically predefined as potentially deviant; they believe they are perceived, to borrow Matthews et al.’s (1999:1724) phrase, “as a potential threat to the moral fabric of society and up to no good”. This is recognised by Joanna, who claims that the police strategy has been implemented because the young people “could be in a gang”.

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This supports Tani’s (2015) contention that space offers affordances to young people, affecting their ways of being; yet, equally, young people give new meanings to space by hanging out, and thus contribute to the production of space.

The clashing mobilities of young people and the police mean young people are required to create new geographies through forced and adaptive mobilities (Skelton and Gough, 2013), as Rik and Kelly suggest:

We’d probably go to like, a park. And then the police would end up coming, and then we’d go, and we’d go to a different park, and if the police come there again we’d all just split up and go different places

(Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Cos we all use to live right near the park, so everyone that use to live near the local park, we’d all meet up in the park and then we’d all walk down to Fletcher Grounds, which is the biggest park. And the police used to come, kick us all out and we’d all go back to the separate parks, and then we’d meet up again in Fletcher Grounds about an hour later, start again, it was mint

(Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Many young people in my study then, were not always mobile through their own volition. Their walking practices were characterised by an experience of always moving on (see Horton et al., 2014); the young people were “fixed in mobility”, much like the young homeless people in Jackson’s (2012:725) study. Whilst Edensor and Bowdler (2015) contend that policing can constrain the scope for engaging playfully with space, the above quotations suggest that, in some respects, policing enhanced playful engagements with space. That is, young people, rather than expressing frustration at constantly being ejected from parks (Townshend and Roberts, 2013), told such stories with enthusiasm, proclaiming it was “mint”, and thus can be said to have enjoyed the “geographical game
of cat and mouse” (Valentine, 1996:594). Whilst the young people quoted above appear to have the ability to actively resist policing, by carving out new places to assert their presence (see Hil and Bessant, 1999), it is important not to romanticise this. Many young people in my study gave the impression that policing seems to be solely shifting outdoors drinking elsewhere. Whilst not articulated by the young people, it could be intimated that, by reducing the visibility of young people drinking in such outdoor spaces, as Pennay and Room (2012) found, displacement may lead to young people consuming alcohol in more covert and less safe spaces.

7.3.2 Vehicular Mobilities

Some young people in my study, particularly those from Chorlton, enjoyed consuming alcohol in their local area, due to the slower rhythms, and a more relaxed alcohol consumption experience. However, there were occasions where young people desired to go “out out” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, interview); that is, to go on a ‘big’ night out in Manchester city centre. In such instances, young people from the ‘islands’ of Chorlton and Wythenshawe employed the affordances of transport to break away from the place temporalities typical of their suburban locales (see Vannini, 2012 on the affordances of ferries to break away from the temporalities of city life). See Figure 7.3:

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27 Here, it is worth reminding the reader that my sample was a specific one, predominantly consisting of white participants, and all participants are able-bodied; the accounts of mobilities thus relate to this specific group of young people.
Tim describes starting the night in a quiet pub with a few pubs, before ‘going big’. He would then walk to another pub where he would move on to shorts (e.g. gin and tonic). Subsequently, Tim would go to a club, where he may “meet some girls”. After this, Tim would take a taxi back to Chorlton, where he would get a takeaway, prior to going to bed. Here, one can see the map is useful for providing a spatio-temporal account of Tim’s night out.

*Figure 7.3: Tim’s Night Out (Tim, 19, Chorlton)*
Tim articulates that, despite living in Chorlton, he prefers consuming alcohol in Manchester’s city centre because it is “more lively”. Tim works in Manchester city centre, and so a typical night out would start in the city centre following work. Figure 7.3 demonstrates that Tim’s primary mode of transport between his drinkingscapes is walking. However, Tim draws a taxi on the map noting that he uses this form of transport to get back to Chorlton. Transport then, can be seen to “weave distinct place temporalities” (Vannini, 2012:241).

Despite young people’s desires to sometimes escape the temporalities associated with their suburban locations in order to access commercial drinking premises elsewhere, many young people in my study vehemently oppose the idea of driving when under the influence of alcohol. Nonetheless, numerous young people in my study admitted to consuming alcohol on the move as a passenger on various forms of transport. Some young people, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, spoke of consuming alcohol in mobile spaces as a means of using ‘travel time’ productively (see Lyons and Urry, 2005), as the following quotations illustrate:

SW: Why do you drink on the bus on the way to the city centre?
Kelly: Because then you don’t have to buy more drinks when you’re there and spend more money.
Jenny: Cos then you go there say if you’re pissed already then a few more drinks will just do it.
Julia: Say if you’re going out with £30, you can come back with a tenner if you drink a bottle of vodka on the way there cos you just like pacing your drinks

(Kelly, 17, Jenny, 16, and Julia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)
I often drink in taxis and maybe on the bus or on the tram or something. If you’re like pre-drinking and then you have to leave and you haven’t quite finished, I always fill a bottle with whatever I have left, and usually it’s just like one more drink or something, it just means you can carry on pre-drinking til the moment you get to the next place, so you’re not in danger of sobering up I guess

(Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

According to Kelly, Jenny and Julia, consuming alcohol on the bus on the way to the city centre is cost-effective. That is, it is cheaper to consume drinks purchased from non-commercial premises whilst on the move, than it is to purchase drinks in bars, pubs and clubs at the final drinking destination. Further, Evie admits to drinking on a range of transport types. Evie recognises that drinking on the move leads to less wastage of drinks that have been purchased for home drinking. Also, as Chorlton is approximately four miles away from Manchester city centre and Wythenshawe is roughly eight miles away from Manchester city centre, bus, tram, or taxi journeys into Manchester city centre can take time. Consequently, consuming alcohol on the move means that one is not “in danger of sobering up”. From Evie’s perspective, not consuming alcohol in the journey space is illogical; it risks diminishing the embodied states of drunkenness young people have obtained during home drinking. Extending home drinking beyond the sphere of the home then, means that this embodied feeling of drunkenness is sustained throughout the evening, with minimal further spending on alcohol - a process akin to Hadfield’s (2011:64) concept of “alcohol banking”. This suggests that travel time is not “unproductive, wasted time in-between ‘real’ activities” (Lyons and Urry, 2005:257). Rather, travel time can be used productively as activity time (Lyons and Urry, 2005), revealing that young people’s journeys on nights out are, as Bissell and Overend (2014) would argue, far from passive.
Desires for consuming alcohol when on the move extend beyond the cost benefits; for some young people in my study, mobile spaces are emotionally important. This can be seen through the comments below:

If I’m pre-drinking now I’ll have a couple at home, let’s say I buy four cans to start drinking before I get out. I might have two at home while I’m getting ready, and the other two I’ll have on the bus. It takes 45 minutes for me to get into Manchester [city centre], so plenty of time there to have the remaining two on the bus. I suppose it does save money, but it’s nice to sort of get out and be in the mood a little bit already, rather than having to start from scratch, especially when, if I’ve been working and people have started drinking earlier than me, I don’t have to play catch up

(Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)

The best one’s drinking when you’re on the way to somewhere and you get there and then you’re already like half way there [to the desired drunken state]

(Teresa, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

I like drinking on the bus, it’s fun

(Joe, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

For Collin, Jenny and Joe, mobilities bound up with the consumption of alcohol are pleasurable; they get you “in the mood”; are “the best”; and “fun”. This positive affective atmosphere associated with drunken mobilities can be seen through the following account from my field diary:

As soon as we were in the taxi, Louisa and Sophie requested music to be played. The taxi man said that this was not possible, but that it was okay to play music from our mobile phones, so we did this. It made the journey more enjoyable, and enabled a reasonably seamless transition between the home drinking realm where music was consumed, to the club, where music was also consumed

(Field diary, 19/04/2014, night out with Louisa, 22, and friends, Chorlton, in the city centre)

The multifunctionality of mobile phones offers different types of social activities that may be undertaken whilst on the move that can, in turn, be used by young people to micromanage their experiences of mobile spaces (Berry and Hamilton, 2010). Playing music from mobile phones can be seen as a “place-making device” (Berry and Hamilton,
2010:114), transforming the taxi into a micro-nightclub, enabling one to dwell within mobilities (Lyons and Urry, 2005). In my participant observations, mobile phones enabled young people and myself to manage our moods, and our orientations to space, giving us greater control over our experiences (Wilson, 2011). This enabled us to override the negative effects of boredom we may have otherwise encountered. The taxi ride to the city centre’s bars, pubs, and clubs is thus not only journey space for the young people, but also spaces of friendship, alcohol consumption, and play with technologies (see Barker, 2009 for children’s use of journey spaces). The journey to the city centre is used as a “technical and social assemblage” to ‘keep everyone going’ (see Jensen et al., 2015:370).

My findings illustrate that time spent travelling is not “dead time” (Sheller and Urry, 2006:213). Rather, because various activities occur whilst on the move (Watts and Urry, 2008) the taxi journey can be seen as what Hannam et al. (2006:13) may term “sociable dwelling-in-motion”. The journey then is not simply a means of getting to the night out, it is a fundamental constituent of young people’s nights out.

As Peters et al. (2010) contend, mobility is also about arriving at the right place, often at the same time as relevant others. Buses, trams and trains “shape local temporalities, producing repetitive experiences, embedding their schedules in the life course of individuals and in the histories of communities” (as Vannini, 2012:257 said of ferry schedules). Through this embedding, individual routines become synchronised and young people get “in time” with one another (Vannini, 2012:257). Whilst geographically dispersed young people in my study often wished to be co-present in the same place (Peters et al., 2010), as the below quotations illustrate, as a result of the problems with
mobility infrastructures, time-space synchronisation for the group of friends was not always possible (see Jain, 2006):

Trams, trams are like, I cannot even tell you, like when they shut down, if I’m going out for a house party, and sometimes they’re out of service it just blows my mind because I’m like “how can you expect me to get around?”

(Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

The other night we went to Maverick’s [nightclub], in the city centre, it was raining, it was Friday night, it was raining. It was my mate’s 21st I felt dead sorry for her, because it was just a disaster. Her mates from uni were meant to be coming down, but three of them are from Durham, and the train got cancelled, and they got stuck in Leeds, so they couldn’t get here, because the weather was terrible

(David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

Here, it can be seen that train and tram disruptions yield negative affective atmospheres of frustration (see Duff and Moore, 2015); they can heighten sensitivities, reducing one’s capacity to tolerate other affects (Wilson, 2011). In the event of a disruption, it can be seen that “the comfort associated with anticipated...sequences of events are brutally scrambled” (Bissell, 2010:275). Tram and train schedules then are, what Vannini (2012:257) would term, “influential performers of polyrhythmic attunement”. Yet, equally, such schedules are also “the key protagonists behind instances of ‘arrhythmia’” (Vannini, 2012:257). In addition to scheduling issues, David highlights the significance of weather conditions, contending that the embodied rhythms of this night out was perturbed by the arrhythmic events of “rain”, and the consequent disruption to train services. Taken together, this highlights the importance of contingent elements that play out (see Edensor, 2010b) during young people’s nights out.
So far, I have shown that people and transport are on the move. Alcohol, too, is on the move, often carried by moving people whether openly or clandestinely (see Hannam et al., 2006 on mobilities of materials). By moving against prescribed uses of the space, taxi journeys on nights out become a time and space of possibility and creative resistance for young people (see Bissell and Overend, 2014); consider the comments below:

I think it’s just more the psychological thing of you think you’re getting more drunk urm and again it’s one of those things where you’re generally not allowed to drink in taxis so the more somebody pushes something away from you, the more you’re going to do it

(Rex, 24, Chorlton, interview)

Yeah on the bus, sort of like sneak them in your coat pockets and stuff, and yeah it use to make me laugh sort of how seriously experienced my friends seemed about it, like clanking onto the bus with beers shoved up their sleeves cos they hadn’t finished what they’d bought, and probably weren’t going to go back to the person’s house who they were pre-drinking at, so just sort of keep things going to the club, you know, maybe it’d be half an hour or whatever going into town, and they don’t want to sober up, because that sort of defeats the point of what they’re doing, and sort of everyone’s in a group, it’s sort of maybe a bit of bravado, and maybe a bit of keeping everyone going

(Charlie, 23, Chorlton, interview)

In challenging the regulatory norms that devolve in taxis and buses, these young people’s drinking performances highlight how alcohol consumption has the capacity to “loosen” space, to expand the diverse possibilities for action and meaning (Edensor and Bowdler, 2015:723). Through transgressive acts of consuming alcohol in taxis and buses, young people temporally augment and challenge the enduring means and uses of space.

In contrast to the depiction of young people engaging in antisocial behaviour on modes of transport, such as buses (see Moore, 2012), many young people in my study exercised a respect for others on public transport. Many young people noted that there is a ‘time and place’ for their alcohol consumption activities; as the quotations below testify:
If I’m going to Blackpool with my mum and nephew, I’m not going to sit there and start swigging cans and this and that. If I’m going to Newcastle with my mates on a match day, we will get - if we’re going on a train we will get about 12 cans

(John, 22, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

I went to my mate’s 21st the other week, and we went out, and we had a barbeque during the day and we went to town, and we were drinking all day, and we took a beer for the road in the taxi, but I wouldn’t say I would drink on a bus or anything like that. The thing about taxis, you’re going to know everyone in the taxi, you’re not going to make anyone feel uncomfortable. If someone sees a load of young people on a bus drinking they might be a bit intimidated, and I don’t want to put anyone in that position, so I don’t drink on buses, or trains or whatever

(David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

I’d drink in a taxi, not in a bus. Cos there’s like, it’s not really disrespectful [drinking alcohol in a taxi] is it, cos like, when you’re on a bus there’s like loads of people and you can’t just, cos some people might be allergic to it, and when you’re in a taxi it’s just like one person, and he’s probably not even bothered about it. Cos all he’s bothered about is getting his money

(Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

Unpacking the above quotations, one can see that John recognised that, whilst consuming alcohol with his friends in the space of a train was appropriate, it would be inappropriate to consume alcohol in this mobile space when with his mother and his nephew. Further, David and Rik contend that they would only consume alcohol in the space of the taxi, rather than the bus, due to the density of people on the bus who may be offended by or, as Rik puts it, “allergic” to their alcohol consumption practices. These examples of care, concern and consideration contrast markedly with the perception of young people in urban public space that have come to dominate academic journals, media reports and urban policies. Such “hypochondriac geographies” are characterised by dystopianism, and the inability to accept difference and oppositional interests as creative, rather than destructive forces (Baeten, 2002:103). Further to this, the above quotations are examples of “governmobility” (Bærenholdt, 2013:20), in which the regulation of mobilities are internalised in the young people’s mobile practices.
7.4 Drinking Atmospheres

Drunkenness emerges as an embodied spatial practice that can be manipulated or transformed according to the dynamic possibilities presented in the drinking space (see Duff, 2012); this notion is supported by Stacey’s contention below:

I’ll draw a line on the bottle, depending on how much I planned to drink the night before, so I can use this to judge how much I drink. But when I’m drunk I sometimes go beyond that, or I stop, depending on how I’m feeling, and if there’s anything else that’s occurred while I’m drunk that will make me drink the rest. So there have been nights out where I’ve drank barely any and I’ve not reached the line, or there’ll be nights out where I’ve drank the entire thing, and ditched the line completely. So I do try and judge it a bit, and I will drink enough water to how much I’ve drank, so I do try to judge it, but it’s not always worked out

(Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

As the above quotation illustrates, the line is an active agent shaping Stacey’s alcohol consumption experiences to varying success. Sometimes, the line ‘works’ as a means to monitor how much alcohol Stacey has consumed; however, on some occasions, she drinks more than the line, whilst on other occasions she does not reach the line at all. As Stacey articulates, this is dependent upon how she is “feeling” and “anything else that has occurred”. That is, “agential intra-action[s]” (Barad, 2003:814) of emotions, events, and atmospheres shape Stacey’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences. Stacey’s inability to stick to consuming a pre-defined amount of alcohol serves to support Jayne et al.’s (2012c) findings that units are an inadequate means of limiting alcohol consumption. Stacey’s use of a line - in attempting to calculate and classify quantities of alcohol as problematic or not, are concerned with the substance alone and, as Jayne et al. (2012c) likewise said of units, fail to account for moods, sensations, feelings, and atmospheres that can be experienced during consumption experiences.
Indeed, my participant observations support such understandings that drunkenness is not about alcohol alone (see Jayne et al., 2010). The music, lighting, non-alcoholic drinks, glasses, and other bodies were all materials acting on me, influencing my corporeal experience of space, and making a difference to the social experiences of alcohol consumption (see Duff, 2008; 2012). The can be illustrated through the following passage from my field diary:

It is interesting that, despite only having one vodka and coke, I felt drunk. Normally, I require a certain number of drinks in order to have the confidence to dance. However, tonight, being surrounded by other mobile drunken bodies, the darkness of the club, and the thump of the upbeat music, increased my ability to dance uninhibited…I even found myself participating in the Gangnam Style dance\textsuperscript{28} without feeling self-conscious!

(Field diary, 21/12/2013, night out with Maisy, 18, and friends, Wythenshawe)

From the above extract, one can see that I experienced a transformation, my body ‘became’ drunk, through its practices and encounters in assemblages with other drunken bodies, the sonic environment, and lighting in the affectively charged space (see Waitt and Stanes, 2015). Indeed, I was not alone in recognising this. This notion is also evidenced in Peter’s map of his drinking spaces (see Figure 7.4):

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\textsuperscript{28} A pop single by the South Korean musician Psy, released in 2012, renowned for the choreography and moves in its music video, including gallop, lasso, leg sweep, flick, shuffle, pop and pose.
When explaining his map, Peter spoke about his drinking practices taking place in homes, gardens, and a pub. Peter notes that he enjoys the music played inside the pub, which motivates him to dance and have a “party on da dancefloor”.

**Figure 7.4**: Peter’s Night Out (Peter, 15, Wythenshawe)
When discussing his map with me, Peter said that alcohol, lighting and ‘good’ music in the pub are important for enhancing his dancing mobilities, and enabling him to transition from his usual shy and reserved self to someone who is outgoing. That is, the affective atmosphere of human and more-than-human actants primed him to act in a particular way (see Bissell, 2010), temporally managing his moods and movements (Forsyth, 2009). The notion that the atmospheres in commercial premises can alter young people’s embodied feelings can be further gleamed through the following exchange from a friendship interview:

Kelly: I think I get more drunk with the atmosphere because if it’s just, if you’re sat drinking

Jenny: …If you’re normal like if you’re in a dead quiet old man’s club then you’re just like [pulls sad, bored face], but like when you’re in a busy club like in town or whatever you feel more drunk

(Kelly, and Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

Here, Joanne explicitly contends that the “atmosphere” helps her get “more drunk”. This point is elaborated on by Jenny, who contrasts the feelings of drunkenness when sitting in a “dead quiet old man’s club”, where she would be bored and sad, with being in a “busy club” in town, where she would feel “more drunk”. Here, Jenny’s words illustrate a contention made by Tutenges (forthcoming), that proximity intensifies the interaction between bodies. As the author contends, in the context of bar crawls: “to be surrounded by a large number of boisterous pub crawlers is a strong experience not unlike the effects of drugs” (Tutenges, forthcoming). Echoing Poulsen’s (2015) contention, my findings emphasise the difficulty of talking about alcohol in isolation as a stable entity - since it comes to matter only in relation to other entities.

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As I have indicated, through participant observations, I became attuned to the affective components of spaces (see Shaw, 2014a). More than this though, my embodied experiences taught me that different assemblages had different outcomes. For instance, brighter lighting and unfamiliar music were not conducive to dancing mobilities, thereby producing different rhythms. I wrote about this in the below excerpt from my field diary:

Whilst low-lighting and up-beat popular music primed me and others to dance, I noticed that the dance floor became scarce when lighting was brighter, and when less popular music was being played, leading some people to use this as a cue to go to the bar and get another drink (Field diary, 24/05/2014, night out with Evie, 24, and friends, from Chorlton, in city centre).

As the above illustrates, rhythms of the clubspace are continuously open to change. Forsyth (2009) explores the role of music in the night-time economy, suggesting that it can alter moods and behaviour. According to the author, an emotional response elicited by hearing a familiar song may encourage increased spending at the bar on that occasion. However, my participant observations show that young people are unlikely to leave the dance floor when familiar songs are being played. Rather, they use moments when unfamiliar, or unpopular, songs are being played to purchase drinks. Nonetheless, music, to echo Forsyth and Cloonan (2008), plays a key role in alcohol consumption at the micro-level.

However, my findings differ from Forsyth and Cloonan’s (2008:70) in an important way. The authors contend that when music comes to a “sudden end” at closing time, levels of aggravation are amplified. In my participant observations, I did not witness any violence at the end of a night out. This may be due to the genre of music played. For instance,
Forsyth (2009:341) found that DJs played, what he describes as “inappropriate” music at closing time, in order to remove customers. This study was conducted over six years ago, and my findings did not chime with this. The affective atmospheres of club-spaces cannot be attributed to auditory stimulus alone, yet by polyrhythmic assemblage of bodies, soundscapes, and lightscapes (Tan, 2013). Consider this excerpt from my field diary:

I witnessed that when the DJ played a popular, upbeat convivial song, such as Black Eyed Peas’ [American hip hop group] cover of ‘I’ve Had The Time Of My Life’, whilst simultaneously illuminating the clubspace - this indented the rhythmic proceedings, signalling to young people that the club was closing (Field diary, 1/03/2014, night out with Melinda, 21, and friends, Wythenshawe)

The above excerpt offers an example of what Barratt (2012:50) describes as “technology communicating” - the positive music and bright lighting was used to infer that the club was closing. From my participant observations, this technical and social assemblage offered a non-confrontational means of signalling the end of the night.

However, some participants’ stories offer a counterpoint to my own embodied experiences, described previously, and to many of the findings in existing literature, which contend that the affective atmospheres of pubs, bars and clubs are thought to have the ability to create a sense of “collective effervescence” (Tutenges, forthcoming). As Edensor and Sumartojo (2015) contend, atmospheres can be experienced in many different ways. This can be gleaned through Charlie’s comment below:
In first and second year of Uni I would be nervous sort of throughout the whole night, and like “maybe I need to drink more to get like the rest, to get like everybody else”, and it never really happened. I would like throw up in the morning, because I obviously had a lot [to drink], and would have a hangover, but I never really felt like I was in that zone, the same enjoyment that everyone else, my friends seemed to have

(Charlie, 23, Chorlton, follow up interview)

Whilst the literature has now begun to grasp how bodies are affected by the atmospheres of club-spaces (Tan, 2013), it has virtually ignored those for whom there is a discordance between their subjective feelings and the atmospheres. Charlie contends that, despite consuming large quantities of alcohol, to the extent that he experienced the unpleasant effects of vomiting the following morning, and hangovers, he was not enveloped by the enjoyable atmosphere he saw his friends and other club-goers experiencing. In other words, contrary to Jayne and Valentine’s (2014:14) findings, despite consuming alcohol, Charlie did not “feel-at-home” in this commercial venue and urban public space. This relates to Edensor’s (2015a) contention that certain constituents that shape atmospheres may pre-exist a person’s entrance into the space. A person’s response to atmospheres is also shaped by their current mood and prior experience, and this has the potential to feed back into the on-going production of atmosphere. The example from Charlie illustrates that his feeling of nervousness was a powerful actant in his drinking assemblage, overpowering the positive effects of alcohol and the affective atmosphere of the club-space, preventing him from getting in the “zone”. Indeed, Davidson and Milligan (2004:524) have stressed the importance of emotions, contending that they have “tangible effects on our surroundings and can shape the very nature and experience of our being-in-the-world”. Emotions, then, clearly matter; they have the capacity to “alter the way the world is for us” (Davidson and Milligan, 2004:524, emphasis in original), affecting one’s sense of space. This example stresses the importance of considering how sensual
atmospheres do not seduce all people; as Taylor and Falconer (2015) recognise, whilst they can affectively pull some young people into place - those who experience disconnection - in terms of their embodied drunkenness and the space they find themselves in (MacLean and Moore, 2014), are, in effect, pushed out of space.

7.4.1 The ‘Dark Side’ of Young People’s Drinking

Dark and light are key components in the formation and emergence of atmospheres of varying intensity (Edensor, 2015a). As Edensor (2013) articulates, there is a prevailing cultural understanding that darkness is a negative condition, a frightening, mysterious void; this can be gleamed through the quotations below, and was more commonly articulated by young people in my study from Chorlton, particularly young women:

SW: Have you ever walked through the streets in Chorlton during the night, what do you think of them?

Susan: I’m often, I’m often quite nervous. I think that’s probably just me, if I’m on my own I’m quite nervous walking home in the dark.

Julie: That’s more the dark.

Susan: Yeah, that’s more me and the dark and things.

Julie: The dark and fear of crime and things than actual drinking.

Susan: But if I’m, with somebody else, especially when I’m with someone I trust then it doesn’t really bother me, and if you’re going through a place with lights, and lots of people, then you’re fine. Whereas if you go down an alleyway it’s a bit like “ah I’m going to get killed”

(Susan, 16, and Julie, 15, Chorlton, friendship group interview)
I find, my impression of Chorlton is actually, it’s a bit intimidating, it feels like...so Fallowfield [a suburban locality in Manchester] is a bit more lit up, so even though I wouldn’t hang around, I could pass through a bit quicker, whereas in Chorlton I feel like quite quickly, although there’s hubs a bit around the streets where the bars are, quite quickly you’re a bit more in the darkness, like into bits that aren’t lit up

(Andy, 18, Chorlton, interview)

Here, it can be seen that walking in darkness, whilst under the influence of alcohol, is unnerving for some young people; Julie associates darkness with “fear of crime”, and Andy prefers walking through Fallowfield than Chorlton, as he considers it to be more illuminated.

Not all young people in my study conceptualised darkness as a negative atmosphere. Some young people actively sought darkness, because it makes drinkscapes exciting, alluring and mysterious (see Edensor, 2015b; Edensor, 2013). Take the comments below:

If I’m drinking in the dark it’s better, because I don’t know what I’m going to do or where I’m going to end up

(Summer, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

I like to drink in the park because it’s always dark and no one’s ever there, so you don’t really think about anything. I’m in me own world

(Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

Here, Summer intimates that the nocturnal landscape is visually apprehended in a different way to that of the day (Cook and Edensor, 2014). In lightless place, Summer is involved in a temporary move away from spatial, social and sensory norms (see Edensor and Falconer, 2014). Due to a limited perceptible space, she suggests that in darkness it is harder to judge depth and distance (Morris, 2011). Summer states that, through her embodied experience of darkness, she ‘doesn’t know what she’s going to do’, or ‘where she’s going to end up’ - she becomes significantly more open to the ‘other’ (Shaw, 2014b). For Summer then, darkness is not just a background within which action takes
place - it has the agency to alter this action (Shaw, 2014b). Following this, one can see that Vera finds “succour” and “refuge” in the quiet and affective site of gloom, due to the imperceptible presence of others (Edensor, 2013:449). Vera’s contention that, when in darkness, she is ‘in her own world’ resonates with Shaw’s (2014b:6) assertion that “night penetrates into our sense of self - it erodes the body and its independence from other objects”. Whilst Edensor (2013:463) contends that “darkness offers opportunities to dream, mull over, remember and worry”, for Vera, darkness has the allure of doing none of these things, she ‘doesn’t really think about anything’. This resonates with Jayne et al.’s (2012a:221) contention that alcohol consumption often allows one to “do nothing” and “use up time”. Darkness then, echoing Edensor (2015a), is a key element through which the atmospheric experience of space can be infused with qualities, including mystery, solace, intimacy, and fun.

However, it is important not to conceptualise lightness and darkness as binary opposites, for there are many shades of light and dark. The comments from Louisa and Teresa illustrate this idea:

I use to live in Devon and I would drink in Madeira walk. It’s just a little sort of pathway urm that had sort of looked out to the seafront but it’s all underneath, like it’s all shadowed, it’s in a sort of little forestry bit so like big tall trees and it’s got benches where you can sit and drink…I drank in lots of outside open public spaces, in dark corners

(Louisa, 22, Chorlton, peer interview)
Near my mum’s house there’s like this urm massive long path and at the time it didn’t have lights, so we used to always call it the “black path”, and we’d drink on there. It was just dead funny like cos we’d all just mess around…cos obviously it was so dark, like there was a block of flats like, like to one side of this thing and so we’d just use like the torches and stuff like that to shine on people’s windows…and then we’d hide because it was so dark you wouldn’t be able to see us

(Teresa, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

When reminiscing on her early drinking experiences, in addition to paying attention to darkness, Louisa conceives of shadows in a positive way. Here, shadow has been celebrated for its generative capacity (see Edensor, 2015b): it helps craft a secretive drinkscape. Teresa discusses the atmosphere generated from playing with light in a dark space. Here, Teresa tells that drinking in darkness, infused with light from torches, solicits an intensification of social engagement, producing an affective connection between drinkers and a shared sense of adventure (see Edensor and Falconer, 2014). The torches helped to emphasise a feeling of proximity to the surroundings and its contents (Morris, 2011). Lightness and darkness then, are not merely naturally occurring; such atmospheres can be significantly modified by technology. People are able to control how bodies can be open to other objects and bodies by shaping atmospheres of lightness and darkness. See Jenny’s contention below:

You go in [to the pub], and it’s better when the lights are off so we try and go in dead late, at about 10pm, because then you can’t tell how rough they [men in the pub] all look. Yeah you just go in when it’s dark and then like we’re always the first ones up dancing

(Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

Here, Jenny intimates that her affective experience of the pub-space has been conditioned by previous experience (see Edensor, 2012). As a result of “atmospheric attunement” (Edensor, 2012:114) to the pub, Jenny has developed skilled, corporeal knowledge of it; she knows that by going in at “about 10pm” the “lights are off”. Jenny talks about light as
a protective field, a boundary separating her from the “rough” bodies present in the club-space, holding these bodies at a distance. The darkness of the pub-space, however, means these bodies are no longer held at a distance; they become hidden and unknown (Shaw, 2014b). In the “protecting ‘bubble’ of light”, Jenny’s sense of space is much clearer, but in the darkness one can see that she has a more fluid spatiality (see Shaw, 2014b:6). Here, Jenny hints at the affective power of darkness, and how it shapes her experience of space (see Shaw, 2014b). That is, being unhindered by multiple visual distractions of “rough” bodies, darkness cajoled her body into movement (see Edensor, 2013), motivating her body’s dancing mobilities. Darkness then, is generative of atmosphere (Sumartojo, 2015). This example foregrounds the ways in which atmospheres produce a situational affective context that motivates movement and feeling; yet, as Edensor and Sumartojo (2015) contend, it is important not to construe subjects within such atmospheres as entirely passive.

Much of the social and cultural geographies’ literature has explored light and dark in outdoor urban space, thereby largely neglecting experiences of lightness and darkness in the home (see, however, Shaw, 2014b; Bille, 2015). Due to their familiarity with the micro-geographies of the space of the home, I witnessed some young people taking control over their experience of darkness, by staging atmospheres (Bille, 2015), in order to influence their experiences of drunkenness. The following excerpt lend credence to Bille’s (2015) contention that light has the capacity to influence the way people behave and feel:
When I arrived at Louisa’s at 8.00pm, lights were turned off, yet candles were lit. The candles, and slow paced music, contributed towards the creation of a calm atmosphere. The candles set the tone that this would not be a ‘big night out’, but rather a relaxing night in over a few glasses of wine.

(Field diary, 16/08/2014, night in with Louisa, 22, and friends, Chorlton)

From the above excerpt, one can see that Louisa had power over the affectivity of her friend’s bodies through controlling how they experience darkness and lightness (Shaw, 2014b). Here, the practice of lighting candles was used by Louisa as “a tool” (Bille and Sørensen, 2007:263) to exercise a “gentle suggestion” (Sumartojo, 2014:62) that she desired the night ahead to be low-key. Lighting then, was cultivated towards relaxation (Bille, 2015), transforming the young people’s experiences of space (see Ebbensgaard, 2015). Louisa was relying upon her friends possessing the corporeal capacities to sense rhythms of light and sound (see Duffy et al., 2011); it seemed that this worked, as the young people attuned themselves to the rhythmicity of the moment, through the pace of their consumption of alcohol. This was reflected through a later excerpt from my field diary:

A few hours after arriving at Louisa’s, I looked around her sitting room, and all the guests, including me, were slowly sipping wine from their glasses. The night was drawn to a close prior to midnight. The candles seemed to have achieved the purpose of nonverbally communicating that ‘excessive’ alcohol consumption was not appropriate tonight

(Field diary, 16/08/2014, night in with Louisa, 22, and friends, Chorlton)

The relaxing atmosphere did not simply control the young people. The rhythmic structuring of the night in was not individual, rather it was collective (see Edensor, 2010b), and relied upon the synchronisation of drinking practices. This indicates, in line with Edensor (2015a), that atmospheres are not formed out of one element - candle light in this instance; rather, they continuously emerge out of an assemblage of forces, affects
and happenings. Young people also contributed to its generation; the atmosphere is thus best understood as a “co-produced” one (Edensor, 2015c:83). More than simply the functional practice of increasing visibility for activities to take place (Bille, 2015), I suggest that lighting practices also create and shape drinking spaces, and thereby drinking practices and experiences.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has exposed the heterogeneity of young people’s drinking spaces in their suburban locales, with a focus on: bars, pubs, streets, and parks. I highlighted that young people’s perception of the ‘classed other’ (Sutton, 2009) has a fundamental role to play in young people’s desires to either access certain drinking spaces, or purposefully exclude themselves from such spaces. Further the findings in this chapter contribute to the alcohol geographies literature by addressing mobilities between different spaces and places, as opposed to treating spaces as static and fixed, (Jayne et al., 2012a). For instance, I have highlighted that young people perform their style of walking, such as, by varying pace, in order to negotiate potentially dangerous situations, when under the influence of alcohol. Additionally, young people practice being “mobile with” others (Jensen, 2010:293), as a means of keeping safe whilst drinking. Further, I have contributed to a burgeoning body of literature on atmospheres, specifically atmospheres of darkness and lightness (e.g. Edensor, 2012; Edensor, 2015a; Sumartojo, 2015; Shaw, 2014b), which is largely adultist, thereby failing to engage with young people’s experiences of light and darkscapes. Whilst there is a prevailing cultural understanding that darkness is a negative condition, a frightening, mysterious void (Morris, 2011), I have found that young people conceptualise darkness in different ways, in different times and spaces. The data in this
chapter have illustrated that many young people actively seek darkness, because it makes
drinkscape exciting and alluring; it offers a temporary move away from spatial, social
and sensory norms (Edensor and Falconer, 2014). For other young people, the limited
perceptible space in the absence of light led to an enhanced focus on the immediate
surroundings within which one could drink and socialise with friends. Consequently, dark
drinking solicits an intensification of social engagement, producing an affective
connection between drinkers and a shared sense of adventure. I thus contribute to the
alcohol studies literature by illustrating the ways in which drinkscape are not passive
backdrops, but are key constituents of young people’s drinking practices, with the ability
to shape alcohol consumption practices and experiences. Further, I went beyond this and
illustrated that young people can co-construct drinking atmospheres, thereby
demonstrating their agency is shaping the alcohol consumption practices and experiences
of themselves and others.
Chapter Eight

Conclusions

Through the more-than-representational conceptual framework of ‘doing’ friendship, mobilities, and atmospheres, I have foregrounded interrelations, intersubjectivity and the intercorporeal nature of young people’s drinking geographies. In what follows, I present my main conceptual contributions around the themes of friendships, intergenerationality, mobilities, and atmospheres. In doing so, I show how the mixed methods qualitative research I conducted with young people can feed into culturally legible alcohol policies.

First, my findings highlight that, for young people in both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, alcohol is central to ‘doing’ friendship (Niland et al., 2013). Young people showed how alcohol both facilitates closeness between pre-existing friendship groups, and enables the creation of new friendships with strangers - though these friendships are typically ephemeral. Further, friendship was a fundamental constituent of care strategies talked about by young people. There was a “culture of helping” (Armstrong et al., 2014:758) in many, predominantly female, friendship groups. For instance, many young women under the legal drinking age have a ‘buddy system’, in which a sober, or less inebriated, friend supervises an intoxicated friend. Young women could pre-plan this system, or enrol it during the course of a night out, by analysing the drunkenness and drunken behaviour of friends. Further, young people walked with friends, in order to be more spatially confident. Friendship caring strategies did not always rely on physical co-presence. Young people often enrolled mobile phones in consumption networks, enabling care
about embodied experiences beyond one’s immediate space and time (Farrugia et al., 2015). Young people also showed how alcohol can present risks to friendships; not acting in line with the role of ‘carer’ could result in being labelled a ‘bad friend’. Equally though, tensions within a friendship group may arise when a drunken friend intrudes on the autonomy of the friend who does the caring (MacLean, 2015). Through these findings, I have contributed towards a better understanding of the significance of friendship in geographies of care (Bowlby, 2011).

I have also shown that young people under the legal drinking age, whose parents are unwilling to purchase alcohol on their behalf, turn to alternative ‘support’ from friendships (Budgeon and Roseneil, 2004). Young people also discussed that friends are important for the intragenerational transmission of ideas and attitudes surrounding alcohol; for instance, advising how much/little alcohol to drink, and when to stop drinking. During transitions to adulthood, reciprocity between friends is thus important - there is a relational process of seeking, negotiating, and reciprocating support (Guan and Fulgini, 2015). Engaging with friendships thus enables a more interdependent understanding of young people’s transitions (Punch, 2000) which thinks through dependence/independence as relational states, and examines young people’s transitions as processes which are shared with friends, as opposed to solo projects (Holdsworth, 2007a). My findings suggest that, what Valentine (2008b:2097;2103) terms broader “geographies of intimacy”, such as friendships or, what may be termed “families of choice” are important for young people’s alcohol-related transitions. This lends credence to Curti and Moreno’s (2010) contention that transitions are never exclusively in the domain of isolated human bodies;
identity is relational, only developing and operating in relation to other identities (Valentine, 2003). By highlighting the centrality of friendship to young people’s everyday/everynight lives, I have contributed to efforts to afford friendship greater prominence in the social sciences (Bunnell et al., 2012). This is important because, in much of the human geography literature, whilst friendships are often implied, and sometimes mentioned, friendship itself is infrequently conceptually central (Bunnell et al., 2012).

My use of friendship group interviews and peer interviews were especially useful in highlighting the importance of friendship to young people’s drinking practices and experiences. One of the main analytical advantages of friendship group interviews is that they provided access to interactions between participants (Miller et al., 2010). Further, the peer interview method enabled peer researchers to broach topics which young people may have been embarrassed discussing with me (Lushey and Munro, 2014) - such as how alcohol facilitates ‘more-than-friendships’. My culturally legible research has implications for policymakers. The focus on individual responsibility that characterises numerous campaigns means the group-based social nature of drinking has been side-lined (de Visser et al., 2013). This is problematic. My findings highlight that, for many young people, in both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, friendship and care are key constituents of alcohol-related nights out. Policymakers thus have much to learn from young people’s own efforts to stigmatise undesirable relationships to alcohol, and to exclude people displaying such relationships (Foster and Spencer, 2013). Policymakers should thus create campaigns that demonstrate how one can be a ‘good friend’ on nights in/out involving
alcohol, along with campaigns that illustrate how getting too drunk and acting inappropriately can cause tensions with friends. Such campaigns would be a culturally legible way of reducing alcohol-related harm.

Second, I have found that many parents living in Chorlton and Wythenshawe are key players in the drinking practices and experiences of their son(s)/daughter(s). Parents often purchase alcohol for their son(s)/daughter(s), in order to monitor the quantity and type of alcohol they are consuming; and to ensure that their sons/daughters are not subjected to inflated prices in shops that serve young people under the legal drinking age. More than this, I found that some parents, particularly in Wythenshawe, allocate ‘dens’ in which their son(s)/daughter(s) can consume alcohol. This was a means by which parents could regulate the drinking practices and, to an extent, the drinking experiences of their son(s)/daughter(s). My findings show that, in order for dens to function efficiently, there is an unwritten intergenerational pact that parents will not interfere in young people’s drinking occasions, if they abide by the rules and expectations of their parents. Further, I have found that there are similarities in the reasons young people and parents give for enjoying consuming alcohol at home. For instance, the desire to consume alcohol in a comfortable, relaxing space, which can be tailored to individual and collective preferences. More than this, I have found that some young people and parents, particularly in Wythenshawe, play similar roles in, what I termed, ‘home drinking’ sessions; for instance, consuming alcohol, dancing together, and discussing prospective partners.
My findings thus show evidence of a blurring between generational boundaries, and suffusion between parental and friendship relationships. In such instances, one can see that the family has become more “chosen” and “friend-like” (Pahl and Spencer, 2004:213). This highlights the importance of paying attention to intergenerational relationships that signal cooperation and reciprocity across generations (Kjørholm, 2003:273). My findings also lend credence to contentions that generations are not always socially and spatially separate (Vanderbeck, 2007). Young people’s transitions to adulthood are often thought to be linear, marked by pre-determined stages of already established expectations, and characterised by ‘rites of passage’, involving separation, transition, and ultimately incorporation into a new status group (Gennep, 1960). I have shown that engaging with “joint-intergenerational” (Kjørholm, 2003:273) drinking geographies can allow for a more holistic and relational understanding of age. In doing so, I address Vanderbeck (2007) and Hopkins and Pain’s (2007) concerns that research on spatialities of younger and older generations rarely intersect.

From my findings, I recommend that policymakers direct alcohol harm-reduction messages to target the, oft-neglected, times and spaces in which generations intermingle. Traditional harm-reduction messages target individual young people to make the decision to reduce their alcohol consumption (Niland et al., 2013). My findings suggest that such messages are effectively asking young people to break strong intergenerational bonds. Parents clearly have an important role to play in influencing young people’s alcohol consumption practices and experiences (Ward and Snow, 2010). For instance, I have shown how some parents provide their children with quasi-domestic spaces, such as dens and garages, to consume alcohol. However, in doing so, such young people may be
failing to learn about a diverse range of commercial and marginal drinking spaces, and how they should be conducting themselves in such spaces (Jayne et al. 2012b makes a similar point regarding parents introducing pre-teen children to alcohol in the home). Consequently, I recommend that policymakers should create educational materials for families about the diversity of drinking spaces people may experience throughout their lives.

Third, I have found that, not only are young people’s alcohol-related transitions shaped by relationships with friends and family, they are shaped by mobile relationships with space. I have shown that young people’s drinking spaces should not be considered in isolation, they are relational: young people regularly move in, and between, the spaces of the home, the street, the bar, and the city, for example. Engaging with mobilities enables an appreciation that spaces are relative and are not solely valued on their own merit, but also how they are part of a larger urban tissue (Cele, 2013). I have found that, for many young people under the legal drinking age, their walking mobilities are “pointless”. That is, the requirement of proximity did not give rise to their mobilities (Bissell, 2013); walking itself was the chief activity (Horton et al., 2014). My findings also demonstrate that young people’s alcohol-related walking mobilities incorporate performances, including different styles of walking, in different spaces, at different times, and with different people. For instance, young people vary the speed and rhythm of their walking in order to avoid potentially dangerous situations. Further, young people talked about being “mobile with” (Jensen, 2010:293) friends as a means of promoting safety. However, young people in Wythenshawe suggested that this is at odds with current police practices of dispersing large groups of young people. Whilst many young women saw this as
illogical, enhancing their risk of rape, other young people enjoyed the “geographical game of cat and mouse” (Valentine, 1996:594). My findings also showed that, for young people from the ‘islands’ of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, transport enables them to break away from the place temporalities typical of their suburban locales. Young people often consumed alcohol when on the move, in order to sustain their embodied feelings of drunkenness, with minimal further spending on alcohol. My findings thus show that, on young people’s alcohol-related nights out, travel time is not “wasted time in-between ‘real’ activities” (Lyons and Urry, 2005:257). Rather, young people use travel time productively as activity time (Lyons and Urry, 2005). Consuming alcohol on the move is not only economically beneficial, it is also emotionally important - young people create enjoyable affective atmospheres in taxis and buses to share with friends, for instance, by playing music from their mobile phones. I have thus found that vehicular mobilities are not only a means to get to nights out; they are fundamental constituents of nights out.

To date, much literature on children and young people’s mobilities is adult-centric, focusing on child/young people-parent relations, thereby downplaying the ways in which young people’s mobilities are thoroughly social experiences, characterised by the companionship of others (Nansen et al., 2015). When young people’s alcohol-related mobilities have been considered (e.g. Gannon et al.’s, 2014, account of ‘drink walking’), it has typically been conceptualised in a reductive manner, which theorises mobility as a product of rationally weighed decisions” (Spinney, 2009:820). By contributing to a small body of work in highlighting the emotional, embodied and affective aspects of alcohol-related mobilities (e.g. Duff and Moore, 2015; Jayne et al., 2012a), my research goes some way towards addressing Holloway et al.’s (2009) concern that drinking spaces have
typically been considered in a dichotomous manner, failing to follow those who consume alcohol through their diverse drinkscapes. Moreover, transitions are commonly considered to be spatial; a “territorial passage” (Gennep, 1960:15) is thought to occur, in which young people learn new socio-spatial patterns. My findings show that ‘rites of passage’ not only involve learning about new types of spaces (Teather, 1999; Northcote, 2006), they involve learning about new mobilities in, through, and beyond, spaces.

I urge researchers to engage with the alcohol-related im/mobilities of a sample of young people that accommodates for the diversity of bodily forms and abilities in society (Andrews et al., 2012). Further, research is yet to engage with the alcohol-related im/mobilities of other groups around race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality. In doing so, I recommend researchers engage with some of the methods which my research shows are important in enhancing understandings of young people’s alcohol-related mobilities. ‘Go along’ participant observation (Kusenbach, 2003), involving walking, dancing, taxi-ing, and bus journeying mobilities, enabled me to travel with young people, participating in their mobilities through times, spaces and relationships with others (Watts and Urry, 2008). Additionally, the drawing elicitation interview, through its combination of visual and oral methods, enabled an understanding of the complexity of young people’s relationships with urban spaces (Lehman-Frisch et al., 2012). I anticipated that maps would offer a static snapshot of young people’s drinking practices and experiences; I was surprised that young people’s mobilities really came through in their drawings. Further, mobile phone interviews were beneficial for their virtual mobility potential. During instances where I was unable to attend young people’s nights in/out involving alcohol, the phone virtually transported me as a researcher. Moreover, text messages provided me
with insight into young people’s situated practices across time and space, offering me an ‘experience snapshot’ of young people’s alcohol-related, present-tense action.

Fourth, my findings have shown how affective atmospheres, comprised of human and more-than-human actants, primed young people to act in particular ways, temporally managing their moods and movements. For instance, my research illustrated that atmospheric assemblages comprised of music, lighting, and alcohol shaped young people’s dancing mobilities. The existing literature is predominantly concerned with how the affective atmospheres of spaces affect people (e.g. Tan, 2013); those for whom there is discordance between their subjective feelings and atmospheres have been virtually ignored. My findings redressed this bias by illustrating that not all young people are enveloped by the ‘enjoyable’ atmospheres of drinkscape. Further, whilst there is a prevailing cultural understanding that darkness is a negative condition, a frightening, mysterious void (Morris, 2011), I have found that young people conceptualise darkness in different ways, in different times and spaces. Many young people spoke about some of the positive emotional, embodied and affective qualities of dark drinkscape. I have found that many young people actively seek darkness, because it makes drinkscape exciting and alluring, offering a temporary move away from spatial, social and sensory norms (Edensor and Falconer, 2014). Some young people demonstrated that they found “refuge” in quiet and affective spaces of gloom, due to the imperceptible presence of others (Edensor, 2013:449). For other young people, the limited perceptible space in the absence of light led to an enhanced focus on the immediate surroundings within which one could drink and socialise with friends. Consequently, I have found that dark drinking has the ability to solicit an intensification of social engagement, producing an affective
connection between drinkers and a shared sense of adventure. More than this, I have found that drinking in the dark is liberating for young people, offering escapism from the visual judgment of others.

I have also suggested that it is important not to construe young people within atmospheres as passive. My findings show that young people are able to take control over their experiences of darkness and lightness, by staging atmospheres, and thereby influencing experiences of drunkenness. I showed how light has the capacity to influence drinking and drunkenness. For instance, in the space of the home, candles can be used as a tool to exercise a “gentle suggestion” (Sumartojo, 2014:62) that the desire is for the night ahead to be a low-key one. Young people then, can contribute towards the generation of relaxing drinking atmospheres. Through paying attention to atmospheres, I have shown that spaces and places are not passive backdrops to young people’s drinking practices and experiences; rather, they are active constituents with the ability to shape drinking occasions (Jayne *et al.*, 2012a). More than this though, young people are not passive to atmospheres; they have the agency to co-construct affective atmospheres, thereby influencing the drinking practices and experiences of themselves and others.

Whilst the existing alcohol studies literature has typically focused on the night-time city centre (Shaw, 2014a), I engaged with a range of “atmos-pheres” (Anderson, 2009:8), in suburban bars, pubs, homes, streets, and parks in Chorlton and Wythenshawe. I have contributed to the children’s geographies literature by providing insight into young people’s experiences of, and co-construction of, light and dark drinking atmospheres. Current work on apprehending dark and lightscape is largely adultist (e.g. Edensor, 2012;
Edensor, 2015a; Sumartojo, 2015; Shaw, 2014b), neglecting young people’s experiences of perceiving and (co)producing such atmospheres. There are a few exceptions in the geographies of children and young people literature in which darkness is mentioned (e.g. Malbon, 1999; Milligan and Bingley, 2007); yet, darkness itself has not been conceptually central. Moreover, in the existing literature, events have been prioritised over more everyday/everynight experiences of light and dark. I have thus contributed to the bourgeoning literature on darkness and lightness by paying attention to experiences of everyday/everynight light and darkscapes, such as pubs, parks, and streets.

I found interviews and participant observations especially useful in gaining a sense of the importance of atmospheres for young people’s everynight lives. Interviews offered me insights into how young people are situated within assemblages (Fox and Alldred, 2015). Further, participant observation enabled first-hand insight into how drunkenness is not about alcohol alone; music, lighting, non-alcoholic drinks, glasses and other bodies all acted on young people, myself included, influencing our corporeal experiences of space, and shaping our feelings of drunkenness. An atmospheres approach, which attends to the social, material and affective forces that participate in consumption events, can illuminate the spatial and temporal aspects of alcohol consumption. This offers novel means of transforming consumption events in order to reduce the harms that may be associated with them (Duff, 2014). For instance, lighting and darkness seem to be a means of non-verbally shaping drinking practices and experiences. From this, along with my findings that some parents, particularly in Wythenshawe, participate in young people’s home drinking sessions, I recommend that policymakers should offer advice to families regarding how to create positive affective atmospheres during home drinking sessions.
This is important because drinking spaces are not bounded; they are relational and porous, and consequently emotions experienced when home drinking can affect the tenor of encounters experienced in other times and spaces.

The relational concept of atmosphere (Buser, 2014) adds another layer of understanding to the spaces of young people’s transitions, highlighting how young people’s lives are characterised by shifting relationships and movements between humans and more-than-humans. Future research should thus aim to engage with a diverse range of co-constructed “atmos-spheres” (Anderson, 2009:8), in which alcohol can be consumed, including restaurants, casinos, theatres, and cinemas; doing so will enhance understandings of the ways in which young people are shaped by, and shape, drinking spaces. There is also a need for future research to pay attention to how moods and prior experiences have the potential to feed back into the on-going production of atmospheres. This will provide insight into why some young people are not enveloped by enjoyable emotional, embodied, and affective atmospheres in drinkscapes.
References

Advocat, J. and Lindsay, J. (2013). To Drink or Not to Drink? Young Australians Negotiating the Social Imperative to Drink to Intoxication. Journal of Sociology. 51. (2). pp. 139-153.


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Kraftl, P. (2014, personal correspondence). *Methodology Paper*. From Peter Kraftl [pk123@leicester.ac.uk] to Samantha Wilkinson [Samantha.wilkinson-4@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk] [24 September, 2014].


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# Appendix 1: Young People’s Biographical Snapshots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Methods ‘Opted’ in</th>
<th>Biographical Snapshots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jemima</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Diary, Participant observation, Drawing elicitation interview, Text messaging, Mobile phone interview</td>
<td>Jemima attends school in Wythenshawe. Her parents don’t really drink, and are much more liberal about her smoking weed, in comparison to drinking. To get alcohol, she typically stands outside off-licences asking passers-by to go in to the shop and buy alcohol on her behalf. Her drink of choice is Vodka and Red Bull, and she mocks those who drink Lambrini. She mainly drinks in homes, streets, and parks. Her enjoyment for drinking decreased throughout the research process. She now prefers to stay in and smoke weed, and enjoys not having a hangover the next day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vera</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Diary, Participant observation, Drawing elicitation interview, Text messaging</td>
<td>Vera is a school pupil in Wythenshawe. Her parents go to the pub regularly, and so she goes with them. Her first drinking experience was at Christmas where she was allowed a Shandy. Vera is too scared to attempt to obtain alcohol, but regularly stands outside shops to ask passers-by. When drunk, Vera often stays out at her friends’ houses, rather than her own, so her parents do not notice. She asks her dad for money for pizza, and then uses this to purchase alcohol. Vera claims to consider those who drink on the streets and parks as childish, but this is something she did often herself throughout the research. She considers everything is funnier and more exciting when she has had a drink. Making friends, and fighting, are common features of Vera’s nights out.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rik</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Diary, Drawing elicitation interview, Text messaging</td>
<td>Rik goes to school in Wythenshawe. He usually goes out with school friends and his twin brother - who attends a different school. Rik gets his alcohol by standing outside shops and asking strangers to get alcohol on his behalf. Rik uses the street as a space to drink, and to consume drugs. He also likes drinking in the park, but is continually moved on from this space by the police. He recognises the importance of being looked after, and looking after others, on nights out. His consumption preferences shifted from alcohol to drugs, after falling over on a night out having consumed alcohol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heather</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Mobile phone interview, Follow up interview</td>
<td>Heather attends school in Wythenshawe. She sometimes drinks at the park, but mainly in other people’s homes, and would never attend a house party unless an adult was present. She considers alcohol and partying to be something that makes someone popular, and values alcohol for its ability to strengthen her bond with friends. Caring for friends is very important for Heather, and she always has a buddy system to ensure a sober(ish) friend can look after a drunken friend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Drawing elicitation interview</td>
<td>Peter attends college in Wythenshawe. His first drinking experience arose when his uncle gave him some alcohol to try at a wedding. Peter has always preferred consuming alcohol at house parties, in comparison to parks and streets, considering this is “chavvy”. He doesn’t drink much, but when he does, he enjoys the extra confident alcohol gives him to dance - as he is a big fan of dancing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Method</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Drawing elicitation interview</td>
<td>Summer is a college student in Wythenshawe. She doesn’t drink very much, and attributes this to her mother - who she no longer lives with - having an alcohol abuse problem. When Summer has drunk alcohol, she has got it by standing outside an off-licence and asking passers-by. Her favourite drinking occasions take place in darkness, because there’s more mystery surrounding where she will end up, and what she will end up doing. She is shy and values the ability of alcohol to make her confident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Friendship group interview, Drawing elicitation interview</td>
<td>Jenny attends a college in Wythenshawe. She has gained entrance into a club in Wythenshawe but prefers not to drink here. Instead, she likes drinking at home, whilst doing her makeup and choosing her outfits, prior to going out. She has an older brother who she claims is very over-protective of her, and doesn’t like her drinking or going on nights out. Jenny tends to ignore this, yet has started to go out less recently, claiming that “It’s boring” and “nothing happens”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Friendship group interview, Peer interview, Diary, Drawing elicitation interview</td>
<td>Kelly goes to a college in Wythenshawe. She notes that she use to drink in the park, but now her mum is very liberal about her drinking practices, often joining in with her pre-drinking sessions. For Kelly, looking good is very important for the night out. Her home is now her favourite space to drink. Her older siblings are very protective over her drinking practices and activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Methodology/Tools</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Diary, Peer interview, Text message</td>
<td>John works in Wythenshawe. He admits that, after a stage of consuming drugs frequently, he has now abstained from drugs for several months, preferring to consume alcohol. John likes to consume alcohol in the city centre bars, pubs and clubs, and has been put off consuming alcohol in Wythenshawe after witnessing violence in pubs. He often travels to football matches, and alcohol is a fundamental part of these occasions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Drawing elicitation interview</td>
<td>Teresa attends college in Wythenshawe, and has lived there all her life. Her first memory of someone being drunk is seeing her dad staggering in the door at night. Her parents don’t drink very frequently now. Teresa typically stays in and drinks with her boyfriend, and considers alcohol very important to special occasions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Friendship group interview, Text messaging, Follow up interview</td>
<td>Olivia attends a college in Wythenshawe. Her first drinking experience was on holiday with her family. For Olivia, it is very important to drink in spaces in which she feels safe and comfortable. She considers it highly important to have a designated carer on a night out, and prefers drinking with family rather than friends - as she fears her friends may make her do something ‘stupid’. She has only consumed alcohol with friends on a handful of occasions, and these have always been at house parties. She met her current boyfriend at a house party, and considered alcohol gave him the confidence to approach her.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Scott attends college in Wythenshawe. He never had any issues sourcing alcohol when he was under the legal drinking age, due to hanging around with older friends. Scott believes he can “drink more than most people”, and so starts drinking early, so that by the end of the night he is on the “same level” as everyone else. Scott doesn’t like drinking in Wythenshawe pubs, due to people frequenting them who have a tendency to fight. He enjoys going to house parties, and playing drinking games.

Emily’s first drinking experiences were at the park. Despite being old enough to go to bars, pubs, and clubs, Emily does not own ID and so still tends to hang out at the park, where she can drink with younger friends. For Emily, the best part of the night is getting food on the way home, and getting in to bed.

Maisy has always lived in Wythenshawe. She considers alcohol is crucial to any night out. Maisy drinks in a variety of different spaces: streets, parks, bars, pubs, and clubs. Her favourite drink is whisky. The worst part of a night out for Maisy is being sick, and she takes great care to protect her drinks from being spiked. She considers drinking games to be great fun.
Simon 23 Wythenshawe Interview Diary Drawing elicitation interview Follow up interview
Simon has lived in Wythenshawe all his life, and has recently moved in with his girlfriend. When he was younger, the park was a very important drinking space, where many different people could mix. Whilst Simon used to drink to get drunk, he now does not wish to have hangovers and thus restricts his consumption, as he now ‘knows his levels’. For Simon, his drinking occasions are very much bound up with football, when both attending matches and watching televised matches.

Melinda 21 Wythenshawe Interview Participant observation
Melinda works in the city centre, and has lived in Wythenshawe for five years. Her first drinking experience was at her cousin’s party, in which her mum let her drink a WKD. Melinda didn’t drink in the park or streets when she was underage, as she was always allowed to drink at her mum’s house. Now she enjoys clubbing, sometimes with her mum, in both Wythenshawe and Manchester city centre. Her drink of choice is Vodka and Coke.

Lewis 20 Wythenshawe Interview Mobile phone interview Follow up interview
Lewis works in Wythenshawe, and has lived there with his mum and brother all his life. Lewis first got drunk when camping in the back garden, in which he stole some alcohol from a neighbour. After this, his mum was very strict about his drinking. When Lewis was 17, he used a friend’s ID to get into a club. He enjoyed going to pubs in Wythenshawe until he witnessed violence. He now considers he can have a better and cheaper night if he stays at home. Lewis doesn’t drink as much now, as he is trying to save his money for more important things, such as attending festivals and buying new clothes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Diary, Drawing elicitation interview</td>
<td>David has grown up in Wythenshawe, and currently attends University in a city outside of Manchester. David didn’t drink at the park when he was younger, as he had a friend’s house that was always available. David’s uncle recently died from alcohol-related illnesses. This hasn’t affected David’s drinking practices. David’s younger brother does not drink at all, and David has tried to educate him of the differences between consuming alcohol socially, and drinking alcohol problematically.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Collin</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview, Drawing elicitation interview, Follow up interview</td>
<td>Collin attended University in another UK city, and moved to Wythenshawe shortly after for work. Collin doesn’t enjoy drinking in the pubs in Wythenshawe, noting that they are either full of underage people, or rude old people. Collin notes that, due to working a lot of hours, his drinking has become much less frequent. He now drinks more with colleagues than friends outside of work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Susan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Friendship group interview</td>
<td>Susan attends school, and lives, in Chorlton. Her parents are light drinkers. Susan has only consumed alcohol on two occasions, and has never been ‘drunk’. She has recently started to go to house parties, where she is just as happy to stay sober and look after those who are drinking, than she is to drink herself. Susan suspects that drinking will become a bigger part of her life as she attends college, but now she is too busy revising for her examinations, ensuring she gets the grades she needs to do the A Levels she wants to do.</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>Julie</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Friendship group interview</td>
<td>Julie lives in Chorlton and attends school here. She notes having a very secretive relationship with her parents around alcohol. She is too scared to tell her parents she is attending house parties, and they are unaware she drinks. Her parents frequently educate her that her brain is “still developing”, and alcohol consumption would be detrimental. She says she has been a little tipsy before, but she has never been ‘drunk’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Richard lives, and attends school, in Chorlton. He mainly drinks with his family on special occasions, but has recently started attending house parties. Richard notes that he was a latecomer to drinking, compared to many others in his school. He avoids drinking in the park after a story circulated around school about someone getting concussion. He doesn’t think he’s ever really been drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Annie lives, and goes to school, in Chorlton. She started drinking earlier than the rest of her friendship group, when she was a part of the ‘popular’ group at school. She then realised that she wanted to work hard and get good grades, so she moved over to the ‘geeky’ group. She says she introduced this group to drinking. Annie is very confident in her ability to obtain alcohol, and typically sources her alcohol from Manchester city centre, believing she is more likely to be mistaken for a university student here, and thus be able to obtain alcohol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jack</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td><strong>Interview</strong></td>
<td><strong>Follow up interview</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jack attends school in Chorlton. His main drinking spaces are at house parties; he does not consider parks to be safe drinking spaces. Jack is confident in attempting to obtain alcohol himself at off-licences. However, this has not always been successful. Jack was initially too scared to drink too much, in case he got too drunk. He is now more relaxed about this, as he is more aware of his drinking limits. Jack has received much advice about drinking from his older sister.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Alice</strong></th>
<th>16</th>
<th>Chorlton</th>
<th><strong>Interview</strong></th>
<th><strong>Peer interview</strong></th>
<th><strong>Text message</strong></th>
<th><strong>Follow up interview</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>Alice is a pupil attending a school outside of Chorlton. She doesn’t go out on nights out with any of the people from her own school, labelling such people “chavvy”, but rather goes out with those attending school in Chorlton. She has only recently started drinking, and has a sister who “likes to act like her mum”, and tells her which alcohol to avoid, which drinks not to mix together etc. Alice does not always pay attention to this advice. Alice mainly drinks at house parties, and does not consider the park to be a safe drinking space.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Becky</strong></th>
<th>16</th>
<th>Chorlton</th>
<th><strong>Interview</strong></th>
<th><strong>Diary</strong></th>
<th><strong>Mobile phone interview</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>Becky is a pupil at a school in Chorlton. She enjoys drinking at house parties, considering that they are more civilised than drinking in the park. Becky drinks a lot more now than she did when she first started drinking, as she has become more relaxed. For Becky, having friends who look out for each other is very important for her early experimentations with alcohol. Becky is able to self-regulate her alcohol consumption levels, for instance, if she is aware that she has something important on the next day. Becky predominantly drinks at house parties, and is heavily reliant upon trams to get her around.</td>
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<td><strong>Kirsty</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview Diary</td>
<td>Kirsty attends school in Chorlton. She first got introduced to alcohol by her parents drinking wine, and letting her dip her finger in to try it. She mainly drinks at house parties, for special occasions, such as birthdays, Halloween etc. Kirsty’s parents are open about discussing drink with her, as they do not want it to be a “forbidden fruit”. Whilst her parents are open about talking about alcohol, they will not purchase alcohol for her. Kirsty is excited about the prospect of having clubbing experiences, but says she will wait until college for this.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stacey</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview Diary Mobile phone interview Follow up interview</td>
<td>Stacey goes to school in Chorlton. Her mum is very strict that Stacey must not consume alcohol, because her ex-husband died from alcohol-related illnesses. As such, Stacey gets a close friend of hers to supply her with alcohol, and Stacey has started to do the same for her friend who is unable to obtain alcohol herself - considering it is important to experiment with alcohol at an early age, so as not to go “off the rails” later. Stacey mainly drinks at house parties and considers caring for friends is a very important part of a night out.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Amy</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview Text messaging Mobile phone interview</td>
<td>Amy moved to Chorlton two years ago to live with her boyfriend. She says beer makes her moody, and is not an ‘out’ drink - whereas spirits get her more lively. She considers bars in Chorlton very expensive to drink in, and prefers to drink on the streets for this reason. When she was younger, it was all about getting drunk, whereas it is now about drinking something that tastes nice.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Liam was born and bred in Chorlton, and has just finished college. His early drinking experiences were in parks, as he liked the thrill and risk of doing something “illegal”. During college, he found he mainly drank at house parties; these were inclusive spaces where people who are under 18 years of age could mix with those who were older. His favourite drink is Gin and Tonic, and he enjoys playing drinking games at parties.

Lucas has lived in Chorlton for the past year, having moved here after finishing University. Lucas’ parents were liberal about his underage drinking years, considering it better for him to learn about, and experiment with alcohol, rather than it being something that is “taboo”. He typically drinks beers, and enjoys going out in both Chorlton and the city centre, mainly to bars and pubs. He’s most likely to be found drinking in bars and pubs when the rugby is being televised.

Tim attends university in Manchester, and lives with his parents in Chorlton. In comparison to when he was younger, in which he drank to get drunk, Tim now appreciates consuming alcohol alongside a nice meal. Tim recognises his drinking increased when starting university and, aware of the potential weight gain, he started to diet and exercise. Tim admits sometimes preferring to be ‘designated driver’, due to the possibility of making some money out of it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Summary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andy</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Andy lives at home with his parents whilst saving up for a gap year. Whilst Andy’s parents were quite strict about underage drinking, his friend’s parents were much more liberal. He first drank alcohol at a friend’s house party when he was 15. Andy isn’t going out drinking that much at the moment in an attempt to save money. He finds it hard to say no to his friends, and whilst he aims to only go out for a few drinks, he often finds he drinks much more than planned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisa</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Diary, Participant observation, Mobile phone interview, Text messaging, Follow up interview</td>
<td>Louisa works in Manchester, and lives with her cousin in Chorlton. Louisa generally very much enjoys drinking at home before going out, valuing it as a time and space to catch up with friends. She talks about the importance of being a good friend when on nights out, and caring for others, but tells stories whereby she has acted as a “bad friend”. Louisa is not a big fan of clubbing, and prefers having a few drinks at home, prior to going to bars in Chorlton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evie</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Participant observation, Mobile phone interview, Text messaging, Follow up interview</td>
<td>Evie works in the city centre, and lives in Chorlton. She enjoys the “European feel” of drinking in Chorlton, with the outdoor seating. When at university, Evie considered it was all about getting as drunk as quickly as possible. Now, it is less about getting drunk, and more about spending times with her friends, and having something she enjoys drinking. Evie doesn’t drink as much as she used to, due to factors such as money, and work, and also her desire to wake up without a hangover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lucie</strong> 24 Chorlton</td>
<td><strong>Interview</strong></td>
<td>Lucie is a university graduate who moved to Chorlton after her studies. She was first introduced to alcohol at a family barbeque. Lucie self-disclosed that she is a lesbian, and enjoys consuming alcohol in Canal Street. Lucie goes through stages where she completely abstains from alcohol, due to her interest in long-distance running.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coral</strong> 24 Chorlton</td>
<td><strong>Interview</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Peer interview</strong></td>
<td>Coral works full-time in Chorlton, and is a mum to her 7 year of daughter. She had her child at the age of 16, and admits trying to tell her child that ‘all people that drink are bad’, as she does not wish for her daughter to get drunk and fall pregnant at a young age. When Coral was growing up, she mainly drank in the summerhouse at her parent’s house. Now, Coral prefers drinking in bars in Chorlton, associating the city centre with fights. Coral moderates her consumption of alcohol by being aware of the high calorie content of alcoholic drinks.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Harriet</strong> 24 Chorlton</td>
<td><strong>Interview</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Text message</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Mobile phone interview</strong></td>
<td>Harriet has lived in Chorlton since she graduated from University. She notes that the biggest change in her drinking practices is in the spaces she drinks. At university, she just followed other people’s suggestions as to where to go, and ended up in clubs, which she didn’t really enjoy. Now she is more assertive about what she likes and dislikes. A typical night out would involve drinking alcohol at home alongside the getting ready process, and then heading to bars.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rex</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview, Peer interview, Diary, Participant observation, Drawing, elicitation interview</td>
<td>Ryan grew up in Ireland, and moved to Manchester for his current job, after completing University. Ryan enjoyed drinking alcopops at the park when younger. Since moving to Manchester, Ryan prefers drinking (predominantly Guinness) in Chorlton, rather than the city centre, as he associates Chorlton with a more relaxed drinking experience. He enjoys drinking as a release from his intensive job, and likes making new friends on nights out, yet he recounts with humour many stories where he has been involved in fights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview, Drawing, elicitation interview, Follow up interview</td>
<td>Charlie lives in Chorlton, and has recently finished studying at university in Manchester. Charlie enjoys home drinking, suggesting that its benefits extend well beyond cost: he values it as an enjoyable social experience. Charlie also enjoys drinking on the move, for instance on the bus, recognising that it “keeps everyone going”. Charlie isn’t a big fan of clubbing, and finds it hard to get in the same ‘zone’ as everyone else. He also finds the streets of Chorlton a little intimidating at night time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix 2: Parent’s Biographical Snapshots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Biographical Snapshot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linzi</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Linzi’s first memory of drinking was on holiday with her family. When she was at sixth form, there was a strong culture of going out, and she used to get in to nightclubs without any ID. Home drinking was not a ‘thing’ when she was growing up. Linzi’s children are 14 and 16 and do not drink socially. Linzi’s mum is a heavy drinker, and because of this, Linzi is strict of her own alcohol consumption levels. She will not drink in the day, unless it’s a special occasion, such as Christmas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Steve’s first drinking experience was a glass of Sherry on Christmas eve. He notes pubs being lax when he was younger, allowing him access when under the legal drinking age. Despite being able to access the pubs, sometimes he still chose to drink in the park. He enjoys drinking in Chorlton due to the diverse mix of bars. He considers Chorlton has everything to offer in terms of drinking places, and so doesn’t tend to venture any further away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gail</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Gail doesn’t recall her parents drinking, and says they wouldn’t have been able to afford it. Gail’s early drinking experiences were mainly with her older siblings’ friends. Gail considers drinking out to be very expensive, and tends to stay at home and drink red wine instead. She believes she is drinking a lot more than she should, and is concerned that one of her children is drinking far too much.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Interview Type</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duncan</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sue</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Duncan’s first memories of drinking are his parents having a glass of wine or beer with their meals. His first drinking experience was when he was about 10 or 11, and he mithered his dad in to allowing him to try some lager. He was easily able to access pubs when under the legal drinking age. His drinking practices have changed as he now prefers starting in the afternoon, and being in bed by midnight. Whereas, when he was younger he would start drinking much later, and roll home in the early hours of the morning.

Sue’s early memories of drinking associate it with a sense of occasion, rather than everyday drinking. She talks about her youngest son drinking at home before he goes out, noting that this wasn’t a common practice when she was growing up. Sue allowed her children to have wine and beers with their meals at home when they were growing up, in order to introduce them to alcohol in a supervised space. She admits buying alcohol on behalf of her children, preferring them to get a good deal at the supermarkets than being ripped off elsewhere.

Growing up, Elizabeth’s family weren’t big drinkers. Her first drinking experiences took place at the park, where she used to “pinch” alcohol from parents, or hang around off-licences. She also used to get into bars/clubs underage. Since separating from her partner, Elizabeth has started to go out drinking quite a lot with her daughter. Her son is teetotal, and she is proud of him for this.
Grace got engaged at a fairly young age, and had her first child at the age of 20. She said it is then that her “habitual drinking” started. Going out wasn’t an option, so she stayed in and used to drink a bottle of wine once her child was in bed. Alcohol has caused some tensions with her son, who has called her “disgusting” after seeing her drunk on several occasions. Grace says that, due to her age, she has started to slow down her drinking, and will now go on to mineral water after having wine with a meal.

Claire’s first memories of drinking are her parents having friends around. She remembers smelling the beer and cigarette smoke and thinking it was very glamorous. Claire very much enjoys drinking at home, because she can tailor the space to suit her preferences. Recently she has got into cocktails. Claire’s 15 year old daughter, Millie, is very open with her about drinking. Millie isn’t a big drinker, and when she does drink, she prefers to drink with her mum, than her friends.

Anthony started drinking at 17, and going to clubs, for which he had to borrow his older brother’s ID. Anthony’s parents wouldn’t allow him to drink in outdoor spaces, so he mainly drank in pubs and at his friend’s houses. Anthony now restricts his alcohol to wine and beer, and stays away from spirits. A good night out would be more centred around food than alcohol.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Drinking Experiences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacquie</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Jacquie grew up in a rural area in East Anglia where house parties were a common drinking location. She remembers her parents drinking at parties. Jacquie doesn’t drink regularly but finds her husband disapproves of her drinking, as he is teetotal. She drinks in Chorlton because she wouldn’t feel comfortable drinking in Manchester city centre, as she feels she is too old and wouldn’t know what to wear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Sally’s first memory of other people drinking is her family having Sherry at Christmas. Her parents were very strict and she would not have considered asking them to get alcohol for her. Sally could access clubs at the age of 16. For Sally, being ‘cool’ meant going on nights out as far away from Wythenshawe as possible, first in Manchester’s city centre, then on drinking holidays abroad. Now Sally can happily not have a drink, but appreciates that drinking can make her more chatty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Ali remembers his parents going to wine and cheese parties when he was very young. Some of his earliest drinking experiences were in his friend’s shed, where he played darts and smoked. He restricts his drinking practices to Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Ali pays attention to the calorie content of alcoholic drinks, and uses this to moderate his consumption. Ali has a 17 year old son, but isn’t ‘allowed to know much’ about his alcohol consumption practices.</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christopher</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>When he was younger, Christopher recalls his dad coming home tipsy after playing football. Now, his parents don’t really drink. Since Christopher married and had children, he notes that he goes out a lot less than he used to. He admits that he probably drinks on more occasions, yet at home. A typical night would be watching the telly, and having a few beers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Helen’s earliest drinking memories are of her mum throwing parties. Helen is a light drinker, and can keep a bottle of wine in the fridge for “so long that it might go off”. Helen’s youngest daughter [18] is very against her mother’s drinking. She refuses to purchase alcohol on behalf of her mother on the grounds that “her body is a temple”. Helen worries that her daughter won’t fit in when she begins University, due to her dislike of people drinking. Helen considers drinking in Chorlton to be a bit pretentious, and wishes bars would simplify their selection of drinks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirley</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Shirley’s mum was completely against drinking. Shirley says she started drinking every night after the birth of her first child, as she felt trapped. A few years ago, Shirley’s children told her she was drinking far too much. This provoked her to want to change. She no longer drinks every night, but rather saves herself for a special occasion, such as clubbing with her friends. She considers good friends and good music are crucial for a good night out.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Matthew’s parents drank fairly frequently when he was a child. His dad is now in Alcohol Anonymous, and stopped drinking ten years ago. Matthew began drinking at a young age, and used to steal drink from his parents. His older brothers would help him obtain alcohol. Matthew considers that he drinks too much, and too often. His favourite drink is beer, and having good beer is crucial to a good night out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrian</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Adrian remembers his parents drinking at meal times when he was younger. He admits he never drank in parks when he was younger, as he was always able to access pubs. He discusses getting in trouble a few times from drinking, because it enabled him to say things he probably shouldn’t have. After a recent health check, Adrian does worry about the impact alcohol may be having on him. He doesn’t interfere with his children’s drinking, and trusts them to be sensible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josh</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Chorlton</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Josh’ early memories of drinking centre around his father coming back tipsy from cricket matches. Josh was the smallest in his class at school, but can still remember being able to access pubs at the age of 15/16. Josh is a member of CAMRA (campaign for real ale), and admits being a “snob” when it comes to appreciating the taste of beers. Josh recognises that he drinks too much. He has Monday and Wednesday nights off from drinking, and uses Tuesday as a reward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Gary remembers his parents drinking socially when he was young, and notes that they never encouraged him to drink. He says that when he was 17-22ish it was always a case of getting cheap drink from newsagents before going on to the pub. Now he prefers to start drinking earlier, and to finish drinking earlier. He thinks there should be more education for people to teach them about the impacts of drinking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Wythenshawe</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Tony has lived in Wythenshawe all his life. He fondly recalls how the pubs in Wythenshawe used to be thriving, and is saddened by the closure of numerous ‘good’ pubs. He enjoys going to pubs when there are activities going on, such as quiz nights. The price of beer can be a determining feature in which pub he chooses to go to. He feels pubs in Wythenshawe need to do a lot more to draw customers in, in order to retain business. Tony’s children tend to drink in the city centre, and he doesn’t feel the pubs in Wythenshawe cater for young people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: Interview Questions

Interview questions

Hello, my name is Samantha Wilkinson and I am undertaking research into drinking in Chorlton and Wythenshawe.

I am going to ask you a list of questions, please answer in as much depth as you can. I am particularly interested in your first drinking experiences, your current drinking patterns (including what you drink on a night/day out and when at home) and finally I’d like to ask you about your attitudes to alcohol.

Your responses will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Questions for drinkers

A. Establishing behaviour

1. Tell me about your first memories of other people drinking alcohol? (What/when/where etc)

2. Tell me about your family’s usual drinking patterns (what/when/where/everyday use, special occasions)?

3. Tell me about your first drinking experience? (What/when/where etc)

4. Tell me about your early experiences with alcohol? (What/when/where etc)

5. Tell me about how/from whom did you usually get alcohol during your early experiences?

6. Did your family have or used to have any rules about drinking/not drinking?

7. How did/does your family react if you drink more/less that than normal family patterns?

8. Would you say that your early experiences of alcohol are typical of your peers?

9. Would you say that your early experiences of alcohol are typical of your family in general?

10. Tell me about a typical night out when you first started drinking (What when where etc)
11. Tell me about if, how and when you used to drink at home when you first started drinking

B. Patterns and cultures of drinking

12. Thinking about your current levels of drinking, could you tell me what and how much alcohol you usually drink?

13. When and where do you buy usually buy alcohol? (elaborate)

14. What do you usually drink and why?

15. Who do you normally drink with? (friends/family/colleagues/other)

16. What brands, do you usually drink and can you explain why (explain drink type, brand associations)?

17. How does the context of drinking change how much/ what you drink? (location, with family, friends, colleagues)

18. Tell me about how and why there are differences between where, how much and what you drink and other generations in your family? What tensions or difficulties does this cause?

19. Do you combine drinking with other substances? (smoking drugs etc)

20. How has your drinking practices changed over time? (different locations, types and brands of drink, people, amounts etc)

21. What has been the biggest factors in these changes? (e.g. money, age, family commitments, drinking fashions)

22. Do you think that there intergenerational differences (between you and the older or younger members of your family) in your attitudes to drink and your drinking practices?

23. How important is alcohol to marking special occasions, what role does alcohol play in this?

24. Do you have any special interest in types of alcohol? (e.g. wine, cider, real ale, cocktails etc)

25. Do you ever worry about your health around the amounts you drink? (e.g. hangovers, weight, general health)
I now want to focus some specific questions on your drinking experiences on a night out and on a night in.

*Drinking on a Night/day out*

26. Do you ever drink during the day? (please elaborate when/what/how much with whom)

27. Please describe a typical night out (if this differs with context/people, please explain)

28. Do you play drinking games, if so tell me a bit about this?

29. Have you every drank text someone, if so, tell me a bit about this?

30. What elements do you think of as making a good night out?

31. What elements do you think combine to make a bad night out?

32. Why do you usually go to Chorlton/Wythenshawe/other places, on which nights, what are the differences between those places?

33. Are there any restrictions stopping you from drinking in places you’d like to?

34. What pubs, bars, clubs do you usually go to? Why what is it you like about them, and dislike about others?

35. What do you drink? Why do you drink that particular drink? Does what you drink change with who you drink with, type/location of night out etc?

36. Does alcohol help you to lose your inhibitions? In what ways …

37. What kinds of things do you talk about when you go out?

38. Is there differences in your nights out with, friends colleagues, family, or same sex or mixed groups? Please explain …

39. Do you normally meet new friends/partners on a night out?

40. How do you interact with other people on a night out?

41. Do you worry about potential violence when you go out?

42. Have you ever been involved in trouble or violence when you go out drinking?
43. How does it affect you/make you feel if you get involved with or witness trouble?

44. Is drinking important to a night out? Why?

45. What does it feel like to be drunk in public - do you worry about it?

46. How do you interact with staff, bar staff, bouncers etc? Do you speak to them? How, why, what?

47. Do you interact with the police? How, why?

48. How do you judge when you’ve had enough to drink?

49. Is how what you wear important to going out?

50. Is makeup important to going out?

51. Have you ever used fake ID to get into places when underage?

52. What age did you start getting into clubs?

53. Have you ever been thrown out of a bar/club before?

54. Do you go a few different places when out? If yes, why?

55. What do you think of the streets during, at the end of a night out? Intimidating/exciting etc

56. How do you move through Chorlton/Wythenshawe when drinking?

57. Do you ever drink on the bus/taxis?

58. Do you ever go out in other towns and cities? Can you think of how it is different from going out in Chorlton/Wythenshawe?

59. Would warning labels on drinks (like they have on cigarette packets) about how much is safe to drink effect your drinking habits?

Drinking at Home

60. Do you often drink at home? When, in what ways, how often? Please describe a typical night at home drinking?

61. Do you usually have alcohol in the house? (if yes what how much, what types)
62. Do you mainly socialise at home, and how does alcohol play a part in this?

C. **Attitudes to alcohol**

63. Do you like drinking (the taste and effect etc)? What are the best things about drinking?

64. What stops you drinking more/less?

65. Does anyone approve or disapproves of how much you drink?

66. What do you think about drunkenness/binge drinking?

67. What kind of physical and emotional feeling do you get around alcohol? (being happy/sad, excited, pleasure)

68. What are some of the negative things about drinking? (e.g. your health, hangovers, violence, arguing with friends/partners etc, being out of control)

69. Have you ever done anything you really regret when drinking?

70. Have you had to look after a friend because they’ve been too drunk?

D. **Wider attitudes to alcohol**

71. What are the personal and social benefits that you get from drinking? (being sociable, important to drink with colleagues, helps you to make new friends partners, allows you to be out-and about on the streets)

72. What are any personal and social disadvantages regarding alcohol?

73. Do you think there are any differences between the way in which you think about the drinking practices of men and women?

74. Are there any tensions that drinking causes amongst your family/peer group/colleagues etc around alcohol?

75. Do you know what the safe limits for drinking are? Do you know how many units a week you drink? Do you know how many units are in the drinks/amounts you drink?

Thank you very much for your time, that’s all the questions I have here – but is there anything else you would like to ask?
Appendix 4: Young People Interview Guidance Brochure

What will happen to the information I provide?

I may draw on what you tell me during the interviews in my thesis and academic talks and journal articles. I may publish it if I do so. I will use a pseudonym, so no one will know it is you.

What do I need to do?

You need to meet the following criteria:

- You must be aged 16 at the time of the interview.
- You must currently live in or around Greater Manchester.
- You must not be in the process of leaving home.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions about the project.

Phone: 07811 744 788
E-mail: Samantha.Williamson
3@students.manchester.ac.uk

Alcohol Consumption, Young People and Urban Life

Thank you in advance!

Interview Guidance Notes

A research project by Samantha Wilkinson, at The University of Manchester

Contact Me

Young People Interview Guidance Notes

Interview Guidance Notes

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. This information sheet provides an introduction to what the project is all about and gives details about the interviews.

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

I am being funded by the Economic Social Research Council and Alcohol Concern to carry out research within Chorlton and Wythenshawe that young people aged 16-20 drink alcohol in, along with how this has changed between generations.

I am interested in finding out the drinking experiences of young people, whether they regularly drink alcohol at home, and on a day or night out, any drugs or alcohol, or don’t drink at all.

What do I need to do?

I am asking to interview you below. The first interview will take place in approximately November 2019, and the second interview will take place a year later. This is to see how your drinking practices and where you drink have changed.

The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder. The interview will take place in a safe and comfortable space we both agree on and will last approximately 50 minutes each.

What questions will I be asked?

The sort of questions you may be asked include:

- What would you change about drinking?
- Why is alcohol appealing to you?
- How many drinks have you had in the last week?
- How often do you drink?
- Why do you drink?
- What do you think are the benefits of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?

Interview Guidance Notes

Appendix 4: Young People Interview Guidance Brochure

Contact Me

Young People Interview Guidance Notes

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- How often do you drink?
- Why do you drink?
- What do you think are the benefits of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?
Appendix 5: Parent/Carer Interview Guidance Brochure

What will happen to the information I provide?

I may draw on what you tell me during the interview in my thesis, and academic articles and journal articles. I do not own to report activities such as drinking or smoking, but I may use the information you give me in a way that does not let me these things, unless you want me to report them.

Please note: I will not report activities such as underage drinking, however, I would have to report activities such as illegal drug use. Please bear in mind that this information can be against you.

Phone: 07817144788
Email: Samantha.williamson2@student.manchester.ac.uk

Parent/Carer Interview Guidance Notes

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. This information sheet provides an introduction to what the project is all about and gives details about the interviews.

Alcohol Consumption, Young People and Urban Life

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

I am being funded by the Economic Social Research Council and Alcohol Education UK. The project will explore the spaces within Crewe and Warrington that young people (aged 15-24) drink alcohol in along with how this has changed between generations.

I am interested in finding out the drinking experiences of young people (aged 15-24), the spaces and places of their drinking, and how the attitudes between generations differ.

What do I do?

I am asking to interview you at some stage during the interview is voluntary. The interview will take place at a place convenient to you. I can offer you a prize of £5 to thank you for your time.

What questions will I be asked?

The sort of question you may be asked include:

- What factors influence your decisions about how much to drink?
- What influences your decisions about what to drink?
- What do you think are the benefits of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?
- What factors do you think are affecting your drinking?
- What do you think are the benefits of drinking?
- What do you think are the problems of drinking?

Thank you in advance!

Parent/Carer Interview Guidance Notes

A research project by Samantha Wilkinson, at The University of Manchester

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions about the project.
Appendix 6: Peer Interviewer Guidance Brochure

What will happen to the information my friends reveal?

I may draw on what your friends have revealed to you during the interviews in my thesis, and academic talks and jour-
nals. This is standard practice in research, and the participants are made aware of this in the information sheet they sign.

Please note: whilst I would not report activities your friends may reveal, such as heavy drinking or illegal activity, such as abuse of a legal drug, please re-
- main professional at all times.

Alcohol Consumption, Young People and Urban Life

Thank you in advance for completing your peer-interviews – good luck!!!

Peer-Interviewer Guidance Notes

A research project by Samantha Williamson, at The University of Manchester

Peer-Interviewer Guidance Notes

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

I am being funded by the Economic Social Research Council and Alcohol Research UK. This project will explore the unique urban expression of young people’s alcohol use and consumption, and how this has changed between generations.

I am interested in finding out the drinking experiences of young people, whether they regularly drink alcohol at home and in a bar, or only at night out, and how these activities are perceived. Peer interviews should take place in a safe space that you and your friend feel comfortable in. I will not be present during the peer interviews.

What do I have to do?

1. I will give you a training session with advice on how to conduct peer-interviews. After giving a brief introduction to interviewing, I will provide instructions on how to ask questions about alcohol consumption and subsequent drinking experiences. The training session will address the following: protecting the rights of the interviewee, ensuring health and safety, dealing with unpredictable situations, and planning for things that can go wrong. I will also provide an introduction to using an audio-recording device.

2. I will then give you a Participant Information Sheet to give to some of your friends (aged 18-25) who you think may like to take part in my study. I will also give you a consent slip, which your friend must sign, that says your friend has given informed consent to take part in this research. This will then be sent back to me by email. It is important that you remember to note the time and date of the interview.

3. Once I have gained consent, you may conduct your peer-interviews. The peer interview should take place in a safe space that you and your friend feel comfortable in. I will not be present during the peer interviews.

What questions should I ask?

The sorts of questions you could think about asking your friends in the interviews include:

- What do you remember about when you first started drinking?
- How were you introduced to alcohol?
- What type of alcohol do you drink, and where do you buy it from?
- Where do you drink?
- When do you drink?
- Why do you drink?
- Do you like alcohol?
- What makes you decide how much alcohol to drink?
- Who regulates how much you drink?
- What benefits do you find in drinking?
- What are the problems of drinking?
- How do you react when you drink heavily?

You do not have to ask these questions, they are only suggestions.
Appendix 7: Peer Interviewee Guidance Brochure

What will happen to the information I reveal?

I may draw on the information you provide during the interviews in my thesis, and academic topics and journal articles I may publish. I’ll do so, I will use a pseudonym, so no one will know it’s you.

Please note: while I would NOT repeat activities you may engage in under drug or alcohol influence, I WOULD have to report any activity illegal activity (such as assault or sexual abuse).

Contact Me

Phone: 07817144768
Email: Samantha.wilkinson.9@student.manchester.ac.uk

Thank you in advance for completing your peer-interviews – good luck!!!

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions about the project

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

I am being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and Alcohol Research Unit. The project will explore the experiences of young people aged 16-24 drinking alcohol in, with a focus on how this has changed between generations.

I am interested in finding out drinking experiences of young people, whether they regularly drink alcohol at home and in a bar or night out, any drink or occasionally, or do not drink at all. It is important for this I am seeking young people to undertake peer interviews with some of their friends.

What do I have to do?

1. I will give you some training advice on how to conduct peer interviews. After giving an overall introduction to interviewing, as a research method, and how to design, prepare and conduct interviews about the drinking practices of your peers, the training session will look specifically at the interview process and how to establish individual’s rights of the interviewee, ensuring trust and safety, dealing with uncomfortable situations, and planning for things that can go wrong, I will also provide them with an introduction to using an audio recording device.
2. I will then give them a participant information sheet to give to you. If you sign this, you will be giving me consent to contact you on a phone number that you provide.
3. Once I have gained consent from you, the peer interviews may be conducted. The peer interviews should last between 20-30 minutes each, you can interview as many people as you wish.

What questions will I be asked?

The sorts of questions you may be asked include:

- What do you remember about when you first started drinking?
- How were you introduced to alcohol?
- What type of alcohol do you drink, and where do you buy it from?
- Where do you drink?
- When do you drink?
- Do you like it?
- What makes you decide how much alcohol to drink?
- Do you know anyone who gets drunk?
- What benefits do you think of drinking?
- What are the problems of drinking?
- How do you feel when you have had alcohol?
Appendix 8: Drawing Elicitation Interview Guidance Brochure

Thank you in Advance for drawing your map!

Participatory Mapping Guidance Notes
A research project by Samantha Wilkinson, at The University of Manchester

Alcohol Consumption, Young People and Urban Life

What do I have to do?

- Using the A4 paper, pens and pencils I have provided you with, I am asking you to draw a map of the spaces and places where you drink alcohol. This should include spaces you have visited within and beyond the area you live in. This should take approximately 30 minutes. Please draw the map in a space you feel safe and comfortable in.

- I will then ask you to tell me about the spaces you have drawn. If you give permission, I will record the conversation using an audio-recording device.

In order to prepare for this, some things to think about when drawing your map include:

- Why do I drink in these spaces?
- How and why do I move between these spaces when drinking?
- Who do I drink with in these spaces?
- Does anyone encourage me to drink in these spaces?
- Does anyone try to stop me from drinking in these spaces?
- Why do I drink in these spaces and not others?

What will happen to my map?

If you give me permission, I may use the map you draw in my thesis, and academic talks and journal articles I may publish. If I do so, I will use a pseudonym, so that you will know you have told me the information.

Don’t worry too much about your drawing ability, as the quality of the map is not what I am looking for.

Contact Me

Phone: 0787166760
Email: samantha.williamson-2@student.manchester.ac.uk

Participatory Mapping Guidance Notes

Thank you for agreeing to draw a map of the spaces and places where you drink alcohol. This is an introduction to what the project is all about and gives useful about the blank.

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

I am being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and Alcohol Research UK. The project will explore the spaces within Chester and Wirral where that young people (aged 13-24) drink alcohol in, using these that has changed between generations.

I am interested in finding out the drinking experiences of young people aged 13-24 with a particular focus on the spaces and places of their drinking.

Thank you in Advance for drawing your map!

Phone: 0787166760
Email: samantha.williamson-2@student.manchester.ac.uk

Contact Me

Phone: 0787166760
Email: samantha.williamson-2@student.manchester.ac.uk
Appendix 9: Diary Guidance Brochure

What will happen to my diary? Who will see what I have done?

Initially your diary entries will only be read by myself. However, I may draw on what you have written in my thesis, and books and journals I may publish. If you tell me, I will use a pseudonym, so no one will know it is you.

How do I return my diary?

Please contact me when you have finished completing your diary and we will arrange a convenient time for me to come and collect it.

Phone: 0191 2264708
Ref: Sam: Samantha Willmaston.
Date: Student Manchester.ac.uk

Thank you in advance for completing your written diary – good luck!

Contact Me

Written Drinking Diary Guidance Notes

Thank you for agreeing to complete a written diary. This information sheet provides an introduction to what the project is all about and gives detailed guidance on how to complete your written diary.

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

I am being funded by the Economic Social Research Council and Alcohol Research Unit. The project will explore the spaces within church and polythene bags that young people aged 15-50 drink alcohol in, along with how this has changed between generations.

I am interested in finding out about your drinking experiences. If you regularly drink alcoholic at home and on a day or night out, please write down where and why you drink alcohol. In order to do this I am asking you to complete a written diary.

What do I have to do?

• Use the diary and pen I have provided to complete your diary. Please fill in the diary in a space you feel safe and comfortable in.

• You should complete the written diary over the period of three weeks. You can complete a written diary if you are a drinker or a non-drinker. You may choose to complete entries as frequently as you like during the three weeks.

• You can write about anything you do or the places you go that are related to alcohol and drinking.

Please note: whilst I would not report activities you may engage in, such as underage drinking, I would have to report overly illegal activity (such as abuse of a new found nature).

Written Diary Guidance Notes

A research project by Samantha Willmaston, at The University of Manchester

If you drink alcohol.

I am interested in:

• Entries about your experiences in pubs, bars, clubs, bars, restaurants, parks, house parties, workmates’ parties, friends’ parties, at work or at home watching sport, TV, films, at dinner parties, or other occasions where your family and friends, colleagues, and other groups may be at your home, or when you drink alone.

If you don’t drink alcohol.

I am interested in:

• Entries about when you are involved in situations where alcohol is consumed.

• Entries about your experiences of visiting public bars, clubs, restaurants, parks, house parties, workmates’ parties, friends’ parties, at work or at home watching sport, TV, films, at dinner parties, other occasions at your home.
Appendix 10: Mobile Phone Methods Guidance Brochure

What will happen to the Photos/Videos I take, and texts I send?

Photos/videos you take will not appear directly in any thesis or any future publications. They will be anonymised and used to shape my understanding of where and how young people drink.

I may draw on the information you reveal through texts or my theories and future books or journal articles. I may publish it if I do so, I will use pseudonyms, so no one will know it is you.

Important:

- What I would NOT report includes:
  - Any information you provide through surveys, online surveys, or other survey-based activities.
  - Photos/videos or text messages that are exempt from data protection (e.g., photos of food or drink consumed at home).
  - Any photos/videos taken in contexts where alcohol is being consumed.
  - Any information provided through online surveys or other survey-based activities.

- Photos/videos of alcohol not consumed or illegal nature will be reported.

Alcohol Consumption, Young People and Urban Life

Thank you in advance for taking your photos/videos and sending your text messages – good luck!!

Photos, Videos and Text Messaging Guidance Notes

A research project by Samantha Williamson at The University of Manchester

Phone: 07817 444 479
Email: samantha.williamson.2@student.manchester.ac.uk

What do I have to do?

You should have the photos/videos and send the text messages over the period of three weeks.

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

It is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and Alcohol Research UK. The project will explore the spaces within Cheltenham and Yorkshire where young people aged 16-24 drink alcohol, and the impact on health and well-being associated with these experiences.

I am interested in finding out the drinking experiences of young people, whether they regularly drink alcohol at home and on a daily or weekly basis, or do not drink at all.

In order to do this I am asking young people to take photographs and videos, which will then discuss in an interview. I am also asking you to send the text messages when on your nights out involving alcohol.

Photos/Videos

If you drink alcohol:

- Photographs of drinking in pubs, bars, clubs, restaurants, cafes, on the street, at events, etc.
- Photos/alcohol in your fridge.
- Photos/alcohol of situations where you purchase alcohol, e.g., when you go to a bar.

What do I have to do?

You should have the photos/videos and send the text messages over the period of three weeks.

Thank you for agreeing to take photographs, videos and send text messages. This information will be used to develop the project in all areas and you will be expected to do that.

Using your mobile phone, you will take photos/videos and send text messages to my mobile number during your night involving drinking. Please only include photos that are not exempt from data protection.

Text Messaging

When you send me the text messages you may choose to be interviewed:

- When you’re at
- What you’re doing
- Who you’re with
- What you’re drinking
- How much you’re drinking
- How you’re feeling

Text messages will be used to develop the project in all areas and you will be expected to do that.

Photos/Videos

If you drink alcohol:

- Photographs of drinking in pubs, bars, clubs, restaurants, cafes, on the street, at events, etc.
- Photos/alcohol in your fridge.
- Photos/alcohol of situations where you purchase alcohol, e.g., when you go to a bar.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions about the project.

Samantha Williamson

The University of Manchester
Appendix 11: Participant Observation Guidance Brochure

Thank you for agreeing to let me observe your drinking practices and the places and people where you drink. This information will provide an introduction to what the project is all about and give details about the participant observations I will undertake.

What is the ‘Alcohol, Young People and Urban Life’ Drinking Project?

I am being funded by the Economic Social Research Council and Addiction Research UK. The project will explore the drinking cultures and practices of young people aged 15-34 drinking alcohol in, along with how this has changed over generations.

I am interested in finding out about your drinking experiences if you regularly drink alcohol at home and in a bar or night out, only drink occasionally, or do not drink at all. In order to do this I am asking you to allow me to accompany you on a few nights misusing alcohol.

What do I have to do?

- I will aim to observe you and your friends on some nights misusing alcohol.
- I will spend approximately five hours with you on each of these nights.
- Please note, I have only a limited duty of care for you on these nights about drinking alcohol, offering help when you are in a vulnerable situation, and going to the pub with you may not be wanted or appreciated.

What happens to what I tell you?

- I am not an expert in drugs and alcohol, but am on hand to give you advice if you have any questions about the project.
## Appendix 12: Participant Observation Prompts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Prompts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day/time/date</td>
<td>Groups- number/composition of people What they are drinking/how often/how much/ how long they stay/eating/drinking/ smoking/where they sit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather conditions</td>
<td>Greetings and acknowledgments -Shaking hands/hugging/ kissing/volume of voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location/surroundings</td>
<td>Interactions within groups/ topics of conversation etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External features</td>
<td>Interactions between groups/individuals – conversations/ hello’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Décor/decoration/furnishing of house/bar/club</td>
<td>Dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening hours</td>
<td>Kissing partners or strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal plan (inc. location of bar; types/arrangements of tables/chairs etc)</td>
<td>Glances and eye contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting, music</td>
<td>Open drunkenness/staggering/falling over/singing - what happens with whom/what said/about what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment - TV/large screen/ Sport/ Karaoke/ live music/open mike/darts/dominos/cards etc</td>
<td>People caring for those drunk - what happens with whom/what said/about what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food menu/times</td>
<td>Arguments/violence – what happens with whom/what said/about what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink types/brands on offer (alcoholic and non)</td>
<td>Socialisation outside venues/taxis/fast food outlets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People: age, gender (and if possible class, sexuality, ethnicity, disability etc)</td>
<td>How I feel about the place/people/situations/events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion/dress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction between customers and various staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 13: Data Analysis Table

Key

Young People – Black

Parents – Red

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Quotations</th>
<th>Theme and subtheme patterns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1  | “One of my first experiences of drinking would have been when I was in high school, urm, I’d say about year 9, and it was about three, four of me mates, we stayed in me back garden, we camped out, I was a bit cheeky at that moment, there was a neighbour next door and she had like a shed full of loads of drinks, and I found the key to it, and then pinched a big bottle of whisky, like I didn’t even have a clue what it was at the time…I was never allowed to drink in the house with me friends and what not, like the night I did that in the back garden it was, well me mum wasn’t here, me nanna was upstairs, and she didn’t have a clue about it” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview) | First drinking experiences
Young people
- Young people introduced by family: Special occasions; holidays; or
- Experimentation with friends - usually in outdoor spaces without adults present.

For the younger generation, there is an even spread between participants in Chorlton and Wythenshawe who have their first drinking experience amongst the company of family, and those that do so without their parent’s knowledge in the company of friends. There is no notable gender division

Parents
- Special occasions at home
- In pubs if started drinking 15/16
- In parks if started drinking <15

For the mid-generation, there is an even spread between males and females in both areas who have their first drinking experience at special occasions, and at pubs with friends - there
“Probably first tried it when I was about maybe 12 or 13 urn we have a drinks cupboard in the house so I think I just lifted something and tried it, probably the strongest thing in there, repulsed me” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“My first drinking experience, I was with me mates, we were out. And it was pretty grim, parks we were in, just drinking with me mates” (Oliver, 16, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Me uncle gave me some WKD at a wedding. I was like ‘errr’. It tasted alright, it’s better than other drinks” (Peter, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“The first time I tried alcohol I was in Spain. What happened was, we went to this restaurant and there was a deal on with the steaks, you can get either a pint or a glass of wine and I had a glass of wine, and my dad’s half pint, so I had that, plus one bottle of big WKD and two bottles of the small one. So, obviously that was me first time and I was out of it, I couldn’t walk straight or nothing like that” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)

“My first drinking experience was when I was 13 actually, and that sounds really young, and looking back it is, but my best friend was going to a party and she is two years older than me, so she was in year 9, I was in year 7 and she took me along with her. We asked my mum. My mum didn’t know we would be drinking. And we went, and we had a bottle of vodka between us. And I did drink at least a quarter of the bottle mixed, I can’t remember most of it, but I’m pretty sure I drank some of it pure as well. And I understand that I then drank some whisky which her friend gave me. So it was a bit like “when do I say no?” and by the time I wanted to say no, I was too far gone to say no. So I ended up passing out on a sofa for the rest of the evening and waking up in the morning” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

were very few signs of early experimentation in outdoor spaces for those who started drinking at 15+, as pubs were relatively lax. For those who had an earlier drinking debut at <15, parks tended to be a popular first destination to try alcohol amongst friends.
“I was with Evie and we were drinking in the woods in Wythenshawe, and we were sat on the grass, we were sat in there with her friend and my friend, but they were both boys, but we weren’t going out, and we just sat there for a bit, just like chilling out…You just walk, you just walk about, and park, park somewhere, like sit down and drink, and then probably couldn’t be bothered to get back up cos we’d be drunk, and just sit there for a bit” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, mobile phone interview)

“I think I was about 12 at a wedding, I think I consumed a few too many glasses of wine. I remember going to the toilet and falling into the door, I think it was Rose as well, which I can’t touch now. Yeah, I think I was in a pub, the after do” (Coral, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I remember trying it, it was probably at a barbeque, because I remember my uncle going “oh go on just have a bit” haha, and it was kind of like a big joke, because I was only like, I was a kid, like a kid, kid. And I think, I remember enjoying it though, I was like “I love beer now” apparently, urm but yeah I remember that, but I don’t know how old I would have been, probably about 7 or 8, but it was obviously like a tiny little bit” (Lucie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I would probably drink in the clubs I was playing in with the band, and the odd pubs, sort of working men’s clubs” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, Interview)

“The park most definitely. Wythenshawe park that was our, there was a huge pavilion in the middle, so you were a fair distance away from anybody, so that’s where we use to party, we use to party hard there” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I didn’t really have alcohol at home. It was mainly when I started going out and trying it then, and it, like going into pubs and things from being 16, mainly when I was kind of at sixth form college, that sort of age. I didn’t have fake ID and never asked for it, and there were certain pubs that were like sixth form pubs, so everyone was underage, and we use to go to nightclubs as well. Now, young people have to make their own house parties and things” (Linzi, 50, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“Then, when I sort of came to, because I use to hang out a lot with my older brother and sister’s friends, even though I was a little bit younger, I did tend to hang out with them a lot. So that’s really when I started getting introduced to pubs. I did, I did have a drink when I was 14, in this particular pub that was in Wythenshawe, just up the road from where I use to live, but they found out, they knew I was underage, and then it all came out, so when I did go to that pub, I only ever had grapefruit…but when I did start to drink, I was probably going for 16, I went to this other pub in Wythenshawe, and I remember there was a…somebody there my sister knew, and someone said “what do you want to drink?” so I said “oh, grapefruit”, and they go “oh god, won’t you have something stronger than that…oh, don’t be daft, I’ll get you something stronger”. I ended up having half a mild I think” (Gail, 52, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“The first time I tried alcohol was when I was…we use to have a party on Boxing Day, at my house and I think my first experience of sort of alcohol was Babysham, and I use to think I was amazing, I use to have one Babysham and pretend that I was drunk” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“When I first tried alcohol I was about 12, and I used to get bottles of cider and meet my mates in the park. Couldn’t really do it in friend’s houses, but you might go to someone’s house who’d allow you to drink, but it was mainly outdoors. My friends were always there and there were doing it, I suppose it was a bit of beer pressure in a way” (Shirley, parent, 43, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I think there were a lot of people who started earlier, but I was always smallest in my class, so it wasn’t until 15/16 that I went into pubs at all, cos I couldn’t get away with it. I think they all knew we were underage but so long as you didn’t draw attention to yourself as such. I think the publicans were, so long as you had the money, were a lot sort of more laid back about it” (Josh, 58, Chorlton, parent, interview)

“When I was that sort of 16/17/15 whatever, I looked a lot older than I was. I had a boyfriend who was very tall, and we could get served in the local pubs, so that was what, you know. Friday night, Saturday night, local pub and a couple of pints of beer, so that was, it wasn’t in fields, or bus shelters, I’ve never done that type of thing” (Sue, 53, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“From about 16 there was a couple of pubs we tended to go to they were always, well we knew we were going to get served, so it wasn’t really an issue there, but never did it really in parks, never drinking in parks, I think we were quite lucky how we were allowed to drink in pubs, and how we could do that so we didn’t have to resort to parks” (Joel, 44, Chorlton, interview)

“This was when we hit the parks, so somebody went home and got a big ghetto blaster, you know like nowadays they listen to music on a phone, they use to have these big stereos with a tape decker, we went to the park, and we had our own party, but we was reported by the police, and we could just hear sirens coming in the park, so we scattered” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
**Obtaining alcohol**

### Young people (under 18)
- Standing outside shops - strategic about who to ask (definitely much more prevalent in Wythenshawe, both genders - no signs of this being done in Chorlton)
- Dressing up/Pretending to be older in order to get served (in both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, males and females)
- Strategic about where to purchase e.g. off-license rather than supermarkets (in both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, males and females)
- Asking older friends (In both Chorlton and Wythenshawe, males and females)

### Parents (when under 18)
- Buy at bars and clubs when 16-18
- Take from parents or stand outside shops if <16
- No way they would ask parents

### Parents (now)
- Happy to buy children alcohol at supermarket, rather than them get ripped off at dodgy off-licenses.
“I tried to get served the other day, and the guy didn’t even look up, he was just, he was texting on his phone and I was like: “can I have some vodka?” and he was like “ID”, I was like “come on! You haven’t even looked at me, what if I am some 18 year old or something?”” (Jack, 16, Chorlton, follow up interview)

“The girls and I went into a shop, they picked up a bottle of fizzy drink so that they could go to the till and analyse the spirits and their prices - as they were stored behind the cash desk. They came out knowing they wanted a £16.00 bottle of Famous Grouse and a packet of “cigs”. They stood by the shop and asked a man on the bike if he would “go in the shop for us”. He replied: “I won’t, but she will”, pointing to what I presume was his girlfriend. She went in the shop, and the man came out telling the girls in a joking manner that they were 30p short” (Participant observation, with two female 15 year olds, 6/12/2013, Wythenshawe)

“We then left the carpark as the boys wanted some cigarettes. We walked back to the shop on the way. When we got to the shop Deon asked someone: “will you go in the shop for me” - the man said “no sorry”, then turned around and said “for beer or cigs?” For beer I will but not for cigs” - it surprised me that the man wold more likely to go in for beer than cigarettes” (Participant observation, two 16 year old males, Wythenshawe, 1/02/2014)

Interestingly, very few young people mentioned their parents purchasing alcohol for them when underage; yet it was a common theme in interviews with parents that they would purchase alcohol on behalf of their child, so they could keep an eye on what was being consumed.
“I got a taxi to Vera’s to meet her, Carl and Milly at 7.30. We then walked to the shop, a different shop to last time, as they had sussed out that they wanted an £11.00 bottle of vodka that wasn’t on a special offer in the other shop. We stood outside the shop from 7.30pm to 8.20pm asking people to go in - it wasn’t as easy as last time. Vera was the only one confident enough to ask people, yet people kept saying “no” for various reasons: “I don’t have ID”; “I am barred”; “if I get drink then I may get barred”; and “you’re too late”. Vera said she would never ask anyone to get her drink if they had a child with them. Eventually a young man from earlier who claimed to have no ID went in as he saw us standing in the cold, and I presume he felt sorry for us that we were still standing there. He went in and got the vodka.” (Participant observation with three 16 year olds, 5/04/2014, Wythenshawe)

“Trying to get served tonight. What shall I wear? Need to look old, but not too slaggy. Low top is always a hit right?” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, text message)

“It would mainly have been standing outside the shop, urm sometimes there would be a friend’s brother, or so and so, but mainly standing outside the shop” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I’ve never been one of them ones who would just, sometimes I would give money to a friend who would get it off like their siblings…but that’s it really. I’ve never been one of them ones who would stand outside, like a lot of people stand outside shops asking people to go in” (Oliver, 16, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I couldn’t get served to go in the shop. So I just asked a random person. You don’t want to pick someone too old, or too young, so you don’t know who to pick” (Summer, 16, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I’m really good at pretending. I got asked for ID once, and pretended to look through my purse and what like “oh god, I don’t have it”, and then I just went “oh, it’s cool, I’ll go somewhere closer to home”, playing it cool, and then they went “oh, it’s alright”’’ (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“Connor [friend] can get served cos he looks so old and he had stubble at the time cos he was growing it out so he could get served. And he’s really tall and just kinda looks a bit older. I stayed outside cos I don’t look old enough to get served at all” (Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“Cos I was tall, and I just wored heals that that, and I just dressed up. I just walked into the shop. They always serve girls don’t they, the lads” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

“We’d look at someone and think, and see if they’d go in the shop, cos you get people who just ignore ya, you’d get the people who’d just say “no”, and you’d get the people who would say “yeah”, and you have to find those people. We’d ask someone who looks like us, and you can tell they would go shop, or people like young adults, that’s who we’d ask but we wouldn’t ask old people or like nannas and granddads, we wouldn’t ask people like that” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Just stand outside the shop and if you see someone that’s like not too old, cos they’d usually say “no”, but you know 18-19 that may be somebody’s brother’s friend or something. Just say “oh can you go in and get us this beer?”’’ (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)
“We just ask people to go in, and then they just say either ‘no’ or ‘yeah’. We just asked people on the street outside the shop or something, like not directly outside the shop obviously but on the corner we would be like [whispers] ‘will you go in the shop?’” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“We would get served underage in a shop, we called it “smellys” because it really stank. I don’t think anyone else bought anything from the shop, it was, it was just, it didn’t look like a shop, there was just, everything was a complete mess and the fridge with all the beer in, and the shelves with all the spirits on was just pristine, like not a speck of dust, it was weird. You can tell it was the only thing he sold. I think everything like, a five pound bottle of vodka was eight quid because when you’re underage you’re not going to complain are you?” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“When I was 15 or 16, I used to order my alcohol off Asda, get them to deliver it to my house. I used to pay on my card, and used to come and get my mum when they delivered it. But my mum didn’t know” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“There is no way we’d ask parents, because they were quite strict actually, um we used to ask people outside the shop, or my other friend who lived in Wythenshawe, her dad had one of them, you know, them enormous bottles of Whisky, Grant’s Whisky, we used to siphon the whisky out of it, and the bottle up with vodka. We used to have a little water bottle, and have it in our coat pockets, and take it out with us” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“It was mainly by purchasing it at bars and clubs, and in I presume off-licenses to take to parties” (Linzi, 50, parent, Chorlton, interview)
“By 17 yeah we were certainly, we’d know which of the local pubs would let you in and wouldn’t be too fussy about whether you were underage or not, if you looked close enough, and if you were sensible we’d be alright with it” (Joel, 44, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“This pub which was full of very young…probably most of them were underage, you know, when I think about it, but it, it happened then. You could get away with it. You didn’t have ID. They use to trust you to say “yes, I’m 18”. I didn’t always go to the bar. In fact, I probably very rarely did, because one, when I was that age there were places I went, and women weren’t allowed at the bar, you know, so it was sort of the man usually went to get the drink. It’s totally different now” (Gail, 52, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I got engaged quite young, and my boyfriend, who became my husband, was six years older than me, so he would go to the bar and buy a drink for me” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I thought it would be stupid for my sons to be going to some dodgy off-license that’s got completely inflated prices cos they would let people in with ID that was a bit questionable. I’d always buy it from the supermarket for them, you know” (Sue, 53, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I either use to pinch it from prospective parents, or hang around the offys, offlicenses, well you only could get them from the off-licenses then, there wasn’t an open, you couldn’t buy it from the supermarkets and stuff like you can nowadays, urm hang around and see who would take pity on us, and then when me and my best friend Vanessa were about 15/16 we started venturing into pubs and we use to go to the youth club, come out there at 10, and then nip to the pub, last orders on a Friday night, and then jump on the bus for a child’s fair”, and then get into a nightclub in Manchester…but in those...
times, mum actually bought our drink for us cos her reason was instead of me asking strangers, and that’s actually something I adopted with my elder daughter, cos she was 15 and I found out, 14 I found out she was drinking round the streets, and I put a block on it. I said, if you drink, give me a list so I know what you want, I’ll get it so I can monitor what you’re drinking. And I was lucky because I had a converted garage, so it was like a den, they’re in there, you’re drinking, you’re in there, you’re not coming out of there, so I can keep an eye on you, you can do your giggles and your dancing and listen to music” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“With those very early experiences, I’d have stolen it from parents. And then, from quite a young age, year 10?, we use to go to the pub, and there was a pub that young people would go and drink in, and we would have enough money to buy half a lager. I think the strictness of ID is making it worse really. Because we went to the pub, and only had enough money for half a lager, half a lager would last us all night. We were seen, we were visible, if we did anything stupid we’d get thrown out. We had to act grown up. It was actually very controlled. There’s much more concealment now isn’t there” (Claire, 48, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“Around year 8,9 we all, like they would use to congregate in a park nearby all different schools, everyone use to bring drink and all use to have a laugh, it was in Green park, it was called Green park, and everyone use to come there, they use to congregate there around…It must have changed, it’s strange you think “where are they now?” well round here the Jag cos we didn’t really clock on to the Jag until we was coming 17, 18 so we wasn’t allowed so like I think that’s where everyone, cos I’ve been in recently and there was quite a lot of youths in there, they looked young, so I think everyone’s clocked on that they can go in there now, so they don’t go in the parks no more” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

3 Drinking Spaces

Young people

- Parks; streets; cemeteries; house parties; bars; pubs; clubs
- Parks + Streets much more common for 15 and 16 year olds in Wythenshawe, compared to those in Chorlton.
- Police attempt to move young people on from streets and parks
- House parties much more common for 15 and 16
“You coming out tonight? We’re going park, gunna bring speakers and get some tunes blasting. Show off and have a party” (Amy, 18, Chorlton, text message)

“Getting towards the end of the month so won’t go to a club or anything tonight as I’m skint. Probs just hang around the streets?” (Oliver, 16, Wythenshawe, text message)

“See here [pointing to photograph] we’re in the taxi and we’re all on our phones. Pretty anti-social when you think of it. Sofia’s probably texting her ex; Allie’s taking a selfie; Alana is playing some tunes to keep us in the mood, and I’m taking a snap of us all” (Amy, 18, Chorlton, mobile phone interview)

“We’re in the park just hanging, but I’ve just checked Facebook and adults are going mad saying there’s groups of teenagers in park doing bad things, so going to go home now” (Alice, 16, Chorlton, text message)

“We went to Vera’s - Vera’s house smelt of weed. Her dad was in, we went to her room. Her dad is apparently liberal about weed but strict about alcohol. Vera was drinking the vodka straight, she shared it with Jemima and Terry - she tipped it into an empty water bottle so if her dad walked in it looked as if she was drinking water. We had the television on, and some music playing from a music channel. Vera got a mug for me to tip my wine into to conceal I was drinking alcohol” (participant observation with three 15 year olds, two females and one male, Wythenshawe, 2/05/2014)

“Yeah, it’s really bloody expensive drinking in pubs all the time. That’s why I’d rather just drink around here. The streets are cheaper and some of the best times I’ve had” (Amy, 18, Chorlton, interview)

year olds in Chorlton
- Wythenshawe there is one pub that is particularly renowned for letting in young people underage
- In Chorlton, there is no evidence that under 18s are entering bars/pubs in the area

Parents
(when young, see additional quotations in section 1)
- Pubs/bars (15+)
- Parks if started drinking <15 Police helped contain drinking in parks
- Not house parties because parents too strict
- Home, restaurant, bars, and pubs
- Take their children now, whereas pubs were mysterious to them as young children
“The taxi arrived very quickly and we headed to the casino, and the boys gave Blackjack a go. You can’t rest your drink on the games tables, they have to be kept on a separate table. I found this slowed the rhythm of drinking for the boys, as they were engrossed in the game, and so didn’t pay much attention to their drinks” (Rex, 24, and friends, participant observation, based in Chorlton but headed to casino in town)

“To my knowledge, the bar didn’t ID anyone, and I know for a fact there were numerous 17 year olds there, even Shannon, whose 18th it was. One of her friends managed to sneak vodka in past the bouncer and was tipping it, fairly indiscreetly into her glass. She got away with this numerous times until the bouncer came over and took away the vodka. He then asked which glass she had topped the spirit in to - she told him the wrong glass and he took this away” (participant observation, with Maisy and friends Wythenshawe, 21/12/2013)

“In the toilets I heard a girl stating her girlfriend would kick off if she was much longer. The toilets definitely appeared to be an arena where the young girls could talk, perhaps away from the ears of boys, and certainly away from the loud music of the club which in some ways diminished opportunities for talking” (participant observation, with Maisy and friends, 4/07/2014, three 17 year old females, Wythenshawe)

“There were a few people in my year at school who would hang around outside shops, and drank in parks and things, urm but I think that maybe wasn’t because the parents wouldn’t let them in the house, I think it was just that they wanted to be a bit yobby and hang around in parks and stuff” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“In year 9, a girl passed out in a park from drinking which I presume is why we don’t drink there. Obviously we hear the gossip from what happened which sort of warned us” (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)
“Just chilling on the streets, music blasting out our phones…got some vodka in coke bottles and plastic cups! It’s freezing. Nothing else to do though” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, text messaging)

“We use to go to the abandoned buildings as well to get drunk” (Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

“Camping in a field somewhere because they couldn’t get into bars or anything, they’d just all meet up, and sort of have some sort of party which basically involved drinking a lot, urm, of quite heavy spirits and stuff” (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, Interview)

“On the field, which was kind of when we first started drinking, everyone was just in their own groups, and everyone just had music on a field and everyone just drank, but then some people were sluts and went with lads that they would never even look at if they were sober” (Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“Teresa: When you first started drinking, where would you go to drink? Joanna: Park in Wythenshawe. We used to chill in this woods thing and there was just like everywhere for places for people to sit. Teresa: Like logs and shit. Joanna: People would start brushing the floor and stuff, and it was just our own little place”. (Teresa and Joanna, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“I think there’s safer places to get drunk than in the park. Like you hear, in Year 10 we were hearing stories of like people in our year who got drunk at the park and then like the police turned up, so they all ran away and one of them like fell over and wacked their head on a rock or something and got concussion or something, so I think it’s not attractive to drink in the park because of that” (Richard, 15, Chorlton, interview)
“Tonight was spent on the streets, mainly wandering around and sitting occasionally on walls. Whilst Vera and Milly were drinking whisky and coke - neatly camouflaged in a Coke bottle, Danny and Carl seemed less interested in drinking, and wanted to get some weed instead. They rang up the “drug dealer”, walked to get the weed, and then came back and joined the rest of the group. Whilst the young people’s consumption preferences differed, all the young people shared a desire to play fight; have running races; and to play loud music from their mobile phones - the street seemed to offer the ideal space for such activities” (Field diary, 11/04/2014, night out with Vera, Milly, Danny, Carl)

“SW: What do you think of the streets in Wythenshawe during the night?

Vera: Urm, oh it was early in the morning, and I was with one of me mates, and it was really dark and we was walking over a bridge, but I get dead scared, I do get scared, really scared, I was holding on to her like “please wait for me”. And we was drunk as well, and I was high, so I was like para [paralytic] terrible, I was nearly crying, and she was going fast, she was walking really fast” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Drinking in the park is fun because you can throw up wherever you want innit, just do what you want” (Jacob, 18, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“Everyone has a park that they always go to, so we had a park that we used to drink in. It’s just kind of that thing where you know you shouldn’t be doing something but you’re doing it and everyone is kind of outdoors, and everyone was together, and everybody was sort of having fun, and when you were in the park you didn’t feel like you had to keep your voice down or hide things as much, you could quite openly drink, so that was probably the best thing about it really” (Liam, 18, Chorlton, interview)
“I’m not one of those people to drink in a park. I’ve never wanted to. I mean, if friends have I’ve not joined in. I prefer to drink at a house or a party, it’s not as chavvy. You look a bit of an idiot drinking in a park” (Peter, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“When I was in year 10, 11 everyone was like “are you coming to this park to get drunk?” I was like “no”. It’s stupid, why would you want to drink outdoors, in the cold, at night - you can’t see anything. I don’t see much point in drinking outdoors, unless it’s in the safety of someone’s back garden, then no” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

“The only thing separating my group from others in my year at school was that we had a place to drink, we were lucky enough to have a friend with a house who was always free to drink, otherwise we would have been drinking in a park” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“Well I had a summer house in the back garden, like I log cabin, so we use to just bring my friends over there and, yeah there or we’d go, like a few of my friends were older so they’d have flats, so we’d just go there” (Coral, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“Generally I drink at parties, just like parties in a house, it is quite civil. I’ve never like been drunk at a park or, like you know, the typical teenager thing. Why bother? Like, why do it in the cold when you could be warm doing it somewhere else?” (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“Just Wythenshawe Park really, I didn’t really branch out, so to speak, that was our place, that was. There were, cos it was a really big park, there were different areas for different people” (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)
“We’d head into the parks, sit around listening to music through our phones, and just there drinking cider...If ever a police was coming to the park we’d just hide the beer cos it’s like a big open space so if there is anyone approaching it is really easy to like hide what you’re doing” (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

“We all used to go to this big abandoned building in Heald Green, and then we use to just get drunk, but it was dead dangerous, cos there were elevator shafts with no elevators in, and like holes in the floor, and we’d drop like three-storeys, and could fall but we don’t go there no more cos someone fell from like two floors. So then we went to parks and got drunk there, and then the police started coming, so we just stopped it all in all” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“normally there would be 20-30 of us, a big group, sort of sat in the middle of a park, drinking probably alcopops, and vodka, and cans of larger and cider, just we thought we weren’t doing any trouble, but probably from other people’s points of view we were causing havoc. It wasn’t the fact that it was our first choice, it was that here wasn’t really another option. It was like when people’s families were out, we’d go to houses but we couldn’t get in the pubs, we couldn’t get in town, we couldn’t drink anywhere else really, so it was just a nice, convenient meeting spot to have a drink” (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

“We’d go to parks because you can get loads of people there, there use to be like underage of people who go there, cos all the years use to go there, like 11, 10 and 9. So they all use to just go there, in one big park” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I’ve drank in a cemetery once, but I didn’t like it me, cos I thought it was disrespectful. But some people may drink there because it’s like peace and quiet, or they might be feeling upset about a lost relative or something” (Rik, 15,
Wythenshawe, interview)

“It’s horrible int it, you just sit there in the park, in the dark, and you’re cold. Na, it’s horrible, I don’t like that. I’ve done it like twice. There’s not many people there when I’m there. I don’t really go out with them, cos I just don’t go out with them, I go out with older people cos they’re not as childish, so yeah I go out with older people, and they’ve always got somewhere to go as well, so I’m not just there on the streets, it’s horrible, I don’t like that” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“We just drink in parks really, wherever. And if my friends have parties we will always drink there. But there will always be an adult upstairs. I’ve never been to a party where there’s not a parent in…I wouldn’t go to a party if there wasn’t an adult. I would be too scared in case something happened like cos you don’t know, people that you don’t know could be there, you could get raped or anything so, I just wouldn’t” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“We had a party on Chorlton meadows, in the middle of summer, my mate Mike got a generator, we had music, and a barbeque, it was great” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Pubs in Chorlton wouldn’t let her in [daughter, Milly, 15]. I don’t think she’d stand a chance. I think they know that they can’t get into pubs at all, so they don’t even try. I think that’s a shame. I think it would be nicer if they could go to places” (Claire, 48, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“There was a lot of people who started earlier, but I was always the smallest in my class, so it wasn’t until I was about 15 hmm 16 that I went into pubs, because I couldn’t get away with it. I think they all knew we were underage but so long as you didn’t draw attention to yourself as such” (Duncan, 50, Chorlton, interview)
“I think the people that I sort of circulated with were probably in a similar situation to us, living in a council house, not everyone, one or two of the parents did own their own houses, but a lot of us lived in council houses, not a lot of money. So you would go to the pub, because it was actually, it was cheaper, do you know what I mean. I mean, it’s actually a luxury now to go to the pub” (Gail, 52, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Some of my earliest memories was of drinking with my friends in their shed. It was quite a big shed, and we played darts and smoked our cigarettes and stuff and just all the things we weren’t meant to do, but I guess it was kind of far enough away for them, for the parents not to see us, but close enough that we weren’t out on the streets” (Ali, 49, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I mean, there was one particular pub, and it was just known for young people of that sort of age range, you know, probably 16 to 18, and there was a couple of pubs where we use to regularly go every weekend” (Linzi, 50, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I mean when the kids were little...this is the difference I mean, mum and dad never took us to a pub..pubs were a mysterious place when you were little. You know, now you can look in windows and see people drinking. I remember frosted glass, curtains and it was like “ohh a pub”, and now you take your kids to the pub, sit them in the beer garden, and they see everyone drinking. That’s how my children have been brought up, you know, that we’ve done that on a nice day like this. When they were little we’d have taken them down to the pub, and they’d have sat in the beer garden, and they’d have played, and we’d have had a few drinks with friends. Some of the worries that maybe I’ve encouraged them, do you know what I mean. I worry about it” (Gail, 52, Wythenshawe, parent, interview)
“There’d be sort of country pub scenarios, cos then kids then generally weren’t allowed in pubs, so then you’d be outside with a coke and crisps or something, and they’d be inside the pub, or be, I remember one place we use to go where I’d be in the car with my brother and with crisps and a coke, and they’d pop out every so often to check you were okay” (Joel, 44, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I think, when I first started drinking, urm I was probably about 15, and some of my friends looked quite a bit older than me and they were already going to clubs in town, urm and we had a friend who moved to Gatley, so it became quite convenient to say we were staying at her house. Actually, we would go drinking in the park. It was popular because it was warm, somewhere warm and dry, and there were like hidden bush places where people could go, so it was seen as being a really sort of, you know, if you could say that you were sort of hanging around there, it was seen as being really popular, so it was like our place. It was quite easy to stand outside the shops and persuade someone to go in and buy you some White Lightning, and then toddle off to the park. When I was younger, I think you had the NGC – which was the Newall Green Crewe and the Benchill massive, some of my friends were from Benchill, I was from Newall Green, so they couldn’t go and drink in parks in Newall Green, and I couldn’t go to Benchill because you couldn’t sort of mix the spaces, you couldn’t mix where you were from so Gatley was sort of like a neutral ground, and quite a lot of people from Wythenshawe use to go to Gatley...In a weird way, it was safe, because the police sort of knew that we were doing it and the police regularly use to come into the park, they probably should have been stopping us outside the shops, but they didn’t really seem to be. Urm, so we’d get the drink, and we would head into the park, and there would be about three or four police officers that use to pop in at various points throughout the night, and you know, you’d chat to them, and they would ask you what you were doing, if
your parents knew you were there, and if they thought you were too drunk they’d be saying they thought it was about time you started thinking about going home. But, they never ever took anybody home, nobody ever got arrested as far as I’m aware, but then it started to change because, when the police stopped doing that, urm that’s when trouble started, and then there started being more Fights, so we sort of moved away from drinking in the park then to go to pubs and clubs” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“As soon as it started spilling out the park into any other sort of space, then that’s when you would start getting into trouble, and they’d start taking your drink off of you, because it was like, you know, you’re doing it, we know you’re doing it, and if you’re all contained in this small area, we can sort of keep an eye on it, and know what’s going on, but there’s no way that you would be able to drink outside of the park. And nobody ever did seem to go outside the park, because it was a nice area, it sounds really stupid cos you’re young, and you think you’d just drink anywhere, but actually it was quite nice because it had like a bandstand in the middle that had all seating round it, so when it was raining, you know, you were sheltered from the rain, and actually it was quite a nice area to hang out with your mates as well, and there were toilets, which is really important when you’re a girl” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Parents in the area at the time were really strict. There was no way they would let you have house parties, it just wouldn’t of happened” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“So I’d be in clubs at 16, drinking, usually cider but not a lot because I knew like if I came home rolling, there’s no way my mum would ever let me go again, and it made me feel a bit more grown up really, and a lot of my friends that were girls were into going out and getting into pubs and clubs. Like I said, some of them had been going out since the age of 14 - it was more of a thing seen to be older to be getting dressed up and getting into pubs and clubs, and then we thought people hanging around parks were just silly and babyish “oh god, I can’t believe them, we went out in Klays’ last night, and they’re stood on a street corner”” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Tonight I saw how the young women use the home drinking phase as an opportunity to ensure the night runs smoothly and safely. Louisa was hosting the night, and I heard her telling Katy [a relatively sober friend], to ensure she looked after Imogen (who, by this point, was rather drunk) when they accessed the club. Additionally, the women were arranging strategies for what they would do if they received unwanted attention from men. Katy said to Louisa “I will just pretend we are lesbians”  (Field diary, 11/03/2014, night out with Louisa, 22, and friends, Chorlton)

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<th>Pre-drinking Young People</th>
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<td>Positives:</td>
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<td>- Cheaper alcohol</td>
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<td>- Quieter</td>
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<td>- Combine with getting ready process (females)</td>
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<td>- Shape atmosphere through music and drinking games</td>
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<td>- Mainly 18+ although some 16+ pre-drink before parties. No one admits pre-drinking prior to going to the park</td>
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<td>- Extends to taxi/bus journey - pre-drinking whilst moving through space, not just in space (see some quotations in section 23)</td>
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<th>Negatives</th>
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<td>- Too drunk to access commercial premises</td>
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<td>- End up spending more money when out because drunk</td>
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“When the taxi has arrived at the end of pre-drinks you’re always rushed finishing off your drink. My housemate actually used to, it was so annoying he was always like the guy that always use to control everything, and we would always sit in his room and drink, and he would call a taxi and it would arrive and he would be like “I’m just jumping in the shower!”, and I’m like “come on let’s go” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, peer interview)

“It’s good in the sense that it gets you pissed quicker, cheaper, and it just gets you in the mood because it tends to be in a room, say you’re drinking at someone’s house, you’d all just be in one room, there could be 8-10 of us, you know, shots getting passed round, beers going down and it’s just, to be fair you can probably have more fun doing that, than on an actual night out, because you’ve still got music on, except you get to choose the playlist so, that is quality. You can have a nice relaxed beer before, like calm before the storm, you know what’s going to happen later, but for now you just want to have a beer, you just want to sit back, have a relax, just have a chat before you go out and get shitfaced” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Costs are benefits of pre-drinking, but also I think it makes it more of an event, everyone coming together and then going on to the club, what is like a sort of parade the journey in, and everyone gets drunk together, rather than, rather than in the club where you sort of lose people really quickly. But yeah, it’s a social thing. Like, you can play your own music, the games and stuff, everyone gets like, yeah, you get to welcome everyone in or whatever if you’re hosting the night, or” (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, Interview)

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<td>• Not something parents did when they were younger</td>
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<td>• Not something parents do now</td>
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<td>• Lack of understanding and appreciation as to why young people pre-drink e.g. “drinking for the sake of it”</td>
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Parents
“If I do pre-drinks it isn’t to the extent of getting really drunk, it would be, for my friends from home, it would be a good chance to have a catch up, not in a noisy bar, urm to kind of, friends that I use to work with, some of them are still at uni, so uni so for them it’s a way of saving some money, having a few drinks before we go out and, again, I don’t see them all the time because we don’t all work together anymore, so it’s a way of catching up” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, interview)

“I’ll pre-drink at home before a house party, like when we’re getting ready. I love drinking when I’m getting ready. That’s probably when we drink most” (Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

“It’s a lot cheaper. I think it’s more social as well, so say you drink for an hour before you go out, you can talk to your friends, and it’s a lot cheaper. As soon as you can go into town people start going off, they start talking to people, and it’s really loud, and you can’t really socialise. The bars down here do my head in” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“Just having a few glasses of Rose while doing our tan, make up, straighten our hair and pop our falsies on...feeling tipsy 😊 Going to be an epic night in Manchester, we are on it like a car bonnet” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, text messaging)

“whenever you get everyone in that situation, everyone’s drinking for the same place, the same sort of level” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, peer interview)
“It's good in a way, but if you get to, if you get to a place where you’re drunk, and they’ve got bouncers on the door, and you’re too drunk to let in then it’s a bit of a downside, but on the advantages it’s, like I said, you’re spending less money hopefully, unless you’re, sometimes you get to that certain stage where you’re drunk and you just carry on drinking, you think “here you go”, you’ve just got paid, and you’re thinking everyone’s your friend, and you just carry on buying drinks for everyone but, I usually do do that to be fair, I do that quite a lot cos I just can’t handle it sometimes, but it is good cos then like you meet up, and then everyone’s going together from there, the same place, so you’re not all paying different money for a taxi” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I know there’s a culture of like pre-loading isn’t there for young people, of drinking before you go out, so things like just drinking for the sake of it. Urm, and I suppose that’s like getting into binge drinking isn’t it, so I think I don’t really like it, like the idea of it” (Linzi, 50, Parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I don’t pre-drink, if anything, I try and do the opposite in that I’ll have, you know, I’ll have some water or make sure, try and remember to make sure that I’ve eaten well enough to have a few drinks and not, for it to not knock me too badly, so really that’s the opposite of what young people are trying to achieve isn’t it” (Joel, 44, parent, Chorlton, interview)
“One of the things that I see particularly the youngest one doing, is this thing of friends coming round and drinking before they go out. Whereas, when I was that age, what you did when you went out was drink. Whereas they’ll get, you know, loaded before they go out, because it’s cheaper, and I find that really weird. That was totally different to the drinking practices that I was used to, where they’d get bottles of really cheap vodka, and it’s all about what’s going to have the biggest hit quickest, so I find that quite bizarre” (Sue, 53, Chorlton, interview)

“It’s way too expensive in bars, like I was saying about the youngest, so you drink before you go out, because you want the big social occasion of being out but don’t want to waste your money there when they’ve got really limited income” (Sue, 53, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“It’s more laid back here. Urm, there’s not much pressure to move on, or there’s not much pressure to get these down you and get on, you can just sort of wander from bar to bar, which you can do to a certain extent in the city centre, but inevitably when you go out in the city centre somebody will say “let’s go out out” and then you’re kind of under pressure to” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“It’s just more relaxed, and it’s the more kind of, because it’s more bars, it’s the more kind of places that I like to be, and like the atmosphere’s quite nice, it’s not like really loud music urm and it’s much more kind of casual in the way that you can dress and things urm and the kind of people don’t tend to annoy me that much either” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

Appeal of local bars/pubs/clubs

Chorlton

- Atmosphere: relaxed, casual; safe; comfortable
- Amenities
- Familiarity with staff
- No underage young people admitted being able to access bars/pubs in Chorlton (other than meals with parents)
- Real Ale (noted by 21+ and parents)
- Self-Segregation of patrons
“It was interesting to observe the mix of clientele. Initially, I felt very underdressed in my trainers, scruffy jeans and baggy top I had worn for the walk. However, upon looking around I noticed that there was great diversity in the people eating and drinking here. There appeared to be well-dressed couples on dates: women dressed in heels, extravagant jewellery, and looking rather smart. On the other hand, there was a man stood outside in his running gear, with a pint in his hand. I had no fear of violence, and did not feel intimidated in the slightest. No one here appeared underage, and no one appeared ‘chavvy’. It seemed, to me, to be a very middle-class clientele. Unlike most places in town, particularly places as busy at Carinas, there were no bouncers. The absence of bouncers ironically made me feel safer than if one had been present - you got the impression that there didn’t need to be security - the drinking in Chorlton appears to be very self-regulating, as the ‘sort’ of people who choose to frequent Carina’s aren’t the ‘sort’ of people likely to cause trouble. There was music in Carina’s, which appeared to be relatively mainstream. It wasn’t too niche and so didn’t exclude any groups. It wasn’t too loud, and we could still hear each other talk. The bar was a nice temperature, not too hot and not too cold” (participant observation, Rex, 24, Chorlton at Carinas, 11/06/2014)

“Most of the bars have like these little front bits don’t they, it’s really sweet. It’s nice, kind of European, Mediterranean, so that’s quite nice, and that feels busy, but you don’t really get crowded streets, and it’s not like an intimidating place. It’s not like in the city where there would be like groups of guys like you know chanting or whatever and hanging around, it’s a bit more civilised. There’s a difference here between going out in Chorlton, which is like an easy night, and going out in town, it’s more like a big night” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, phone interview)

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<td>- Pubs in Wythenshawe did not particularly appeal to young people - ‘old man’s pubs’, but many claim to have gained access to one particular pub/club underage</td>
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“Well Chorlton’s quite good because it’s got all these like outdoor seating bits, so that’s quite nice, give it kind of a European feel I think” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, mobile phone interview)

“Had my first pint in Wythenshawe for flipping ages and it’s emphasised why I never drink here, no new people, all raging alcoholics, same old same old” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, text message)

“Well, everywhere shuts earlier in Chorlton, everywhere shuts at like 1 I think, and Fallowfield everywhere stays, it’s very student, I think drinks, drinks are definitely cheaper in Fallowfield, but Chorlton’s just, it’s a nicer feel, like I think, I think when you’re surrounded by people who only want to get drunk it can be like annoying, but in Chorlton people just wanna sit and have a chat and not cause a fuss” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I really like Chorlton actually. It kind of reminds me of being on holiday a wee bit. I know that sounds a bit sad, urn just cos all the bars go out onto the streets, and it’s quite lively and it’s got some quirky places as well, which is quite interesting, but yeah the bars are alright. I don’t really buy into bars being different, a bar is a bar, they serve drinks” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, drawing elicitation interview)

“I go to the city centre sometimes, more recently because the trams have been there to use. It’s, I think it’s quite hard having all the things on your doorstop that Chorlton provides to justify going” (Joel, 44, parent, Chorlton, interview)
“For me, I go to places associated more with real ale, we’re so lucky, for someone with that flavour, taste if you like, in Chorlton they’re so lucky, because Chorlton unusually has got such a high percentage of places that do that kind of product. Even in the city centre, there’s probably a similar number than there is in Chorlton and it’s good because it allows people to segregate themselves out, so you don’t have to be around people who you might not want to be around, because they’ll probably be somewhere else with a different sort of thing on offer to be honest, so socially I think that’s quite an interesting thing, it sort of separates itself out. What I like about Chorlton is that there’s such a diverse mix of bars and drinking places that people can subconsciously sort themselves out into compatible groups, and I think that reduces friction and allows more people to feel at ease” (Joel, 44, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I mainly go to Blues’ [pub] which is basically because it’s on my doorstep now but it’s good I mean, the beer’s reasonably priced, up until not long ago they did everything for £2, that’s including bottles, Magners and Bulmers and things like that, so that’s but they’ve got pool tables in there, you know, they’ve got a few tellies, football’s on, jukebox, the pub’s always on, you know the heating’s on, things like that. And it’s you know, he’s spent a few quid on it, he’s trying to make it hospitable sort of thing. As long as it doesn’t, I know it sounds daft, but as long as it doesn’t smell and it’s, you know it’s clean, you know it’s, to me that’s what I always look for in a pub sort of thing, so, somewhere neat and tidy” (Tony, 49, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“The Bets, The City, and the Parade - they’re mainly the pubs I go to. They’re friendly, they’re sort of calm and casual, they’re not like teaming with people screaming around you and that, they’re just nice, nice calm, good duke box at The Bets, and I know people that work there fairly well, they know what you’re drinking or whatever, or you can have a chat with them if you’re coming in on your own” (Matthew, 45, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“Some of the bars here [points to a spot on the map] play their music so loud. I went to Walley’s [a bar] with my sister, couldn’t hear a word she was saying. Loud music, really expensive beer or alcohol in general, urm and if it’s too crowded. Like sometimes if it’s too crowded you can’t hear yourself think either, or it takes ages to get served and you get annoyed and want to leave. I just don’t like it. I think if it was slightly cheaper and a bit more friendlier. I mean a lot of the bar staff working in it as well, they tend to be a bit up themselves, so you don’t really fit in. And I think they [Chorlton] could do with a nightclub or something. The bars try and be quirky, and if you just want to go out for a drink with your girlfriend or whatever, you’re not arsed if it’s quirky, if they’ve got a lager from Beijing or whatever” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, drawing elicitation interview)

“Teresa: I’d go to pubs and stuff like that cos I can get in The Otter but I just sit there and I just think, well I can have more fun at home, do you know what I mean?

Joanna: I think The Otter smells like old men, and the pool table’s like wonky, so all the balls go to one side” (Teresa and Joanna, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)
“There’s a few pubs in Wythenshawe that are full of 16, 17 year olds and you get a few that are your old men pubs as you call them, others that are people who aren’t working and just sit there all day every day, shouting and swearing at people, so it’s not the nicest of places to go for a drink, but it’s on your door step” (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

“What struck me, is that, compared to Chorlton, this night out seemed very different. The club didn’t have so much of a polished appearance as many locations in Chorlton. The clientele, generally, did not seem as middle-class as I had witnessed on my nights out in Chorlton. However, it is worth noting that there is no club in Chorlton, and that is perhaps why some locals feel the need to venture out into the city centre, in order to fulfil their clubbing needs and desires” (participant observation, 14/06/2014, with Charlotte, Chorlton, in the city centre, for Evie’s 25th)

“Bloody hell, Chorlton is so god damn pretentious. Don’t get me wrong, I like it, but the people think they’re so kooky and original and it’s about £50 for a pint” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, text message)

“One of the reasons why I don’t drink round here is because I remember when I was about 12/13 and that was one of the first times when I was walking back from school, so it was about half 4 because I stayed behind for band practice, on the way back seen someone get, not only knocked out, but the guy who knocked him out literally jumped on his head, and to this day I’ve not been in that pub” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I went to that Tantra [pub one] one once and that was well scary. It’s a bit council housey, council house people would go there I think. I just met some friends there once and yeah, it smelt like, you know like proper horrible lager. I can’t cope with it. I like pubs that smell like not like they’re pubs really, no I wouldn’t go somewhere like that” (Coral, Chorlton, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I use to always go out to The Oakham, I use to really enjoy it when I was younger, but then there’s quite a lot of trouble kicked off there…and I was involved in it, and I got hit once, and I just thought “do you know what? There’s no point” came out with some big black eye and I thought “what’s the point, you’re in Wythenshawe, you live here, what’s the point in going out there and causing trouble when it’s on your door step” so after that, I’m not really bothered with it” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

I witnessed violence in the The Oakham when one of my friends, I don’t understand how it happened or why it happened but there was, the lad always goes in there, and two of my mates were drunk, or on drugs, I don’t know which one, and he came over saying they were looking at him funny, or they were saying something about him. He was just, he looked like he was on something himself, he looked aggressive, he looked like he was ready to start something, they ended up going outside, and then one of them got punched, and then the other one got punched straight after, so then after that they’ve never gone back in” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“It’s a shame what’s happened to Wythenshawe, cos there must be about ten pubs that have shut down simply because, I assume it’s because people stop using them, it’s a shame because it use to be a belting place, you know, it was so busy all the time, and there was so many pubs, it use to be great to go on a bar crawl” (Tony, parent, 49, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I wouldn’t drink in Wythenshawe because hardly any pubs are here, and all the youngsters and trouble and so, no. It would mainly be in the city centre” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I don’t drink as much now as what I did years ago, cos I’m not out as much, but saying that, I think the pubs aren’t as busy as what they use to be, I mean like years ago you could go out and the pubs would be packed most nights, nowadays I think everybody’s been priced out of going, it’s too expensive for a lot of people, you know, people are struggling” (Ali, 49, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I’ve not drank in Wythenshawe for a good 20 years. In first instance, it’s not somewhere where I’d like to socialise How can I say it without putting the girls in Wythenshawe down, it’s, they’re all old men/s pubs in Wythenshawe, and if you’re like your age or our age group, you’re only there for one thing, and that’s to see what you can take home at night, so anyone with a little bit of respect for themselves tend to go out, probably for a start-off drink in Didsbury, and just wherever you for from there, I’ve not drank in Wythenshawe for years” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“In Wythenshawe the way the area is designed, there’s no centre in the, you know, several bars in a row kind of thing, you know, there’s old men’s clubs and old-school pubs ,and that’s about it. It’s also the intergenerational thing in Wythenshawe, a couple of times when I have been out there, and that’s because of work that we’ve ran charity events sometimes in working men’s clubs and things like that. It almost feels like a Coronation street vibe, the old blokes sat in the corner with a pint, you occasionally get old fellas - it looks very different. And the young people wouldn’t want to be around that at all. I can imagine that they don’t, I know they don’t want to stay in Wythenshawe for a night out” (Sue, 53, parent, Chorlton, interview)
“It’s a bit poncey at times to be honest, it does make me, like Dragon’s annoying because they’re obsessed with being a bit different, a bit bohemian. They’ve put like 30 different beers on, and different ciders, and all kinds of weird stuff, and sometimes you go to the pub and you think “right, I just want a pint of beer and sit down with my mates and have a chat”. The first thing you do is go to the bar and think “I don’t know any of these beers, can I have something light?”, and the bar staff will go “I don’t know what’s light” because they changed them on a daily basis, and so then you have to stand there and go through and test, and it can be a bit overwhelming, this is a bit much really, and then someone will pick one and go “oh, that tastes strong”, and they’ll go “yeah, it’s an 8% cider” and you’re like “oh my god, I didn’t want that”, and sometimes, it’s overly complex, and it’s kind of like desire to be a bit different and fit in with Chorlton. I just think they go a bit over the top at times, and I’m just like, “just put a standard beer on please”, funnily enough, I’ve started avoiding places like that now, because it just seems like too much hard work” (Helen, 15, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I think that’s what I liked about the pub because everybody from my son who is 20, my age 50s, we also sit with these two old guys, one of which was 80 odd. My son absolutely loves them to bits. One’s about 78 I think, and then his brother’s 10 years older than him, and they come in, and we sit with them, and that’s what was so nice, that it’s not just my son sat with the young ones. You had your younger element and your older element, and yet they were quite happy to intermingle you know. There were quite a few young lads that I had a chat with, you know, bump into them “nice to see you”, there’s no sort of, you know, “she’s old”. Unfortunately, cos that pub’s closed, I think that’s going to change now” (Gail, 52, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“If you’re going to drink in Wythenshawe…I think you’d prefer to do it with a friend at a friend’s house. I’d say the places in Wythenshawe aren’t nice to go to, there’s quite, like there’s trouble in certain places and it’s quite expensive as, you wouldn’t think it’s be expensive, but it’s quite expensive, like in certain pubs. You get the occasional happy hour, where everyone rushes in and gets what they want, but after that it’s usual prices that you’d be thinking out in town, so it would probably be a cheaper and better night if you stayed in with your friends” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)

“SW: Which is your favourite place to drink? Kelly: Mine. SW: How come? Kelly: Cos it’s my house, I don’t feel on edge their cos it’s mine. I don’t mind if I feel drunk, and I don’t have to try and act sober” (Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“Dear diary, This evening I organised a posh meal with my friends. I say posh, I cooked them spag bol at my flat, but we had glasses of wine to accompany it. Was a lovely chilled evening, we could catch up and actually hear each other speak! Heard lots about potential boyfriends and how people’s jobs are progressing. Nothing crazy really happened, just nice to relax and unwind” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, diary)

“Having a quiet one with the ladies tonight at mine, few glasses of wine, not seen them in ages so will be good to catch up” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, text message)

### Home Drinking

#### Young people
- Due to price of alcohol
- Social
- Shape Drinking Experience
- Enjoyable
- Lack of desirable places to go

#### Parents
- When children were young
- Not something parents did when young
- Due to price
- With a meal
- Perfectly tailor experience—temperature; chairs; music etc
- Prefer their children to drink at home so can ‘keep an eye on them’
“I think it’s cheaper isn’t it, but I think for me it’s a social thing. You’re in a club where you can’t hear yourself think. Like, I go out to see people, I don’t really go out to dance, so yeah, it’s a good chance to talk to people before everyone gets to the club and you can’t hear anything. I much prefer house parties to going out really. If you’re just drinking, I like to stay in. But if you’re doing other things, for example, MDMA, you don’t want to stay in” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, Interview)

“The only times I’ve ever drank in Wythenshawe is when I’ve had friends round and they’ve been in my house. I don’t drink in Wythenshawe, there’s not really nice pubs, there’s not many nice places to drink. I think, even if there was, I don’t think it can compare with places like Didsbury and Chorlton and Fallowfield and stuff, prices as well. I mean student places are always going to be cheaper aren’t they so” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, Interview)

“I like drinking at home - you can chose exactly what you want to drink; exactly the glasses, and you know coldness, and specifications. You can have a chair of your own choice. You can listen to music of your own choice. You can have the people you like. You can hear them. And all that really. And you can have it the temperature you want, nibbles. I suppose that’s again being old, you’ve got everything you want. I mean, it is cheaper, but I don’t think that really is an influencing factor. Probably is with some of my friends. Some of my friends I probably think “ohh they wouldn’t want to…they’d much prefer to come to my house because it’s cheaper” When you’re younger a lot of going out is to meet people, I don’t want to meet new people, so that reason has gone” (Claire, 48, parent, Chorlton, interview)
“I drink wine quite regularly at home. More usually at the weekend. You know, it wouldn’t be unknown to have a glass of wine in the week. So mainly at home, I don’t go out that much. But usually with meals, rather than afterwards” (Linzi, 50, Chorlton, parent, interview)

“I drink at home a lot of the time, it’s just me. And I’m sorry, that’s a terrible admission, but it’s true I think now. Just this past, since I finished work, cos I’m worried that I can’t afford to go, when I can buy a bottle of wine for a little bit more than one small glass of red wine then sorry but I’m going to stay at home, you know. It was always the social thing. It was always that but I think things have changed a little bit now” (Gail, 52, Wythenshawe, parent, interview)

“Especially when you’ve got children, going out isn’t an option, but sitting in and having a bottle of wine once the child’s in bed…cracking, you know, great” (Grace, 50, parent, interview, Chorlton).

“When I had my son, my first son, and I was a single parent, I felt trapped. Well, I didn’t think it at the time, but as I look back now, that’s when I started drinking in the house every night, so I suppose I had a drink to…I don’t know why I did, but I drank. Once he was in bed I would just have a drink” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Probably round the age of 14/15 my son was going to parties round his friend’s houses, and they were having drink, and what I tended to do, sounds like I’m a facilitator here, but I use to like to be able to keep an eye on the situation. Because, I knew they were going to drink, whether I said no or not. He was going to have the peer pressure to drink. So I thought, if I could at least be around to control it, so we have a, a separate garage that the lads use to use as a den because we’d never put a car in it. So it was like the local den. I mean, obviously it use to get to me sometimes because there’d be 12 or 13
lads in there, but while they were there, I could keep an eye on it, and I could keep a check on it, and I could see what was going on. I use to just keep saying to my husband “well, while they’re there, we know where they are, they’re not hanging...”, cos the thing was, before then they use to hang on the street corner. They weren’t drinking necessarily, and they use to get moved on, and they weren’t bad lads. But they would be standing on the street corner and it’s understandable, people don’t want a gang of 16/15 year old lads standing on the corner. So, providing them with the garage meant they could relax somewhere, you know” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“It’s so cheap in Tesco, people might buy more drink and they might actually drink more, but they’re doing it at their own home, and so you’re not seeing the anti-social behaviour on the streets say in Wythenshawe, cos a lot of people aren’t going out drinking any more. They’re stuck in the house drinking and so they might, people might still be getting as drunk as they were but not as visible, so that’s what I think” (Christopher, 49, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I go occasionally to a local pub, but it’s very rare that, cos it’s just, it’s really boring. There’s more going on in the city centre, there’s more people, you can converse more, you can have a laugh, there’s better places, better music, there’s more, there’s just more to do I’d say, and it’s quite a bigger place, so if you don’t like one place you can go to another, with here it’s if you don’t like one place, the other place is just the same. So there’s not much options available” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Going to have a fucking crazy one tonight at Deansgate. Been waiting for this all fucking week man! Gunna smash it up and show them how us Wythenshawe lads party hard” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, text message)

**Appeal of city centre for young people**
- Diversity of venues/people/music
- Get away from violence in local pubs
- Big night out
- Gay scene
- Perceived to be ‘cool’
“If you’re going into the city centre, I think you’re more going out for the night. If I go out with my friends from uni, my mates, we may start at about 2 in the afternoon, and then we’ll be out until 2 in the morning, whereas if they were to come round here, it would just be like a casual meeting. Plus drinking in town is a lot more expensive, so if you’re going to do it, do it properly” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, follow up interview)

“I go out in the gay village in town. It’s way cheaper and it’s just like easier. Like in Chorlton it’s like, it’s kind of busier as well, and everyone’s a little bit, not to be offensive, but everyone’s a little bit pretentious, and I’m like “really?”, like I don’t know. I think everyone just, not everyone - that’s a really big generalisation, but I think like there’s kind of like this air of everyone thinks that they’re like, I don’t know, a little bit kooky and special, but it’s not really my thing that” (Lucie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“When I was younger, it was all about how far out of Wythenshawe you could get to have a drink, because it’s seen as being quite a rough area, so for us to be seen more cosmopolitan, more mature, it was about sort of spreading your wings really, and it started off Gatley, Stockport, then the city centre. It became quite a badge amongst quite a lot of us that we got to our twenties and we could say “we’ve never been to a pub in Wythenshawe”” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Being from Wythenshawe we had this snobbery, “I’m not drinking in a pub in Wythenshawe” - we use to try and get out Wythenshawe, so we started drinking at The Mill in Gatley, then we moved onto Tea’s in Stockport, and then into town. To say you’d been into Manchester on a night out, your friends would be like “oh my god” - it was really good kudos, like “oh my god, they all went out last night”” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I’ve witnessed a lot of trouble or violence in town, people getting drink, getting into fights, I’m like “what’s the point?” I mean, I’d probably get a bit more drunk around here because I know the area and I know how to get home, whereas town I try to keep my wits around me a bit, especially because I have to come home by myself usually” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“I wouldn’t go to a football type pub, because I know there’s more fights so, so I just avoid places, or like city centre at night, I wouldn’t, I probably wouldn’t go there unless I was with quite a lot of people” (Coral, 24, Chorlton, peer interview)

“We were trying to get into this club and the queue was all the way round, and the bouncers kind of went “no, no, no, no, no more, full capacity”, and this drunk lad kind of walked up, and the bouncers just went, pushed him on the floor, so I kind of went “was there any fucking need?” and he just looked at me and walked off. I’m not saying that obviously I’m not going to start a fight with a bouncer, you know, I have no illusion that I wouldn’t get the shit kicked out of me, but it’s just one of them, “do you really need to be that much of a knob?” It’s kind of, it’s little men dressed in authority isn’t it” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“When we got out the taxi, the queue for Rasps was rather long and seemed to be moving slowly. However, numerous people in the queue in front of us started leaving the queue. I assume they had got bored of waiting. Additionally, there was a group of five men behind us, and the bouncer came over to them and said “you’re not coming in”. One of the men didn’t hear, and asked his friend what was going on. The friend said “we’re not coming in because we’re a group of boys” to which the bouncer replied “I never said it was because you’re boys”. About five minutes later, the men walked up to the queue individually and tried to situate themselves in the queue, however the bouncer saw this and

Deterrent of city centre

- Trouble/Violence - concerns predominantly expressed by young people (male and female) 18+ from Chorlton
- Tension with bouncers - both areas, predominantly males of both young and mid generation, from both Chorlton and Wythenshawe

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asked them to leave, and when the men dispersed the bouncer rudely and disrespectfully muttered “dirty”. When we got to the front of the queue, we had been standing there for such a long time in the same position. The bouncer had a clicker that he clicked every time someone left, so they could get an idea of numbers. But so many people seemed to be leaving, and they weren’t letting anyone in. Evie confronted the bouncer about this and he got angry and asserted “are you going to let me speak?”” (Participant observation with Evie, 24 and friends, from Chorlton, going out in the city centre, 19/04/2014).

“A lot of bouncers, especially in town, are quite rude, especially if you’re not a girl, if you’re a bloke and you know, you’re queuing to get in, they can be quite rude to ya” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“Morning after the night before, my mate had a clash with the bouncer at Aston’s so we left early. So annoyed really because we spent A LOT of money on taxi, pre-drinks etc ARGHHH” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, text messaging)

“I always say “thank you” to a bouncer when he checks my ID cos bouncers can be a bit scary and I think I always wanna like not annoy them” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I knew I was going to throw up, so I went into the toilet to try and be quiet about it. I didn’t want to make a mess. So I went and threw up, I came out and thought “right, I’ll go and get a taxi”, and the bouncers looked at the toilets and went “right”, so I’m trying to leave, and he goes “where are you fucking going?”. I got half…there’s like stairs, a landing, stairs, a landing. I got to the first landing, he just hoisted me down the stairs, but I thinking what he was trying to do, because there was a fire escape, he was trying to get me out that…he could have tapped me on the shoulder, he didn’t have to chuck me down the stairs, jesus” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I’d only just got in there and I wasn’t even drunk. They use to have a deal where, before a certain time, cider was really cheap, and we’d gone in and it was really hot, and we’d been outside standing, waiting for ages, so I was really thirsty and I drank it really fast, but it was warm, and it all just came back up straight away, but it wasn’t like sick it was like a reflex cos the cider was warm, and the bouncers were “just like ‘you’ve been sick, you’ve “een sick’. I was like “you’ve just given me a really warm cider”, it was disgusting, it was like it fizzed when I was drinking it, and it was horrible because they were really heavy handed, and there was two of them, and I’m five foot tall, two of them, two massive guys, didn’t even let me shout me mates, who didn’t really know what was going on, and chucked me out the back exit, and we didn’t have mobile phones in them days, so obviously they spent the rest of the night wondering where I am, I couldn’t move from there, even though I was freezing, they wouldn’t let me back in, so basically I had to stand there til the end of the night, cos my only way home was my uncle picking me up in the taxi, I was just sat all night on the wall outside the club, freezing” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“We went to Manchester, you know the Gay village, and we were in this bar, it’s really fun there, but it’s got a bit rough now, compared to how it use to be 20 years ago, it use to be really, really good night out cos it’s very well policed so you couldn’t get the drunken louts on there, and if you had trouble in one bar all the security were linked so if you were kicked out of that bar, there wasn’t a cat in hells chance of you walking into a bar on that village, not a chance, it was very, very slim if you walked into a bar in Manchester, but it’s gone rapidly, rapidly downhill. I wouldn’t go in the village now for a night out” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“We used to go round to clubs in Manchester but it was an excuse I think for the bouncers to turn groups of lads away, you know, which I never thought was fair, because if you’re getting all tarnished with the same brush “you’re going to come in and cause trouble because there’s more than four of you” isn’t fair, because you’ve worked hard all week, you’ve got your wages, you want to go and spend your wages, and you’re not being allowed to. Well that’s what causes a lot of the anger and hostility, that’s when people, people have probably been fine up to that point where you get knocked back on the door for no reason. If you’re rolling about drunk, If you’re swearing, fair enough, but coming up, you know, smartly dressed, and you know, that’s when people start turning, then, they’ve probably been fine up to that point when they say “you’re not coming in” then you want to know why, and then it gets confrontational, and you don’t need it on a night out” (Tony, 49, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“The bouncers came over and said “right, you’ve been fighting”. I went “I’ve only just got here”, and that was just mistaken identity. He said “he’s got a red t-shirt on”, and I went “well, I’m sure there’ll be someone else in here with a red t-shirt on”, “no, out, you can come back next week” and they just marched us out, and that’s the only time I’ve ever been kicked out, and I was stone cold sober” (Tony, 49, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I remember once coming out of a Christmas do in Manchester and seeing this guy being, he was, I don’t know what had happened, but this guy just nutted him and the guy fell backwards, and you could hear the smack as his head hit the pavement, and I just remember thinking “oh my god”, and that made me feel sick. And I’ve seen things kicking off, people being a bit, but as I say, it doesn’t happen where I drink normally, locally, so” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I don’t really go to the city because the only place that I’d like, no, I mean, sometimes you go to a pub and they won’t let you in because you’re not allowed trainers, or jeans, or a hat, or something, but for places like that I’d rather not be in it. I’d rather not go pubs with bouncers really. So, if I see a bouncer I’d rather walk straight past that pub so, if people said that was a pretty good pub, I’d tend to avoid them if there are bouncers. Patsy’s in Chorlton is nice and causal and relaxed and there’s no bouncers. You know, some, but very rarely are actually okay and they’re there to stop trouble, that’s fine. But, generally, they attract trouble. They stop people going. They sort of, they’re like fashion police. They’re like “oh not tonight lads”, you know, or “you’re not wearing that”, like that, and you’re just like “oh, for god’s sake”, and if there is trouble, they’re always like backed away in a corner if there’s anything…if it’s two little kids fighting then they might, but if it’s anything bad they’ll leave you to it. So I don’t see the point of them, and I’ve been turned away from pubs and then you see a group of, you know, you can tell that they’re absolute battlers, but they’re in white shirts and like that. They get in, and you can tell they’re trouble, I’m like going “you can tell I’m not going to start a fight!” (Matthew, 45, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I remember me mate left his coat in a pub, and it was an expensive coat, and he could see it, and the bouncers wouldn’t let him back in for it, and he just barged past him to get it, cos he thought “these are going to try and steal it”. It ended up being a bit of a ruckus, on the front. But fortunately there was a big group of people outside, there was about four doorman, there was three of us, and they saw what happened, so everyone started turning against the doorman, and I think they ended up locking themselves in. We were lucky because there was a lot of people, because my friend was shouting at the doorman “I want my coat”, and they twigged what was going on and force of numbers, people sort of backed us up in a way” (Christopher, 49, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“My son hates it if I’m drunk, and he’s not, ah, he’s dreadful! Really, really, I’ve had some...he’s walked out in a pub on me before now, when I’ve been like “ahhh son”, he’s been like “you’re disgusting”, and he’ll walk out. He can’t stand me being drunk, he hates it. Unless, if he’s drunk then we’re great friends, but if I’m more drunk than him, my son will start and he gets very sniffy with me” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“My sons would always say to me “are you drinking again?” “you’re always drinking!”, yeah, I’d get a lot, maybe with them getting older as well and pointing out to me would be, maybe that made me change as well” (Shirley, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“My younger daughter is avowedly tee-total. As far as she’s concerned her body is a temple, she’s never had alcohol, and she’s not beyond giving us a hard time if I decide I’ll have a second glass. Even when my younger one was 18, and she was going out, I said “would you get me a bottle of wine?” and she refused firstly on the grounds that her body was a temple and she wasn’t facilitating anybody else (Helen, 51, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I recognised we had been drinking far, far too much and I checked out guidelines, and I was quite horrified. They are so low. We have a range of size glasses, and the oldest ones, you know, the glass itself is quite small. And then, of course, newer ones are huge. So I’ve filled the glass as I would normally fill it, and poured it into the measuring jug and saw how much there was, and then worked out that if I stuck with the small glass that was x number of units compared to normal white wine kind of thing. My younger daughter took this on, and would sort of point out to my partner that two glasses of white wine and that was over his limit for the day. That actually wasn’t very useful at all and, you know, she and I had a few conversations about people’s autonomy and things” (Helen, 51, parent, Chorlton, interview)

**Tensions with parents drinking**

- No young people interviewed expressed disapproving over parents drinking. Yet several parents interviewed noted tensions surrounding their children disapproving of their alcohol consumption practices.
“The only restriction would be if I did want to drink lots and my daughter was there, she would be very disapproving” (Jacquie, 55, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“Sometimes my daughter gets annoyed if she thinks that my partner’s drinking too much, and if he’s hungover the next day she can be really. There’s been a couple of occasions where he’s been really hungover, and turned up, arrive home late, and she’s been aware that he’s been noisy and stuff and she’s, she’s found it very difficult, and so has he. He finds it embarrassing and humiliating. She finds it disgusting, and how can her wonderful dad do that kind of thing. So yeah, then I’m negotiating that minefield” (Laura, 39, parent, Chorlton)

“Alcohol makes me go mad. I do get nasty when I drink, I do. But, you’ve always got to have a nasty one don’t you? To stick up for you and that. I’m not like horrible, horrible, it’s just if you annoy me, or if something happens, and you’re about to have a fight, I’ll go mad” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, Interview)

“Teresa: How does drinking make you feel? Joanna: It depends what you have to drink I think. If I have JD I’ll love everyone all night and kiss everyone and all that but if I have a fucking bottle of vodka I’ll batter anyone. Vodka definitely makes me want to punch someone in the head
Teresa: Na, vodka gets me lively man, it gets me dead pissed, and it just gets me like a dog on fucking heat, I feel like, I don’t even know, I feel like Husain bolt on speed or summit” (Teresa and Joanna, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

Agency of Alcohol

Young People
- Agency of Specific types of alcohol

Parents
- Aware of effects of alcohol e.g. ‘helps relax’, but none attribute alcohol with an agency that ‘makes’ them do something
“It’s just the feeling you get, and the vibes you get whilst your drinking and what you do whilst you’re drinking or, it’s what you’re doing as well as just drinking, you can’t just be drinking. It’s what you’re doing with drink, like you could be in a house rave, do you know what I mean, and you could be drunk on a couch, or you could be drunk on the street, do you know what I mean?” (Dexter, 19, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“I avoid vodka now cos it’s I’ve had like, I drank it for a bit, I had a bad experience on that as well where I was throwing up a lot. I wouldn’t ever go near, I had wine once, and me mates have been on it, and they’ve just said “it makes you feel like you’re dying in the morning!”’’ (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)

“Like when I’ve drank whisky, I just felt really horrible. That’s one of the only times I’ve ever felt, I didn’t feel good. I didn’t really have a good effect to it. With vodka, I wake, I wake up in a really poor mood. I don’t really feel…like even if I’ve not got a hangover, I just don’t really wanna be around anyone, but with beers, it’s fine…I don’t really wake up with a hangover…I wake up feeling the same way I went to sleep really so, I would say there is quite a lot of differences in the drinks that you have” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, Interview)

“If I drink beer now it just makes me tired, drunk, but like moody. But if I drink spirits I’ll probably be more up for it. So I wouldn’t go out and like drink a beer. I drink spirits mainly. It makes me like a nice, you know, more energetic. Whereas if I drank something heavier, like beer, it’s not an “out drink’’” (Amy, 18, Chorlton, interview)
| 12  | “I drink more now. Like, I only used to drink a little bit because I didn’t know what anything was like, now I drink more than when I started because then that was just trying it, because everyone was doing it, but now you’re doing it to enjoy yourself so, you do it more. Or you just drink more cos it’s there and you’re thinking ‘I don’t want anyone else to have it, so I’ll have it’. (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, follow up Interview)  

“Obviously when I was younger I didn’t really drink, like you don’t drink everyday. When you get old enough to go out and like to get served and actually go on a night out is when you’re like 17/18 at college. Going out was a big thing, and I’d go out Thursday night, Friday night, Saturday night, and be like proper full on nights out. And uni, everyone just goes wild. Whereas now, I don’t go on like massive nights out as often, well hardly anywhere near as often, probably once a fortnight, if that,. But going to the pub for a few drinks, getting a bottle of wine, and having a bottle of wine at home, and having beers, and it’s more kind of, it’s not as much binge drinking, but I do it more frequently, if that makes sense. But it’s not loads of drinking, I wouldn’t be hungover the next day and I wouldn’t be drunk drunk. Cos I think that’s what changes as you get older, when you’re at uni you don’t get stressed, I suppose you do kind of get stressed, but you don’t maybe use alcohol…I think the way I’ve used alcohol has changed as I’ve got older” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, Interview)  

“When I was at Uni, it was wherever the majority of people wanted to go, and you’d go to places that you didn’t like, and you’d just do it for a night out. When you get older you kind of realise what you like and what you don’t like and you’re more, maybe more willing to kind of stick by what you think, rather than go along with what the majority think” (Harriet, 24, interview) | **Changes in alcohol consumption practices and experiences with age**  

- From approximately 13-17 = increased levels  
- From 18 + decreasing intensity of alcohol consumption on specific nights, but typically increased frequency.  
- Increased tolerance to alcohol as age increases  
- Increased ability to handle alcohol-fuelled tensions as age increases.  
- Greater appreciation of taste  
- Changed spaces  
- Decreased importance of getting drunk, increased importance of music, spaces of drinking and friends  

**Parents**  

- Importance of going out to drink increases as their children become teenagers (not needing babysitters)  
- Less of an occasion and more of a habit |
“I don’t drink a lot anymore because I’m working all the time, and I only moved here a year and a half ago so I’m out the way from most my friends. Let’s say, between the ages of sort of 17 and 20 I was out there, four times a week but very rare now. I might go to the pub to watch football, or probably at a weekend every now and again, but sort of nights out as in going out to nightclubs and stuff like that, it’s sort of once every couple of months now, it’s really, really changed, it’s crazy” (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

“When I was younger, it was in parks and fields, whereas now it’s in pubs and clubs, and to be fair, even my house, where that’s something I never really did growing up, actually at mine, other than on occasions. That would be the biggest change. The volume, as I said, died down. I think it’s getting back to the point where I was four years ago, and even, even when I was 16, 15-16 when, during our GCSEs. Most people had head in books revising, the day before exams, me and my mates were round the corner, with four cans of Carling, you know, 4-8 cans, so, and I’m back to that in the sense of, it doesn’t matter if I’ve got work or not…I don’t see that as an issue, because I know I’m going to get up, I know I can do my job, it’s not nice, but I know, get that 8 hours out the way, and I’ll be fine by the time I get home, it’s just sorting my head out in the morning that’s hard. It’s only really those things that’s changed, because even what I drink is pretty much the same. Aside from now, because I can afford it, more brandy, more of the finer ones, San Miguel, Desperados, stuff like that. When I was 16, you’re not going to drink that, you wants Carls, you want the cheap ones, you wants Carlsberg, Carling, Fosters, and I mean, that’s another thing in itself, I remember getting pissed off Fosters when I was 14-15, I still get pissed now off Fosters, so it is still pretty much the same” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I actually like the taste of alcohol now, I think when you’re younger you don’t like the taste of alcohol, you just drink because it’s alcohol” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“In Uni, it was all about getting as drunk as quickly as possible, and now it’s less about getting drunk, and more about spending time with my friends and having a NICE drink, like I’ll actually, if I’ve had a long day of work I actively want something nice to drink, so I think yeah that’s how it’s changed really, I appreciate nice drinks when I’m out” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“It takes me, it will take a lot more for me to get drunk when I was younger urm and it’s not just a Saturday in the park, urm you can have a drink mid-week, there’s no restrictions anymore you can do what you want so, it’s kind of more accessible to drink” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“If someone’s got drunk and done something the night before to annoy someone, that’s the only time it causes tensions. I think that’s becomes less of a problem as you get older, because I think you become a bit more responsible. When you’re 14/15 you just want to get drunk every weekend, and you say something to annoy someone and it all…especially when you’re younger everyone sort of over escalates everything” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“When I first started drinking I’d get like a big bottle of vodka, cos I’d just go and drink to get drunk, whereas now I drink, just cos it’s to have a good time cos of the music, and everyone who’s there” (Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)
“I don’t drink as much as I use to anymore, just because of money and work, cos I don’t, I’ve started to appreciate waking up without a hangover, but I, most weekends, I’ll have like a few drinks, like, you know, a bottle of wine or something with dinner, or I get, maybe once every two weeks I’ll go out to a bar and get a little bit drunk, but I don’t get like properly wasted anymore” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, follow up interview)

“Well when I first tried drinking, like at a party, I didn’t wanna get like really, really drunk, partly because I knew I was going back home to parents, and also because I didn’t really wanna get really, really drunk on my first time or anything but I think that now I’m a little bit more care-free with it. I think, I know my limits more sort of, so I’m sort of know where to go up to if you like” (Jack, 16, Chorlton, interview).

“You wouldn’t catch me on the streets now, cos I’m too old for that. That was more when I was like 14/15” (Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, Interview)

“It’s a lot more civilised now, just trying to be the sensible one. I always find myself looking after people so it’s like I’m sat there, I slow down now, I’m not as, when you first do it, the first couple of times you do it, you’re so excited about it, it’s something new int it so, but now you’re used to it, you drink slowly so you’re just yourself but enough to have fun still” (Oliver, 16, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)

“I drink a lot more. Like, as it goes on, I get less concerned, and more relaxed about it, and I drink more” (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“I think when you first start drinking you just drink as much as you can until you pass out. Well I certainly did anyway. Urm, but the more you go on, you shy away from that cos it’s not nice, it’s not nice the next day. I don’t like hangovers. I’ve had too many and don’t like it anymore” (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I think I’ve become more responsible, because obviously when you’re 13, you don’t really know what’s happening, you’re a bit clueless about it, and looking back if I’d have known I would have got so drunk I wouldn’t have done it, I’d have waited until I was 15, year 9, year 10 and started then. So I think over time I have become a lot more mature, I do it a lot less, or even I do it in, only in, well I only ever do it in social situations, but I make sure that I’m safe, and that I am in a house where the parents know you’re drinking, so they know to watch out for ya” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview) 

“I find that people that are older don’t drink as much as the younger people. It’s like, year 9 and year 7s are drinking already. I was like, “it’s disgusting” because like the year 11s don’t drink probably as much as like our year and year 9s do, because they already know what it feels like and probably have got fed up with it already cos they started in year 8 or something. But because we’re only year 8, year 9, year 10 we’re just experiencing it, but they’ve already experiences it and stuff. It’s like they’ve got bored of it, but cos we’re just starting to experience it, we’ve not got bored of it just yet. It’s like we drink more, they drink less, kind of” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview) 

I drink things that are actually nice, like nice alcohol, if I’m feeling rich I’ll get cocktails, or something. It’s not about getting hammered anymore, I’ve done it. But when you’re younger it’s definitely about drinking the cheapest, strongest stuff” (Amy, 18, Chorlton, interview) 

“When I was 18 I use to go out every weekend really having a drink, even if it was only local like to the Old Horse or so and so, but as I’ve got older I’ve calmed down more, I only really go out on good occasions where there’s something, like there’s a lot of people going out, or it’s a birthday, cos I’ve really got to save now, so that’s why I’ve been limiting it” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I drink a lot more, and I feel more comfortable talking about it, and I think I’ve got a palette for it really, you’re not just necking bottles of vodka, I can sit down and enjoy a drink, like I quite like ale and things like that” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I drink less now cos, when you’re younger, it’s just like something dead exciting, like “yeah you can drink!” , and now, when you’re older, it’s boring. Cos you can get into clubs and all that” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)

“They’ve decreased. Obviously when I was a child I didn’t drink, and then got to teenager and I did quite a lot, and then I think about 19.20 it just, maybe 21, it’s gone downhill generally. I think I’ve gone for like six months, three months, things like that patches where I just don’t bother, because there’s nothing good enough on to drink. I don’t know why that even matters but like you know, yeah. Or you’re just too busy with working and you just think “well, I haven’t got time to have a hangover or something the next day”” (Coral, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I think when you turn 18, not only does the buzz go when you’re like going out and trying to get alcohol, and you feel a bit like naughty kid when you’ve got it, but I think it’s more of a casual drink, whereas back for a younger age you did it to get drunk. Whereas now you do it just to relax and enjoy the meal. Getting drunk when you shouldn’t meant to be” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, follow up interview)

“My children want shooters, they want slammers, and really strong alcohol. See, I’m 38 now, so I know when I’m like “okay, I’m not drinking any more”, but then you see them they shouldn’t be drinking anymore, but they still do, and then when it’s run out they’ll drink anything, it doesn’t matter if it’s nice or horrible, they’ll drink 30 year old port because it’s there, it’s got floaty bits in but they’ll still drink it” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I’d quite like to maybe go to more glamorous places in Manchester, but I feel a bit old, and a bit uncomfortable, and not quite knowing what to wear so I think that would sort of restrict me. cos I’ve got teenagers now, so coming out of that phase where I can’t go out so much, because of babysitters and things and I like the idea of maybe going somewhere a bit more new and a bit more glamorous, but I think I’d feel a bit like ohhh “what do you wear?” (Linzi 50, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“When I was younger, it was, the first year or so when we were in the park it was about “let’s have a drink and try, and get really, as hammered as we possibly can” - but after that year, it was more about where can we say that we've been that’s going to make us look really good and popular. So it became less about how much we’d had to drink, and more about where it was that you were drinking” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“It’s become less a social occasion, and more of a habit. If you know what I mean. It’s yeah, so that would be it, it's more of a habit to do at home, as opposed to you drink when you go out with your friends. So yeah, I think that’s changed over the years, but it’s been settled as a regular occurrence for about 15 years now I would say” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Good friends, good music make a good night out, I wouldn’t even say alcohol now. Years ago I would have but not now, my priorities have shifted a little bit now” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“Well first part of uni I’d say I wasn’t really bothered about the effects of drinking. I wouldn’t drink every day but when I went out for drinks I drank like 10 pints, shots and so recently I became a bit more concerned about, probably because I’m getting a bit older now. I’ve started to watch how much I drink, but like balance it with exercise and diet as well. You put on loads of weight drinking lager especially, so I try to tone it down” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, follow up interview)

“There’s calories as well and because I drink wine it’s like 1000 calories a bottle, or something ridiculous, and I’m like “god, that’s like…” I use to drink spirits when I was in uni cos I knew there was less calories in it, but that’s really bad for you as well, so” (Hannah, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“Whilst I should be happy for the purpose of data collection that I am being invited on so many nights out with my participants, I am also begrudging how many calories I am consuming by drinking when I wouldn’t usually be. I make sure I either drink vodka diet coke or white wine as they are relatively low calorie drinks. Sometimes I will just drink diet coke and allow my participants to assume it has alcohol in. It is also getting to the stage where I deny myself treats in the day, recognising that I will be using a lot of calories on alcohol in the evening with participants” (Field diary, Thursday 12/06/2014)

“I actually only had the prosecco and I only drank half my glass of it, but that’s partly, you know, a calories thing really. I can do without alcohol quite easily, and so I don’t tend to drink it, or I really like Campari, everybody laughs at that because it’s very 50s, but again, it’s very low calories as far as alcohol goes. I sometimes have a beer, like a, I mean that Brooklyn larger is one of my favourites, but I try and resist and make that not very often, because of the calories thing. I like most alcohol, I just drink them in great moderation. But I don’t drink, you know,

Calories
Parents
• Concern for calories (females across both areas) helps drinking in moderation. This was something only rarely mentioned by young people and very rarely mentioned by mid-generation males.
the drinks that tend to be more like aimed at, well either girls or younger people that are, I just think fizzy sweet, wouldn’t touch them. They have enough calories in for a meal. You see, so I would almost do that too “do I want this? Do I want a meal?” And alcohol loses every time. Men tend to drink more, the women I know tend to be more calories aware and so they’d be more inclined to think “I’m not going to waste my calories on drink on a regular basis?” (Sue, 53, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“Cos I know like, like units in wine is quite a small glass isn’t it, and then you know like nowadays you can get like a third of a bottle in a glass can’t you. It’s like, so I don’t really pay attention to unit. I do like to have some alcohol free days though. Like I find if I’m on holiday and I’m drinking every night, I find it like I feel a bit, you know, I don’t feel it’s very, very healthy, but I think if anything I pay more attention thinking about the calories of drinking, trying to lose weight, I try and cut out alcohol. So rather than thinking about health it’s more about perhaps trying to lose weight or something like that” (Linzi, 50, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“Well, years ago me drink was cider and then I thought “no, I shouldn’t really be drinking cider, I’ll stop the cider”. I think I’d put loads of weight on. So I stopped the cider, and I went on to wine. But, a bottle, I’d drink a bottle, maybe a bottle and a half a night, and I started going really fat again, and I thought “it’s got to be this drink”, because then you start eating don’t you. I think maybe I went to vodka because it has less calories. Make a big difference. Your blood sugar is not right is it, I mean, I’d gone up to nearly 16 stone” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview).
“Yes I do worry about my health, because I’m at a certain age now where I can feel the effects of alcohol much quicker. I recover more slowly. I mean, you know, there were days when I used to do it, and I would be fine by mid-day, but these days sometimes I’m not even well by the next evening if I’ve had a lot. I’m aware of the effects it has on my face, on my complexion. I know, if I go a few days without drinking, just enforced, because I can’t…I can look in the mirror and I think “god, my eyes are brighter”, “I feel better”. But, if I go on holiday with my friend, we tend to drink a lot while we’re away, and I’ll come home from holiday, and apart from the tan, the rest of me looks absolutely horrendous, and it puts weight, especially at my age, middle-aged women, it puts weight on you like nobody’s business. Last ten years I can really feel…I use to be able to drink and it never made a difference to my weight. But now, no, I can feel it over a weekend, over the weekend I can feel the pounds going on. So yes, I do have very much awareness of it” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“At the moment, I’ll have between 5 and 7 pints a day on the Friday, Saturday, Sunday. It’s quite a lot of calories in a pint. I quite like the Sailor Jerry rum, that’s quite good. I think that’s about 60 calories a shot isn’t it” (Ali, 49, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“Drugs and drink together makes you feel pissed and then you just get calmed down by the weed innit, it’s a bit of a weird mixture. It gets to you though, it gets to you” (Dexter, 19, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“When you’re doing drink and drugs together you kind of, obviously a bad mix, talk a lot more and get more emotional, on a few occasions I’ve done it, and people I know as well who have done it at the time, everyone’s sort of in their own little groups having deep conversations in the corners really, it’s strange, whereas if you’re drinking everyone’s just happy and dancing and all sorts” (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

**Drugs (young people)**

- Most explicitly talked about by young people in Wythenshawe
- Due to feeling
- Due to expensiveness of drinking in clubs
- Avoid alcohol-related hangover
- Parents apparently more liberal about drugs, particularly weed than alcohol
“I have had nothing to enter for the past couple of weeks, due to my boring life. I haven’t drank for quite a while now. For the past month my nights have been involving cannabis. A typical night for me would be buying weed and staying in. To be honest it’s great waking up on a Saturday morning being able to remember what happened the night before 😊!” (Jemima, 15, Wythenshawe, diary entry, 28/12/2013)

“Went out one night got some money together. Saw my friend Mikey and he said to me let’s get some (dids) eystacy and we had one mad night. We went to meet our other friends they got loads of weed and we got high. Came to the night we met a drug dealer got some dids and have a mad night. We was on the streets til 2 in the morning geared up with the boys. A week later had a party to attend so I got more pills started getting wired there was music, loads of girls loads of weed, ending up sleeping in an arm chair woke up was still wired, gurnin still. This was a mad night out. My mum found out I had 1 pill and she grounded me for ages. I still pop pills cause I love the feeling” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, diary)

“Friday was good started off at the ramps smoking ganja a couple of hours later we went to my friends house and rang a drug dealer got some pills and got wired on the streets and it was sick went home at 2.30am and got the biggest feast of my life. Came to Saturday night and we did nothing except get high. Sunday night went off to a party and there was loads of drugs and I was wired to the point I didn’t have a clue what I was doing” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, diary)
“Today I went to Vera’s. Vera’s dad had already had a cheeky vimto by the time we got there. He was a bit tipsy. At around 6pm he rang Katie, Vera’s auntie and asked her to borrow £20. He said Vera needed the money for a school trip the next day, he was laying. Katie believed him and transferred the money to Vera’s dad’s bank. Me and Vera walked to the bank to get the money. When we got back Vera’s dad rang the drug dealer and ordered an 8th. We already knew what the money was for. He arrived 10 minutes later. Vera’s dad made a spliff and we smoked it. After that he got the bong out, baring in mind I was already high. I had never done a bong before today. I preferred just smoking it. By 9pm I was stonned, so I decided to stay the night. We got high for the rest of the night” (Jemima, 15, Wythenshawe, diary)

“About 2 months ago I went to a house party with Josie, Alice, Kirsten, Chloe, Nat and Loren. It was a mans flat and there was about 60 people there. To be honest I was the only person that was drunk and everyone else was taking pills. The pills are called Nintendoes and they made you illusionate like a Mario game. Everybody looked like they didn’t know what was going on. People were selling and taking pills. Nobody was drinking alcohol, just pills. Obviously they are the new things. People were crawling up the walls” (Jemima, 15, Wythenshawe, diary, 8/72014)

“Drinking makes you just go on a mad one and not remember what you’ve done, but smoking weed just chills you” (Melinda, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I usually go to places with sort of house music, places where there’s quite a lot of people on drugs, very rarely people drink where I go. You tell by their eyes and they’re just…it’s just the way that their jaw is all over the place, and their eyes, and they’re just staring, just moving some crazy, crazy ways, that you just think “I couldn’t do that if I was drinking, or sober, or” but they’re the main places that I go and like, like I said, like not many people drink where I’m out, cos that’s what they enjoy more, and I suppose, from what I hear, it’s cheaper to do that than drinking” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“It was my mate’s 21st, and he was going on and on “have some of this. Go on try this, you’ll love it, you’ll love it” and I was like “na, no, I’m not in the mood, I’m not in the mood”, and then I was skint and he went “you won’t spend any more money on drinks if you have this”, so I went “right, it’s free, yeah go on, I’ll have a bit”. And brilliant, yeah, really, really good” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Recently every night I’ve gone out I’ve really, I’ve talked to people and I’ve like exchanged details, like made new friends and so and so, so I do enjoy like that because you’re broadening your horizons with people you meet from different areas, so it’s good in the case but sometimes when you’re talking to someone and then someone doesn’t like you then it’s not so good cos then they could have friends who come over to try and start on you and stuff like that, but I do try, because I’m a friendly person when I go out, so just try me luck” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, Interview)

Vera (15, Wythenshawe) stated to me: “we don’t see you as a teacher, we see you as a friend” (field diary, 5/11/2013)

## Friendship

### Much more important in Young people’s drinking tales

- Popularity (females)
- Tensions
- Fights
- Making friends (both genders)
- Strengthening friendships
- False friendships with bouncers etc
- More-than-friendships
“Last night at the end of the night some guy was holding me against the wall telling me “you need to calm down”. I was like “I'm not, no” - just get off me”. I was going mad, moving him out the way. I said “please move out my way, now”. Then my mate Alisha was crying to me because I kicked her. She said “I’m supposed to be your mate”. I was like “yes, but you’re annoying me”. I’m just nasty, I’m just so horrible, but I’m good because I’m always the one causing drama. You’ve got to make it exciting” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, diary)

“What are you wearing tonight? I’m wearing a low cut top so the guy bouncers actually let me in” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, text message)

“Went out last night and met some new people, been talking to them on BBM all day, and we’re going to put in for some beer next time we’re out” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, diary)

“Dannie’s sobbing already, can’t bloody cope when people drink one sip of WKD and start crying. Lord help me!” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, text messaging)

“Although initially reluctant to drink, the girls encouraged the boys to join in. The boys got drunk extremely quickly. The girls kept asking me to escort the to the pub toilets. I had chewing gum with me and they kept asking for it “just in case”. On the way to the toilet with Vera, she told me Danny had asked her for a kiss and had pinched her bum. She hadn’t kissed him yet though. Later, on the way to the toilet with Milly this time, she told me she really fancied Carl. Back in the carpark, Danny went in for the kiss with Vera. Carl told Vera she had a “top personality”; told Milly she was “beautiful” and told me I was a “top mate” - we had never met before. Carl said to Milly that as he had complimented her, could he have a kiss - Milly got all shy - yet later she was going for the kissing like there was no tomorrow. I felt a bit like a gooseberry, but alcohol had seemed to make everyone a lot more relaxed, affectionate, and comfortable in each other’s presence”
(participant observation, with four 16 year olds, two male, two female, Wythenshawe, 1/02/2014)

“Whilst on the dance floor, and talking to a couple of girls, Carl accidentally bumped into a young teenager wearing a cap, and he took it personally. He was shouting and pushed Carl, who was ready to punch him. I stood in the way and politely told the other lad to “fuck off if he knew what was good for him”. Countless vodkas later, the night came to an end and we exited the club, only to find that the aforementioned aggressive lad was waiting with 3 friends. Me and Carl walked around the corner, where they followed us and decided to start a fight. After a minor scrap, the 4 lads ran away, and me and Carl entered the takeaway next door victorious”
(Rex, 24, Chorlton, diary)

“Jemima: What do you think makes a good night out?
Lottie: Just being really happy. It’s not good until you see a fight, and it’s not good unless you’ve argued with someone I think to be honest.
Jemima: Do you think? When I’m drunk I don’t
Lottie: I think if you argue with someone when you’re drunk it just feels so good because you’re just like “SHUT UP” and can be like “ah, I was drunk”
(Jemima, 15, and Lottie, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“Jemima: Have you ever done, with like two people on the same night? Like, not having sex, but say foreplay?
Lottie: Haha no.
Jemima: With like two people on the same night when you was drunk?
Lottie: Right, I think right, I think I tossed two guys off on one night…
Jemima: At the same time?
Lottie: No (laughs), but ah it was just horrible”
(Jemima, 15, and Lottie, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)
“If it was a disco here and everyone was drinking and I was just to run out there and be dancing and everything, everyone would be like “oh, she looks funny she’s…” everyone would be laughing becos you’re drinking. Whereas, if I was to do it now, I’d look like a prat. It’s like, there’s different experiences, you’re looked at differently as well. Like, if you’re not really that popular un sch, like everyone just thinks “what’s she doing?”, but if you’re drunk everyone’s like “she should be popular because she’s fun”” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Urm, I mean, by friends, you definitely meet a lot of people when you’re drinking. You’re in a bar and you just end up talking to the person next to ya. You might not see him ever again, but certainly for the duration of the night they are your new friend” (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I think in school it’s just like “hiii” like, it’s not as more of a friendship than it is, like when we’re drinking like everyone gets closer then when you’re hungover you start remembering things and then arguing and saying “it’s your fault I had too much” and then you…it’s like, when you’re drinking it’s like a pattern, of like falling out, and being friends, falling out and being friends, it’s because of the drinking” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“Well, because we’ve only just started drinking, we made friends before we started like having other substances. So, we sort of, this may sound stupid but we know how to make friends without alcohol, we know that we actually really like each other And that we’re quite a strong friendship group, we know we have that sort of basis before we add extra things. So I guess this is quite a healthy environment to start drinking in, the sort of friends who are sort of in the same position as you, to get use to it” (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)
“My family I drink much more with. Like, I’m obviously not going to drink with my friends cos they’re my friends and they will make me do something stupid cos they’re your friends, cos they wanna laugh at you. It’s like, if one of your friends was getting drunk, course you’re gunna wanna make them do something, cos it’s funny. But with my family I’ll know, cos they’ll take care of me” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I try and be as friendly as I can because there’s quite a lot of bouncers where they all look you up and down thinking “is he going to cause trouble, is he going to do this?”, but I try and be as friendly as I can, try and make eye-contact because it doesn’t make you look suspicious, because everyone usually seems to look down, like something is going on, but with bar staff as well I like to be friendly, because it usually gets you served quicker” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“With me friends, when someone’s drunk and then the rest aren’t, and the person that’s drunk at the time is acting up, then everyone gets a bit annoyed with them, so I’d say for instance, when I was on holiday last year, I think I was the one that was drunk to be fair, and I was, I was being stupid, and they fell out with me, not for the rest of the holiday, but just for like an hour or so, I just ended up walking off on my own, because I was being an idiot, and then I realised, and I went back and apologised when I sobered up a bit, but luckily I came to my senses, but I’d say at other times, it can cause divisions between friends” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)
“As everything was going well the drink started to flow a bit more and I was definitely ‘tipsy’ at this stage. As usual I become very friendly when drunk. We fell in with another group who were having pre-drinks before heading out in Warrington. Before long we were in a taxi bus heading to Warrington with them. I was oblivious to the fact that I had no idea how to get home” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, diary)

“There’s a friend a couple of years ago who was really drunk and he was saying that he was going to jump in Painswick pond and go for a swim, he was that drunk, and he was crawling on the floor, so I had to take him aside, sat him down, got him some water, and I just sat with him there for an hour and a half, just trying to talk to him. It was winter as well, so it was a good job I was there or it could have been a bad way for him” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, Interview)

“My mate passed out in the bath tub, I had to lift him out of the bath tub, and bearing in mind he’s six foot two, and built out here, it wasn’t the easiest thing to do, and then I had to walk him home” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, diary)

“I am always lax in clubs and bars, and I left my jacket and bag on the side of the dance floor whilst dancing. I saw Ellie pick them up, and she was looking after the for me, she then came and lectured me (in a caring way) as soon as she saw me about not leaving my bad unattended. Heidi was one of the first to leave - and she appeared one of the most drunk in the group. She told most people she was leaving. But five minutes later, Ellie came and asked ‘where is Heidi?’ - she hadn’t known Heidi was leaving, and remarked that she was going to ring her to make sure she was okay. I noticed there was a lot of caring and looking out for the safety of others. For instance, when a girl was receiving any unwanted male attention, in the form of a man dancing in close proximity to them, friends would drag her away and make sure she danced with them (participant observation with Louisa, 22, for Ellie’s 25th birthday, 14/06/2014)

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<td>- Care at a distance: using mobile phones</td>
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<td>- When they do care, it appears more physical e.g. carrying someone</td>
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<td>- Girl’s care is more intimate e.g. holding hair back when being sick, and emotional e.g. providing support for friends who are down</td>
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<td>- When young, had formal arrangement of where to meet in case of separation due to no mobiles</td>
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<td>- Not so much caring for each other physically or intimately now, but recollections of times when younger, and a recognition now of the need to stick together</td>
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“We walked to another bar to have a few drinks. Terry went home now, I think he said he had a lot of work to do the following day. He left on his own, and Rex seemed u-fazed by this – quite a difference between the care girls gave for each other, as I have noticed that they are extremely unlikely to let one girl go home alone, preferring to typically all leave at the same time (Rex, 24, and friends, Chorlton, out in city centre, 26/04/2014)

“I went to a party last night, and I will just stayed completely sober because I watched out for everyone else” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, diary)

“So like, the most amount of people I’d probably go with is like eight people, that is it. I wouldn’t go any higher than that because then I’d probably just worry about losing them. But I make sure it’s in the two times table if you know what I mean. Like it’s either two, four, six, or eight people, so then we can pair up and look after like one person. Cos if there’s seven of us that means that there’s gunna have to be a group of three, and two groups of two. So like make sure there’s pairs of two so like we can look after each other. We’ll tell one person “which one of you wants to get more drunk, and which one wants to stay sober to look after one of us?” Like he’ll say “I’ll get more drunk” and the other one will say “I’ll look after them”. So there’d be two, and one of them would be sober so we’d know what we’d be doing. So like, I think that’s sensible” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Here’s all of us together, but sometimes only a few of us will drink, but we will more or less sit together, with a couple of sober people who will look after us. So it’s really a close-knit group of friends I’ve got. So we all know each other’s limits more or less and we’ll all keep an eye on each other” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, mobile phone interview)
“My flatmate got so drunk that his legs couldn’t support his weight, so I had to carry him home and put him into bed, so I had him over my shoulder” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, diary)

“My friend was in the park, throwing up all over herself. I was with some other guy, so we had to pick her up, and walk her home, get her in bed and that. It was horrible though, I was holding her hair back. I had sick on my hands from her hair” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“My friend who was the first one I got drunk with she is now 18, so I gave her money and she bought me alcohol, after making sure that one of my friends was there to supervise me, and wouldn’t be drinking. Calling up my friends every single hour to make sure I was okay, and ensuring that I would be fine” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“My best friend, as I said is 18, and her boyfriend is 18, and they are both two of my closest friends ever. And they always make sure I am completely safe, and they know where I am, and they’ve even once dropped by to make sure I was okay, and force fed me eight cups of water. I get texts in the middle of the night saying “drink water”” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, Interview)

“My friend who was new to drinking, she wanted to try it. So I got the alcohol for her, and then limited the amounts, and then looked watched how she drunk it on the night and then monitored how she was acting because she kept asking for more obviously, because she wanted to experience it. So when I could see that she had enough, I just stopped her completely and cut her off and although she was irritated with me, she could tell in the morning that it was the right thing to do. So I looked after her for that entire evening, cos I’d rather my friend got drunk, and was fully safe, than I drank as well and we were completely out of control running around the streets…So I’ve kind of helped her
“There’s always drama at our parties, like there’s always like a jealous ex-girlfriend, or someone just gets like really emotionally drunk, and it’s usually me who ends up looking after them, so I’ve still never been drunk, cos I get too busy making sure everyone else is alright” (Alice, 16, Chorlton, peer interview)

“A good night out needs people who you feel comfortable with. Safe environment, that is really important, urm and someone there to take care of you, like an adult or something. Someone who is the designated carer of everyone, so if anything goes tits up they are there to take care of you. Yeah, cos I don’t like going out when there’s no designated carer, even if it’s someone that’s the same as me that doesn’t drink, they drink, but they don’t drink as much as everyone else, so they know what they’re doing and surroundings so and they’re throwing up and they can be like “right come on, it’s time for you to, you know” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)

“It ruins your night though if someone, if one of your mates gets too drunk, cos then you have to look after them” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“I stop drinking when I’ve got to look after somebody else or like if I’m at a party and there’s loads of people there like I’ll just put them in bed and then I’ll go and check on them all the time” (Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, peer interview)
“Julie: With our group of friends cos not all of us always drink and everyone really looks after each other and so you kind of feel a lot safer drinking around them because you know if you get any trouble they’ll make sure you’re okay” (15)

Susan: That’s what my mum always said when we all start properly drinking one of us should always stay sober to look after the other people, which has never really had to happen, but if it had to there would be someone” (16) (Chorlton, friendship group interview)

“When sober in the car park at the start of the night, Carl and Danny were very quiet, and appeared to be relatively devoid of emotion, they weren’t particularly physically affectionate towards one another. However, later in the night, and multiple swigs of whisky later, Carl told Danny he “loved him”, and that he was “perfect”, his “best mate in the whole wide world” (Field diary, 6/12/2013, night out with Vera, Milly, Danny, Carl, 15-17, Wythenshawe)

“Carl started stating that he loved his mum and his little baby brother and that he wanted to go home and kiss him. Carl then kissed Danny on the lips, just a little kiss, but something I got the impression they wouldn’t have engaged in during the day. Vera and Milly remarked that Carl was very sweet, and Vera stated that she wished Milly was this affectionate when drunk” (Field diary, 6/12/2013 night out with Vera, Milly, Danny, Carl, 15-16, Wythenshawe)

“When I started drinking after a spell of not drinking, I got, obviously hammered the first time I drank, and my friend like took me home and stuff. So, I guess, my safety strategy is I kind of rely on my friends, and I guess they do, nicer versa, like you’re not gunna just let someone wonder home like trashed” (Lucie, 24, Chorlton, interview)
“I don’t think boys care. I think boys try to be a bit more macho, or they’re in control. So no. I mean sometimes your mate can tell you’re getting a bit too pissed, and try and stop you, so that probably just starts to make you drink a bit more” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, Interview)

“I could be twisted as I want yeah, I could be stumbling, and not one person has helped me. I would always keep up. I could fall over, and stand back up” (Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

BUT ALSO

“I think the first night I went out with my friends turning 18 I went to Jingle’s and we got kicked out for them closing and we went to a bar and I remember trying to start a fight with someone because I was drunk, and my friends trying stopping me. Nothing happened because my friends were there” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“I’ve had friends when they’ve been at house parties and they’ve fallen asleep in the bathroom, been sick on themselves, or they’ve fallen asleep by the toilet, or some of them get too pissed in the nightclub and you have to get them home. But I mean they do it for you so you’ve just got to look out for each other. I think that’s why it’s probably best to go out drinking with your friends because if anything happens they’ll look after you. At house parties I’ve been a bit worse for wear and they’ve had to put me to bed” (Thomas, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“I think if you go out in a mixed gender, or I certainly drink less cos I think, especially when there’s girls, you know, if some of the girls wondered about by themselves, you know, you want to sort of make sure they’re alright and nothing happens to them. Whereas if it’s just all guys then you’re all just encouraging people to get drunk, so I think especially when it’s mixed you sort, or I think the guys I know all try and stay less drunk to sort of make sure everyone’s
alright, cos I know a lot of my friends go out clubbing have tried to be touched up by random men n clubs, and some of them can’t really, you know, say no to them” (Thomas, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“I’ll just be like standardly drunk, and everyone else will just be like mortal, like properly bad. Cos I normally look after people when they’re drunk, cos it’s not nice when you’re not getting looked after” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“The last time my daughter [Milly, 15] was being sick and she said “don’t let anyone know, don’t let anyone know” and I actually intentionally, her best friend was knocking on the bathroom door, and I intentionally let her in, even though I knew she didn’t want me to, because I was thinking “next time Milly’s this drunk she’ll probably be with her friend and I won’t be there”, so it’s better for Milly to know that she has seen her like it and can be nice about it. Milly ends up looking after her friends a lot, she doesn’t mind the looking after them, but she can’t bare is when they get out of control, and she feels like she’s herding cats, you know, they’ll say “I’m going to walk home” “I’m going to get a taxi” “I’m going to..”, you know, and she’s the only one sober, and she’ll say “no, no, no you’ve all got to come with me” you know “get in this taxi”, so she hates that, and then they’ll shout at her and say “leave me alone, I’m going this way, I’m not getting a taxi, I have no money”” (Claire, 48, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“When I was young and a certain friend came out with us, someone was always allocated her babysitter, we had to fasten her all up, tuck her in when she came out the loo. You couldn’t put her in a taxi to take her home, because she’d bale the taxi and wouldn’t go home, so she’d go missing and so, no one, everyone hated, like I say, we use to avoid asking her out” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“If we got separated on a night out, we’d have a formal arrangement to meet at a certain place and time, because you didn’t have mobile phones and things” (Linzi, 50, Parent, Chorlton, interview)

“When I was younger I had to look after friends, urm and I had to be looked after. You know, I can remember collapsing in the toilets at a friend’s birthday party, so I think I’ve had to, you know, look after friends when they’ve been being sick and things like that” (Linzi, 50, parent, interview)

“We’ll look out for each other. If one of us is going drunk, the others will suddenly become sober. So, it’s this amazing thing, if somebody is more drunk than you, you do suddenly become more sober. Everything drains from you. We will, whatever happens, stick together. If you’re going out drinking, you stick together, and you look after each other, and if somebody goes missing it’s like “where’s so and so, we’ve got to find so and so”” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I’ve got good friends, they wouldn’t allow me to be took advantage of, or I wouldn’t end up on my own” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Just getting them home, or just getting them into a cab or, you know, just making sure they don’t go back in and try and start a fight with that big bloke they’re having a go at. I’ve been looked after, but again, just like “it’s time for you to go home” kind of thing” (Matthew, 45, Chorlton, parent, interview)

“I do keep an eye on how much I’m drinking in the period of two months and see if I think I’ve drank too much or too less, and make sure I rectify that the next time I’m out” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

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“I stop drinking sometimes because I’m like “right, I’ve got to do this tomorrow, I don’t want to feel too shattered”. I’d better go home and stop drinking. Often the parties are on Saturdays, and I’m in a choir on the Sunday and I’m thinking “hmmm two hours of classical singing to music isn’t going to go along with this”. So I sort of self-regulate” (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“If I was having to do something the next day, I would probably watch how much I was drinking the night before, because quite often if it’s something good I don’t wanna ruin it for myself the next day by feeling rough” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, peer interview)

“I’ll draw a line on the bottle, depending on how much I planned to drink the night before, so I can use this to judge how much I drink. But when I’m drunk I sometimes go beyond that, or I stop, depending on how I’m feeling, and if there’s anything else that’s occurred while I’m drunk that will make me drink the rest. So there have been nights out where I’ve drank barely any and I’ve not reached the line, or there’ll be nights out where I’ve drank the entire thing, and ditched the line completely. So I do try and judge it a bit, and I will drink enough water to how much I’ve drank, so I do try to judge it, but it’s not always worked out” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“I always use to have Mondays and Wednesdays off, sort of go out Tuesday night and Thursday night was the start of the weekend. Of course, you go mad on Friday and Saturday and you couldn’t drink that much on a Sunday because of the licensing laws, so it use to regulate itself in a way, but then on Sunday you’d go out between 12 and 2 and you’d drink like a madman, it was, yeah, the licensing laws in those days controlled the drinking habits” (Adrian, 59, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I typically know mathematically whether I’m drunk before I feel drunk. Well, I know I’ve got a kind of three pint limit. Well, I know if I’ve had three pints, if I have a forth I’m going to feel rotten, the next morning’s going to be hard work, and there’s not, you can count to three pretty easy, you don’t lose count. So even after my second I’m like “right, better make it one more”, and I can already see the end of the night coming. It’s a self-imposed thing, it’s already pre-determined, I’m count - I’m already looking at stopping before I get there” (Anthony, 43, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I still do amateur theatre, and that’s why I quite like getting involved in plays, because three nights of the week I’m driving, so I can’t drink, because I will not drink and drive. So three nights of the week I can’t drink, and that probably saves me” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I resent paying the money, so in some ways it would be a financial thing that would stop me, rather than thinking ‘this is bad for me’, or whatever. I’d sooner spend my money on other stuff. It feels like a waste of money” (Sue, 53, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I would say that me mouth starts to go really dry, so I end up just drinking water in the end, and then after I feel alright, if I’m feeling up to it, I will have another drink, because I don’t know when to tell myself to stop, but others, other ways of knowing I would say if I’m all over the place, if I’m falling all over the place, I think “right, I best get home, I best stop drinking, I best get home to bed” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

Judging drunkenness

Young people and parents in both areas and of both genders judge drunkenness on bodily effects, such as: light-headedness; dizziness; wobbliness.

- Young people note stopping when they notice these signs
- Many parents note recognising the signs but not always correctly judge it
“Urm if I’m slurring my words, then I feel like I’ve gone too far, or If I keep on repeating myself and I get, you know like it’s more about how wherever you are as well, it kind of controls how drunk you get. So if I start going really really composed and start talking really, really posh It’s because I’m too drunk and I don’t want to appear too drunk so then I’ll sort of like probably just go home. The haze suddenly sort of lifts and then you’re like “wow I’m really drunk” and you can’t remember what you’ve been talking about for the last hour and you realise you’d rather be in bed than be out” (Harriet, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“If I can’t see straight then it’s time to stop. Cos once you, when you’re getting near tipsy everything starts to go “woooow” and then you start losing power of your legs really you’re just like “I’ll sit down”. I calm down, I don’t drink as much, I start drinking flat drinks after that. Just like lemonade and stuff like that, calm myself down” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I just know, I just know, I just feel it. I don’t actually know, there’s just something in me that goes “stop, that’s too much, stop, you can’t handle it”. It’s like my body speaks to me. Like when I’m in the gym it’s like, “right, I’ve done too much working out’, it’s like ‘okay wait”. Or like, when I’m drunk it’s like “no, I’ve had too much, you need to stop now”” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I’ve kind of been fortunate enough to understand my levels now. When I get to a certain point. I can’t say it’s at 8 pints or 10 pints, it’s really dependent on the day, the weather, what you’ve had to eat. You know, I just know, I just know in myself that that’s enough” (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)
“Sometimes you start to feel a bit spaced out or a bit sick. You know like sometimes when I start feeling a bit sick, especially in town, I just drink water from then onwards, start sobering up, and sometimes I start counting how many I’ve had to drink, and you slow down a bit. But it’s usually when you start to feel a bit out of it, or you can’t text properly that I start calming down”. (Tim, 19, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I think in the past when you end up being sick. Now, I think it’s when I feel ‘I’ve overdone it’. You know, I’m not very steady, and starting to feel a bit melancholy, stuff like that. I think that’s usually when I’ve had enough. It doesn’t always necessarily mean I’ll stop, that’s the thing” (Gail, 52, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I find, you get to a point where you know that you’re loose…I do, I’ll notice it, because I’ll start slurring, and I hate that, I hate it, and people will be talking to me, and I’m going “oh don’t”, because you know that you’re not making sense, but there’s still a little person inside your head going “rawww”. But the next morning you wake up and think “I don’t remember leaving the restaurant”, so it’s maybe that it doesn’t stop me” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I think from just that feeling. Feeling a bit, you know, a bit sort of woozy or whatever. I think it’s that knowing when you’ve had enough to feel quite light-headed and quite nice, to feeling when you sort of beginning to fool about that you need to stop, and I don’t always get it right. I mean, there have been a couple of occasions in the past 12 months where I’ve drank too much and, you know, not been able to pull it back, sort of thing, and probably just had to go to bed, or go to sleep. But judging that, knowing, I pretty much know how many drinks that I can have if I’m out, when to sort of stop and what kind of drinks as well that I can manage. I don’t always, if I know I’m on a big night out, I don’t usually have wine, I normally have gin and tonic or
something like that, because I can have more, my tolerance is higher” (Linzi, 50, Chorlton, parent, interview)

“Judging when to stop drinking, I’m struggling with that, that’s my next challenge. Because like sometimes I can go out and I’ll be just right, and I’ll go on water, but other times it’s like the taste is just, I want more” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“A fuzzy head that kind of, and that slight having to concentrate a little bit more on what you’re saying is usually the point at which I get a glass of water instead of whatever else I’m drinking” (Jacquie, 55, Chorlton, parent, interview)

19 “My younger brother is 18, and he doesn’t drink, and he does have a very good reason why. In September, we had an uncle that died from alcohol-related illnesses, he didn’t drink before that, and I think now he won’t bother. I’d had the conversation with him, and it’s something you need to, if you start waking up in the morning and thinking “Jesus I need a drink”, you ought to be worried, but otherwise I think you’re alright. I don’t think he’ll ever drink” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Jenny: “My brother disapproves of how much I drink. Like, me mum would buy me beer, he would never buy me beer. He doesn’t think I should drink (16)

Kelly: Ah yeah, same with mine actually. I’ve got two older siblings, one’s 22 and one’s 21 and I’ve asked them if I could come out with them and they say no (17)

Jenny: But he would do that when he was my age, probably worse. He’s 24 but he thinks he’s my dad, so. So I wouldn’t drink in front of him probably” (Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

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**Parents**
- Recall drinking a lot with siblings - no signs siblings attempted to educate younger brothers/sisters or that they set rules/ were protective
“Both my parents and my sister, which is a bit weird, my sister likes to act like my parents, so she’s always telling me stuff. They don’t like me walking back with both headphones in in the dark, because they always think I’m going to get something nicked off me. So if I turn up at home with both my headphones in, they go mental” (Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“When I first started drinking, I flat out refused to try vodka, because I was so scared. My sister had like had a whole talk with me before I left. She was like “don’t try this, and don’t drink this, and don’t mix these” so she was like “don’t mix spirits and beers, cos that won’t work, you’ll throw up” urn and I was kinda too scared to get completely drunk” (Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“I’m sticking with beer and cider but with the occasional bit of vodka. But, if my sister finds out I’ve been drinking vodka she will go MENTAL, she hates the stuff, so many of her friends have got drunk on it” (Alice, 16, Chorlton, text message)

“Jess often goes to parties in the park and stuff, that’s my older sister. There’s this place where her friends hang out called The Meadows. I don’t know where it is cos I’m the younger sister, I’m not allowed to know. Like she specifically said to me when I started drinking, I’m not being one of those sisters who bus you alcohol, that’s not happening” (Alice, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“My sister had loads of friends round once like one time when my mum and dad were out, and they were like playing drinking games or something. My sister sticks her head up in my room and was like “Jack, do you want to come and do some shots with us?”’, and at this point I hadn’t really, I hadn’t done much drinking or anything so I was like “I’m good”, and she was like “no, come on, come on, we’ll give you a shot”, and she ended up getting me to come down” (Jack, 16, Chorlton, interview)
“My sister’s told me that when you start feeling light-headed, that’s when you stop” (Jack, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“My big brother looked after me, cos I was at a party round the corner from his house, and I kept knocking on his house and his girlfriend gave me more beer, and I was absolutely hammered, I can’t even remember what happened. But all I can remember was hitting me head on the floor, falling, stood up, and I just went smack on the floor, wacked me head, apparently I fell over like 20 times, smacked someone in the face while I was falling over by accident, my brother picking me up, screaming and shouting at me, but then walked me home in the pouring down rain” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, diary)

“I was probably one of the earlier ones to start drinking in my year, but maybe that was to do with brothers I suppose, older brothers, so you sort of got away with it a wee bit more, going out” (Matthew, 45, Chorlton, interview)

“If we had a party, my brothers and sisters would bring in drink. I didn’t really, my access to alcohol was through brothers and sisters, I never bought it myself” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“No, I don’t really look into units, like, and I use to know, like how many units, I think it’s like 8, no, no, I’ve completely lost it. I was getting a bit excited with my eight units there, that’s just me I guess…it never really interests me. I learnt about it in school and then I never really looked at alcohol and think “oh, how many units is in it?”, I don’t really…I look at percentages before I look at units” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I don’t pay attention to units, it’s just as simple as I’m out having a beer, I’m not there to do maths. I didn’t like maths at school. I actually did a maths exam yesterday, I didn’t like that. The last thing I’m going to start doing is “right, blah de blah de blah”, because units are nothing

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aren’t they? Units, for me, units don’t make sense, because that’s giving you a limit, and where does that limit come from? Because say you’ve got me, and one of my mates, and say, because I’m the smallest out of my mates, so me having 3, 3 and a half units realistically is like him having one. There’s too many factors involved, and I know when I’ve had too much when I wake up in the morning, depending on how I feel. If I wake up and I feel horrible, I’ve got a banging headache I know I’ve had too much. If I wake up and go “do you know what, I’m feeling not too good, but not too bad” then I’ve probably hit the nail on the head there” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Urm with beers I pay a bit of attention to percentage, but kind of like “oh these beers are quite high percentage”, one is enough or “this one is only 3%, I can have two”, rather than the units. I think like if, for example, when you’re drinking with a meal and there’s a bottle of wine being poured around, I’m not thinking about how may units you’re consuming, it’s like I’ll have a bit more depending on how I’m feeling, like tipsy, or if I’m feeling like I’ve had enough then stop, but just based on how I’m feeling more than units” (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, interview)

“I’m not gunna sit there with a drink yeah and think “oh wait a minute, I can’t have that, I’ve already had two, oh do I really..” no, you just drink the bottle or whatever. You don’t care, you just wanna get pissed, you don’t care if you’re having like 30 units or whatever you’re having, you don’t care” (Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, interview)
“Julie: I don’t think I care about units at all, like I’d rather know how many bottles of beer I could drink… (15)
Susan: Cos yeah you could work it out. And there’s like no teaching about it in school is there, there’s nothing, without my parents, or without each other’s kind of general knowledge, I don’t think we’d know anything about it” (16, Chorlton, friendship group interview)

“The way that I see it is, units are only there if you’ve got diabetes or like medical conditions, it’s to warn you really. It’s, people who drive “don’t drink about 35 units, or 30 units or whatever you’re supposed to have”. But that is how I see it. But then the warnings are so small on the bottles that you just don’t notice them. We haven’t been educated at school around it that I can remember. But I have heard things about drink driving that you’ve got to have 30, 36 units, I don’t know if it’s come down recently, but” (Jack, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“I don’t pay attention to units because it’s like one drink int it, and I’ve been drinking for that long, since I was 11, 12, I’m use to most of them now, so it doesn’t really matter” (Teresa, 16, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I don’t really know what the point of units are anyway. Like some of the stuff that’s like 4% bottle of drink, like Smirnoff Ice, but like Vodka and stuff that I drink is 40%, but obviously I mix it with other stuff, if you know what I mean, like coke” (Joe, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“Is it like 6 or 7 units a day? I don’t really pay attention” (Summer, 16, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Nobody’s going to really pay attention to the units are they. Everybody’s just having fun” (Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I pay attention to units in the fact that I’ll look at this and be like “ah, this is so many units it’s going to get me so much drunk, this is so many units it’s doing to get me so much drunk” sort of thing, but I’m not like “ah, I’m only going to have three units’ or whatever”’’ (Jack, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“I mean I’ve never looked to see how many units are in things. And if it’s there, it’s really small. Cos like you don’t notice it. You’d think they’d put it like bigger, but they don’t. Cos you can see how much is, like how much is in the bottle but you never see units” (Peter, 15, Wythenshawe)

“Units is like, I think they should use something like millimetres on them, because I know the units, I have no idea what a unit is. Why bother? They should say “only have so many glasses”, or “only have so many shots”, or have some sort of measurement that wouldn’t take you very long to work out, because if you look at it, and it says “only take three shots of vodka” you might go ‘okay’ - that will go in quicker than “three units”, because I don’t go bother working it out how much it is” (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“I don’t really understand, fully understand the unit thing, like I’ve looked into it, but there is no clear indication of how much you can drink, especially when it comes to drink driving. It, it’s not like a two pint limit, it goes on units. If you don’t understand the units. Cos it obviously goes on how much you’ve had to eat, and your body size and all kinds of stuff, so” (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

“But I will read how many units, so like the percentage of alcohol in it, just to make sure, or to know how drunk it will get me, or how much alcohol’s in it before I buy it” (Stacey, 16, Chorlton, interview)
“I don’t pay attention to units, but I pay attention to the volume, like vodka’s like 40%, and I won’t drink over that. Like absinth, that’s too much that, and Rum, that’s like 100%” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I think the average is 2-4 units or something like that, and I think that’s unrealistic. Cos like a pint of beer is 4, and no one drinks that, and I don’t even think the chief medical offer who created it drinks that, and so I think, I think it would be better if say they increased it to six or seven, and then people might say “oh I’ve had six units now, I’ll stop”. Say you have a drink with your meal, and say you have three glasses of wine, with your meal. Well actually units go out the window, but say they were heightened a bit you’d think “no, I’ve had my daily allowance, I’ll probably stop” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“I don’t care what it says, I don’t get it. Like, it says like men are supposed to only have like two like units or something whilst drinking or something, and then like women are supposed to have like four or six units - I don’t know what it is. But, like why, why are they different? I’ve heard it’s something to do with hormones, that men can handle it better or something, I don’t know. Or men get more aggressive than women, so I don’t know, I just never look at them. They’re not explained enough. You don’t hear about them as much as you should” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“What is it 3-4 units a day for a man, and 2 for a woman, 2-3 for women? I don’t know anyone who sticks to that. One) because I don’t…I live with a medie and he’s just said they’re covering their own backs, and two) I think if I counted all, how many units I drank I’d probably think Hmm. It’s just not something I’ve ever thought about really. If you drink to get drunk, and you stick to units, there’s no point in drinking. There’s literally no point, so. If you drink for pleasure and you enjoy the taste and you’re happy with one or two then yeah, you can stick
to units but most people drink to get drunk, and if you want to get drunk then you can’t stick to units” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Well I know that I’m supposed to be, is it 24 units a week? So I know, yes, I can’t say I’m not aware. I’m not ignorant, so yes I am aware that I am drinking more than I should, but I still chose to do it” (Gail, 52, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“No, I don’t pay attention to units. I just don’t cos is it 2.5 units in a glass of wine or whatever. It wouldn’t even touch the sides, would it?” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“See these units are just…and I mean the limits they put on it are a joke, I mean because they made them up anyway didn’t they. The men and women they actually plucked from thin air the units. There was no research on it. And it depends on the person and the body size and the metabolism and so many other things, that trying to make people feeling guilty about their units drinking, it doesn’t help anybody I don’t think. If you’re saying to them “oh yeah, well you can have this number”, well on a certain day where they’ve not eaten that might really put them over the edge, so I don’t know. I wouldn’t even dram of thinking of an alternative, but for me, it doesn’t really help” (Matthew, 45, Chorlton, parent, interview)

“I don’t believe in units. I don’t think it’s an accurate measure of what anybody could or should drink. It varies from person to person. It varies from, even within the individual, it can still vary depending on what that person at day, what mood that person’s in that day, what temperament they’ve got that day. So, if you’ve got somebody who’s not eaten anything that day, feels a bit mousey, having a bad day, you can see they’re going to end up in some kind of violence and situation” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“I think the recommended units are unrealistically low compared to most people’s normal expectations, that it doesn’t do them any, any good service in being taken seriously. I think so many people I know look at the units and go “that’s just ridiculous”, if they were a bit higher you might think “that’s doable”” (Joel, 44, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“No, I pay attention to alcohol levels, the percentage but not the units. If I’m going to the pub, I’ll just choose the weakest beer, I’m looking at all these 6% 7% beers. I’m not interested at all. I’d rather drink something that was 3 or 4, so yeah I’d rather look at the percentage” (Gary, 40, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

21 “I’d say I drink in the day more in the summer. It will always be planned. There’s a really nice pub called The Swan, which is kind of in Chorlton/Sale by the river, that’s a really nice place to go for a drink when the weather’s nice. It’s always like “the weather’s nice, so let’s have a drink” kind of thing. Like, I wouldn’t really, if it was pissing it down, I wouldn’t really think “let’s have a beer” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“If I’m drinking in the dark it’s better, because I don’t know what I’m going to do or where I’m going to end up” (Summer, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“Near my mum’s house there’s like this urm massive long path and at the time it didn’t have lights, so we used to always call it the “black path”, and we’d drink on there. It was just dead funny like cos we’d all just mess around…cos obviously it was so dark, like there was a block of flats like, like to one side of this thing and so we’d just use like the torches and stuff like that to shine on people’s windows…and then we’d hide because it was so dark you wouldn’t be able to see us” (Teresa, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

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“I find, my impression of Chorlton is actually, it’s a bit intimidating, it feels like…so Fallowfield [a suburban locality in Manchester] is a bit more lit up, so even though I wouldn’t hang around, I could pass through a bit quicker, whereas in Chorlton I feel like quite quickly, although there’s hubs a bit around the streets where the bars are, quite quickly you’re a bit more in the darkness, like into bits that aren’t lit up” (Andy, 18, Chorlton, interview)

“You go in [the pub], and it’s better when the lights are off so we try and go in dead late, at about 10pm, because then you can’t tell how rough they all look. Yeah you just go in when it’s dark and then like we’re always the first ones up dancing” (Jenny, 16, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“In summer I think we’d meet up at the weekends, and people would bring a barbeque and drink a bit then, just with music and hanging out, maybe play football, stuff like that, so it was just part of a big day out at the park” (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, drawing elicitation interview)

“I only drink in the day in summer, you know when you go for a pub lunch and you’re outside and you get a drink” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I’ll probably drink lightly in the summer, like cos if you’re, well if I drink during the day I’m probably tired by like four o’clock so I’ll drink less, and it’s like lazy, outdoor drinking, and then in winter you’ll go on a night out and drink a little bit more probably” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, interview)

“My last time drinking was during a BBQ with my girlfriend and her family, I mainly drank ciders, with no aim to get drunk. It just seemed right with the weather” (Matthew, 17, diary)
“Camping for year 10s is the best thing they do, they go onto a field where people don’t really know about it, or some place proper disguised. They’d just get drunk, and just speak, and then they’d go to sleep. It’s quite good. We haven’t done it recently cos it’s proper frequenting, but we’ll do it in the summer” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I arrived at Rex’s at 8.00 for pre-drinking. It was fairly light outside, and the boys remarked that it seemed strange drinking when it was light, and that they felt the need to drink more when it was light, as they did not feel so confident in lightness as they do in darkness” (participant observation, Rex, 24, and friends, Chorlton, 26/04/2014)

“When I arrived at Kirsty’s at 8.00pm, lights were turned off, yet candles were lit. The candles, and slow paced music, contributed towards the creation of a calm atmosphere. The candles set the tone that this would not be a ‘big night out’, but rather a relaxing night in over a few glasses of wine” (participant observation, Chorlton, Kirsty 22, 16/08/2014)

“Sitting in the park sipping pims because I can, and because it’s B-E-A-Utiful sunny summers day” (Louisa, 22, text message, Chorlton)

“I think everyone drinks more in summer, because the days are longer, and you’re outside more” (Lucie, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“Christmas morning you’ll have Bucks Fizz or something because it’s okay to drink in the morning on Christmas day. Also summer time I would probably drink during the day, Pimms in the garden” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, peer interview)

“I like to drink in the park because it’s always dark and no one’s ever there, so you don’t really think about anything. I’m in me own world” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)
“When I was younger, I drank in lots of outside open public spaces, in dark corners” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, peer interview)

“We are in the park and it is SO dark. Using our phones as torches! Cool cos no one can see us but also a little bit scary. Get the beers flowing and we should be fine” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, text message)

“I use to live in Devon and I would drink in Maderia walk. It’s just a little sort of pathway urm that had sort of looked out to the seafront but it’s all underneath, like it’s all shadowed, it’s in a sort of little forestry bit so like big tall trees and it’s got benches where you can sit and drink” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, peer Interview)

“SW: Have you ever walked through the streets in Chorlton during the night, what do you think of them?
Susan: I’m often, I’m often quite nervous. I think that’s probably just me, if I’m on my own I’m quite nervous walking home in the dark. (16)
Julie: That’s more the dark. (15)
Susan: Yeah, that’s more me and the dark and things.
Julie: The dark and fear of crime and things than actual drinking” (Chorlton, friendship group interview)

“The other night we went to Maverick’s [nightclub], in the city centre, it was raining, it was Friday night, it was raining. It was my mate’s 21st, I felt dead sorry for her, because it was just a disaster. Her mates from Uni were meant to be coming down, but there of them are from Durham, and the train got cancelled, and they got stuck in Leeds, so they couldn’t get here, and the weather was terrible” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)
“A bad night is not having any money, seeing people you don’t like when you’re drunk, because that’s just not a good thing, cold weather and having no cigs, that’s just horrible when I’m drunk” (Jemima, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“A bad night would be if I had nowhere to go, and I was just with one of me mates, and we had beer there. Cos I’d be wounded. I’d just be like, I’ve spent that money, and we’ve got nowhere to go, it’s freezing, I’m not out with anyone which is good, what can we do? It’s horrible” (Vera, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“The first time I would have been to a club would have been when I was 17. I was really nervous. I used a friend’s ID, what didn’t look nothing like me, and I was thinking “this is never going to happen”, but the people that I was with, they knew the bouncers, so they didn’t even bother looking at the ID, they just said ‘go straight in’, heart was pounding, it was raining, I was thinking ‘this is going to be the worst night ever if I get turfed now” (Lewis, 20, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Having a bloody terrible time :( been standing outside the shop now for over an hour to get booze, it’s -100 degree outside, too cold for this shit” (Jemima, 15, Wythenshawe, text message)

“I normally drink white wine when it’s technically summer, and red wine when it’s winter” (Helen, 51, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I wouldn’t usually drink in the middle of the day, unless it’s a really lovely summer’s bank holiday” (Helen, 51 parent, Chorlton, interview)

“At the park they had sports pitches and stuff like that, there’d be areas that were well lit, then there’d be like dark and bushy places, and then you had the bandstand in the middle with all the seats around it. You don’t wanna just be sat in the dark, it was also good to be able to see who was coming in and out cos it had two entrances,
so to be able, and it was sort of round the entrances areas where it was lighter, and around the bandstand where it was lighter” (Sallie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I always like walking down to Lime’s Boat in Summer, but they make you take plastic glasses outside, and I can’t abide plastic glasses, it’s one of my hates. I always use to enjoy waltzing through Water park, it was a bit rewarding at the end just to go to Lime’s Boat and have a pint there on a really warm day, but you’re not allowed outside, and that just annoys me” (Keith, 59, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I might drink some, I might drink cider in the summer when it’s a bit warmer, cos I feel like I want it to be a bit more, because it’s hot and I just want to be a bit more refreshed. I rarely go out of an evening. It’s just easier, and my partner doesn’t like me coming home at 1 o’clock, so if I go out earlier, I get my same about of drinking in, and especially in the summer it’s lovely with everyone sitting outside” (Ali, 49, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“My trick is just to get a glass of coke and say there’s whisky in it. Yeah that’s, it’s a handy trick, usually people are too drunk to notice” (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Everyone’s still going hard but I’ve resorted to coke. Of course, they’ll think it’s vodka and coke so it’s fine” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, text message)

“On many occasions, I found that participants tried to encourage me to get drunk, and were always trying to ensure that I was drinking. I utilised the strategy of nursing a drink, allowing me to blend in when others were drinking, yet in a manner whereby I regulated my intake. Another strategy I utilised was to buy a drink that may be perceived as alcohol by participants. For instance, visually a diet Coke may be presumed to be a vodka and diet Coke. This enabled me to maintain relative sobriety, without

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being perceived as an outside” (Field diary, 7/05/2014)

“I wouldn’t really drink more through peer-pressure or anything like that I’d probably just chose to have a soft drink in the middle, rather than feel I’ve got to keep up with people drinking, things like that. So it’s quite often within a night out, if people are in rounds, I’d probably just have a soft drink in the middle there” (Linzi, 50, Chorlton, Parent, interview)

“I usually shut down at a certain point. I’ll have like five or six, and I can feel it, I’m going “nno, I don’t want this anymore”. I usually switch to either water, or Gin and Tonic, but I’m just buying tonics at the bar, so everyone thinks you’re drinking, but you’re not, I just don’t want the hangover really, I just want to get up, and on with my day” (Gary, 40, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I have a sister in law who hasn’t drank for year and years and years so you just try and get a no alcohol, you know, so that she can join in. If we’re doing cocktails, we’ll do non-alcoholic cocktails, so you can find ways round it, but it’s kind of pretending that she’s drinking rather than doing something else altogether. When my daughter Maddy was experiencing a lot of peer pressure from her friends to drink, but she really didn’t want to, yet she still wanted to attend the party, we even contemplated buying bottles of beer, opening them, and refilling them with non-alcoholic beer and screwing the lid back on in order to help her fit in” (Claire, 48, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“My younger daughter is avowedly tee-total. As far as she’s concerned her body is a temple, she’s never had alcohol, and she’s not beyond giving us a hard time if I decide I’ll have a second glass…I get her to have lemonade in a champagne flute because then it sparkles and she can raise her glass” (Helen, 51, parent, Chorlton, interview)
“You just walk, you just walk about, and park, park somewhere, like sit down and drink, and then probably couldn’t be bothered to get back up cos we’d be drunk, and just sit there for a bit” (Heather, 15, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“As soon as we were in the taxi, the girls’ requested music to be played. However, the taxi man said that this was not possible, but that it was okay to play music from our phones, so we did this. It made the journey more enjoyable, and enabled a reasonably seamless transition between the pre-drinking realm where music was consumed, to the club, where music was also consumed” (participant observation with Evie, 24, Chorlton, going out in the city centre, 19/04/2014)

“Two taxis arrived, so the group had to split into two. One was a standard car-taxi, the second, which I went in, was a mini bus. The taxi driver was extremely friendly, and greeted us by saying “alcohol is welcome on board. This is the party bus, two pound each, and the birthday girl doesn’t have to pay”. Many of the girls had brought their home drinks with them, including half open bottles of wine. The music in the taxi was loud and everyone was singing along. Some members of the group tipped the taxi driver at the end” (participant observation with Louisa 22, from Chorlton, for Ellie’s 25th birthday, 14/06/2014)

“Nowadays it’s a lot different in the sense that we’d probably move about a lot more now. When I was younger, when I started to go out about 17/18 I’d probably go the club, so there was only one reason we went there, and that was because it was cheap and we use to go there and stay there. We would go in, and be some of the first ones in, and some of the last ones out. Whereas now, and especially if you’re drinking in pubs, and also say during the day, we’d move about loads” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, interview)

Movement and Stuckness
Movement more important to young people; stuckness more important to parents.

Young people
- Variety of drinks choices
- Exploration
- Meet new people
- Alcohol and drugs induce movement e.g. dance
- Drinking and moving - carry on from home drinking (cheaper, not let drunkenness decline)
- Feelings (fun, confidence, courage)

Stuckness
Parents
- Comfort and relaxation
- More mobile on nights out when young
- Drinking on the move (walking, transport) not something done much now, some recollect doing so when younger
“I like to mix it up and move on to different kinds of places. There’s a lot of me friends are happy to just stick in one place and stay there but I like to get the variety. A bit of a wide range of people, a wide range of drink choices as well and it’s just nice to kind of mix things up a bit. You don’t want to be sat in the same pub all the time” (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, drawing elicitation interview)

“We’d walk to the shop that was only at the end of the road as well. Probably sit on the hill, and drink, and then drink walking to the park, and walking through the park, while we got some other friends, and basically walked around the streets” (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, interview)

“When sitting down, Mark and I got dragged on to the dance floor. At one stage, there was about ten of us dancing, and we got made to dance to ‘Gangnam style’. Some people went up to the DJ and requested songs, thereby shaping the mobilities of the night - as they would dance to songs they perceived to be good. By contrast, when an unfamiliar song came on, or a song they perceived to be ‘rubbish’, the dance floor got embarrassingly empty” (21/12/2013, Wythenshawe, participant observation, with Maisy and friends)

“Cos we all use to live right near the park, so everyone that use to live near the local park, we’d all meet up in the park and then we’d all walk down to Paddles, which is the biggest park. And the police used to come, kick us all out and we’d all go back to the separate parks, and then we’d meet up again in Paddles about an hour later, start again, it was mint” (Kelly, 17, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“The best one’s drinking when you’re on the way to somewhere and you get there and then you’re already like half way there” (Teresa, 16, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Drinking and drugs gives you a rush, like taking Es and sniff will keep you awake. Es will
just give you a mad rush and you, you won’t stop moving. Cos you lose the sense in your fingers. You feel like moving” (Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

“It’s better travelling around, because you just mooch around and you get lost, whereas if you’re drinking in your area, then you know everyone, it gets old” (Scott, 18, Wythenshawe, interview)

“Trams, trams are like, I cannot even tell you, like when they shut down, if I’m going out for a house party, and sometimes they’re out of service it just blows my mind because I’m like ‘how can you expect me to get around?’” (Becky, 16, Chorlton, interview)

“If it was just on a night out and we weren’t drinking, we’d just stay in one spot, but if we was drinking, we’d go and explore places, just go somewhere” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“We’d drink on the way to a house party because that way you get warmed up before you get in” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

“You see people getting into bust ups on the streets after closing time. So it’s maybe if it’s getting to closing time, you walk a bit quicker, don’t hang about too much” (Charlie, 23 Chorlton, interview)

“We’d probably go to like, a park. And then the police would end up coming, and then we’d go, and we’d go to a different park, and if the police come there again we’d all just split up and go different places” (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“See here, we’re dancing, If I get drunk I’ll dance urm I get more happy and like mobile” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, mobile phone interview)
“I’ve drank on trains before on the way to races, and the bus on the way to town, usually just to carry on pre-drinking before you get to the club” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“Having a few bevvies on the way to town. Sophie is doing her mascara, hilarious trying to watch her apply it. Rik’s got the tunes blasting from his phone, and we’re all singing. PARTY BUS OR WHAT?” (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, text message)

“Yeah on the bus, sort of like sneak them in your coat pockets and stuff, and yeah it use to make me laugh sort of how seriously experienced my friends seemed about it, like clanking onto the bus with beers shoved up their sleeves cos they hadn’t finished what they’d bought, and probably weren’t going to go back to the person’s house who they were pre-drinking at, so just sort of keep things going to the club, you know, maybe it’d be half an hour or whatever going into town, and they don’t want to sober up, because that sort of defeats the point of what they’re doing, and sort of everyone’s in a group, it’s sort of maybe a bit of bravado, and maybe a bit of keeping everyone going” (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, interview)

“If I’m going to Blackpool with my mum and nephew, I’m not going to sit there and start swigging cans and this and that. If I’m going to Newcastle with my mates on a match day, we will get, if we’re going on a train we will get about 12 cans” (John, 22, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“If I’m pre-drinking now I’ll have a couple at home, let’s say I buy four cans to start drinking before I get out. I might have two at home while I’m getting ready, and the other two I’ll have on the bus. It takes 45 minutes for me to get into Manchester, so plenty of time there to have the remaining two on the bus. I suppose it does save money, but it’s nice to sort of get out and be in the mood a little bit already, rather than having to start from scratch, especially when, if I’ve
been working and people have started drinking earlier than me, I don’t have to play catch up” (Collin, 23, Wythenshawe, follow up interview)

“SW: Why do you drink on the way to town?
Kelly: Because then you don’t have to buy more drinks when you’re there and spend more money. (16)
Jenny: Cos then you go there say if you’re pissed already then a few more drinks will just do it. (17)
Julia: Say if you’re going out with £30, you can come back with a tenner if you drink a bottle of vodka on the way there cos you just like pacing your drinks” (17) (Friendship group interview, Wythenshawe)

Jenny: I was with my cousin, like down Withers [a small locality in Wythenshawe], and like we were walking down the road, there was, I think there was nine of us, but you’re not meant to be in a group of more than three, it’s got to be a group of less than three less now

SW: Why?
Jenny: I don’t know, in Wythenshawe

Kelly: In most places now

Julia: Oh right, so you’re supposed to walk across the road from each other?

Jenny: Pretty much, yeah, so that’s what we had to do and they said to us [the police], because we were all together at this moment, we was all like shit-faced, all had bottles of vodka and coke in our hands, and like they said to us, they were like “what are yous doing tonight?” we was just like “oh, we’re going to a house party”, and all that lot, and they were like “are you old enough?”. I was like “yeah, I’ve just not got my ID on me, and my cousin was like “I’ve got mine so I can vouch for her and all that lot”, and then the police was like “well, you can’t be in a group of like nine, you’ve got to be in a group of no more than three”. So the lads were like “oh right, we’ll meet you there” or whatever. So we walked off and they started following us again
cos the others like crossed back over the road and started standing with us again, and so we went to the shop and some of them went in the shop to get cigs and they came out, and the police were there again, so we were like “right, we’re all going to the same place, so why do we have to split up?”

Julia: That’s really stupid, you’ve got more chance of getting raped
Jenny: Isn’t it
Kelly: But apparently it’s cos you could be in a gang or rob somewhere or something (Jenny, 16; Kelly, 17; Julia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

“In taxis I drink when I’m going to a club, so you’re just finishing off what you’ve got from pre-drinks, because you know you’re always rushed at the end, and then buses and stuff when I was younger because you’re like getting from one place to another, and you want to get drunk on the way” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, interview)

“If we’ve been having pre-drinks and you haven’t finished your drink you will try and sneak it in the taxi” (Louisa, 22, Chorlton, interview)

“I like drinking on the bus, it’s fun” (Joe, 15, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

“I often drink in taxis and maybe on the bus or on the tram or something. If you’re like pre-drinking and then you have to leave and you haven’t quite finished, I always fill a bottle with whatever I have left, and usually it’s just like one more drink or something, it just means you can carry on pre-drinking til the moment you get to the next place, so you’re not in danger of sobering up I guess” (Evie, 24, Chorlton, interview)
“I went to West Ham to watch Man City the other week and I actually got a lift off a guy that someone gave me his number, said he was driving and I could get a lift with him, never met him before, I took four cans of beer in my bag. But when I got in his car, for that moment, I realised that it probably wasn’t acceptable to start drinking in the back of his car. But I got to know him, and I popped the question, and he was like yeah just crack open the beers’. He almost expected that to happen.” (Simon, 23, Wythenshawe, diary)

“I think it’s just more the psychological thing or you think you’re getting more drunk and again it’s one of those things where you’re generally not allowed to drink in taxis so the more somebody pushes something away from you, the more you’re going to do it” (Rex, 24, Chorlton, interview)

“I went to my mate’s 21st the other week, and we went out, and we had a barbeque during the day and we went to town, and we were drinking all day, and we took a beer for the road in the taxi, but I wouldn’t say I would drink on a bus or anything like that. The thing about taxis, you’re going to know everyone in the taxi, you’re not going to make anyone feel uncomfortable. If someone sees a load of young people on a bus drinking they might be a bit intimidated” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)

“Sometimes on a night I’ve been a designated driver and I’ve made a fortune out of it, because they give me petrol money, and then they get drunk and they give you too much or…but if you’re going to be designated driver, I think it’s good for you because you can have a nice night without drinking” (Tim, 19, Chorlton, interview)
“I might have a drink on an aeroplane, but I wouldn’t drink on the tram or on the train. I was on the train coming back from London at like 4 o’clock on Friday, and there was a lad sat opposite me and he had a bag of like cider, cans of cider, and he was just drinking them one after the other” (Linzi, 50, Parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I have drank on a train not on a bus or taxi. Well I was a bit shocked one day, I was coming from shopping and I was on the bus. It was during the day. Got on with me husband, and there were a few kids, and like I say it was during the day, early afternoon, and she’d got this bottle she must have bought in the supermarket, opened it, had a swig like that. I couldn’t believe it” (Gail, 52, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“No, I just wouldn’t do that now, but I did years ago. We’d get a bottle of cider, and we’d have it at the back of the bus. But I wouldn’t dream of doing it now” (Shirley, 43, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“I’ve got no problem with people drinking on any transport, as long as they don’t litter, but yeah, I wouldn’t bother doing that, but you know, in my youth I did” (Matthew, 45, Chorlton, parent, interview)

“I could just go out to drink coffee and tea if pubs had more of that. When you go abroad you can get a coffee at 12 o’clock at night, 1 o’clock in the morning, but here, they don’t do it, and then they go on about drink driving - I can’t drink diet coke all night. I personally think that if there’s a designated driver for a party of people, that person should get free, shouldn’t have to pay for a soft drink in a pub - that’s where they make their money in pubs as well, the optics. I really believe though that they should have teas and coffee, alcoholic free drinks, a taxi bus” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
“Sadie: We’d usually walk, we were all sort of scared, and it was miles as well, absolutely miles, but we’d drink on the way.
SW: Why would you drink on the journey?
Sadie: Cos it was having a laugh with your mates on the way, discussing about what boys might be there, what might be going on tonight, who’s going to turn up, things that had happened the night before, and because we went to different schools, it was the first time to sort of get together with your mates and have a chat and a laugh about what had been going on in the week, and sometimes because there was certain lads going to be there, to give you certain courage and when you got there you were more chatty and feeling more social” (Sadie, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)

“When I was younger, I probably started somewhere quieter and got progressively nosier. Now, it’s probably the other way round. Might sometimes go out for a meal in Manchester, might go out for a meal then go to a bar afterwards, but more sort of, it’s all done in one place so that any drinking is tied up with the meal, and once the meal’s finished, we go home, and that’s it” (Jacquie, 55, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I think with a three pint limit, you don’t have time to go anywhere else, so you just tend to stay in one place” (Anthony, 43, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I like to get settled somewhere and you know, just stay, and just have a leisurely evening” (Linzi, 50, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I always prefer to stay in one place. The most we might do is go to a restaurant and go on to a pub, but I wouldn’t, I don’t crawl, plus I can never walk in the shoes I’m wearing, so I am always best staying where I am” (Grace, 50, parent, Wythenshawe)
“I like having a local pub that you go in most, rather than wander round. So I’m not much of a pub crawl fella” (Matthew, 45, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“As much as possible, I tend to stay in one place. I don’t, I don’t see the point really of moving round so much” (Matthew, 45, parent, Chorlton, interview)

“I’m not one for pub crawls. If I go out I’ll go to a club, I like raving, and if I go out, I like to go for a meal, and then from the meal bit to a bar bit, I don’t like moving about. I like to stay there” (Elizabeth, 38, parent, Wythenshawe, interview)
Hello, my name is Samantha Wilkinson, and I would like to invite you to take part in my research study into the places where young people drink alcohol. There are lots of different ways that you could choose to tell me your opinions, such as: interviews, drawing maps, written and/or aural diaries, photograph, videos and text messaging. You may also choose to interview some of your friends – it’s up to you which you choose and you don’t have to do any if you don’t want to. I will go through the information sheet with you and answer any questions you have. I’d suggest that this should take about 30 minutes. Talk to your family and friends if you want to, and take up to two weeks to decide whether you want to take part in my study.

**Part 1** tells you the purpose of this study and what will happen to you if you take part.

**Part 2** gives you more detailed information about the conduct of the study.

Ask me if there is anything that is not clear.

**Part 1**

**Why am I doing this research?**

Although there have been lots of studies into young people’s drinking practices, there hasn’t been much attention paid to the spaces and places where young people drink alcohol. In this study I hope to find out more about where young people drink, and their movements through these places.

**Why have you been invited to take part?**

You have been chosen to take part because you are aged between 15-24, and live in either Chorlton or Wythenshawe. There will be 23 other young people taking part in this project.

**Do I have to take part?**

No. It’s up to you. I will ask you for your consent and then ask if you would sign a form. I will give you a copy of this information sheet and your signed form to keep. You are free to stop taking part at any time during the research without giving a reason.
What will happen to me if I take part?

The research will take place over a year from November 2013 to November 2014. If you decide to take part, you may participate in as many of the following methods as you like, which aim to find out about how and where you drink alcohol:

- I will interview you twice.
- I will observe you on some nights out.
- You will attend a training session, and then interview some of your friends about their drinking practices.
- You will draw a map of where you drink, and discuss this with me.
- You will complete a written diary about your drinking experiences.
- You will take photographs/videos using your mobile on your nights in/out involving alcohol and discuss these with me in an interview.
- You will send me text messages when on your night in/out involving alcohol.

What will I be asked to do?

- I will ask to interview you twice. Once in November 2013 and once in November 2014 to see how your drinking practices, and where you drink, have changed. The interviews should last roughly 90 minutes each. The sorts of things I will cover in the interviews include:
  1. Memories of alcohol, family/peer context and early alcohol use.
  2. Type/level of alcohol consumption, when/where alcohol was bought/consumed; family/peer contexts; what drunk/where/when/with whom; use of other substances.
  3. Do you like it; what influences your decisions about how much/when/what to drink.
  4. Who regulates your consumption.
  5. Attitudes to drunkenness.
  6. Physical/emotional feelings.
  7. The role of alcohol in terms of your health.
  8. Benefits/problems of drinking; tensions within family/peer groups surrounding alcohol.

- I will ask to observe you on some nights in/out involving alcohol. Whereas activity like underage drinking will not be report, overtly illegal activity (such as abuse/ of a sexual nature) will be. I do not want to be involved in the ‘drug scene’.

- I will give you a training session with advice on how to conduct peer interviews. I will then give you a Participant Information Sheet to give to some of your friends (aged 15-24) who you think may like to take part in my study. I will also give you a consent slip that says your friend has given consent for me to contact them on a phone number/e-mail address that they will provide. The sorts of questions you could think about asking your friends in the interviews include:
1. What do you remember about when you first started drinking? How were you introduced to alcohol?
2. What type of alcohol do you drink, and where do you buy it from?
3. Where do you drink, when and with who?
4. Do you like alcohol?
5. What makes you decide how much/when/what to drink?
6. Who regulates how much you drink?
7. What benefits do you find of drinking?
8. What are the problems of drinking?
9. How do you feel when you drink alcohol?

- I will ask you to draw a map of where you drink, and discuss this with me. This should take roughly 30 minutes.
- I will ask you to complete written diaries over the course of a month about your drinking experiences.
- I will ask you to take photographs and videos on your nights in/out involving alcohol and discuss these with me. No text/photos/videos should be taken or sent if it is unsafe for you to do so. Photos of an overtly sexual/illegal nature will be reported.
- I will ask you to send me text messages when on a night out involving alcohol.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

The information you provide may help create more young people friendly alcohol policies in the future.

**Contact details?**

For further information please contact me on: 07817144768 or e-mail: Samantha.wilkinson-2@student.manchester.ac.uk

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Thank you for reading so far – if you are still interested, please go to part 2:

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**Part 2 of the Information Sheet**

More detail – information you need to know if you want to take part.

**What if there is a problem or something goes wrong?**

If you have a problem please contact me on: 07817144768

To make a formal complaint about the conduct of the research then you can get in touch with:
Will anyone else know I'm doing this?

- If you are aged 15 I will need to get consent from a parent/carer for you to take part in my study.
- Recordings of what you tell me during interviews will be locked in a safe place that only I will have access to. Once the recordings of interviews, photographs and videos have been analysed, I will destroy them. The information you give me will stay confidential. Your real name will not be used in my research, and so no-one will know who you are.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The Economic Social Research Council and Alcohol Research UK are funding me to undertake the research.

Who has reviewed the study?

Before any research goes ahead it has to be checked by a Research Ethics Committee. They make sure that the research is fair. Your project has been checked by the University of Manchester Research Ethics Committee.

If you would like help or advice about drinking call Drinkline on 0800 917 8282.

Thank you for reading this – please ask any questions you need to.
Appendix 15: Parent’s Participant Information Sheet

The Spaces and Places of Young People’s Alcohol Consumption Practices:
Participant Information Sheet (Parents/Carers)

Hello, my name is Samantha Wilkinson, and I would like to invite you to take part in my research study into the places where young people drink alcohol. As a parent/carer of someone aged between 15-24 I will interview you to find out about where your son/daughter drinks, and how this has changed between generations. I will go through the information sheet with you and answer any questions you have. I’d suggest that this should take about 30 minutes. Talk to your family and friends if you want to, and take up to two weeks to decide whether you want to take part in my study.

Part 1 tells you the purpose of this study and what will happen to you if you take part.

Part 2 gives you more detailed information about the conduct of the study.

Ask me if there is anything that is not clear.

Part 1

What is the purpose of the study?

Although there have been lots of studies into young people’s drinking practices, there hasn’t been much attention paid to the spaces and places where young people drink alcohol. In this study I hope to find out more about where young people drink, and their movements through these places.

Why have you been invited to take part?

You have been chosen to take part because you are the parent/carer of someone aged between 15-24, living in Manchester. There are 24 main young people involved in this study, and I aim to interview each of their parent(s)/carer(s).

Do I have to take part?

No. It’s up to you. I will ask you for your consent and then ask if you would sign a form. I will give you a copy of this information sheet and your signed form to keep. You are free to stop taking part at any time during the research without giving a reason.
What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part I will interview you once.

Will I be paid to taking part?

No you will not be paid for taking part in this study,

What will I have to do?

- I will ask to interview you for roughly 90 minutes at some point between November-December 2013. The sorts of things I will cover in the interviews include:

  1. Changes in alcohol consumption practices between generations.
  2. How did you learn about alcohol?
  3. How did/does your child learn about alcohol?
  4. Where do you drink alcohol?
  5. Where did you use to drink alcohol? and how is this similar/different to your child?

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The information you provide may help create more young people friendly alcohol policies in the future.

Contact details?

For further information please contact me on: (insert phone number here)

Thank you for reading so far – if you are still interested, please go to part 2:

Part 2 of the Information Sheet

More detail – information you need to know if you want to take part.

What if there is a problem or something goes wrong?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to me. I will do my best to answer your questions. Please contact me on: 07817144768.

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally you can get in touch with:
Will anyone else know I’m doing this?

- No. Recordings of what you tell me during interviews will be locked in a safe place that only I will have access to. Once the recordings of interviews have been analysed, I will destroy them. The information you give me will stay confidential.
- The information you give me may be used in my PhD thesis and may be used in journal articles or books I write. Your real name will not be used in my research, and so no-one will know who you are.
- In order to ensure, in the unlikely event of a complaint, that data from studies conducted in the University of Manchester may be examined after publication of findings, the University requires data to remain in the custody of supervisors and archived for a minimum of five years. Compliance with this directive means that on completion of a research study from which findings are published (including dissertations and theses, or any research paper from which data is published), a copy of the dataset must be archived within the School of Education, Environment and Development.
- As an ESRC award holder, I am expected to make the anonymised research data resulting from my award available for secondary scientific research.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The Economic Social Research Council and Alcohol Research UK are funding me to undertake the research.

Who has reviewed the study?

Before any research goes ahead it has to be checked by a Research Ethics Committee. They make sure that the research is fair. Your project has been checked by the University of Manchester Research Ethics Committee.

If you would like help or advice about drinking call Drinkline on 0800 917 8282.

Thank you for reading this – please ask any questions you need to.
Appendix 16: Young Person and Parent Consent Form

The Spaces and Places of Young People’s Alcohol Consumption Practices

CONSENT FORM

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above project and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

3. I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded.

4. I agree to the use of anonymous quotes.

5. I agree that any data collected may contribute towards a data archive for professionals to refer to.

6. I agree that any anonymised data may be made available for secondary scientific research, excluding photographs/video footage and any identifiable phrases.

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form below:

I agree to take part in the above project

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### PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

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<td>I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>I agree that any anonymised data may be made available for secondary scientific research, excluding photographs/video footage and any identifiable phrases.</td>
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Please initial

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If you are happy for your child to participate please complete and sign the consent form below:

I agree to my child taking part in the above project

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