Becoming a clubber: transitions, identities and lifestyles

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Declaration

I declare that none of the work contained within this thesis has been submitted for any other degree at any other university. The contents found herein have been composed by the candidate, Rhoda MacRae.

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My acknowledgements fall into three main categories: first my family and friends from my 'other' life, second friends and colleagues from my post graduate life and third, the people who took part in the study.

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CONTENTS

Chapter Three Boundaries, Becoming and Identities

Chapter Four Subcultures, Lifestyles and Capitals

Chapter Seven   Identification and Differentiation

Chapter Eight Becoming

Chapter Nine   The Competent Clubber

Chapter Ten   Moving on, moving out

Chapter Eleven   Conclusions

Appendices

Abstract

This thesis examines how young people identify and affiliate with particular club scenes and how these practices and processes relate to their transitions, identities and lifestyles. It aims to give a sense of the processes and the resources that are required to 'become' a clubber over time. The thesis engages with the recent attempts to reconcile the conceptual and empirical divisions between the two main approaches in the sociology of youth. It suggests that the work of Schutz serves as a heuristic framework to conceptualise data, and when synthesised with other sympathetic conceptual frameworks, links disparate literature to allow for a better understanding of the role of knowledge in the transitions, identities and lifestyles of young people. This focus influenced my choice of method: the ethnographic techniques of participant observation and in-depth interviewing were employed to access participants' experiences and knowledge of becoming a clubber. The findings suggest that the process of becoming a clubber is a gendered, dialectical and transformational process: informed by the social heritage and locally situated experiences of clubbing participants. It is a process that manifests itself through embodied practices involving cultural knowledge and taste. Participants place one another on the basis of their participation in and identification with a clubbing lifestyle. These placements appear embedded in the social order: they call not only on old social markers but also on the increasing hierarchies of difference within and across social groups. Social competence, cultural knowledge and consumer activities are all implicated in the placement of others, and the construction of boundaries that clubbing collectives engage in. These are young people who can afford materially and socially to extend both their structural and cultural transitions. The social confidence and adept skills of exchange that 'proper' clubbers develop are resources that help them develop and create social and cultural capital of their own. Becoming a clubber requires competency, skills and dispositions: it is a process that transmits privilege and disadvantage.

Abstract

This thesis examines how young people identify and affiliate with particular club scenes and how these practices and processes relate to their transitions, identities and lifestyles. It aims to give a sense of the processes and the resources that are required to 'become' a clubber over time. The thesis engages with the recent attempts to reconcile the conceptual and empirical divisions between the two main approaches in the sociology of youth. It suggests that the work of Schutz serves as a heuristic framework to conceptualise data, and when synthesised with other sympathetic conceptual frameworks, links disparate literature to allow for a better understanding of the role of knowledge in the transitions, identities and lifestyles of young people. This focus influenced my choice of method: the ethnographic techniques of participant observation and in-depth interviewing were employed to access participants' experiences and knowledge of becoming a clubber. The findings suggest that the process of becoming a clubber is a gendered, dialectical and transformational process: informed by the social heritage and locally situated experiences of clubbing participants. It is a process that manifests itself through embodied practices involving cultural knowledge and taste. Participants place one another on the basis of their participation in and identification with a clubbing lifestyle. These placements appear embedded in the social order: they call not only on old social markers but also on the increasing hierarchies of difference within and across social groups. Social competence, cultural knowledge and consumer activities are all implicated in the placement of others, and the construction of boundaries that clubbing collectives engage in. These are young people who can afford materially and socially to extend both their structural and cultural transitions. The social confidence and adept skills of exchange that 'proper' clubbers develop are resources that help them develop and create social and cultural capital of their own. Becoming a clubber requires competency, skills and dispositions: it is a process that transmits privilege and disadvantage.

Chapter One   Introduction

Rationale and focus

This thesis explores the processes of becoming a clubber and whether this process is gendered. Its aim is to examine, through ethnographic methods, the ways in which young people identify and affiliate with particular club scenes and how these practices and processes relate to their transitions, identities and lifestyles. To locate the study and realise its' aims, I engage both with the specific literature on social dance and youth cultures, as well as a wider body of work relating to young people's identities, transitions and lifestyles. This thesis is not concerned with charting the evolution of club culture, or the economies of night-time leisure or the relationship between drug use and clubbing *per se*. Rather it centres on how participants get into, experience, attach meaning to, construct and invest in the processes and practices of becoming a clubber. The thesis examines how these experiences can contribute to our understanding of young peoples' identities, lifestyles and transitions. It aims to give a sense of the processes by which young people become involved in urban dance music over time, as well as the sorts of resources that are required to become a clubber. This focus significantly influenced my methodological approach, which used both participant observation and in-depth interviewing. My analysis involved drawing on a range of conceptual frameworks and theoretical perspectives to help me make sense of the data. These included the work of Schutz (1967; 1970a; 1970b; 1973; 1976), Bourdieu (1984; 1986), Becker (1991), Strauss (1997) and Chaney (1996).

The study was initially motivated by my growing academic interest in gender, an interest that stemmed from previous research (MacRae and Aalto, 2000). I wanted to fuse together my academic and professional interests in young people, gender and drug use. However, I did not want to do substance misuse research per se. I wanted to explore if and how drug use can provide a source of identification in some young people's lives: to understand the relationship between a particular drug of choice, a lifestyle or cultural participation and sense of (gendered) identity. In other words, construct a study that would be unlikely to be conducted outside the auspices of postgraduate research. These issues provided the initial motivation but soon other interests and motivations developed particularly my interest in the relationship between identity and group processes and the relationship between cultural practices and social processes. This latter interest was informed by the debates taking place in the sociological literature; it was during the writing of the thesis that the debates surrounding the two main approaches to studying young people began to appear with increasingly regularity.

Both the structural and cultural approaches to the study of young people have been increasingly critiqued. Many of these critiques have drawn attention to the conceptual and empirical divisions between the two traditions. The cultural approaches have been criticised for neglecting the role of social divisions and status inequalities in lifestyle 'choices'. Structural approaches have been criticised for neglecting the impact of wider social participation on the transitions of young people. Recently there have been attempts to reconcile these different traditions (Ball et al., 2000; Cohen and Ainley, 2000; Cieslik, 2001; Hollands, 2002). It is in the context of these debates that the writing of this thesis has evolved, and I hope that its findings will contribute to advancing these debates further. This is not to

3

say that this thesis makes clear the relationship, or resolves our theoretical understanding between individualisation processes on one hand, and structured social inequalities on the other: rather it contributes to the existing debates on the influence and interplay of structure and agency within the sociology of youth. Having outlined the rationale and focus of the study, discussed my motivation and situated the development of thesis in its time and context, I now want to expand on the broad aims of the study.

The main aim of this thesis was to examine the processes and practices of becoming a clubber and how these were gendered. The literature on clubbing told me about the character and division of dance scenes (Thornton, 1995), the relationship between femininities, women's clubbing experiences and feminism (Pini, 1997a; 1997b), clubbing experiences (Malbon, 1999) and the relationship between drug use and clubbing (Henderson, 1993a; Merchant and Macdonald, 1994; Forsyth, 1997). The literature, however, did not explore how people became clubbers, what practices this entailed, what kind of young people invested in this lifestyle, the influence this process had on their sense of identity and whether this process was gendered. These are gaps in understanding that this thesis aims to address.

The notion of becoming, an underpinning theme of the thesis is not new. It was Becker's (1991) exploration of becoming a marihuana user that provided the inspiration to adopt, adapt and extend the notion of becoming, not only to how people learn to use 'recreational' drugs but how they learn, through particular practices and interactions, to identify themselves in new or additional ways. Becker talked about how learning the techniques, how learning to perceive and

enjoy the effects of marihuana was subject to cultural codes of conduct, and how those 'in the know' distinguished types of drug users. Similar notions arose in the work of Willis (1978): 'becoming' involved not only cultural knowledge, but also a process of developing group sensibilities, and these sensibilities could be used to identify and differentiate one group from another. Becoming, it seemed, was both an individual and a group process. Becoming also implies a sense of transition, which is perpetual and integrated with other facets of our social lives. The notion of becoming may illuminate how young people engage in processes of transition, affiliate with a culture, lifestyle or social group and invest in additional forms of identification, as well as encounter cultural barriers that constrain participation and processes of becoming.

The literature suggested that young people's transitions might be becoming fragmented, individualised, extended and diverse, in an era of rapid social change (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). It also points to certain caveats in these processes, in that diversification does not mean equalisation. Diversification may obscure underlying class relationships and structured inequalities (Rattansi and Phoenix, 1997). It suggests that the young people more likely to experience extended transitions are those who have access to further education, are affluent, and invest in leisure and individual choice (Wallace, 1987a; Abbott and Wallace, 1990; Wyn and Dwyer, 1999: 17). Therefore I wanted to explore whether the process of becoming a clubber is indicative of an extended youth experience. If so, are the young people involved more likely to be post-compulsory educated, affluent and those who invest in, and value, individual choice.

The literature was at times elusive and contradictory about the relationship between cultural participation and the wider lives of young people. Rave culture was at times portrayed as being a social arena where social divisions were put aside and anyone and everyone mixed together (Henderson, 1993a; Merchant and Macdonald, 1994). Yet, more recent studies suggested that distinctions do operate between 'mainstream' and 'hip' club scenes (Thornton, 1995), that 'nightlife provision exploits existing cleavages in the youth population, and segregates young adults into particular spaces and places' (Hollands, 2002: 153). I wanted participants' experiences of clubbing, and their lifestyle 'choices', to be placed in a context that recognised that some young people are more able than others to engage in particular styles of life, and consumer and cultural activities, such as clubbing.

I also wanted to explore further the relationship between identification with particular club scenes and participants social identities. This meant exploring the nature of boundaries: that is the divisions between 'us and them': the boundary work that we do, how boundaries are constituted in social interaction. In doing so I hoped that the thesis would advance our understanding of the relationship between young people's identities and cultural participation. I wanted to explore this in two ways. First by examining further the practices of distinction that appeared to be operating within club culture. Club cultures are taste cultures (Thornton, 1995:3), but as Thornton herself pointed out, practices of distinction do not just involve taste and cultural hierarchies are numerous. Therefore, I needed to explore what other practices were involved in identification and differentiation processes, both within and between club scenes. Moreover what these cultural divisions could tell us about wider social stratification processes. Second, I

6

explored how processes of becoming impacted on participants' sense of social identity. Some literature suggested that 'new' forms of identification, such as participation in consumption, cultural and leisure activities, may be becoming more central in providing sources of identification for young people than more persistent social markers, such as occupational status (Hollands, 1998; Miles, 2000b). I hoped that the findings of my study would contribute to this debate.

As stated at the beginning, gendered experiences of clubbing and gender relations were of key interest. The literature suggested that relations between men and women had begun to take a different form in rave and 'hip' club scenes (Henderson, 1993a; Merchant and MacDonald, 1994; McRobbie, 1994; Malbon, 1999). Therefore I wanted to explore whether, and in what ways, processes of becoming were gendered. Additionally, previous studies had not asked men about their experiences of gender and relations. One of my aims to was address this gap in understanding.

Having outlined the rationale, focus and aims of the study I now want to outline the structure of the thesis.

Structure of thesis

Chapter two examines the literature on the transitions of young people. It takes up the idea of successful, linear and normative transitions, as well as the ways young people may be seen to be 'at risk' of not achieving independent adult status. I relate this to the globalisation and individualisation thesis and the ways in which

transitions may be becoming fragmented, individualised, extended and diverse, in an era of rapid social change (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). I discuss the potential implications of de-standardisation and increased individualisation: that the transitions of young people have extended and fragmented. I also discuss the suggested caveats in these processes and ask whether the processes of becoming a clubber could be indicative of an extended youth experience. I point to the increasing body of literature that seeks to re-conceptualise young people's structural and cultural transitions.

Before discussing the re-conceptualisations put forward I examine the literature that explores the transitions we make in order to make manifest our identities. Chapter three explores notions of the self and processes of becoming, symbolic boundaries, group life and joint acts, and discusses the literature on clubbing boundaries. I review the concepts that see group life as a process and how participants can have fluctuating investments. I note how competency is implicated in the construction and maintenance of such boundaries. However, not all boundaries are self-defined, young people are often defined as 'other', so I devote a section to deviance and labelling. I then discuss the gendered nature of deviance, the response to rave, before exploring the literature that illustrates how gender is implicated in identities.

Chapter four reviews the cultural approach to the study of young people, more specifically the relationship between young people's identities and their cultural affiliations. I discuss the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies, University of Birmingham (CCCS), the place of music, dance and gender in subcultures and the specific literature on clubbing. I review the critiques of

subcultural theory, which leads me to examine two other theories that have been put forward to re-conceptualise young people's experiences. I first discuss lifestyles, the ways in which consumption is implicated in the lifestyles of young people and the way the concept has been applied to studies on clubbing. I then examine the concept of capitals, focussing first on cultural and subcultural capital and then on social capital and the way this has been applied to the study of young people. I draw attention to the notion of sociability, how sociability requires social skills of exchange and disposition, and how the formations of social networks can transmit privilege and disadvantage. I also examine how the sociology of everyday life (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974) illustrates the transmission of social capital and how social learning is implicated in that process.

This body of works leads me on to explore how knowledge is implicated in the transitions, identities and lifestyles of young people. Chapter five argues the phenomenological work of Schutz (1967; 1970a; 1970b; 1973; 1976) provides a heuristic device to thread together the conceptual similarities between the divergent frameworks often used to understand the transitions, identities and lifestyles of young people. I first expand on the literature that is concerned with social learning processes (Allatt, 1993; Cohen and Ainley, 2000; Miles, 2000a; Raffo and Reeves, 2000), and ask how useful these ideas are for understanding how social processes are expressed through cultural means. I then introduce the work of Schutz, (1967; 1970a; 1970b; 1973; 1976) before drawing attention to how some of these notions, albeit couched in different terminology, have been implicated in the conceptualisations surrounding the transitions, boundaries, identities and lifestyles of young people. I highlight how the concepts of Schutz

can make explicit the tacit knowledge, without which our being in the world would not be possible.

Chapter six is concerned with how I got knowledge of participants' knowledge, how I accessed their world and the reasons behind and the implications of engaging in this process. I discuss how I engaged with the process of learning about how to participate in a host culture, to acquire inside knowledge which would supplant my own previous 'external' knowledge (Schutz, 1976). My choice of method was influenced both by the appropriateness of the method to the research question and to the intellectual culture to which it belongs. I first ask why ethnography? I then discuss ethnography in theory, that is the methodology behind the process of fieldwork. I then turn to discuss ethnography in practice, that is the research process itself, how I got knowledge of their knowledge, how I accessed their world and what data was co-constructed as a result of this process.

This brings us to the first of four data chapters. Chapter seven outlines the main findings in relation to the processes by which clubbers come to define not only themselves, but also the clubbing world around them. It primarily explores what kind of clubber they understand themselves to be. The concepts of Schutz provide a heuristic device, when synthesised with other conceptual frameworks, to link the disparate literature on transitions, identities and lifestyles. The process of analysis renders these concepts as 'good to think with'. I call on both the concepts associated with the work of Schutz and the concept of lifestyles to help me understand how clubbers identify and differentiate themselves from others. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first will look at whether and in what sense participants defined themselves as being clubbers. The second

section explores the theme of identification and the third examines differentiation. More specifically, the chapter examines how participants constructed 'typical' scenes and crowds, what modes of identification and differentiation they used to do so, and how this process impacted on what kind of clubber they identify as or become.

Chapter eight concentrates on exploring how participants become cultural participants. It begins by discussing how participants 'suss out' club culture through drawing on material resources as well as social networks and knowledge (Giddens, 1984). Then I explore how participants begin to try out and experience club culture for themselves. These two sections aim to show how social knowledge and shared affinities direct participants towards particular club scenes. I then discuss the notion of becoming, to illustrate how participants perceive and experience a sense of belonging (or not). The notion of becoming works in sympathy with Schutz's ideas about systems of relevance functioning as schemes of interpretation and orientation (Schutz, 1970a: 120-121). I call on the concept of becoming to chart the process of becoming a cultural participant (Becker, 1991). I then discuss the various ways and means through which young people can become 'proper' clubbers.

Chapter nine explores the processes and practices through which clubbers demonstrate and maintain their cultural identity as a competent clubber. It begins by exploring the notion of honeymoon: a period in clubbers' life when their engagement with clubbing is pivotal and at its peak. The next section, 'everyone knows', takes up the concept of common knowledge: how it can range from the pragmatically limited to the well-informed (Schutz, 1970b: 39). I then take up the

notion of 'at home': how many of the clubbers were now participating in well defined social arenas in which they felt 'at home' (Strauss, 1997). The next section is called 'its not what you do but the way that you do it'. As the title implies, this section discusses how competency was about expressing the spirit, the embodied personification, of someone who is familiar with the ways of being in that cultural community (Schutz, 1970b: 18-19). I then move on to explore the notion of affirmation: how clubbers, through 'we-relationships' (Schutz, 1970b: 33) and gestures of affirmation (Strauss, 1997: 85), reaffirm eachothers' identification as proper clubbers. In the last section, I pull together the ways in which clubbers could be deemed incompetent. Both competency and incompetence were clearly illustrated through 'not quite right' or unbecoming behaviour.

Chapter ten discusses how, through narratives of progression, clubbers make changes in their clubbing lifestyles. I discuss how reduction in drug taking, increased investment in work careers, perceptions of ageing, changing expectations and priorities regarding socialising activities, all served to facilitate a less intense engagement with a clubbing lifestyle. I call on the notion of sociability to conceptualise how participants felt their involvement with clubbing had not only enhanced their social skills, but had provided them with sustainable social and communication skills. I also discuss the gendered dimension to sociability.

This takes us to my concluding chapter in which I bring together the main findings of the thesis and how I used theory to make sense of the data. I also point out the contributions of the study alongside my ideas for future research. Lastly, I highlight the significance of the findings in empirical, methodological and analytical terms.

Chapter Two Youth Transitions

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the transitions of young people, the processes of becoming something or someone else (Oakley, 1979; Coleman and Husen, 1985). Those who embrace a symbolic interactionist perspective view transitions as a process of moving from one stage to another: people's lives and situations are always evolving, adjusting, emerging, becoming (Rock, 1991; Becker, 1991; Plummer, 1991; 1997). These perspectives are discussed in chapter three. For the moment I focus on the ways in which young people can draw on resources to make their transitions successful. Being young is often viewed as a transitional or transformative phase in ones life and indeed these notions are reflected in youth research. I examine how youth transition literature reflects the concern that young people may be at risk of not making these transitions and processes of 'becoming' successfully (Roberts, 2000; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Specifically, I investigate the arguments that suggest transitions into adulthood are becoming subject to institutionalised individualisation, that they are becoming increasingly fragmented, individualised, extended and diverse (Chisholm and Bois-Reymond, 1993; Coles, 1995; Jones, 1995; Irwin, 1995; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). I then discuss and critique the two main arguable trends of this process: that the period of youth is extending, and fragmenting. Last I will discuss the suggestions that have been put forward for a re-conceptualisation of young people's transitions.

Notion of youth transitions: applications, critiques and implications

Notion of youth transition

What is constructed as youth is very much linked to the social, economic and cultural conditions of the day, but how and when did the construct come about? It has been suggested that psychological discourses provided the ideological backdrop for the creation of adolescence (Cree, 2000: 92). The notion of adolescence also came about through the particular social and economic conditions prevailing at the end of the nineteenth century. Adolescence tends to be seen as a phase covering a limited time span, whereas the notion of youth indicates a much broader period of time; extending today from the mid-teens to the mid-twenties (Springhall, 1986). Wallace argues that these psychological notions of adolescence facilitate the idea of a 'normal' and universal model of youth transition (1987b). Youth is very much associated with age. As Coles argues, 'there is no clear end to the status of childhood and no clear age at which young people are given full adult rights and responsibilities' (1995: 7). Some rights and responsibilities are based on age, others are dependent on completion of transitional processes such as school, university or finding employment. I concur with Miles (2000b: 10) when he states 'youth is related to age but not determined by it', that 'youth' is historically, culturally and socially variable. I will use the term young people, however the terms of adolescence and youth will be used as they reflect the author's disciplinary and or conceptual perspective.

Interest in young people's transitions increased during the 1970's when structural influences and social divisions, such as an increase in youth unemployment and changes in education and training systems, became increasingly implicated in young people's social trajectories and life chances. Youth researchers and policy makers became interested in mapping what structural factors impeded or aided young people to become productive, independent adults. The transition approach focuses on 'the way structures affect how young people grow up, how they mange to reach 'adulthood' (Miles, 2000b: 10). Many youth transition studies tend to be large-scale projects, using variables of social class, gender, educational qualifications and ethnicity to highlight how these impact on young people's trajectories and routes into adult life (Goldthorpe, 1987; Banks et al., 1992). Structural approaches adopt a 'structure-down conception of what it means to be a young person and depend on broad discussions of employment and educational trends, that is the process through which young people reach adulthood most often through employment, education and training' (Miles, 2000a: 2-6).

The cultural transitions of young people have also been explored. Cultural approaches are often premised on a model of deviancy, resistance and labelling: they 'seek to address the cultural contexts into which young people escape' (Miles, 2000a: 2). Subcultures have often been viewed as transitional, they are part of a transformation that can be rejected later, and they are adolescent transitions that are symbolic of one's social position (Brake, 1985: 191). These studies are discussed in chapter four.

However both structural and cultural approaches have something in common; they both rely on concepts and categories that are constructed by those that are not

youth. They also tend to see youth as a linear phase with clear boundaries. Young people tend to be perceived as 'other', and presented in such a way as to illuminate, even highlight, the differences between them and 'others'. Both approaches echo wider debates in sociology concerning the 'cultural turn' (Chaney, 1994; Cieslik, 2001; Nash, 2001). They reflect a more general sociological concern with how much we, as social actors, are determined by the structural components in our lives, and how much we are active agents in determining our own biographies. It seems that sociologists still find that 'the relationship between individualisation processes on one hand, and structured social inequalities on the other, both theoretically and empirically unclear' (Chisholm and Bois-Reymond, 1993: 261). The influence and interplay of structure and agency, and the discussions that have taken place around such frameworks, emerge throughout the thesis. I now discuss the literature that examines how and in what ways young people may be 'at risk' of not making successful transitions.

Youth at risk?

It appears that underlying the notion of youth transition is the concern that young people might not make successful transitions. This concern with youth at risk is exemplified in the work of Roberts (2000). Roberts considers some transitions more crucial than others: he argues that the transitions from education to work, and family and housing transitions, are more important than 'becoming independent consumers, becoming legally able to have sex, consume alcohol or getting married' (Roberts, 2000: 4). This is because the 'sub-structure of young

people's lives need to be understood in order to explain what is happening elsewhere' in their lives (Roberts, 2000: 6). Key life transitions have serious implications for young people's futures whereas, the same cannot be said of some other kinds of youth transitions (Roberts, 2000: 4-5). This implies that if young people do not achieve a normative transition, that is one in which they leave school, get a job or go in to further education, get married and move into their own home, they are somehow 'at risk', not only to themselves but to wider society. It would appear that there is an implicit notion that young people who are less locked into structural processes may be seen to be or deemed more at risk of not making transitions successfully.

These normative, linear and 'at risk' tendencies in transitional models of youth experience can be seen clearly in the framework of ESRC youth programmes (Bynner, 1992; Bates and Riseborough, 1993). The notion that young people are at risk of not becoming independent, labour productive adults, as well as examples of youth being defined as 'other', different and as a social problem will be taken up in chapter three. For the moment I will discuss the critiques of the structural studies of youth transitions.

Social change: the risk of de-structuring

Wider theoretical debates about globalisation, rapid social change, risk, de-structuring or de-standardisation processes, and the rise of individualisation in late modernity have raised questions about how best to conceptualise and account for

youth experience, given 'that the life experiences of young people have changed significantly over the last two decades' (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997: 2).

There are suggestions that youth transitions are changing, and arguably losing, their structurally differentiated quality (Chisholm and Bois-Reymond, 1993: 259). This seems to partly stem from the argument that the economic restructuring in the labour market, that has taken place over the last two decades, has impacted significantly on the life experiences and trajectories of young people (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Many youth researchers have pointed out a host of trends that may affect the life course and experiences of young people. These trends include rising age of marriage and first child, increasing numbers going on to higher education, the increasing importance of education qualifications and training, and the diversification of the labour market (Jones and Wallace, 1992; Chisholm and Bois-Reymond, 1993; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; MacDonald, 1997). [1] As subjective class affiliations, family ties and traditional expectations weaken, consumption and lifestyles may have become central to the process of identity formation (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997: 9). These notions are relevant to own study because if consumption and lifestyles are now more central to the process of identity formation, we may be able to find evidence of this through the processes and practices of becoming a clubber.

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[1] For more detail on training and employment transitions, see Wallace and Cross (1990), Jones and Wallace (1992); Irwin (1995), MacDonald (1997), Cohen and Ainley, 2000, Ball et al., (2000), Reay et al. (2001), Sullivan (2001), Forsyth and Furlong (2002). The debates concerning the centrality and nature of social class and the notion of underclass is exemplified in the work of Roberts (1995; 1997) and MacDonald (1997). For discussion on young people's domestic and housing transitions see Coles (1995), Jones (1995), Pilcher (1995) and Irwin (1995).