1 **Young People's Drinking Spaces and Im/Mobilities: A Case of 'Hyper-Diversity'?**
2

3 This paper draws on a 'palette' of interdisciplinary methods to explore young people's alcohol
4 consumption practices and experiences in the hyper-diverse suburban locations of Chorlton and
5 Wythenshawe, Manchester, UK. This paper contributes to literature on the emerging theme of hyper-
6 diversity by exposing the heterogeneity of young people's drinking experiences, with a focus on bars,
7 pubs, streets and parks. I demonstrate how young people's inclusion and exclusion from such spaces is
8 bound up with the traditional identity markers of age, gender and class, alongside more performative,
9 embodied, emotional and affective aspects; for instance, the atmospheres, smell and soundscapes of
10 particular drinking spaces. More than this, the paper enhances understandings of hyper-diversity by
11 elucidating the ways in which young people's everynight alcohol-related mobilities and diversity
12 interpenetrate each other. Through analysing young people's alcohol consumption practices and
13 experiences, I show how young people are hyper-diverse in terms of their alcohol-related lifestyles,
14 attitudes, and activities.

15 **Keywords:** Alcohol; Drinking Spaces; Hyper-Diversity; Mobilities; Young People

16

17   **Introduction**

18 'Hyper-diversity' is closely aligned with the notion of 'super-diversity', a term encapsulating

19 the idea that cities are now experiencing a new level and degree of complexity and fluidity in

20 terms of ethnicities, countries of origin, gender and age profiles, and socio-economic

21 differences (Arnaut, 2012; Vertovec, 2007). Hyper-diversity is distinct though, in focussing on

22 'intense diversification of the population in socio economic, social and ethnic terms, *but also*

23 *with respect to lifestyles, attitude and activities'* (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013, p.6, emphasis added).

24 To date, much hyper-diversity literature has been preoccupied with cities (van Kempen, 2013).

25 With a focus on European cities, Tasan-Kok et al. (2013) explore how people in a hyper-

26 diversified urban society live together and how urbanites, residents as well as entrepreneurs,

27 can profit from such hyper-diversification. Additionally, drawing on research conducted in

28 Helsinki and San Francisco, Pyyry and Tani (2017) take a posthuman viewpoint, in which they

29 grant agency to the material world, to explore the city itself as playing an important role in

30 creating difference, and making space for, diverse ways of being. In this paper, I aim to tease

31 out, and extend, the applicability of the term 'hyper-diversity'. In order to do so, I draw on

32 young people's experiences of their drinking geographies in two socio economically diverse

suburban case study locations, Chorlton and Wythenshawe, Manchester, UK. This paper advances hyper-diversity debates through a focus on previously neglected suburban realms. I also seek to redress the skewed concentration on young people's everyday hyper-diversities (e.g. Visser, 2017) through focusing on the activity of alcohol consumption and 'everynight[i]' hyper-diversities.

Moreover, this paper contributes to hyper-diversity scholarship by demonstrating how traditional identity categories, for instance class, gender, and age, emerge through the analysis, often alongside performative, emotive or materialised markers. This is an important contribution, as much research on diversity has not moved beyond a consideration of key identity markers, such as ethnicity and race (see, for example, Amin, 2002; Vertovec, 2007). Moreover, in this paper, I move beyond the academic preoccupation with treating drinking spaces as static and bounded (Jayne et al., 2012), to show how drinking mobilities in, through, and beyond, suburban drinkscapes are intertwined with ideas surrounding separation and segregation with older adults, yet also notions of civility. In doing so, I demonstrate that a concern for everynight mobility can develop current work on hyper-diversity. This paper also makes a methodological contribution to debates surrounding hyper-diversity. I argue for the benefits of deploying a 'palette of interdisciplinary methods' (Mason, 2006, p. 13), including: interviews, peer interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, and participant observation, when researching 'with' hyper-diverse young people. This suite of methods can enable hyper-diverse young people to communicate with the researcher 'on their own terms' (Leyshon *et al.*, 2013, p.180). In this paper, I aim to demonstrate that the conceptual framework of hyper-diversity offers a tentative explanation of how drinking spaces can evoke a very specific set of emotional and affective registers, which can vary greatly between individuals (Jayne et al., 2010). That

57   is, whilst some young people can be enveloped by enjoyable affective atmospheres in drinking

58   spaces, others are affectively pushed out of space.

59

60   ***Drinking Spaces: Towards Hyper-Diversity***

61   Bars and pubs can be considered important hyper-diverse 'micro spaces' which allow young

62   people to disrupt familiar patterns, and form new attachments (Peterson, 2017). The micro-

63   scale of such drinkscapes may compel people to confront and interact with others, thereby

64   assisting them in 'learning to become different' (Amin, 2002, p. 970). Writer on the night-time

65   economy, Hollands (2002), examines the complex relationship between labour market

66   divisions and cultural identities in the night-time economy. According to the author, although

67   minority elements of 'hybrid' forms of identity and consumption exist, they are overshadowed

68   by the dominance of a 'mainstream' form of nightlife provision that segregates young people

69   into particular spaces and places (Hollands, 2002). The tale of young people's drinking

70   practices and experiences in pre-formed commercial drinkscapes thus seems to be

71   predominantly one of segregation, as opposed to integration.

72   Authors, internationally, have now begun to engage with young people's drinking practices

73   and experiences in outdoor drinkscapes, such as parks and streets. In the UK, streets are

74   important drinking spaces for young people who may not be permitted to consume alcohol in

75   their home (or others' homes), for instance due to being below the legal drinking age, or being

76   forbidden to consume alcohol in licensed premises (again, due to being underage, or barred)

77   (Galloway, Forsyth, and Shewan, 2007). Exclusion plays a role in decisions to drink outside;

78   yet outdoor locations have a distinct appeal as places to consume alcohol (Galloway et al.,

79   2007). Outdoor locations enables young people the opportunity to smoke cigarette, or take

80   drugs, whilst consuming alcohol (Galloway et al., 2007). In Spain, street drinking (known as

81   *botellón*) draws anything between a few dozen to over one thousand young people on any one

3

82 night (Perez-Fragero, 2008). Reasons young people cite for participating in *botellón* include

83 expensive drinks prices in bars and clubs; that the practice is fashionable; and that you can be

84 in the open air (Perez-Fragero, 2008). *Botellón* is causing friction in Spain, partially due to fact

85 that young people are not spending money in local bars and restaurants, and due to the noise

86 generated (Chatterton, 2002). Further, Demant and Landolt (2014) explore young people's

87 'club street drinking' (drinking on the street within the vicinity of nightclubs), and 'square

88 street drinking' (drinking in public spaces away from nighlife areas). Concerning 'club street

89 drinking', the authors contend that nightlife outside nightlife areas is segregated; that is,

90 different young people and different subcultures meet at different locations. On the other hand,

91 'square street drinking' provides an example of the merging and mixing of diverse uses and

92 interpretations of the square, by different groups, which are at odds with each other. 'Square

93 street drinking' is thus in line with Peterson's (2017) contention that the street is an example

94 of a space where different lifeworlds overlap, because different groups frequent and rely on the

95 same spaces for different activities.

96 Parks have conventionally been considered fundamental arenas for the negotiation of urban

97 diversity; however, Peterson (2017) contends that they do not typically encourage social

98 interaction. In the context of the UK, Russell, Lewis, Matthijsse, and Mason (2011) highlight

99 the importance of open green space for young people's drinking practices, as they are out of

100 sight of police and parents. One participant in Russell et al.'s (2011) UK study expressed a

101 preference for these spaces in contrast to play parks, noting that he would not wish young

102 children to see him drinking in case it inspired them to try alcohol. From this perspective, parks

103 can be considered arenas for the demonstration of consideration, and thoughtfulness, towards

104 others. On the other hand, some participants in Townshend and Roberts' (2013) study comment

105 on the perceived dangers of consuming alcohol in parks, asserting that it may lead to being

106 attacked, injured, or taken advantage of sexually; there were particular concerns about being

107 unable to summon help, if in danger. The authors show that there is an unwillingness of some

108 young people, particularly women, to go to parks where street drinkers can dominate, or

109 intimidate. Thus, whilst parks may be an example of what Amin (2002, p. 959) would term a

110 'micro public'; that is, a space of everyday contact and encounter, parks in relation to young

111 people's alcohol consumption practices and experiences can also be spaces of exclusion. This

112 paper now turns to show how engaging with im/mobilities is a key way of furthering

113 discussions of hyper-diversity.

114 ### *Young People, Im/Mobilities, and Hyper-Diversity*

115 Young people have become a recent focus within the 'mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry,

116 2006). Skelton (2013) has made clear that young urbanites are of an age where mobility is

117 crucial in order to take advantage of the resources, recreation and sociality offered by

118 urbanscapes. Skelton and Gough (2013) contend that this is an important aspect of 'growing

119 up', and identity formation. McAuliffe (2013) is keen to remind us that young people are

120 subject to manifold micro-politics of mobility and immobility that differentiate their

121 experiences of urban spaces from the experiences of adults; for instance, young people may

122 find themselves excluded, and/or moved on, from certain spaces. Mobilities research then, as

123 Sheller (2011) suggests, should not only pay attention to physical movement, but also potential

124 movement, blocked movement and immobilisation.

125 A concern for everynight mobility can develop current work on hyper-diverse spaces, although

126 literature exploring the intersection of hyper-diversity and im/mobility is scarce. There are,

127 however, a few notable exceptions, For instance, Tasan-Kok et al. (2013), with a focus on

128 European cities, contend that there is more than the local place and space: people move between

129 many places, and these mobilities can be important for an individual's social life. Further,

130 Warren (2017) explores the embodied experiences and socio-spatial practices of Muslim

131   women in the city of Birmingham, UK, to investigate the ways in which walking practices

132   intersect with social difference, particularly in relation to faith, ethnicity and gender. Moreover,

133   Wilson (2011) draws on ethnographic research to explore how intercultural relations are

134   developed, destroyed and remade in the practice of everyday bus passengering. The author

135   discusses bus travel as sites of tolerated intimacy of both strangers and difference, and as a

136   space in which it is possible to partake in conversations across differences. In the context of

137   Auckland neighbourhoods, Witten et al. (2017) explore children's everyday mobile encounters

138   and affective relations with place through a hyper-diverse lens. Taken together, these studies

139   on diversity demonstrate that key markers of identity, for instance, ethnicity and gender, cannot

140   be separated from more emotional, embodied and affective aspects.

141   Alcohol-related mobilities have recently been explored by Duff and Moore (2015) in

142   Melbourne's night-time economy. The authors explore the atmospheres of mobility for young

143   people residing in the inner city who take trams, walk or cycle to nearby venues, along with

144   young people from periurban communities. According to Duff and Moore (2015), inner-city

145   participants described 'fun', 'comfortable' journeys, whereas participants from periurban

146   communities spoke of 'boring', 'unpleasant' journey. The more congenial atmospheres

147   described by inner-city young people seemed to mitigate the likelihood of problems, such as

148   violence; whereas the atmospheres of boredom and unpleasantness described by periurban

149   young people appeared to increase the potential for harm. Here then, short-distance mobilities

150   have the potential to facilitate positive encounters in urban spaces, whereas longer-distance

151   mobilities can lead to negative encounters. Jayne et al.'s (2012) research, into the alcohol-

152   related mobilities and experiences of young backpackers in Australia, elucidates that alcohol

153   can help to soften a variety of (un)comfortable embodied and emotional materialities linked

154   with budget travel. For instance, alcohol consumption can act as an aid to 'passing the time'

155   and 'being able to do nothing'; it can also heighten senses of belonging with other travellers

156 and the 'locals'. Jayne et al.'s (2012) research suggests that alcohol-related mobilities are able

157 to facilitate positive encounters with diverse populations (both locals and travellers). The work

158 of Duff and Moore (2015) and Jayne et al. (2012) point to the notion that engaging with

159 im/mobilities is a key way of developing discussions surrounding hyper-diversity.

160

161 *Researching Hyper-Diversity*

162 I conducted the research on which this paper is based in the suburban case study locations of

163 Chorlton and Wythenshawe. Suburban locations were chosen due to a pre-occupation in the

164 substance use literature with cities, typified by a large body of work on the night-time economy

165 (Holloway et al., 2008). Chorlton and Wythenshawe were chosen, in particular, due to the

166 differences in ethnic diversity, socio-economic status, educational attainments, and drinking

167 micro-geographies between, and within, the areas.

168 *Case Study Locations*

169 Wythenshawe was created in the 1920s as a Garden City in an attempt to resolve Manchester's

170 overpopulation and depravation in its inner-city slums. It continued to develop up to the 1970s,

171 however the 1980s and 1990s saw a steady decline, high unemployment, decaying

172 infrastructure, crime, and problems with drug misuse (Atherton et al., 2005). Wythenshawe is

173 eight miles south of Manchester city centre, and faced with relatively poor transportation links

174 (Lucas et al., 2009). There are distinct neighbourhoods within Wythenshawe, along with a town

175 centre with various shops, supermarkets, hairdressers, pubs and a club. Numerous pubs have

176 shut down in recent years; yet in existing pubs, CCTV is in abundance (Pubs of Manchester,

177 2012). In addition to commercial drinking spaces, Wythenshawe has 12 parks and 18 woodland

178 areas, which provide young people with opportunities for outdoor drinking. Wythenshawe was

179   the outdoor filming location for the Channel 4 series *Shameless[ii]*, which included shots of the

180   local tower-blocks, and housing estates.

181   Chorlton, on the other hand, is a residential area approximately five miles from Manchester

182   city centre. It is a cosmopolitan neighbourhood with traditional family areas alongside younger,

183   vibrant communities. The area has good road and bus access to, and from, the city centre, and

184   it is situated within easy access to the motorway network. Chorlton is renowned for having a

185   more bohemian feel than other parts of Manchester; it has a large number of independent bars

186   and pubs, yet no club (Manchester Bars, 2017). The drinking venues are popular with both

187   students and young professionals, and include a mix of traditional pubs, and modern bars

188   (Manchester Bars, 2017). Bars often have some form of music, including live bands, and are

189   considered to have a relaxed door policy (Manchester Bars, 2017). The distinct drinking venues

190   within, and between, the areas demonstrates that suburban drinking spaces are neither uniform

191   nor homogenous, and that this heterogeneity warrants further analysis.

192   *Recruitment*

193   I recruited 40 young people, aged 15-24, for multi-stage qualitative research. This sample size

194   was large enough to gain a diversity of viewpoints. Yet, as the research was multi-method, and

195   longitudinal, spanning the course of 12 months (September 2013-September 2014), this sample

196   size also allowed for a depth of insight. Academic definitions of 'youth' typically focus on an

197   age range of 16-24 (Evans, 2008). I specifically chose to recruit 15-24 year olds. This is because

198   15 year olds are in the same school year as their 16 year old friends, for example, and therefore

199   it was more inclusive to be slightly flexible with the age categories, particularly for methods

200   such as the peer-interviews. Moreover, being longitudinal research, over the course of one year,

201   my participants would experience birthdays, and would thus be within this age classification at

202   some point during the study period. When aged between 15-24, young people may undergo

203 several key 'transitional' events, which could be interesting to explore when bound up with

204 alcohol consumption. For instance: going to college; going to University; having a child;

205 getting married; etc. – those not necessarily as a linear progression along such social status

206 markers (Sichling, 2017).

207 I aimed for a relatively equal distribution of participants between both suburban case study

208 locations, resulting in 19 young people taking part from Wythenshawe, and 21 young people

209 participating from Chorlton. Further, slightly more young women ended up taking part in the

210 study (eight young men, and 11 young women in Wythenshawe, and eight young men and 13

211 young women from Chorlton). There was an even distribution of participants aged between 15-

212 18, 19-21, and 22-24. The young people in my study varied significantly in the social class

213 they identified with (e.g. working class, middle class, or upper class), and their educational

214 backgrounds (e.g. no educational qualifications, to University educated). Participants in my

215 study were all able-bodied, predominantly heterosexual (one participant self-identified as

216 having a lesbian identity), and predominantly white (two participants were mixed-race). Hyper-

217 diversity in this study is interested in traditional identity markers but, more than this, my use

218 of hyper-diversity is concerned with the diverse ways in which young people *feel* in particular

219 drinking spaces.

220 I recruited the majority of participants through gatekeepers at, what may be considered hyper-

221 diverse spaces, for instance: local schools, community organisations, youth clubs and

222 universities (Wessendorf, 2013) in, and in close proximity to, the case study locations. I also

223 distributed flyers and business cards to houses and businesses in both case study locations;

224 posted on online discussion forums concerning Chorlton and Wythenshawe; used Twitter to

225 tweet about recruitment; and posted on Facebook groups interested in the two areas. Further, I

226 arranged to be interviewed by the morning host of a local community radio station,

227 Wythenshawe FM 97.2, in order to broaden my recruitment strategies.

229   The research was conducted by offering participants a choice of '*opting into*' (Leyshon, 2002,

230   p.182, emphasis in original) a 'palette of interdisciplinary methods' (Mason, 2006, p.13). In

231   this paper, I draw on data arising from the following methods: interviews, peer interviews,

232   drawing elicitation interviews, and participant observation. I argue in this paper that, when

233   researching with hyper-diverse young people, it is important to offer a suite of methods that

234   enables participants to communicate with the researcher 'on their own terms' (Leyshon et al.,

235   2013, p. 180).. Each of these methods was not dependent on a minimum sample size, nor an

236   equal sample size across the case study locations (Leyshon et al., 2013). Participants opted into

237   the methods they perceived to be the most enjoyable and felt the most comfortable with - they

238   were by no means obliged to participate in all of the methods, although they were more than

239   welcome to do so. This was a research strategy successfully deployed by Leyshon (2002) in

240   his research with young people in the countryside. I now provide a brief snapshot of each of

241   these methods (see name removed for anonymity for more details).

242   One method I presented for young people to participate in, was semi-structured in-depth

243   interviews. The interview schedule covered the following themes: early experiences of alcohol

244   (for instance, the extent to which alcohol was consumed in their childhood homes; if/how they

245   were introduced to alcohol by parents/siblings/friends); present-day patterns and cultures of

246   consumption (for example, whether and what they drink; types, experiences and meanings of

247   public and domestic consumption); and wider attitudes to alcohol (including, their views of

248   health issues; and use of alcohol in their community). I was flexible with this method, allowing

249   some participants to take part with friends if they felt happier doing so. The interviews took

250   place in spaces both myself and participants felt safe and comfortable in, including: private

251   rooms in schools; cafes; and homes. My experience of using interviews, in line with Fox and

252   Alldred (2015), is that they can identify affective bodily capacities.

253   The research process facilitated diverse encounters between participants and myself (see Neal

254   et al., 2015). To expand, my positionality as a White, then 24-year-old, female, university

255   educated researcher, meant that interviews became spaces of hyper-diversity with my

256   differently positioned participants in terms of gender, education, age, and alcohol consumption

257   practices and experiences. Whilst, with participants of the same / similar age, I was positioned

258   as somewhat of an 'insider', with younger participants, especially, I was positioned as an

259   'outsider' (Skelton, 2008). It is for this reason that I adopted the method of peer-interviews.

260   Peer interviews involve young people interviewing a friend of a similar age. This method

261   acknowledges that young people's experiences of spaces and places differ from those of adults

262   (Schäfer and Yarwood, 2008). Young people are suitable for conducting peer interviews

263   because they speak the same language as other young people (Kilpatrick et al., 2007).

264   Another method I presented for young people to 'opt into' was a drawing-elicitation interview.

265   For this, I provided young people with a blank sheet of A3 paper and a pack of colouring felt

266   tip pens and some pencils. I asked the participants to draw free-hand sketch-maps of their

267   drinking spaces and places. Discussions of their maps enabled participants to look back on their

268   productions reflexively, along with giving them an additional medium through which to

269   express their thoughts (Lehman-Frisch et al., 2012). The drawing-elicitation interview was

270   useful in gaining insight into young people's alcohol-related micro-geographies, and insight

271   into their inclusion and exclusion from particular spaces. Further, participant observation, in

272   which I accompanied groups of young people on a variety of nights out, and in, involving

273   alcohol (e.g. 18th birthday party, pre-drinks at home, nights out in parks), was beneficial in not

274   only seeing, but also *feeling*, the role of atmospheres in shaping young people's alcohol-related

275   embodied and emotional im/mobilities.

276   I transcribed, verbatim, interview material and field notes. When analysing drawings, I placed

277   emphasis on the narratives of participants accompanying their pictures, in the form of drawing

278 elicitation interviews. This chimes with Barker and Smith's (2012) contention that the

279 interpretation of images should be undertaken with participants to ensure that their intended

280 meanings are explored, rather than interpretive meanings imposed by the researcher. For all the

281 data, I adopted the manual method of coding by pen and paper, perceiving that computer-

282 assisted qualitative data analysis distances researchers from the data (Davis & Meyer, 2009).

283 Initially, following Miles and Huberman's (1994) three-stage model, I exercised a process of

284 data reduction; I organised the mass of data and attempted to meaningfully reduce this. Second,

285 I undertook a process of data display in the form of a table. Third, I undertook a process of

286 conclusion drawing and verification. Participants feature in this paper through pseudonyms, as

287 do names of bars/pubs and roads, to conceal participants' identities. Yet, to contextualise

288 quotations, genuine ages and case study locations are given. Having discussed the methods

289 underpinning the study, I now explore young people's hyper-diverse drinking spaces.

290 **Result and Discussion**

291 *Hyper-Diverse Drinking Spaces*

292 There are important sensory and material constituents of drinking spaces and places, which

293 must be taken into account when theorising hyper-diversity (Witten et al., 2017). That is, whilst

294 young people undertake 'borderwork' to distinguish themselves from certain 'types' of people

295 frequenting commercial premises (in terms of age, gender, and class) (Foster and Spencer,

296 2013), young people also contend that encounters with multi-sensory materialities have the

297 ability to pull them out of place (see also Neal et al., 2015; Taylor and Falconer, 2015):

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

300 Joanna: I think The Otter smells like old men, and the pool table's like wonky, so all
301 the balls go to one side
302   (Teresa and Joanna, 16, Wythenshawe, peer interview)

303   I went to that Tantra [pub] one once and that was well scary. It's a bit council housey,
304   council house people would go there I think. I just met some friends there once and
305   yeah, it smelt like, you know like proper horrible lager. I can't cope with it. I like pubs
306   that smell like not like they're pubs really, no I wouldn't go somewhere like that
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308   (Coral, 24, Chorlton, interview)

309   Young people in my study, above the UK legal drinking age of 18, note that they would

310   consume alcohol in suburban bars/ pubs if they were seeking 'quiet night out', whereas they

311   would drink in the city-centre if they wished to go 'out out'; that is, on a 'big night out'. In

312   comparison to city-centres, suburban drinking can provide a more relaxed drinking

313   environment, which is less likely to be associated with intoxication (see details removed for

314   anonymity for more details). Yet, young people also expressed disapproval of some suburban

315   commercial drinking spaces. The exchange above, between Teresa and Joanna, highlights the

316   importance of the olfactory elements of drinking spaces in Wythenshawe, along with the

317   significance of material constituents, such as the pool table, in repelling them from such spaces.

318   Further, Coral describes the sensory atmosphere of a pub in Chorlton that accommodates, what

319   she describes as, 'council house people'. Coral exercises her 'middle-class gaze' (Skeggs and

320   Loveday, 2012, p. 487) and reveals her anxieties about consuming alcohol in this pub through

321   statements of symbolic distinction: 'council house people', designed to hold the working-class

322   at a physical and metaphorical distance. Unlike these 'council house people', Coral is put off

323   by the smell of the pub, and is thus secure in her boundaries that she is not them (see Taylor

324   and Falconer, 2015). Smell then, 'is held to signal a dangerous proximity, which must then be

325   guarded against, since to do otherwise would be to threaten the stability of middle-class claims

326   of respectability' (Lawler, 2005, p. 440). Here, middle-classness relies on the expulsion and

327   exclusion of working-classness (Lawler, 2005). The above accounts point to the importance of

328   more nuanced understandings of hyper-diversity, which do not downplay the importance of

329   traditional identity markers (for instance, age, class, and gender), but see them as entangled

330   with more embodied and emotional aspects (see Neal et al., 2015).

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331   Much of the existing literature (e.g. Tyler, 2008) is concerned with how moral judgments about

332   the working-class are used to justify socio-spatial processes of exclusion (Valentine and Harris,

333   2014). However, my findings also show how working-class participants position the middle-

334   class, resulting in segregation. Throughout a drawing elicitation interview, working-class

335   Jemima distinguished herself from the 'posh' people at 'Rach's party', explaining to me that

336   she had to remove her shoes at the door, and that the young men at the party took more pride

337   in their appearance than she did (see Figure 1):

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Figure 1: Jemima's Night Out

351   Here, Jemima perceives her socio-economic situation in relation to others (Sutton, 2009);

352   whilst she did not refer to herself as 'rich' or 'poor', she acknowledged social differences

353   through her discussion of others at Rach's party as 'posh'. Consequently, Jemima chose to

354   retreat to the space of the street, making a 'spliff'[iii] as she walks home. Here, the street can be

355   seen as a 'thirdspace'; it acts as 'a marginal space for young people, a place they can occupy

356   by default, as they lack the power to control other spaces' (Matthews et al., 2000, p. 63;71). It

357   allows Jemima to 'stand apart' from the posh people at Rach's house party; she shows signs of

358   'separatedness' (Matthews et al., 2000, p. 77) by smoking - something she considers would

359   have been unacceptable inside. Here then, Jemima dealt with difference by avoidance, rather

360   than engagement (Wessendorf, 2013). Against the 'contact hypothesis'[iv] then (see Putnam,

361   2007), contact with people 'unlike us'; that is, of a different class, does not mean we necessarily

362   overcome our initial hesitation to the different 'other'. Jemima's account instead lends credence

363   to the 'conflict theory'[v], which suggests that being brought into physical proximity with people

364   of another background (in this case class), the more we stick to 'our own' (Putnam, 2007, p.

365   142).

366   Supporting findings in literature internationally (e.g. Galloway et al., 2007; Perez-Fragero,

367   2008), my study shows that streets are important places for young people - particularly those

368   below the legal drinking age - to consume alcohol and, particularly for young people in

369   Wythenshawe, to take drugs. Young people did not solely drink in streets due to an absence of

370   anywhere else to go; streets had a distinct appeal as spaces to consume alcohol. Not all young

371   people spoke highly of the outdoor spaces as drinkscapes, however (Townshend and Roberts,

372   2013). Some young people expressed disapproval towards the identities of those drinking in

373   parks. This demonstrates that spaces are not experienced in the same way everywhere, by

374   everyone (Witten et al., 2017). See the quotations below:

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

378   (Peter, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

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

383   (Olivia, 17, Wythenshawe, friendship group interview)

384 Peter mobilises the figure of the 'chav' - a term often used to demean an individual or group,

385 often to express class-based disgust (Tyler, 2008). However, here, the term is used by a

386 participant who is working-class, to express a critical attitude to others of his social status -

387 those who consume alcohol in parks (Valentine & Harris, 2014). Peter and Olivia distinguish

388 themselves from the 'idiotic' and 'stupid' people consuming alcohol in parks, which they

389 perceive as inferior to them. Peter and Olivia then, expressed their identity through processes

390 of inclusion and exclusion, stereotyping and stigmatisation. What is striking in the above

391 quotations, is how parks often elicited intense emotions. These expressions of disapproval for

392 park spaces often occurred across class and gender. However, for young women, more than

393 young men, safety emerged as an important factor when choosing drinking spaces and, as

394 Olivia suggests, parks were perceived as unsafe spaces for drinking for many young women in

395 my study. What is also significant in the above accounts is that direct interaction is not

396 necessary for young people's feelings of social separation – ideas and discourses surrounding

397 spaces is enough to establish lines of disconnection. Thus, while streets and parks may be

398 conceived as spaces for serendipitous encounters (REF), the above shows that parks are often

399 territorialised by particular groups. This notion of social and spatial segregation also surfaced

400 when exploring young people's im/mobilities, as I now illustrate.

401   ***Hyper-Diverse Im/Mobilities***

402 Young people encounter multiple diversities through their everynight mobilities. Alcohol-

403 related mobilities are sometimes characterised by power struggles and conflicts with older

404 adults, particularly for young people below the legal drinking age. The contesting interests of

405 the police and young people can be seen through the following quotations:

406   We were hearing stories of like people in our year who got drunk at the park and then
407   like the police turned up, so they all ran away and one of them like fell over and wacked
408   their head on a rock or something and got concussion or something
409   (Richard, 15, Chorlton, interview)

410   Cos we all use to live right near the park, so everyone that use to live near the local
411   park, we'd all meet up in the park and then we'd all walk down to Woodfield, which is
412   the biggest park. And the police used to come, kick us all out and we'd all go back to
413   the separate parks, and then we'd meet up again in Woodfield about an hour later, start
414   again, it was mint
415   (Alice, 17, Wythenshawe, peer interview)
416

417 From the above quotations, one can see that mixing opportunities in parks are restricted by a

418 series of policing strategies (Neal and Vincent, 2013). The clashing intergenerational mobilities,

419 highlighted by Richard and Alice, mean young people are required to create new geographies

420 through forced and adaptive mobilities (Skelton & Gough, 2013). Put another way, as parks

421 are steeped in surveillance, they function more as spaces of transit for young people (cf. Amin,

422 2002). Whilst Edensor and Bowdler (2015) contend that policing can constrain the scope for

423 playful engagement with space, the above quotations suggest that, in some respects, policing

424 enhanced playful engagement with space. Young people, rather than expressing frustration at

425 constantly being ejected from parks (Townshend & Roberts, 2013), told such stories with

426 enthusiasm, proclaiming it was 'mint', and thus can be said to have enjoyed the 'geographical

427 game of cat and mouse' (Valentine, 1996, p. 594). Young people's drinking mobilities then,

428 are intertwined with ideas surrounding separation and segregation with older adults.

429 Despite the often 'parallel lives' of different groups within the suburban case study locations,

430 meaning that they do not touch by way of meaningful interchanges (Valentine, 2008; Vertovec,

431 2007), many young people in my study exercised a respect for others in mobile spaces. To

432 expand, many young people noted that there is a 'time and place' for their alcohol consumption

433 activities, as the quotations below testify:

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

439   (Rik, 15, Wythenshawe, interview)

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

446   (David, 21, Wythenshawe, interview)

447 Unpacking the above quotations, Rik and David contend that they would only consume alcohol

448 in the space of the taxi, rather than the bus, due to the number of people on the bus who may

449 be 'uncomfortable' with, or, as Rik puts it, 'allergic' to, their alcohol consumption practices.

450 These examples of care, concern and consideration show how young people can act in

451 courteous ways towards 'strangers' in mobile spaces (Jackson et al., 2017). Such civility

452 towards diversity is a strategy to negotiate possible tensions, rather than used as a means of

453 facilitating positive relations (Wessendorf, 2013). Nonetheless, the above extracts contrast with

454 the perception of young people in public space, for instance, as reckless binge drinkers, that

455 have come to dominate media reports and policies. Such 'hypochondriac geographies' are

456 characterised by dystopianism, and the inability to accept difference and oppositional interests

457 as creative, rather than destructive forces (Baeten, 2002, p. 103).

458 The theory of hyper-diversity is beneficial in offering a lens through which to view some

459 participants' stories, which offer a counterpoint to many of the findings in existing literature,

460 and my own experiences of commercial suburban drinking spaces, derived through participant

461 observation. For example, Tan's (2013) study of flirtatious geographies in club spaces in

462 Singapore has begun to grasp how bodies are affected by the atmospheres of club-spaces; for

463 instance, how atmospheres can enhance dancing mobilities. Further, Demant (2013) has

464 explored how nightclubs in Copenhagen allure through human-nonhuman technologies of

465   public intimacy. However, the extant literature has virtually ignored those who are not affected

466   by atmospheres of club space. As Edensor and Sumartojo (2015) recognise, atmospheres can

467   be experienced in many different ways. The divergent ways in which drinking spaces can grasp

468   bodies in practice can be gleamed through the juxtaposition of my field diary, with Charlie's

469   quotation:

470   It is interesting that, despite only having one vodka and coke, I felt drunk. Normally, I
471   require a certain number of drinks in order to have the confidence to dance. However,
472   tonight, being surrounded by 'other' mobile drunken bodies, the darkness of the club,
473   and the thump of the upbeat music, increased my ability to dance uninhibited…I even
474   found myself participating in the Gangnam Style dance[vi] without feeling self-conscious!
475   (Field diary, night out with Maisy, 18, and friends, Wythenshawe)

476   In first and second year of Uni I would be nervous sort of throughout the whole night,
477   and like "maybe I need to drink more to get like the rest, to get like everybody else",
478   and it never really happened. I would like throw up in the morning, because I obviously
479   had a lot [to drink], and would have a hangover, but I never really felt like I was in that
480   zone, the same enjoyment that everyone else, my friends seemed to have
481
482   (Charlie, 23, Chorlton, interview)

483   Through my participant observation, one can see that I experienced a transformation, my body

484   'became' drunk, through its practices and encounters in assemblages with diverse drunken

485   bodies, the sonic environment, and lighting in the affectively charged space (see Waitt and

486   Stanes, 2015), ultimately I felt 'at home' in this hyper-diverse commercial drinking space

487   (Jayne and Valentine, 2016:74). My experience of atmospheres enhancing my dancing

488   mobilities is in stark opposition to Charlie's experiences in pre-formed nightlife spaces. Charlie

489   contends that, despite consuming large quantities of alcohol, to the extent that he experienced

490   the unpleasant effects of vomiting the following morning, and hangovers, he was not enveloped

491   by the enjoyable atmosphere he saw his friends and other club-goers experiencing. This

492   example stresses the importance of considering how sensual atmospheres do not seduce all

493   people. As Taylor and Falconer (2015) recognise, whilst atmospheres affectively pull some

494   people into place - those who experience disconnection - in terms of their embodied

495   drunkenness and the space they find themselves in (MacLean and Moore, 2014), are, in effect,

496   pushed out of space. Having discussed examples of both tension and separation, and proximity

497   and consideration, concerning young people's hyper-diverse drunken mobilities, I now draw

498   this paper to a close.

Concluding Remarks

499

500   Throughout this paper, my contribution to understandings of young people and hyper-diversity

501   have been fourfold. First, I have moved the hyper-diversity debate beyond its preoccupation

502   with everyday experiences in the urban realm (Pyyry and Tani, 2017; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013),

503   to expose the heterogeneity of young people's everynight drinking experiences in the suburban

504   case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, with a focus on micro-geographies of bars,

505   pubs, streets, and parks. In doing so, I have highlighted that young people's perception of the

506   'classed', 'gendered', and 'aged' 'other' in both commercial drinking spaces, and outdoor

507   drinkscapes, has a fundamental role to play in desires to either access certain drinking spaces,

508   or purposefully exclude themselves from such spaces. In line with Wiseman (2017), my paper

509   has highlighted the complexity of spaces of encounter; I have shown how drinking spaces are

510   spaces in which conviliality and connection, yet also tension and disgust can occur.

511   Second, I have contributed to the hyper-diversity literature by moving beyond a concentration

512   on traditional identity categories to afford attention to the nuances of young people's identities

513   (Wiseman, 2017). That is, I have shown how the traditional identity markers of class, gender

514   and age are entangled with more performative, emotive, and materialised markers. This paper

515   has demonstrated that the conceptual framework of hyper-diversity offers a tentative

516   explanation of how drinking spaces can evoke a very specific set of emotional and affective

517   registers, which vary greatly between individuals (Jayne et al., 2010). That is, whilst some

518   young people are enveloped by enjoyable affective atmospheres in drinking spaces, others are

519   affectively pushed out of space. My paper thus joins a small body of work (e.g. Pyyry and Tani,

20

520 2017) in recognising that hyper-diversity is more-than-human, comprised of human practices,

521 along with objects and sensory atmospheres.

522 Third, whilst much of the extant hyper-diversity literature has considered spaces as static and

523 bounded, my paper has addressed Warren's (2017) call for a greater understanding of the ways

524 in which everyday mobilities and diversity interpenetrate each other. I have demonstrated how

525 young people's drinking mobilities are intertwined with ideas surrounding separation and

526 segregation with older adults. I have also exposed young people's attempts to be civil towards

527 diversity in mobile spaces, when bound up with alcohol consumption, in order to negotiate

528 possible tensions.

529 Finally, I have demonstrated the benefits of offering hyper-diverse young people a palette of

530 interdisciplinary methods to 'opt into'. Combining oral, drawing, and observational methods,

531 enabled hyper-diverse young people to communicate with me in whichever way(s) they felt

532 most comfortable and confident with. To conclude, I urge researchers to engage, in a

533 methodologically innovative manner, with the alcohol-related im/mobilities of a sample of

534 young people that accommodates for the diversity and nondualistic heterogeneity of bodily

535 forms and abilities in society (Andrews et al., 2012). Research is yet to engage with the alcohol-

536 related im/mobilites of other groups around race, ethnicity, religion and sexuality; doing so

537 could further extend understandings of hyper-diversity.

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[i] I use the term 'everynight' purposefully, inspired by Malbon (1999).
[ii] *Shameless* is a British adult comedy-drama series set in Manchester, centred on British working-class culture.
[iii] A 'spliff' is a cannabis cigarette.

iv Allport (1954) is often credited with the development of the contact hypothesis, a theory stating that under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways of reducing prejudice between majority and minority group members.

v Conflict theory is associated with Karl Marx (1818-1883). The theory is based on the notion that society is in a state of perpetual conflict, due to competition for limited resources. The theory asserts that social order is maintained by power and domination, as opposed to conformity and consensus.

vi 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.