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Night-Life and Young People's Atmospheric Mobilities

Samantha Wilkinson and Catherine Wilkinson

Abstract

This paper makes an explicit connection between atmospheres, youth drinking cultures, and mobility. The authors draw on data from long-standing and innovative qualitative methods (including interviews, participant observation, peer-interviews, and drawing-elicitation interviews), conducted with young people, aged 15-24, living in the suburban case study locations of Wythenshawe and Chorlton, Manchester, UK. We analyse young people's alcohol-related vehicular im/mobilities, and also their bodily im/mobilities in commercial drinking spaces. We argue that consuming alcohol on transport, more than being economically beneficial, is emotionally important; young people create enjoyable affective atmospheres in taxis and buses to share with friends. Taxis and buses are not solely a means to get to nights out, they are *fun*damental constituents of young people's nights out. Further, this paper shows how atmospheres in club-spaces, comprised of music, lighting, and drunken bodies, can propel young people's bodies into action, transforming static bodies into mobile ones. This paper is novel in presenting an insight into the means through which atmospheres impact, and alter, young people's alcohol-related experiences of both transport and bar/club spaces.

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Introduction

Spaces and places of young people's alcohol consumption practices and experiences have typically been conceptualised as bounded arenas, and as passive backdrops (Jayne *et al.* 2012). This is problematic because it gives an artificial insight into young people's night-life, bound up with the consumption of alcohol, downplaying that it is often dynamic, unpredictable, and always in flux (Bøhling 2015). Drawing on mixed-methods qualitative research 'with' young people, aged 15-24, living in the suburban case study locations of Chorlton and Wythenshawe, Manchester, UK, our findings show that young people do not stay in one place to consume alcohol; young people's nights out are characterised by movement in, through, and beyond, drinking spaces. Additionally, young people's discussions about their drinking spaces highlight that where they drink is not inconsequential, it clearly matters; young people recognise that their spaces of drinking are multi-sensory, and have a role to play in shaping their drinking activities. Appreciating drinking spaces as relational may assist the alcohol studies literature in moving away from its current preoccupation with alcohol as 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).

Rather than treating mobilities and atmospheres separately, as is often the case, this paper joins a small body of literature (e.g. Duff and Moore 2015; Shaw 2014; Wilkinson, S. 2015) in working at the intersection of the more-than-representational tools of atmospheres and im/mobilities; we argue that the meshing of these theoretical perspectives can provide an analytical means of shifting the focus from city-centre drinking, to engaging with a diversity of drinking spaces, including often over-looked spaces of young people's drinking, such as taxis and buses. This paper demonstrates that engaging with mobile atmospheres can enhance understandings of drinking spaces as 'active agents'; that is, moving away from a conceptualisation of drinking spaces as passive backdrops to understand how spaces of drinking can shape drinking practices and experiences. More than this, a mobile atmospheres' perspective can enhance understanding of drinking spaces as 'porous terrains'; this recognises that drinking spaces are not bounded, rather they are relational.

This paper thus contributes to existing scholarship on mobilities and atmospheres by analysing the way that atmospheres, comprised of music, lighting, and people, influence young people's experiences of alcohol-related mobilities. This paper argues that atmospheres of fun, 'buzzy' (cf. Bøhling 2015), yet also safe, alcohol-related mobilities described by young people, are somewhat at odds with the heavily regulated spaces preferred by planners and authorities. Importantly, young people themselves use the term 'atmospheres' when discussing their drinking practices and experiences; with this in mind, the paper concludes with recommendations for policymakers and planners, as to how they can communicate with young people in culturally legible ways regarding alcohol consumption. We now contextualise this discussion by outlining the case study locations.

Case Study Locations

The focus of the paper is two suburban areas in Greater Manchester. Suburban areas were chosen as the focus because, over the past two decades, a good deal of the research into alcohol

consumption has been written in the context of the expanding night-time economy, which itself tends to focus on urban inner-city areas (e.g. Chatterton and Hollands 2002; Hollands 2002; Lovatt and O'Connor 1995). While research has been undertaken into rural drinking geographies (e.g. Leyshon 2008; Valentine et al. 2008), and holiday destinations (Bellis, et al. 2000; Briggs et al. 2011), very little has been said about drinking practices in suburbia (see Wilkinson, S., forthcoming). Wythenshawe and Chorlton were selected as the case study locations due to their differing socio-economic status (Wythenshawe performing poorly on many markers of socio-economic status, in comparison to Chorlton), and the varying drinking micro-geographies of the wards (e.g. Wythenshawe has a nightclub, yet numerous pubs have shut down in recent years, whereas Chorlton has no nightclub, yet has a very vibrant bar / pub scene).

Wythenshawe was created in the 1920s as a Garden City in an attempt to resolve Manchester's overpopulation and depravation in its inner-city slums. It continued to develop up to the 1970s, however the 1980s and 1990s saw a steady decline, high unemployment, decaying infrastructure, crime, and problems with drug misuse (Atherton *et al.*, 2005). Wythenshawe is eight miles south of Manchester city centre, and faced with relatively poor transportation links (Lucas *et al.*, 2009). Data from the Wythenshawe and Sale East constituency show that in the constituency, as a place of work – 18.7% of all employee jobs paid below the Living Wage in 2014 (£7.65 per hour). This compares to 23.6% regionally and 21.7% nationally (Northern Housing Consortium, 2015). Moreover, the proportion of minority ethnic residents living in Wythenshawe is below Manchester's average (8%, whereas Manchester's average is 23.1%) (Manchester City Council 2011). There are distinct neighbourhoods within Wythenshawe, along with a town centre with various shops, supermarkets, hairdressers, pubs and a club. Whilst a number of pubs have shut their doors permanently, in existing pubs, CCTV is in abundance (Pubs of Manchester, 2012). Wythenshawe was the outdoor filming location for the Channel 4 series *Shameless,* which included shots of the local tower-blocks, and housing estates.

Chorlton, on the other hand, is a residential area approximately four miles from Manchester city centre. It is a cosmopolitan neighbourhood with traditional family areas alongside younger, vibrant communities. The area has good road and bus access to, and from, the city centre, and it is situated within easy access to the motorway network. In 2011, the percentage of pupils achieving five GCSE's A*-C was 69.5% in Chorlton, compared to 57% for Manchester's average (Manchester City Council, 2012). Drawing on Manchester City Council's (2012) data, Chorlton has a higher proportion of minority ethnic residents in comparison to Wythenshawe, and compared to the national average (19.1%, compared to the national average of 11.3%). As of November 2011, private residential property in Chorlton accounted for 90.3% of all property in the ward, much higher than the city average of 68.7%. Chorlton is renowned for having more of a bohemian feel than other parts of Manchester; it has a large number of independent bars and pubs, yet no club (Manchester Bars, 2017). The drinking venues are popular with both students and young professionals, and include a mix of traditional pubs, and modern bars (Manchester Bars, 2017). Bars often have some form of music, and are considered to have a relaxed door policy (Manchester Bars, 2017).

Having detailed the case study locations, we now review literature on young people's im/mobiities. This is followed by a review of a small body of literature that considers the approaches of atmospheres and mobilities as mutually intertwined, when bound up with alcohol

consumption. After this, we outline the study's methodology. Before concluding, we present data surrounding two main themes: alcohol-related vehicular mobilities, and atmospheres of club space.

Young People's Im/Mobilities

Recent work within the 'mobile turn' makes 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). Skelton and Gough (2013) proclaim that this is an important aspect of 'growing up' and identity formation. When alcohol-related mobilities have been considered in the literature, often the 'immaterial' embodied and sensory aspects have been marginalised. For instance, Gannon et al. (2014) focuses on drink walking; that is, walking in a public place whilst intoxicated. 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, as Spinney (2009, 821) questions: "what about the intangible and ephemeral, the meanings that accrue in the context of the journey itself?"

There is a rich literature on the embodied experiences of vehicular travel, which opens up possibilities for the study of young people's alcohol-related mobilities. 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, and 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 a way of getting as quickly as possible from 'A to B'; each means provides different experiences, performances and affordances.

Researchers have also 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

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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.

Young people are subject to manifold micro-politics of mobility and immobility that differentiate their experiences of urban spaces from the experiences of adults (McAuliffe 2013). Mobilities research then, should not only pay attention to physical movement, but also potential movement, blocked movement and immobilisation (Sheller 2011). This point was made earlier by Urry (2003), who argues for the significance of moorings that are solid, static and immobile. 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. 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. This paper now turns to review a small body of literature working at the intersection of atmospheres and mobilities, which has alcohol consumption as a focus.

Towards Young People's Atmospheric Drinking Im/Mobilities

Atmospheres foreground 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. Bohme (2013, no pagination) goes on to state that, "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). 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 atmosphere's approach is thus inherently multisensory.

According to Anderson (2009), atmospheres are 'affective' qualities that emanate from bodies, but also exceed the assembling of bodies. Whatmore (2006, 604) contends 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, whilst emotions and affects are sometimes set apart in the existing literature, we follow Anderson (2009) in contending 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 atmosphere perspective thus has potential to tease out the spatial, emotional, embodied, and affective experiences bound up with young people's alcohol consumption practices.

The concept of 'atmosphere' is developed by Shaw (2014) in an 'assemblage urban' approach, as a means of reconceptualising how the night-time city is understood. Shaw (2014)

argues that 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 (2014) 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 an atmosphere. An affective atmosphere is best understood as a form of "placed assemblage" (Shaw 2014, 87). Whilst Shaw's (2014) 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. The research upon which our paper is based engages with this, through a focus on suburban drinking mobilities.

With a focus on the alcohol-related mobilities and experiences of young backpackers, Jayne *et al.*'s (2012) research goes some way towards redressing a lack of engagement with the embodied, emotional and sensory aspects of mobilities, bound up with alcohol consumption. 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 'locals'. For instance, some participants in Jayne *et al.*'s (2012) 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).

Moreover, Duff and Moore (2015) explore vehicular atmospheric mobilities in Melbourne's night-time economy. According to the authors, inner-city participants, who take trams, walk, or cycle to nearby venues, described 'fun', 'comfortable' journeys. Meanwhile, participants from periurban communities (communities immediately adjoining an urban area) spoke of 'boring', 'unpleasant' journeys on trains, buses, or taxis when travelling to, and from, venues in the city. 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; something this paper seeks to address.

Further, in the context of an electronic music venue in Copenhagen, Denmark, Bøhling (2014) takes into account the emotional, bodily and spatial dimensions of alcohol and drug use spaces. The author examines how alcohol and drug practices and experiences are affectively cultivated by masses of people in spaces. Bøhling (2014) also recognises the role of sensorial

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impressions of club space, such as the role of music. The author asserts that the atmospheric surroundings of clubs can open up certain possibilities of inhabiting, experiencing and coproducing the space, for instance dancing, that work particularly well with certain drugs. Elsewhere Bøhling (2015) utilises an assemblages approach in his exploration of young people's drinking practices in the night-time economy of Copenhagen. The author contends that, in his study, participants recognised that the atmosphere was a crucial element of drinking. Bøhling (2015) argues that people's capacities to initiate and sustain various social, musical, and sexual relationships are altered by the consumption of alcohol, the atmosphere, and by a set of socio-spatial objects and technologies.

Elsewhere, the first author of this paper pays attention to atmospheres of darkness and lightness (Wilkinson, S. 2017), to show how drinkscapes are active constituents of young people's drinking occasions, rather than passive backdrops. She illustrates how young people transform dark and light drinkscapes, thereby shaping the drinking practices of themselves and others. Through looking at the interplay between the curating of an atmosphere, and the experiences of that atmosphere when bodies, and practices, are inserted into it, the paper offers a different take on the 'drinking at home is bad, drinking in public spaces is good' argument, with original policy suggestions. Having reviewed literature working at the intersection of atmospheres and mobilities, this paper now elucidates the methodology.

Methodology

The first author recruited 40 young people, aged 15-24, for multi-stage qualitative research. In some respects, the sampling strategy was purposive, as the first author aimed to recruit 20 young people from each case study location, and aimed for an equal gender distribution. She recruited the majority of participants through gatekeepers at local schools, community organisations, youth clubs, and universities. She also: distributed flyers and business cards to houses and businesses in both case study locations; posted on online discussion forums concerning both areas; used Twitter and Facebook to promote the study to locals; and arranged to be interviewed by the host of a local radio station: Wythenshawe FM 97.2. In addition, opportunistic and snowball sampling was important. The sample predominantly consists of white participants, and all participants are able-bodied; this is important to note, as later discussions of im/mobilities may have been differently experienced by those of different abilities or ethnicities.

The first author presented a palette of methods for participants to 'opt into' (Leyshon 2002, 182, emphasis in original), enabling participants to communicate with the researcher in whatever way(s) they felt most comfortable with (see Wilkinson, S. and Wilkinson, C. forthcoming). The methods we draw from in this paper include individual and friendship group interviews, peer-interviews, drawing elicitation interviews, and participant observation. Hitchings (2012) argues against the idea that researching everyday practices may require alternative methods to the interview, contending that interviews provide an effective medium through which people can articulate their embodied practices. Along similar lines, Fox and Alldred (2015) contend that qualitative interviewing can identify affective bodily capacities. Our experience of using both individual and friendship group interviews lends agreement to this notion. In addition, the method of peer-interviews provided young people with an opportunity to discuss their drinking stories with a friend; young people perhaps felt more able to be 'open' about their

drinking practices and experiences when discussing them with a friend, of their own age, in comparison to with a researcher (see Wilkinson, C. and Wilkinson, S. 2017). The drawing-elicitation interview was particularly useful in gaining insight into young people's alcohol-related micro-geographies; whilst the first author expected the maps to provide a static snapshot of drinking spaces, she was surprised how much young people's mobilities came through in the drawings (e.g. indicated by arrows), and also in the accompanying oral discussions. The first author found that participant observation, in which she travelled with people and things, participating in their continual shift through time, places and relations with others (Watts and Urry 2008), was beneficial in seeing and *feeling* young people's atmospheric im/mobilities. The first author's positionality, as a young, fashionable, female, who struck up friendships with participants (see Wilkinson, C. 2016), meant that she was able to blend into various night-life spaces, without causing young people to modify their drinking practices.

Concerning data analysis, the first author transcribed, verbatim, interview material, and field notes. When analysing drawings, she placed emphasis on the narratives of participants accompanying their pictures, in the form of drawing elicitation interviews. This chimes with Barker and Smith's (2001) contention that the interpretation of images should be undertaken with participants to ensure that their intended meanings are explored, rather than interpretive meanings imposed by the researcher. The manual method of coding by pen and paper was adopted for all transcribed data, perceiving that computer-assisted qualitative data analysis distances researchers from the data (Davis and Meyer 2009). Initially, following Miles and Huberman's (1994) three-stage model, the first author exercised a process of data reduction, whereby she organised the mass of data and attempted to meaningfully reduce this. Second, she undertook a process of data display in the form of a table. Third, she undertook a process of conclusion drawing and verification. Participants feature in this paper through pseudonyms, as do names of bars/pubs and roads, to conceal participants' identities. Yet, in order to contextualise quotations, participant ages and case study locations are given. Having discussed the methods underpinning the study, we now explore young people's vehicular im/mobilities.

Alcohol-Related Vehicular Im/mobilities

Some young people in the study, particularly those from Chorlton, enjoyed consuming alcohol in their local area, due to the slower rhythms, and a more relaxed alcohol consumption experience, in comparison to consuming alcohol in Manchester's city centre. 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 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 1:
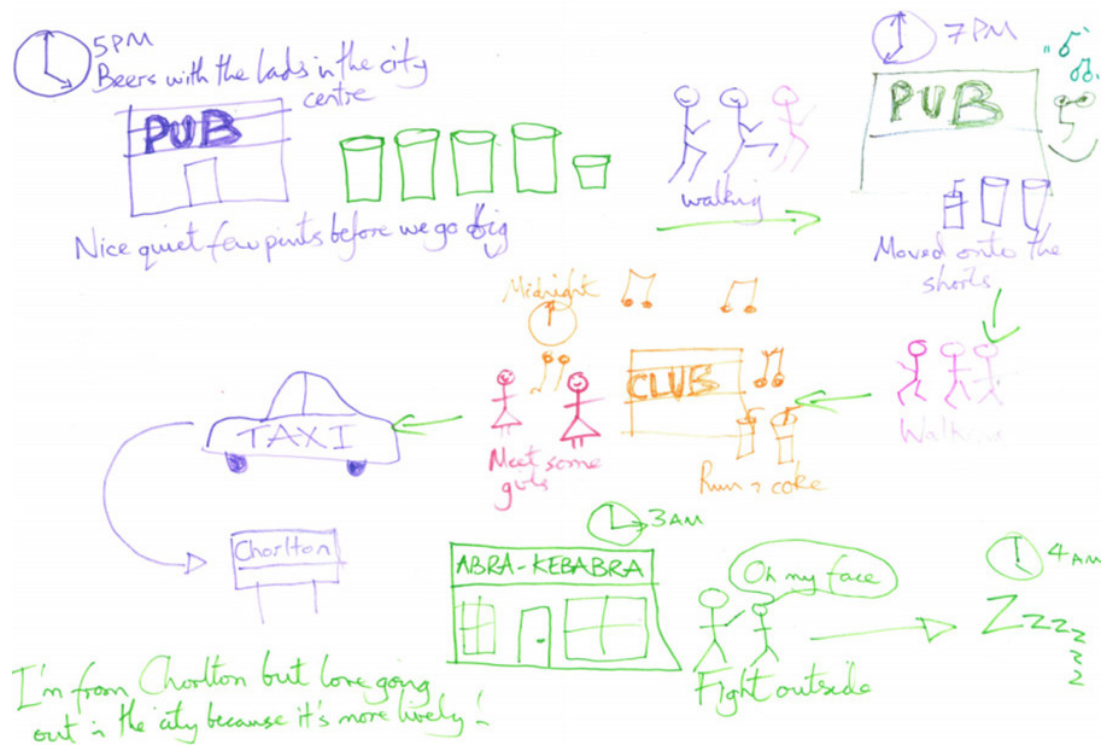
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Fig.1.: Tim's Night Out (Tim, 19, Chorlton)

Tim describes starting the night in a quiet pub with a few pints, 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 nightclub, where he may "meet some girls". After this, Tim would use a taxi to get back to Chorlton, where he would order 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. 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, and so a typical night out would start in the city following work. Figure 1 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 occasional desires to escape the temporalities associated with their suburban locations – in order to access commercial drinking premises elsewhere – many young people in the study vehemently oppose the idea of driving when under the influence of alcohol. Nonetheless, numerous young people in the study admitted 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 alcohol 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, recognising that drinking on the move leads to less wastage of drinks that have been purchased for home drinking. 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 the study, mobile spaces are emotionally important. This can be seen through the quotations 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)

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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, Teresa, 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 the first author's 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)

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). During participant observations, mobile phones enabled young people to manage moods, and orientations to space, enabling greater control over experiences (Wilson 2011). This enables young people to override the negative effects of boredom they may have otherwise encountered. The taxi ride to the city centre 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. The journey to the city centre then, is used as a "technical and social assemblage" to 'keep everyone going' (see Jensen *et al*. 2015, 370). The journey then is not simply a means of getting to the night out, it is a *fun*damental 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). Geographically dispersed young people in the study often wished to be co-present in the same place (Peters *et al*. 2010). However, as a consequence of 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. Having discussed how young people have both the capacity to affect, and be affected by, the atmospheres of vehicular mobilities, this paper now turns to discuss the atmospheres of bar / club spaces.

Commercial Drinking Spaces and Atmospheric Mobilities

Participant observations undertaken by the first author lend credence to 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 the researcher, influencing her corporeal experiences of space, and making a difference to the social experiences of alcohol consumption (see Duff 2012). The can be illustrated through the following passage from the first author's field diary:

> 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 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 the first author experienced a transformation, her 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). This notion is also evident in Peter's map of his drinking spaces (see Figure 2):
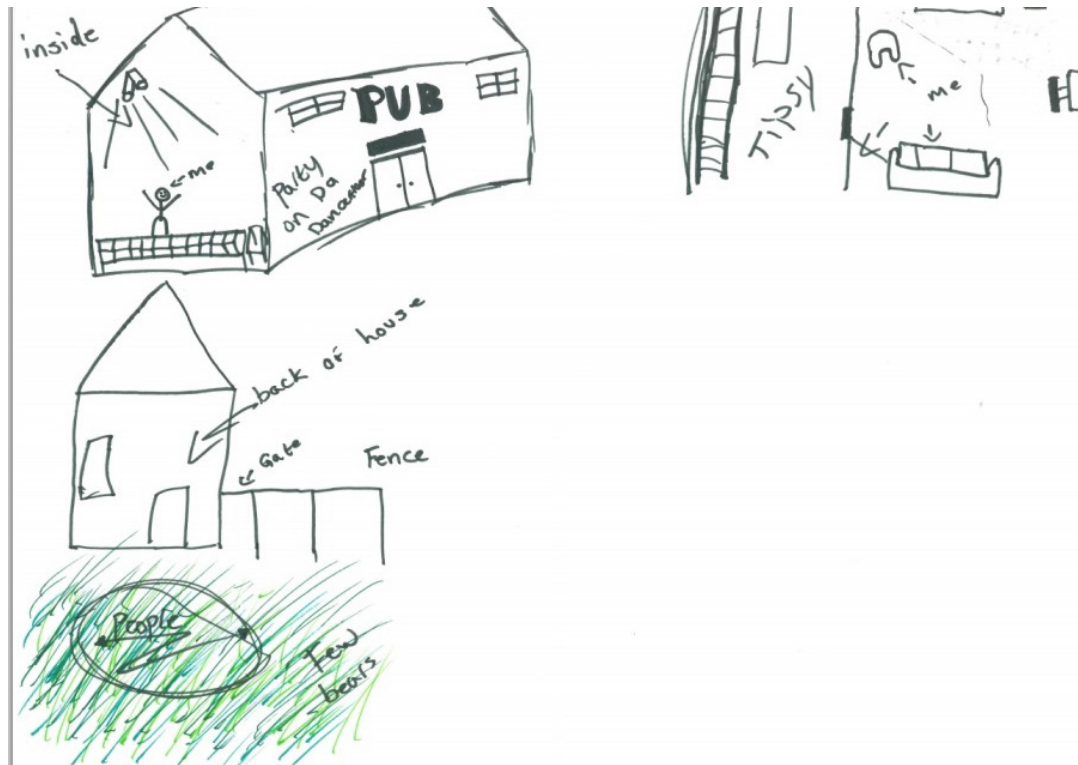
Figure 2: Peter's Night Out (Peter, 15, Wythenshawe)

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". Peter says 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 prime 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 gleaned 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, Kelly explicitly contends that the "atmosphere" helps her to get "more drunk". This is elaborated on by Jenny, who contrasts the feelings of drunkenness when sitting (being relatively immobile) 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 (2015). The author argues that proximity intensifies the interaction between bodies. In the context of bar crawls, the author states that, to be amongst a large group of people, is an experience not incomparable to the effects of consuming drugs (Tutenges 2015). Here Tutenges (2015) is alluding to the way in which a group of people can transform the atmosphere of a pub / club space.

As previously indicated, through participant observations, the researcher became attuned to the affective components of spaces (see Shaw 2014). More than this though, the researcher's embodied experiences taught her that different assemblages had different outcomes. For instance, brighter lighting and unfamiliar music were not conducive to dancing mobilities, thereby producing different rhythms. This is explored in an excerpt from the first author's 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 Forsyth (2009), an emotional response elicited by hearing a familiar song may encourage increased spending at the bar on that occasion. However, 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; less popular songs generate a different atmosphere, which are unsuitable for dancing mobilities. Nonetheless, it can be seen that the atmosphere of club space, partially generated by music, has a key role to play in alcohol consumption at the micro-level.

Some participants' stories offer a counterpoint to other participant's, and the researcher's 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 have the ability to create a sense of "collective effervescence" (Tutenges 2015, 289). 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 begun to grasp how bodies are affected by the atmospheres of clubspaces (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

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his friends and other club-goers experiencing. Contrary to Jayne and Valentine's (2016, 74) findings, whilst consuming alcohol, Charlie did not "feel-at-home" in this commercial venue. This relates to Edensor's (2015) 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 experiences, 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". 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. There are of course other aspects that can prevent young people from getting involved in, and hinder, positive drinking atmospheres, which warrant further attention. For instance, age (being too young, or feeling too old), the type of alcohol consumed, and food intake may preclude some people from accessing particular drinking atmospheres.

Conclusions

This paper has analysed the ways that atmospheres impact on, form, and alter experiences of mobility, with a focus on vehicular mobilities, and suburban commercial drinking spaces. This paper has demonstrated that the enmeshed theoretical lenses of atmospheres and mobilities can enable an appreciation that drinking spaces are relative and are not solely valued on their own merit, but also how they are part of a larger (sub)urban tissue (Cele 2013). Through exposing a variety of drinking spaces (e.g. taxis and buses), this paper goes some way towards departing from the alcohol studies literature's preoccupation with alcohol as 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).

Findings in this paper show that, for young people from Chorlton and Wythenshawe, transport enables them to break away from the place temporalities typical of their suburban locales. Young people often consume alcohol when on the move, in order to sustain their embodied feelings of drunkenness, with minimal further spending on alcohol. Thus, 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. This paper thus shows that vehicular mobilities are not only a means to get to nights out; they are *fun*damental constituents of nights out.

This paper has also shown how music, lighting, and other bodies were all materials acting on young people, influencing their corporeal experiences of space, and making a difference to the social experiences of alcohol consumption (Duff 2012). For instance, 'good' music and appropriate lighting can propel young people's bodies into movement, facilitating dancing mobilities. Equally, in opposition to findings in the existing literature (e.g. Forsyth 2009), this paper has shown how young people use moments when unfamiliar, or unpopular, songs are

being played to purchase drinks; less popular songs generate a different atmosphere, which are unsuitable for dancing mobilities. Importantly, this paper has illustrated, through the account of Charlie, that not all young people are enveloped by enjoyable atmospheres in drinking spaces; this warrants further attention.

To date, when young people's alcohol-related mobilities have been considered in the literature, it has typically been conceptualised in a reductive manner, which theorises mobility as a "product of rationally weighed decisions" (Spinney 2009, 820). This paper has contributed to a small body of work (e.g. Duff and Moore 2015; Shaw 2014; Wilkinson, S. 2015), in highlighting the emotional, embodied and affective aspects of alcohol-related mobilities, including vehicular mobilities, and mobilities in commercial drinking spaces, and has thus gone some way towards exposing the *lived experiences* of young people's drinking geographies. Such fun, and 'buzzy', yet also safe, alcohol-related mobilities described by young people are, however, somewhat at odds with the heavily regulated spaces preferred by planners and authorities. As this paper makes clear, young people themselves use the term 'atmosphere' when discussing their drinking stories; this paper thus argues that it is culturally credible for policymakers and planners to communicate with young people in their own language, regarding how to craft enjoyable, inclusive, and safe drinking atmospheres to share with friends. With this, there should be a move away from imposing, in a top-down manner, rules and regulations regarding where young people can, and cannot, consume alcohol (e.g. banning open space drinking); this approach completely downplays the relational, dynamic, and processual aspects of young people's night-life.

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