Musical Identities and Health over the Youth-Adult Transition

Douglas Iain Lonie

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University of Glasgow

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Abstract

This thesis concerns musical identities and how they affect health as young people make the transition to adulthood. The primary focus is on music listening, since this is widely reported to be a key feature of adolescents' and young adults' leisure time (Roe 1999; Tarrant, *et al* 2000). Previous studies have investigated the links between specific musical genres and problematic behaviour (Klein 1993), suicidal risk (Lacourse 2001), and emotional turmoil (Roberts 1998), however there is a lack of both longitudinal and qualitative evidence in support of these findings. A number of assumptions are made regarding 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' musical preferences although causal links between music and health are still not clear. Similarly, the extent to which musical behaviour is related to other demographic features (e.g. sex, social class, education) and whether this changes over the lifecourse have yet to be fully investigated.

The principal aim of the thesis is therefore to identify how musical identities relate to health and wellbeing over the youth-adult transition. In order to meet this aim a number of objectives have been devised, these are; to trace the development of musical identities and investigate the structure of music preference; to highlight associations between musical identity and risky health behaviours; to study the relationship between musical identities and emotional wellbeing; and to address the significance of musical identities in transitions to adulthood.

A dialectical methodology was adopted which synthesises quantitative and qualitative methods. The former involved statistical analysis of a large-scale longitudinal dataset (The West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study). The latter was a qualitative sub-study with 18 participants from the Twenty-07 Study, designed and analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Combining methods in this way allowed for philosophical pluralism in the methodological design, as well as for different aspects of the research aims to be addressed.

Musical preferences were found to change over the youth-adult transition for most people, and this affected the links between musical identity and health. The overriding distinction was between participants who perceived a strong musical self-identity, and those who claimed a more limited identity. This was evidenced in both quantitative and qualitative findings. The former group were more likely to engage in risky health behaviours, but also indicated a more sophisticated use of music for therapeutic purposes. The latter group were less likely to engage in risky health behaviours, but did not tend to use music as a well-being resource like their strong-identifying peers. Strong musical identities are associated with higher levels of risky health behaviours, but this is also largely limited to a specific period of youth. Many practices associated with maintaining a strong musical identity in youth are limited by the onset of adult responsibilities, and structural identities. The emotional benefits associated with a strong musical identity, however, remain alongside adult identities. Ultimately, the associations between music listening and health are mostly influenced by strength of identity, and the current academic literature highlighting 'problematic' genres should be considered with this in mind.

The implication of this work is that common sense assumptions about the corrosive nature of certain musical identities and youth cultures should be tempered by an acknowledgement that music tastes, associations, and identities are subject to change, often over very short periods of time.

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One of these days when you sit by yourself

You'll realise you can't shaft without someone else

In the end you will submit

Its got to hurt a little bit

-New Order, Sub-culture, 1985

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own independent work, except where otherwise stated. It has not been written or composed by another person and all sources have been appropriately acknowledged by giving explicit references. A detailed list of these references is appended.

I further declare that this work has not been previously submitted or accepted in substantially the same form for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

> **Musical key to unlocking teenage wasteland**
>
> DOCTORS should ask their teenage patients what type of music they prefer to determine if they are at risk of developing a mental illness or committing suicide, researchers say.
>
> A study, published in today's *Australasian Psychiatry* journal, found that teens who listened to pop music were more likely to be struggling with their sexuality, those tuning in to rap or heavy metal could be having unprotected sex and drink-driving, and those who favoured jazz were usually misfits and loners.
>
> The findings prompted a call for doctors to include musical tastes as a diagnostic indicator in mental health assessments.
>
> (Kate Benson, The Age (Melbourne), August 5th 2008)

This excerpt, from a recent report in one of Australia's highest circulating broadsheet newspapers, highlights the immediacy of questions around young people, music, and health. Popular reporting on young people's music preferences, and their involvement in music-based youth cultures, often aligns specific musical identities with negative behavioural, developmental, and health outcomes. This discourse of 'problematic preference' therefore permeates many lay (mainly adult) perceptions of young people's musical experience.

The resulting formula (music taste + young person = problem), is too often presented without consideration of the nuances of each element, or the reflection that causality itself should be questioned. Consider the alternative formulae; problem + young person = music taste, or indeed; problem + music taste = young person. Without adhering to the philosophical implications of mathematical determinism, it is clear that there are many ways that the relationship between music preference, the youth period, and problems that people face (whether health related or not) can be discussed and understood.

'Music and health' is often semantically aligned with music therapy, or with treatment. This undercuts the social significance of music in many people's *everyday* lives. Music is a ubiquitous feature of modern life, but it also has a capacity to communicate more than just sounds. As Frith (1996) has suggested, music operates in much the same way as identity; it is at once social and individual, and can be worn and constructed in many different ways, carrying multiple meanings and interpretations. This implies that musical identities are not solid, fixed, or applicable to all people, but are taken on, amplified, and rejected, from person to person, and over time (Hargreaves, Miell & MacDonald 2002). The extent to which this affects health during youth and beyond is an important topic, since music is rarely studied in this context so explicitly.

The common conclusion that certain music tastes are directly related to problematic outcomes does not acknowledge the temporality and dynamism of musical identity (as something separate from music taste). To hypothesise that a preference for certain music causes ill health is too simplistic. The lens should be widened to consider how musical preferences are established and change, the way that taste contributes to musical identity, and the way that musical identities function in adolescence and into adulthood. Once these have been considered, associations between musical identity and health can be more confidently investigated.

Youth lifestyles have been the focus of many studies on young people's health, often discussed in relation to whether structure or agency determines health outcomes. These are important, and have influenced the design of the current study; however, an attempt has been made here to more fully explore how music is related to lifestyle, and how music may be important *apart* from lifestyle (emotional interactions with music, for instance).

The main questions addressed by the thesis are therefore:

What theoretical perspectives have investigated the relationship between music and health in youth, and what is lacking from the established literature?

How do people make sense of their music preferences? Do preferences change over the youth-adult transition?

What makes up a musical identity? How are musical identities related to other aspects of the youth experience? Are musical identities related to health behaviours and decisions? How does this change as young people become adults?

How does musical identity affect emotional interactions with music? Can mental ill health be predicted according to musical identity?

How do musical identities interact with transitions to adulthood? Are musical identities pertinent in adulthood? How do different transitions affect health and health behaviours?

In order to answer these questions, a dialectic method was employed. This involved utilising methodology from the competing epistemologies of positivism and interpretivism. The former was through statistical analysis of a longitudinal dataset, The West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study. The latter took the form of 18 semi-structured interviews, designed and analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. By combining methodologies, it was hoped that a suitable 'depth of reality' was reported; an account neither embedded in positivism or interpretivism, but a dialectical synthesis.

The chapter following this one reviews the theories and empirical studies that have contributed to established knowledge on young people's health, identities, and the place of music and youth culture in relation to these. It begins with a discussion of the issues and debates in young people's health, and the implications of lifestyles. This is followed by an account of influential theories on youth cultural organisation and the tension between structure and agency in making sense of youth identities. Studies focusing on music lifestyles and health are considered in the next section. The various theories on taste and musical identity are then presented along with some empirical examples of the application of these theories. Previous findings that have identified associations

between musical identity and a number of health outcomes are then evaluated, followed by a section reviewing the literature on music and emotion. The last section discusses transition theories and the place of cultural transitions within the established literature. In the concluding section, a number of issues and questions raised by the literature are summarised.

Chapter 3 begins with a consideration of the dialectic method, and evaluates the rationale of using methods from opposing epistemologies. The various philosophical perspectives that led to the methodological design are then considered before a detailed description of the survey used for the quantitative analysis is presented. A description of the statistical tests employed, and a list of measures used makes up the next section of the chapter. The qualitative sampling procedure is then discussed, alongside an explanation of IPA and the analysis process. The final sections of the chapter relate to ethical considerations and researcher reflexivity.

In order to investigate the 'nature' of music taste over the youth-adult transition, Chapter 4 presents frequency tables detailing the distribution of music taste and frequency tables relating to taste constancy. This is followed by the qualitative findings relating to music preference. These focus on seven dominant themes: early interest; taste epiphanies; following the crowd; structural circumstances and changing tastes; the soup pot; and finally a section detailing the division in the sample between those with a strong, and those with a limited musical identity.

The extent to which music preferences and scene affiliations predict risky health behaviours is the focus of Chapter 5. Univariate findings relating to scene affiliation in the form of frequency distributions, factor analysis, and cross tabulations are discussed. This is followed by the first set of multivariate results investigating the links between musical identities and health behaviours. The qualitative findings in this chapter concentrate on how scene identities develop and the perceived consequences for participants' health, framed by six themes; defining a scene; community; ritual and convention; perceptions of substance use and comparative justification; scene as a protective site; and scene

cessation.

Chapter 6 focuses on the relationship between musical identities and mental and emotional health. Another set of tables are presented, displaying associations between mental ill health and musical identity. The qualitative results address how musical emotions are experienced, and reports differences based on musical identity. The themes discussed are: interaction, causality, and intentionality; distraction; group effervescence; narrative catalyst; emotional attachment; and musical identity and 'listening against the grain'.

The final results chapter, Chapter 7, is concerned with the impact of musical identity on transitions. Here, the relationship between transition measures (such as education, parental, and relationship status) and music taste and identity are examined. The qualitative findings focus on participants' perceptions of their adult identities and the role of music and culture therein. This takes the form of four main themes: cultural and structural transitions to adulthood; socio-structural pressures on late transitioners; gendered transitions; and structural/cultural identities and health.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings, explores the extent to which the thesis aims have been met, situates the findings in the context of debates identified in the literature review, and discusses limitations and potential avenues for future research.

By approaching the question of whether music directly affects young people's health from these varying perspectives, it is hoped that the myopic perspective widely presented by the mass media is put into context. The 'sex, drugs, and rock n roll' cliché is too often presented as fact at the expense of how young people actually experience their musical identities. This thesis aims to redress the balance by paying due attention to where musical identities come from, how they may be related to health outcomes, and, crucially, how this changes as they become adults. The results present an important challenge to current common sense discourse that vilifies many musical identities. The debates around music's corrupting influence on young people have been raging for many

years, but rarely in full consideration of the evidence. This thesis contributes evidence in the hope that future debates have a less hyperbolic tone and more closely reflect people's understanding and experience.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Introduction

A number of academic disciplines must be considered in order to identify links between music and health. Sociological approaches to music often focus on the importance of identity, placing musical behaviour within broader social systems. Psychological approaches are split between experimental studies aiming to isolate specific musical effects on the brain and body, and social psychological investigations seeking to uncover people's perception of music, and how this contributes to their sense of self. Musicology often focuses on specific musical structures and works 'outward', making links between the formal characteristics of music and its historical and social significance (sometimes including health). In addition, there is a broad literature on the therapeutic effects of music making and listening in sociology, psychology, medicine and neuroscience. The previous chapter has highlighted the rationale and focus of the present study; this thesis cannot contribute to all of these wider literatures. Instead, the following review is intended to highlight the relevant findings, debates, and gaps that led to the formulation of the research questions.

It begins with a consideration of the changing parameters of young people's health in recent years, and the new approaches that led to the conceptualisation of the present study. Theoretical and empirical studies of music scenes and their influence on young people's health will then be discussed. This is followed by a discussion of theories on how identities are formed and how music, in particular, can play a key role in people's identities. An extension of this work is the growing number of studies aligning music preference with a range of personality and developmental characteristics.   The complex relationship between music and emotion is then considered, including a description of the theoretical influences on the treatment of music and emotion in the current thesis. The penultimate section focuses on studies discussing the youth-adult

transition, and the place of culture as an integral aspect of this process. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the gaps remaining in the literature.

Issues and Debates in Young People's Health

The publication of the Black Report in 1980 (Townsend, Davidson & Black *1982*) led to a renewed focus on health inequalities in the United Kingdom. Its findings, that those from the lowest social classes had far higher morbidity and mortality rates across the lifespan, emphasised the significance of material conditions in predicting health (and death). The resultant resurgence of funding for public health meant many studies investigated structure and social class in a bid to devise interventions to minimise inequalities (Martin & McQueen 1989). Structure, in this sense, refers to the organisation of society according to material wealth, education, and employment. In terms of culture, the Black Report concentrated on a 'culture of poverty' (i.e. the norms, ideas, and behaviours of those in poverty) as a prevailing explanation for health inequalities. The 'culture of poverty' thesis suggested that those in poverty engaged in unhealthy behaviours (smoking, drinking alcohol to excess, eating high volumes of saturated fats and refined sugars, engaging in little exercise) as an expression of their structural position. Precisely because these behaviours were culturally learned and normalised they were viewed as the result of structural forces acting upon individuals and not the product of individual agency. The consequence of these health behaviours resulted in a greater risk of morbidity, and an elevated mortality rate. Thus, the dominant paradigm resulting from the Black Report was that culture was expressed in behaviour, and that health inequalities were largely determined by structural forces.

The advent of new social theory changed the dominant structuralist paradigms often used as the rationale for studies of health inequalities and resulted in 'culture' being reformulated. Rather than being conceived of as structurally determined, culture emerged as something that could be actively engaged in (or actively disengaged in) with alternative consequences for health. Giddens (1990, 1991) postulated that social actors in late modernity are reflexive about

their identities and emphasised the extent to which choices affect people's wider social situation. In recognising how individual action both shapes and is shaped by social structure, Giddens weakened the traditional opposition between structure and agency and moved the debate on to how people understand and account for their action within structural milieus (or 'the post-reflexive choice' (1990)). This theory was echoed in Beck (1992), who suggested that modern societies are mitigated around conceptions of risk. Beck (1992) and Giddens (1990) suggested that people's decisions are made in consideration of the consequences of individual behaviour (for themselves and wider society) and this extends to how personal behaviour might affect health risks. The work of Giddens and Beck illustrates how new conceptualisations of society have reframed the questions addressed by social research, in this case, young people's health. An understanding of reflexivity, identity, and risk, provides another paradigm through which to consider how various aspects of the social world (including musical identity) interact with health.

Culture, in this sense, is presented as something that is both actively engaged in (i.e. external to individuals) and something that is integral to people's identity (i.e. an internal feature). Importantly, culture is not presented as an essential characteristic (as in the 'culture of poverty' thesis), but instead, something that is actively negotiated by individuals and that shifts in time. Music, as a key aspect of culture externally (through music cultures like opera, clubbing, or jazz festivals), and internally (through identities like opera buff, clubber, or jazz enthusiast – or indeed, opera singer, DJ, or jazz musician) therefore represents one aspect of culture that can be separated out for investigation. By developing and negotiating musical identities, and facilitating these identities in particular lifestyles (or actions), people may be making decisions, or being exposed to sites, that will have consequences for their health. In a public health context, the conception has moved from culture as an aspect of structural circumstance (e.g. working class culture, or a culture of poverty), to culture as an active and renegotiated aspect of people's identity. One approach, used often in studies on young people, is to investigate lifestyles (i.e. the 'living out' of behaviours and actions guided by cultural identities) and health.

A recent focus on young people's lifestyles, and how these may determine the adoption of certain health behaviours, was adopted by Karvonen, West, Sweeting, Rahkonen and Young (2001).   The authors separated young people into four main leisure and lifestyle categories in a comparative study based on data from 15 year olds from Glasgow and Helsinki (4616 cases in total), aiming to investigate differences in health behaviours related to leisure.   The categories were; Conventional (hobbies like Scouts), Sports/Games (watch and play regularly), Commercialised (listening to music, clubbing) and Street-Based (hanging about on the street).   It was found that, although there were more middle-class young people in the 'conventional' category and more working-class young people in the 'street-based' leisure category, 'sports/games' and 'commercial' leisure were not related to class.   The authors concluded that it was which leisure category young people belonged to, rather than class, that was associated principally with health behaviours (i.e. smoking, drinking, and illicit drug use).   Those involved in commercialised leisure (i.e. going to clubs/gigs more) and street based leisure, which has been strongly associated with music (Willis 1990), had higher rates of smoking, drinking and drug use than those in the other two lifestyle categories.   Karvonen, *et al*. highlight how there is potential for movement between different categories at different times over the youth period, but that the factors they identified were cross-sectionally robust.   The authors conclude:

> 15 year olds from professional class backgrounds [are] just as likely to be into music, shopping and clubs or discos as those from semi-skilled or unskilled classes. This is the strongest single piece of evidence supporting the post-modern thesis since…it is precisely in relation to both the production and consumption of commercialized leisure, and its associated youth lifestyles, that the greatest fracturing of class would be expected to occur. (Karvonen, *et al*. 2001:407)

This is not to suggest that these authors accepted 'the postmodern thesis' entirely; but that the evidence stacked up more strongly behind this than more traditional structural explanations. The findings suggest that an understanding of how young people engage with music (along with other leisure activities) as a prime feature of their spare time, and whether it matters in their lives can help in understanding their health problems.   As Karvonen, *et al* (2001) pointed out: young people in late modern society participate in commercialised leisure

according to individual agency, but within the structural confines of opportunities available to them.

Instead of assuming that health behaviours and health are structurally determined, Karvonen, *et al* (2001) highlight culture and lifestyle as crucial co-predictors. Identifying these lifestyle attributes (e.g. 'street based' or 'conventional') as dynamic and subject to change over the lifecourse also indicates how the authors have been influenced by the new social theory of authors like Giddens and Beck.

The finding that youth lifestyle is a key predictor of health behaviours supports other studies which provide evidence of health equalisation during the youth period. West (1997) reviewed the findings of a number of studies on adolescent health before concluding that the common sense assumption that social class predicts ill health across the lifecourse is not entirely supported. For many chronic conditions (including asthma), non-fatal accidents, and mental health there are no notable class differences in the adolescent period, although they do return in later adulthood. There are, however, class differences in fatal accidents and limiting longstanding illness (West 1997). West suggests that the observed equalisation is the result of the distinctiveness of the youth period; a time when peer group, youth culture and youth lifestyles may override the traditional structural influences of the family and neighbourhood on health conditions.

A range of studies have been conducted which support this theory (Glendinning, Hendry, & Shucksmith, 1995; Glendinning, Love, Hendry, & Shucksmith, 1992; Macintyre & West, 1991), using different samples and measures. They conclude that, with the exception of height and severe chronic illness, socio-economic status does not predict ill health in adolescence. In a more recent analysis, West and Sweeting (2004) investigated health measures in a Scottish sample (n=2063) at ages 11, 13 and 15 to test the equalisation hypothesis at an earlier stage of youth. Importantly, the authors used head of household occupation, neighbourhood deprivation, and housing tenure to assess the socio-economic status of the young people sampled. Their findings, that relative equality is

evident for limiting longstanding illness for both sexes, that there is equalisation for males in physical and malaise symptoms, and for females in some physical symptoms (and a reverse gradient for malaise symptoms), strengthens the equalisation hypothesis and suggests that the concept of 'youth' may need reconsidered. Peer, school, and lifestyle effects may have an impact on young people's health at an even earlier stage than was previously considered. The authors suggest that 'traditional' structural explanations for health inequalities in youth and adolescence are not adequate to explain many of the factors affecting young people's health in modern societies.

Some recent studies, however, support the influence of socio-economic status (SES) in determining the health of adolescents. In the UK, Emerson, Graham and Hatton (2006) provided evidence from a cross-sectional survey of children aged 5-15 years (n=10,438) using household income as the measure of Socio-Economic Status. Whilst the authors did not distinguish between children and adolescents in the study, they found significant differences in 13 of 22 measures of health (i.e. children and young people from lower income households were more likely to experience poor health states). They cited their measure of SES as a more valid indicator than occupational measures used in other studies. However, the survey measured young people's health by parental report, which may temper the strength of their conclusions when compared to the self-report and 'objective' measurements used in the studies cited previously. Similarly, the evidence is mixed as to whether household income is a good indicator of SES. The measuring of social class or SES in youth based on material indicators is especially difficult since young people can participate in formal and informal economies, therefore their own incomes may not be dictated by their parental incomes. They may also follow different social, labour and education trajectories that affect their own class status, as Piko and Fitzpatrick (2001) concluded in relation to measures of psychosocial health, where own SES predicted health status but parental SES did not.

Chen, Martin and Matthews (2006), using US data, concluded that health states (acute illness and accidents) remained patterned according to SES throughout adolescence, as opposed to health status (longstanding illness) which did not.

They used parental reports of health conditions over a wide age range (0-18) and measured SES by assessing parental education and household income. The authors acknowledge a problem in using such a wide age range, meaning that their evidence cannot be directly compared to studies which focus on the adolescent life stage. Similarly, they suggest that cultural variations in other countries may account for the difference in findings. Although rejecting the equalisation hypothesis based on their own findings, they do suggest that a greater understanding of which factors affect health at different stages of the lifecourse are necessary to design interventions and address any remaining inequalities.

A review of studies on SES and health *behaviours* in adolescence also reached mixed conclusions. Hanson and Chen (2007) concluded that low SES was associated with poorer diets, less physical activity and greater cigarette smoking, however there were no associations between SES and alcohol consumption or marijuana use. The authors conclude that the associations between SES and health behaviours are less clear-cut than in adulthood, therefore the influence of peer groups, schools and youth culture should be considered. However, they also suggest a focus on the health education of low SES families is the best approach in eliminating young people's adoption of negative health behaviours.

As can be seen, evidence of the relationship between socio-economic status and health in adolescence is not conclusive. There do appear to be some health states and health behaviours that are more prevalent amongst those from lower SES backgrounds, whereas for other behaviours and conditions there is little or no relationship (although there are continuing debates around how health and SES are measured). The conclusion that young people's health is determined by socio-economic status in the studies discussed above is also obscured by the wide age range of the samples. The argument put forward by those pertaining to the equalisation hypothesis is that the youth phase (i.e. the phase after childhood) is when traditional SES differences are less significant. Evidence of this explanation is more compelling due to the methodological problems of those countering it (i.e. conflating youth with childhood).

Music, in the form of listening, participating, or facilitating social organisation is an integral aspect of many youth lifestyles, and the extent to which it influences health behaviours, practices, and conditions requires empirical attention. In order to investigate whether music cultures and identities override traditional structural determinants of health in the youth phase, a clearer understanding of how music is integrated into the lifestyles and identities of young people must first be established.

There is a broad literature on associations between music and acute health conditions, whether concerned with pain tolerance (Mitchell, MacDonald, Serpell and Knussen, 2007), psychological distress (Pavlicevic, 1997), or clinical treatment (Standley, 1986). However, the scope of the current thesis does not allow for such a wide conception of health. Instead, the focus is on health behaviours, in order to examine whether the practices associated with musical identities in youth have health consequences in the longer term. As the literature already discussed implies, there is much to be learned about the links between music and health in 'everyday' life, both within and beyond the youth period. However, before the links between musical identity and health behaviours are fully explored a clearer discussion of divergent theories around youth culture is presented.

Youth Culture and Lifestyle: the place of Identity

The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) was largely responsible for focusing academic attention on the concept of 'youth culture' (during a period when most attention came from a sensationalist media). The department conducted and published studies from the 1960s to the 1990s that reformulated ways of thinking about young people, especially in relation to their use of media, fashion, and style. A lasting legacy of the CCCS is the continuing study of how young people organise themselves in groups, and of the meaning this has for themselves and for wider society.

The overarching concern of the CCCS was with 'subcultures', which are the norms, practices, codes, and boundaries (symbolic and territorial) followed by groups of people within a parent culture (usually a social class strata in mid-late 20th Century Britain). When defined by age and generation the focus was on 'youth subcultures', highlighting the opposition, not only between sub-culture and parent culture, but also between some young people and their parents. Crucially, the CCCS initially theorised that subcultures were contained within the dominant structures of society, notably social class, and that, although resistance to these arrangements was often a feature of youth subcultures, they did not exist outside of the rules and codes that governed society (Clarke & Jefferson 1974).

Style was one of the most important ways in which subcultural members could express resistance to the dominant culture (e.g. skinheads wearing short jeans, boots and shaving their heads), and music was another device used to express rebellion. However, both were also used to highlight affiliation and hierarchy within subcultural group situations. Clarke and Jefferson (1974) wrote that these styles and rituals (i.e. the repeated practices associated with a subculture) are eventually diffused by other social agents and co-opted by powerful structural forces (like the media and fashion), highlighting how subculturally specific homologies become defunct and devoid of their original meaning. The creation of 'skinhead weetabix' (in an advert for the breakfast cereal) upon the popularity and mainstream acceptance of two-tone and ska music and skinhead style in the 1980s, provides one example of the processes that lead to the disintegration of subcultural groups.

There have been many criticisms of the CCCS, not all of which can be covered here; however, the Birmingham School's inclusion of music as a key feature of youth subcultures has led to a greater focus on how music cultures operate in youth. One key criticism of the early CCCS authors is their failure to account for individual agency in their description and evaluation of youth cultures. Rather than focus on individual identity and how this may affect people's decisions and actions, they consistently returned to social structures, demarcating work (or education), family, and leisure as spheres of influence on individual action.

Thus, they can be accused of being essentialist or deterministic in their theoretical approach. The notion that social structure will ultimately dictate people's actions and life chances despite resistance or disruption in the form of youth culture has been challenged, with a renewed focus on the conceptualisation of the youth experience. Authors such as Bennet (1999, 2000, 2004), Miles (2000) and Willis (1990) have reformulated the concept of youth culture in a bid to take account of how contemporary youth identities may interact with and inform other spheres of life.

Willis (1990), writing from a symbolic interactionist perspective, criticised the narrow focus of much previous CCCS work and suggested that the mass consumerism (or 'common culture') in which contemporary young people participate in can be used to create and recreate a number of identities. This symbolic creativity is:

> the creation of new meanings, intrinsically attached to feeling, energy and psychic movement. Human be-ing-ness - means to be creative in the sense of re-making the world for ourselves as we make and find our own place and identity (1990:11).

In linking everyday culture with the ability to inform identity and action in young people, Willis moved away from the deterministic perspective of his CCCS colleagues. Instead, and using music as an example, Willis suggested that hegemonic conditions can be resisted and overturned through consumption, identity, and style. In purchasing a CD, or going to a concert or nightclub, a young person can reinterpret their place in the world (or social structure) despite their material conditions. As a ubiquitous commodity in youth, music is especially suited to this practice, as well as creating sites and opportunities for young people to come together to participate in symbolic creativity. Rather than viewing the continuation of subcultures as diffusion into mainstream culture, Willis celebrates the symbolic opportunities that the homologies of subcultures brought to young people, democratising style and providing wider opportunities for identity work.

Before continuing this theme, it should be made clear what is meant by the term 'identity' in the context of this thesis. The concept of identity used throughout is influenced by the work of Mead (Mead and Morris 1934) and Goffmann (1959), whose approach is commonly described as symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionists interpret the self as being made up from a range of identities, portrayed in different situations. Rather than accepting an essentialist construction of the unified self as created and maintained over the lifecourse, symbolic interactionist perspectives acknowledge that people's (range of) identities will change as their roles and responsibilities change, sometimes over a long period of time, and sometimes many times within a day. A hypothetical example might be a male gendered identity that, over time, shifts from a youth-oriented identity associated with the roles of son, school pupil, or apprentice and later the roles of father, manager, or husband/lover. Whilst the male identity may dominate in how the self is negotiated and presented throughout, the identity may also shift between authoritative, naive, decisive, or sensitive, depending on the roles. Giddens (1990) took this theory further by suggesting that social actors are often aware of this process, and fret over the agency they exercise in selecting which identities suit which roles and situations.

Whilst identities can shift quickly, and many different identities can be portrayed within one day, or one hour, certain identities are solidified through social interaction. Therefore, if a certain role associated identity (e.g. father) is portrayed (by the self) and perceived by someone else, it is strengthened in the actor and in the perceiver; identities are strengthened through interactions within communities (Goffmann 1959). Tajfel (1978) also addressed social identities by suggesting that people understand their identities, and pinpoint others', by associating them with groups. Further than this, they suggest that the process of being placed in a group strengthens identities, by encouraging favourable comparison with other groups. Using this theory Tarrant, North and Hargreaves (2001) demonstrated how music functions as a distinguishing feature of identity finding that school age young people were more likely to see themselves and their peers as more into 'liked' music (dance, indie, pop and so forth) and less into 'disliked' music (such as classical, jazz and heavy metal) than a fictional representative group from another school. This supports the

notion that in-group identities are seen as more positive and meaningful than out-group identities, and goes some way in explaining why people who like the same sort of music may see themselves as representing a solid group of shared social identities.

Identities in the current thesis are therefore understood as multiple and varied. Musical identities are the identities associated with being a fan of a particular band or artist, as well as those defined by behaviour (attending gigs, club nights and so forth), they are at once individual (aiding in understanding of the self) and social (identities lived out and perceived by others). This is close to the formulation used by Hargreaves *et al.* (2002), although they also make the distinction between 'music in identities', and 'identities in music'; the latter referring to the identities of musicians, performers, composers and so forth, the former to how listeners and 'fans' use music in their identities and presentations of the self. In addition to discussion of musical identities, a distinction is also made in the present study between cultural and structural identities. Cultural identities are focused on music, scene involvement, leisure, and lifestyles, whereas structural identities refer to the presentation of the self based on class background, marital status, educational achievement, and parenthood. By using the concept of identity in this way, the extent to which musical, cultural, and structural identities inform decisions and actions over the youth-adult transition can be fully investigated.

Taste is intrinsically linked to identity, one formulation being that taste is the external display of identity. When someone says that they like or dislike a particular piece of music it may be considered an expression of their identity, offered as a ground of commonality between two people or as a distinguishing feature from others.

Bourdieu (1984) held that taste is culturally inscribed and learned from birth, reproduced by, and reproducing, the class structure of a society. Through learned cultural codes, each class strata externalises their status through language, dress, and 'aesthetic disposition' and, crucially for the current study, music preference (Bourdieu 1984). Although Bourdieu's theory on taste is

complex, it can be criticised for being overly deterministic. Bourdieu suggests that the structural propagation of cultural capital occurs at an objective level (i.e. people are not aware of externalising their structural position through taste), and that, once embarked upon, the accumulation of cultural capital is unidirectional. In approaching cultural organisation from a structuralist frame, comparisons can be made to the work of the CCCS. Music preference, in this sense, does not offer an opportunity for identity work (or play), but is a manifestation of a person's structural circumstance and history. Bourdieu's recognition that taste and preference are used as a mark of distinction between social actors and groups is useful; however, there have been some major and more appropriate revisions of this theory since.

Hennion (2001, 2007) suggests that the *modus operandi* of taste is a combination of agency, embodiment, and enactment, all carried out within specific social situations and milieus, but as a conscious and reflexive act. He claims (2007) that Bourdieu's failure is to disavow the active nature of taste and overemphasise habitus and field as acting upon subjects' tastes. Hennion's formulation of taste does not invalidate Bourdieu's contribution but instead builds upon it to acknowledge that whilst structural conditions are important, agents are fully aware of how they act upon their identities. This recognition of the reflexive nature of taste and its link to personal and social identity is most useful for the current study since it acknowledges the potential for change over time. This theory of taste can be extended and linked to the literature on musical identities, which highlights self-awareness and reflexivity as core aspects of how identities function. Ultimately, expressions of taste and the projection of multiple (musical) identities, affords young people agency in making sense of their place in the quickly changing world around them and may carry more meaning during this period than their class background, or educational status.

Young people may share common interests, or a common identity, based around a type of music, or a specific artist; they may also follow a style of dress suited to this preference as a symbol of their taste and identity. However, as many authors have argued (Bennett 1999, 2000, 2004, Malbon 1999, Miles 2000), this

stylistic expression does not amount to a structured system of values and beliefs, or express commonality in terms of class, sex, or ethnicity. This is not to say that there are no groups of young people structured according to these parameters, but the interests and identities expressed and practised will differ greatly *within* these groups. While the CCCS formulation of subculture presupposes a system of shared values and beliefs, Willis (1990) suggests there is a form of collective symbolic expression in young people coming together based simply on shared music tastes and nothing more.

Bennett's perspective (1999, 2000, 2004) is close to Willis'. Based on qualitative interviews with young people from a range of music scenes, Bennett argues that people are socially organised as neo-tribes. He suggests that identities are fleeting and that youth cultural organisation is often transient and carries little meaning beyond the bare expression of (musical) identity. There is no common cultural value or meaningful opposition to dominant social structures; affiliations are variable and open to change at any point. This perspective is useful in understanding the range of musical participation undertaken by young people, including going to a range of nightclubs, listening to a range of artists and bands, and participating in different music scenes. It also allows for change over the course of the youth-adult transition.

Bennett (2004) settles on the term 'scenes' to describe the youth music cultures associated with specific artists, genres, sites or tastes. Scenes are communities that use music as a symbolic anchor, and can cut across gender, class, ethnicity, and national borders. Indeed, the rise of the internet allows scenes to be constructed easily and cheaply across the world. Some scenes are predicated on site-specific spaces (e.g. a particular local rock venue), although strong scenes can also be maintained even when members never meet physically (regular contributors to a band's internet forum, for instance). Bennett argues that this conception of scene best describes the many cultural formulations that young people make and suggests that young people conceive of and portray their identities through attachment to various scenes. Thus Bennett reformulates the contributions of the CCCS and Willis (1990) in suggesting that identification with scenes is fluid across the lifecourse (though especially in youth) and that the

lifestyles young people adopt are influenced by their neo-tribal identity at any given point and independent of their structural circumstances.

Bennett's perspective has been strongly criticised by structuralist authors in recent years. Blackman (2005), and Shildrick and MacDonald (2006) suggest that the CCCS analysis is still useful and that young people are most influenced by their structural surroundings (i.e. class, family, education) in making decisions and developing identities. Blackman concludes that the post-structuralist fixation with the liberating powers of commodities and a focus on youth identities constantly in flux is a theoretical consequence of late 20th/early 21st Century neo-liberal ideology. Shildrick and MacDonald (2006) argue that a key aim of the CCCS work on youth cultures was to investigate individual biographies, and therefore the recent focus on the agent in post-structuralist theory is actually inherent in much of the CCCS's output. The conclusion of both papers is that the lived experiences and life chances of young people are still heavily dictated by class and structure (e.g. education, material wealth) despite any identity work during the youth period. What this perspective fails to acknowledge, however, is that young people's actions and behaviour may be stimulated by the identities that are meaningful to them at that time. The social class, or deprivation category, of a young person may predict their likelihood of going to university (in statistical modelling at least), but their taste in music, scene involvement, and sense of style may be more significant in their immediate decision making process. This is especially applicable for health related decisions.

Hesmondhalgh (2005) suggests that it is engagement with consumption as a *distraction* from school, home life and 'the problem of identity' that explains young people's readiness to engage in leisure and lifestyle activities. Instead of illustrating young people as actively negotiating their identities according to bands, CDs/mp3s, concerts and T-shirts and living their life accordingly, Hesmondhalgh uses the terms 'genre' (what they like) and 'articulation' (how they demonstrate these tastes) to describe the place and meaning of music in people's lives. Crucially, Hesmondhalgh argues that the conflation of 'youth culture' with 'popular music' does a disservice to the social study of both. He

outlines the social and cultural value of music as something separate from the cultural development of 'youth', and suggests that a deeper understanding of music will occur when it is no longer only attributed significance during the youth phase. Similarly, he argues that the energies spent on precise terminology describing how young people organise themselves shifts the focus away from how they actually experience their lives and the conditions under which this occurs. In suggesting that not every young person navigates their identity in a musical scene or tribe, and indeed, that any such process occurs beyond the confines of youth, Hesmondhalgh suggests, correctly, that much youth cultural theory should be toned down and less generalised.   Whilst Hesmondhalgh underestimates the salience of musical identities for some young people (i.e. in guiding their actions more than structural determinants), he is correct in highlighting how this is not the case for *all* young people.

Miles (2000) links many of these perspectives by explicitly focusing on youth lifestyles (as opposed to subcultures, tribes, or scenes). Based on interview and focus group data, his evidence suggests that young people are strongly influenced by, and express themselves with, the commodities around them (including music). However, the extent to which young people can engage in these practices is mitigated by their structural circumstances. Rather than their structural identities dictating their practices, they use commodities and lifestyles as a way of navigating the difficulties that life, and the youth-stage in particular, creates for them. As Miles (2000) concludes:

> Young people use their lifestyles to navigate the structural-cultural dilemmas of social change. It is in this sense that youth lifestyles have been de-territorialized. Young people no longer depend on subcultural affirmation for the construction of their identities (if indeed they ever did) but construct lifestyles that are as adaptable and flexible as the world around them. (Miles 2000:159)

Rather than seeking a precise definition of youth cultural organisation (as the CCCS, Bennett, Willis, and others have been accused of), Miles illustrates that young people engage in various lifestyles that express aspects of their identity and are likely to change during the youth phase, and over the lifecourse. If musical practices (purchasing, listening, attending gigs, following styles,

engaging in scenes) are considered as aspects of young people's lifestyles, it follows that these practices may influence health. From this perspective, young people are neither entirely defined by their musical tastes, nor are they entirely confined by their structural circumstances. Instead, they engage in lifestyles that affect their health in different ways, and at different times.

The suggestion that music preference and engagement with music scenes is transient and actively used by young people to negotiate their structural conditions can be explicitly tied to the reformulation of culture within health studies. As Miles' concept of lifestyle implies, young people live out their tastes and identities through behaviour and action. Culture is active ('I choose to be a dance music fan who attends clubs and chooses to behave in a certain way') rather than passive ('my choices are restrained and guided by the structural-cultural identity I have'). However, in a world of post-reflexive choices (Giddens 1990) it may be that people conceive of their actions according to both perspectives. By discussing the contribution of youth cultural theorists, the centrality of identity culture is brought to the fore. Questions remain as to whether cultural identities (e.g. 'dance music fan' or 'clubber') dictate practices, including health behaviours and decisions, more so than structural identities (e.g. 'working class teenager' or 'academic underachiever'). However, as the findings discussed at the beginning of the chapter suggest, there is evidence that health outcomes are predicated on cultural identities (i.e. lifestyles) more so than structural identities (i.e. class) in youth.

North and Hargreaves (2008) make a useful distinction between music taste and music preference, pertinent to the current thesis. To clarify, there is a difference between *music preference* (the short-term liking or disliking of a certain piece of music), *music taste* (the expression of longer-term preferences between broader genres), and *musical identity* (the extent to which music is understood as being expressive of the self and is demonstrated through behaviour). The three 'levels' are linked, with musical identities determining and being determined by preferences and tastes, however, it is useful to consider musical identities as functioning at a broader level than taste or preference alone. Ultimately, musical identities (like many other identities) are

a means of expressing and understanding the self, as well as a way of demonstrating the self to other people in a social context through action and behaviour. In this respect, it should not be assumed that musical identities function in the same way for all people. Regarding the perspectives discussed above, it is clear that musical identity is a key factor in the extent to which a person affiliates with a scene, and how that affiliation and identity may be related to health behaviours and outcomes. What remains to be clarified is how musical identities 'fit' with wider youth cultural identities; is it specific musical identities, or youth culture generally that should be correlated with health outcomes? The next section explores how musical identities are conflated with youth cultures in investigations of health.

Cultural Identities and Health

Hodkinson (2002) argued that 'Goth' culture is a genuine scene whereby people with shared tastes and values come together and establish an alternative culture (i.e. performative tastes and values). This is most commonly expressed in style (black clothes and stylistic inspiration from gothic literature); though can also be seen in findings identifying trends in behaviour. Young, Sweeting and West (2006) indicated that youths identifying as Goth were more likely to self-harm than those with any other youth identity, indicating a commonality in a particular health outcome, which may strengthen the notion that Goths represent a distinct 'subculture'. However, the extent to which Goths exist as something outside of mainstream culture remains unclear. Hodkinson concluded that there is a great deal of identity work and play involved in being a Goth, but that the majority of Goths participate in mainstream economies, politics, and ideology. It may be that a Goth identity amounts to a utilisation of leisure, style, and commodities to maintain a particular lifestyle (using Miles' interpretation of the term), with implications for their health (i.e. a greater likelihood of self-harm). The issue of causality has not been satisfactorily resolved (i.e. are self-harmers attracted to the Goth lifestyle, is being a Goth a risk factor for self-harm?), however, identifying the increased likelihood of self-

harm amongst those identifying as Goth implies that they demonstrate health problems not associated with the general population or other groups. Another anomaly highlighted by Hodkinson (2002) is that Goth culture is not limited to the youth period but instead, for many, continues into adulthood. This problematises theory which suggests it is only the youth period that provides 'space' for identity work and play to occur.

A key problem in studies linking 'youth' identities like Goth and health outcomes is that the term 'Goth' is often used as a substitute for a particular musical form, when actually, as Hodkinson (2002) and others have shown, those who maintain a Goth lifestyle have diverse and often divisive musical tastes. Likewise, 'rockers', 'clubbers', and 'ravers' are assumed to maintain particular lifestyles that revolve around their taste in music, and are generally thought of as existing in a group context. Such assumptions linking musical forms with particular lifestyles have not been wholly supported by empirical evidence, especially in relation to health.

Thornton (1995) and Malbon (1999) used ethnographic research to investigate rave and club cultures, partly in response to the increasing moral panic propagated by the mainstream media throughout the 1980s and 1990s linking these scenes to drug use. Neither study explicitly focused on health, but the evidence suggested that those engaging in lifestyles associated with these scenes had varied experience of substance use and mixed views on how their lifestyles affected their health. Those with a clubbing lifestyle demonstrated distinctive attitudes and behaviours toward health and risk that extended into their everyday lives, however with no follow-up data we do not know whether these attitudes changed when their lifestyles did. Both authors conclude that musical practices are intimately connected to health behaviours in an all-encompassing subcultural, or tribal, identity that dictates the behaviour of scene members. However, the authors conflate lifestyle, identity, and scene in a way that does not do justice to the range of sources that influence people's health decisions. In suggesting that drug use solidifies subcultural capital, and strengthens attachment to dance scenes, Thornton and Malbon conclude that involvement in dance scenes ultimately determines unhealthy behaviours.

In a recent review, Anderson and Kavanaugh (2007) highlight the disparate approaches to the academic study of youth cultures, and rave in particular, concluding that a cultural approach has been neglected in favour of a more public health oriented positivist approach. They argue that an account aiming to understand all aspects of youth cultural activity, as well as incorporating 'risk' and 'risk behaviour', is lacking.   There has also been a shift in research emphasising social and psychological benefits of clubbing and associated musical environments as well as acknowledging the immediate and long-term physical harm encountered by recreational drug use. Ter Bogt, Engels, Hibbel, Van Wel and Verhagen (2002) reviewed Dutch literature, concluding that ecstasy was often used for social cohesion in dance settings, and that the associated clubbing lifestyle was treated by many as a rite of passage into mainstream structural adult identities. Moore and Miles (2004), using qualitative interviews with a number of young clubbers, have argued that ecstasy use is understood by them as a stabilising force as they negotiate emerging structural responsibilities (e.g. finding a career, establishing romantic relationships). Quite separate from problematic dependency, many young clubbers have been found to use drugs to establish a leisure lifestyle alternative to and separate from the work lifestyle that dominates their lives, in what may be an entirely unproblematic or even useful manner. These authors remind the reader that a negative evaluation of all drug use is itself a political stance, and one that often permeates studies of youth culture.

Measham, Parker and Aldrige (1998) used the Northwest Longitudinal Study in the UK to investigate drug use over the final four years of high school (ages 14 to 17), and followed up their questionnaire study with qualitative interviews. They concluded that drug and alcohol use increased amongst young people and that ecstasy use in particular was becoming normalised within mainstream leisure settings. No longer the preserve of a specific rave culture, ecstasy and polydrug use were demonstrated to be a normal feature of a range of leisure settings (with around 35% of the sample at age 17 reporting 'recreational' drug use in the past month). They attribute this to increasing social pressures on adolescents, as well as increased availability of drugs. Winstock, Griffiths and Stewart (2001)

identified an increase in ecstasy use, based on a longitudinal sample of 1151 dance music fans, although they also highlighted that onset of use occurred later in life than Measham *et al*. at around 18 for females and 20 for males. Both studies conclude, however, that once drug careers were embarked on, drug use was likely to remain a feature of young people's leisure time. Sweeting and West (2008) identified an increase in drug use amongst young people, but concluded that this tapered off as participants' age (i.e. towards their thirties). This all implies that drugs are a common feature of the youth period for many people, not merely those participating in specific scenes. One explanation is that as young people engage in new cultural lifestyles they are exposed to more opportunities and greater pressure to experiment with illicit substances. What remains to be fully clarified is the role of cultural identities in the uptake, persistence, and cessation of drug use. The links between certain musical identities and drug use, or health behaviours more generally, therefore also require investigation in more representative samples (i.e. not only in club and rave settings).

The findings discussed above suggest that youth lifestyles play a role in determining health behaviours, but also that drug use should be considered as a significant feature of the youth period, rather than only within specific lifestyles. Much of the qualitative work in this area implies that youth cultural identities are expressed in unhealthy behaviours (e.g. substance use amongst clubbers), but this research does not often extend beyond the youth period. Mirroring the work discussed at the beginning of the review, this implies that health behaviours are the product of individual agency, which, during the youth period, appears to play a stronger role than a person's structural origin or circumstance. It may of course be that certain cultural identities (including scene affiliation and music preference) are patterned according to structural variables (such as class or educational attainment), which further complicates the agency conclusion. Therefore, associations between music preference and other lifestyle and personality variables should also be outlined.

Lifestyle, Personality, and Musical Identity

Three recent papers by North and Hargreaves (2007, 2007a, 2007b) focused on different aspects of the same questionnaire, completed by 2,532 participants from a range of locations in the East Midlands, UK (mean age 37). Participants were invited to select their preferences from a list of 35 genres, of which the 19 most popular were used in the analysis.

The first paper (2007) reported significant differences based on sex and age, with females preferring pop music, and older listeners indicating a taste for opera, country and western and 1960s pop. Taste was also correlated with political beliefs and indicated that fans of country and western, opera and jazz were more conservative, and fans of rock, indie and other were more liberal. The second paper (North and Hargreaves 2007a) found an association between 'high' and 'low' cultural tastes and people's music preference. Fans of opera, country and western, classical, and jazz were more likely to opt into 'high culture', i.e. more cerebral leisure commodities and activities (newspapers, magazines, books, TV channels, and so forth) whereas fans of hip hop/rap, dance/house, and DJ-based music opted more for 'low culture' leisure activities and commodities. The third paper in the series (North and Hargreaves 2007b) was concerned with socio-economic and health differences. Fans of dance and rap had the lowest financial resources compared to fans of adult pop and classical who had the highest. In terms of earning power, fans of soul, jazz, opera, classical and adult pop earned the most, and dance/house, country and western, DJ-based music, chart/pop, and R&B the least. In a similar vein, fans of opera, jazz, classical and blues were more likely to have a Masters/PhD, again indicating their higher putative social status. Fans of DJ-based music, other pop and hip hop/rap were more likely to be unemployed.

Significant differences were also observed in some health variables and behaviours. Country and western fans and opera enthusiasts made the most visits to the doctor, and fans of pop and adult pop the least. Dance/house, R&B

soul, DJ-based music, and other pop fans washed their bodies and hair more often than opera, country and western and musicals fans, and fans of dance/house, indie, DJ-based music and hip hop/rap exercised significantly more than fans of disco, musicals, 1960s pop and jazz. More interestingly, for present purposes, fans of dance/house and DJ-based music were more likely to smoke than fans of classical and opera, and were also more likely to have started drinking alcohol from an early age.

The authors framed musical preference explicitly in relation to social class by concluding that fans of 'high art' music styles were more likely to have lifestyles reflective of the upper and middle classes and fans of 'low art' music styles, lifestyles associated with lower social classes.   It is therefore clear that fans of dance and rap, and those of opera and classical, occupy very different physical and cultural spaces.   However, the extent to which this is because of their musical preference, and not their class or age, cannot be determined (as the authors also acknowledge). The authors treat taste as static and do not account for participants having a range of preferences over time, perhaps even over very short periods. The notion that tastes can be stated by ticking a box of 'most preferred' is methodologically necessary in this case, but also problematic if the theoretical approach that tastes are active and dynamic is adopted. Indeed, and as an extension of these observations, North and Hargreaves suggest future work on the topic should be qualitative, longitudinal, and focused on other cultures. This kind of work is essential to clarify if listening to and preferring a certain type of music can predict lifestyles or behaviours. The finding that opera fans and dance music fans do not often share the same cultural spaces is useful, but the role that their preferences have in determining what cultural spaces (and identities) are practised requires further explanation.   If music preference affects the way people live their life, more so than their class, education, or family background, then studies need to go beyond statistical association.

Rentfrow and Gosling (2003) devised a tool to identify taste groups in a sample of university students and described four main factors of music preference; 'reflective and complex' (blues, jazz, classical, and folk), 'intense and rebellious' (rock, alternative, and heavy metal), 'upbeat and conventional'

(country, soundtracks, religious, and pop), and 'energetic and rhythmic' (rap/hip hop, soul/funk, and electronic/dance). They then related these factors to a number of personality variables.

The authors found that the 'reflective and complex' dimension was positively related to openness to new experiences, self-perceived intelligence, verbal ability, and political liberalism, and negatively related to social dominance and athleticism. The 'intense and rebellious' dimension was positively related to openness to new experiences, athleticism, self-perceived intelligence, and verbal ability. The 'upbeat and conventional' category was positively related with extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, conservatism, self perceived physical attractiveness, and athleticism. Finally, the 'energetic and rhythmic' dimension was positively related with extraversion, agreeableness, liberalism, self perceived attractiveness, and athleticism, and negatively with social dominance and conservatism. One major criticism is that the sample used was an American undergraduate population, therefore limiting generalisability in other countries. Another is the labelling of factors without consulting the participants themselves; for instance, pop and country music is labelled 'upbeat and conventional' but this ignores popular ballads and downbeat country music. If associations are to be made based on such factors, then further work is required to establish if they reflect people's own understanding of their preferences. The authors finish by outlining what future work might advance a coherent theory of musical preference, including tracking preference over the life course and investigating the internal and external factors that may influence musical preference.

Tanner, Asbridge and Wortley (2008) surveyed 3,393 high school students aged 13 – 18. They drew on Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to hypothesise that higher school achievers, and those from a higher class background, would be more likely to indicate a taste for 'culturally approved music' such as classical, opera and jazz; and those from poorer backgrounds and with less academic achievement a taste for 'culturally disapproved music' like rock, rap and rave. Significant associations were found between music preference and ethnic origin, sex, and age. By contrast, parental social class did not predict musical

preference, although dance and rap fans performed less well at school than those into adult oriented pop music. The authors ended on the question of whether cultural preferences and practices forged in adolescence are predictive of future (structural) transitions, or of little consequence to adult identities. The mixed findings, that music preference is associated with educational performance, but not with social class, suggest that tastes have more than a classifying function (as Bourdieu contends). In this regard, music taste should be considered as operating at levels other than distinction alone.

Each of these studies attempted to correlate music preference with a number of other variables in a bid to typify specific sets of music fans. What can be concluded is that certain people may be more or less likely to share music tastes (based on age, ethnicity, personality type and so forth), but that measuring preference alone is not sufficient to predict these other variables. The findings by North and Hargreaves imply that people with different music preferences occupy different cultural spaces and places, Rentfrow and Gosling conclude that people with a certain type of personality are more likely to share music tastes (or vice versa), and Tanner *et al*. have found that taste in music is associated with educational achievement. None, however, provides conclusive evidence that music taste is determined by a person's structural origins or circumstance. Lacking in these accounts is a longitudinal focus on taste to enquire whether these associations change, or if a person's changing circumstances can affect their preferences (and associated outcomes). Longitudinal and qualitative research is therefore required to investigate associations between demography, lifestyle, and personality over time, as well as how musical identities are related to health outcomes (behaviours, states, or emotional health), and if this changes. The following section reviews the relevant literature.

Musical Identities and Health

The literature on musical identities and health can be split into two broad categories; studies, generally sociological, that focus on relationships between music and problematic health behaviours and states; and studies that focus on

the psychological implications of various musical identities for health. Both strands have much to offer the current study.

Forsyth, Barnard and McKeganey (1997) sampled 1523 Scottish schoolchildren (ages 12-15) investigating whether music preference was related to substance use. They found strong associations between a preference for rave music (including styles such as techno, house and trance) and greater use across all substances (tobacco, alcohol, solvents, and illicit drugs). Although strong associations were discovered, causality could not be determined and it may have been that young people more inclined to use drugs were attracted to rave music styles. In a second paper with a different cross-sectional sample (Forsyth and Barnard, 1998), the authors replicated the association between a preference for rave and increased substance use, but also an elevated level of substance use amongst fans of music from the 1960s and 1970s (Beatles, Rolling Stones etc). These studies suggest that music preference is a stronger indicator of substance use than variables like age or social class, strengthening the argument that musical identities are important to consider in a discussion of young people's health decisions and behaviours.

Mulder, Ter Bogt, Raaijmakers and Vollebergh (2007) investigated the links between music preference and problematic adolescent behaviour (measured by the Youth Self-Report (YSR) tool) and health outcomes. They presented a high school based sample of 4,159 young people aged 12 to 16 with a questionnaire featuring 13 popular genres of music and asked participants to rate how much they liked each one. This resulted in seven clusters of music preference; Middle-of-the-Road (MoR); Urban (hip hop/rap and R&B); Exclusive Rock; Rock-Pop; Elitist (classical and jazz); Omnivores (all types); and a comparison group of Low Involved youth who indicated few preferences for any type of music (and made up 6% of the total sample).

Significant associations were found between music preference and a range of psychological and physical symptoms, resulting in a dichotomy between Omnivores/Exclusive Rock fans and MoR/Rock-Pop fans in problematic health outcomes (somatic complaints, anxiety/depression, and withdrawn behaviour).

For externalising problems (aggressive and delinquent behaviours, and substance abuse) MoR, Elitist and Low-Involved groups indicated significantly less transgressive behaviours than the Urban, Rock-Pop, Exclusive Rock and Omnivore groups, suggesting that the latter tastes strongly predict risk behaviour, and the former may be in some way protective of it. However, the authors also concede that causality cannot be determined in this study and it may be that those less inclined to risk are attracted to more 'adult oriented' styles.

There is no discussion of how musical identities fostered through cultural participation (as opposed to preference alone) may affect the outcomes demonstrated, which may explain the distinction between Omnivores/Exclusive Rock and Rock-Pop fans. If these preferences are demonstrated within certain scenes where risk and exposure is particularly high (or low) then associations with health behaviours and health may be further untangled. Studies demonstrating how preference interacts with musical identities more widely may provide further evidence. Likewise, as many of the authors cited so far have attempted to show, music preference can be mapped on to other demographic features (sex, ethnicity, social class, educational attainment, or age), which may be as strongly predictive of health behaviours or states as taste and should therefore be controlled for to identify the independent effect of music.

The problem of causality is ubiquitous in these studies. Since the late 1980s there has been a growing insistence, mostly by American paediatricians, that there is a direct causal link between listening to and viewing 'disruptive' music genres (e.g. heavy metal, rap, hard rock, rave) and higher instances of risk and anti-social behaviour (Hendren and Strasburger 1993; Klein, Brown and Childers 1993; Strasburger 1995). Other authors retain more open conclusions about the direction of causality; i.e. whether listening to the music causes these behaviours, or whether children and adolescents more inclined to these behaviours are attracted to more 'reckless' musics (Arnett 1991, 1992; Took and Weiss, 1994).

Leming (1987), in a study on the transfer of moral values between composer and listener in popular music lyrics found no direct causal link. Similarly, Ballard

and Coates (1995) concluded that neither lyrical content nor music type (i.e., heavy metal or rap) has an immediate effect on suicidal ideation or state anxiety. More recently, Lacourse, Claes and Villeneuve (2001) found that a taste for heavy metal music protected adolescents from suicidal risk (particularly among females). Carpentier, Knobloch and Zillmann (2003) concluded that associations between music and problematic behaviour are complicated by the changing nature of music itself (i.e. as music changes, young people may seek out new music that reflects their behaviour, rather than changing their behaviour in response to new musics).

Selfhout, Delsing, Ter Bogt and Meeus (2008) have acknowledged these debates in the justification for their recent study investigating the effects of heavy metal and rap preferences on problem behaviour. They conducted a two-year longitudinal study with around 1000 Dutch schoolchildren (mean age of 14) and concluded that preference for heavy metal and hip-hop predicts externalising problem behaviour, rather than such behaviour predicting preference. However, the same issue around how music preference interacts with other demographic features that may also predict problem behaviours exists. In addition, a two-year longitudinal study does not account for the changing nature of musical identities beyond the adolescent and school phase.

Emotional responses to music may also influence risk-taking behaviour. Roberts, Dimsdale, East, Friedman (1998) sampled 127 young people from medical clinics around the San Diego area (mean age 16). They used the Positive Affect Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) to measure emotional responses to preferred music (measuring how participants felt when listening to their favourite music, e.g. 'interested', 'proud', 'alert', or 'distressed', 'scared', 'hostile'). This was then correlated with measures of risk taking behaviour including drug use, fighting and risky sexual activity. Logistic regressions indicated that participants who had a stronger emotional response to their preferred music were more likely to take risks, and that this effect was most acute for fans of rock/metal. These findings highlight the significance of emotional responses to music in determining listener behaviour and provide an important new dimension to studies on the relationship between music and risk. If the more 'musically

emotional' are also more risky, this moves the debate away from measures of preference and identity alone.

Roberts, *et al*'s study indicates that emotional dimensions of music listening should not be ignored when attempting to decipher how music may interact with young people's health. A limitation of the study, however, is that the findings come from a clinical sample. Further research might indicate whether the conclusions extend to everyday interactions with music in other populations.

A number of other studies have focused on the psychological and emotional correlates of music preference. Schwartz and Fouts (2003) surveyed 249 Canadian high school students in a bid to discover psychological differences between fans of rock and heavy metal, fans of pop and dance, and those with eclectic tastes. Adolescents who were in the rock and heavy metal category were more likely to be independent, anti-conformist, have lower self-esteem, and higher self-doubt, they were also more likely to be rebellious, and aggressive. Those with a preference for pop and dance were more likely to want to 'do the right thing', have conflicting values concerning their sexuality, and be more dependent on their peers. Those with eclectic tastes were significantly less likely to display the problems associated with the first two groups, suggesting they have a more 'pick and mix' attitude towards music, selecting music in accordance with various developmental issues as they arise. A caution in interpreting these results, however, is that the 'eclectic' category includes all other tastes, and does not reflect a musical identity in itself. This may mask different relationships with specific genres.

Evidence clearly linking music preference and health behaviours with wider cultural identities is lacking in the established literature. Where Hodkinson (2002), Malbon (1999), and Thornton (1995) have attempted to investigate lived experiences of different youth cultures at the expense of investigating how musical identities function specifically, others (Fosyth *et al* 1997, Mulder *et al* 2007, Schwartz and Fouts 2003) have attempted to link music preference with health outcomes without assessing how musical identities function alongside other cultural practices. Many of these studies call for an approach that

considers how music preferences are lived out, what other factors have an effect on preference, as well as how preference can influence behaviours and decisions. Is it the case that a person's class background or education determines their cultural identities (e.g. a working class, educational underachiever will become a fan of rave and regularly take ecstasy), or do these identities determine structural trajectories (e.g. a rave fan who regularly takes ecstasy is less likely to go to university and become a professional)? When health is considered alongside, the situation is further complicated since there is evidence for both structural and cultural effects.

A problem also exists in measuring musical identity. When respondents are asked to note their preferences (as one of a range, or a list of several) it is difficult to account for strength of preference, or complexity of identity. One respondent may note a preference for rock, but in perception and action experiences their rock identity very differently from another respondent who has ticked the rock box. The fact that most people listen to music, and can usually describe a taste for one form over another, does not address the notion that for some people music is a fundamental part of their life, and for others, merely incidental. It may be that in order to seek wide validation, studies linking music preference and health oversimplify the association because they do not have data on the key questions of strength with which musical identities feature in people's biographies. A comprehensive approach to the question should consider association alongside experience.

In addition, music listening occurs in real time situations where its impact on health may not be extend to behaviours, but on how music affects emotional wellbeing. If strength of musical identity varies from person to person, then the way it is consumed and used may also vary with implications for emotional health. The following section discusses literature in this regard.

Music and Emotion

Some authors have sought to identify the links between certain music listening habits and negative emotional states (Anderson, Carnagey, & Eubanks, 2003; Arnett, 1995; Carpentier, Knobloch, & Zillmann, 2003; Gowensmith & Bloom, 1997; Lacourse, Claes, & Villeneuve, 2001; Schwartz & Fouts, 2003). However, there is also a body of work which discusses music as a positive resource for emotional health, and how it is often used by people to work through, or out of, negative emotional states (DeNora, 2000; North, Hargreaves & O'Neill 2000; Saarikallio and Erkkila, 2007; Zillmann & Gan, 1997). The conclusion that can be drawn from these varying perspectives is that music preference, and music listening, can have both good and bad effects on people's emotional states. What remains to be clarified is how interactions with music vary between different types of people, and if certain genres are associated with particularly positive or negative outcomes. In order to investigate this, it must first be made clear what is meant when discussing emotions and emotional health.

Thoits (1989) theorises that:

> Emotions involve: (a) appraisals of a situational stimulus or context, (b) changes in physiological or bodily sensations, (c) the free or inhibited display of expressive gestures, and (d) a cultural label applied to specific constellations of one or more of the first three components. All four components need not be present simultaneously for an emotion to be experienced or recognized by others.
> (Thoits 1989:318)

In this definition, emotions can be experienced without being vocalised and emotional experience is subjective. Importantly, emotions are *experienced*; i.e. they are physiological and temporally constrained. Psychological approaches to emotion have been summarised in Sloboda and Juslin (2001), who conclude in relation to music, that emotions involve a 'reaction triad' of subjective feeling, expressive behaviour and physiological reaction. The definitions from both

disciplines are very similar, and concur that emotions are *embodied* and, in the context of music listening, *reactive* to an interaction with music.

The psychological study of music and emotion is becoming established within mainstream psychology (North and Hargreaves 2003), as the sociology of music and emotions is increasingly recognised as valid within many sociology departments. However, the study of emotion makes a clear demarcation between the disciplines problematic; emotions are experienced psychologically, but also framed by and reactive to social situations. For presentational purposes, the contributions from each field are considered separately before the similarities between them are discussed.

DeNora (2000, 2003) has written extensively on how people, not just adolescents, use music as a source of emotional control. Her study involved 50 semi-structured interviews with women from a range of ages and class backgrounds. One of her participants describes how she uses music to "luxuriate in sadness", whilst another describes music as providing a vent for her anger. DeNora (2000) describes how music can be used positively by people as a means of 'venting':

> To play music as a virtual means of expressing or constructing emotion is also to define the temporal and qualitative structure of that emotion, to play it out in real time and then move on. In this sense music is both an instigator and a container of feeling – anger, sorrow and so forth.
> (DeNora, T. Music in Everyday Life 2000:58)

In addition, DeNora has discussed the notion of aesthetic agency (2003); the idea that people are in control of selecting specific music in relation to certain emotional states, either to reflect the emotion, or to alter the emotion. Her participants demonstrated a clear degree of practical reflexivity, identifying emotional needs and knowing the techniques to deal musically with these needs. This situating of music and emotion work in everyday contexts is especially significant since many studies of music and emotion are lab based and do not consider the practical application of music for emotion work in everyday life.

DeNora's description of venting is close to theories on catharsis in both sociology and psychology. Scheff (2007) called for a clarification of terminology when it comes to discussion of catharsis, and laid out a theory of catharsis that seems fitting to this study. As the dramatic tradition of catharsis suggests that emotions played out on a stage (importantly, at a physical, and metaphorical, *distance* from the audience) can elicit the working through and conclusion of that emotion in the audience, so the symbolic distance between a composer/performer of music and the listener facilitates catharsis in the music listener. Of course, not all encounters with music will provide an opportunity for catharsis (it may depend on the emotion experienced, the context of the experience, and the availability of suitable musical materials), but DeNora's description of aesthetic agency comes close to other theories around how aesthetic experiences can be embodied and utilised for emotion work.

Cook and Dibben (2001) have discussed how music has been traditionally perceived as mimetic (i.e. a formal imitation, or reflection, of things that exist in reality). In terms of emotions, this suggests that listeners feel emotions that are represented in songs and music, so that love songs communicate feelings of love to the listener, anxious songs make the listener feel anxious, and so forth. However, catharsis allows for the transgression of representation, meaning that that which is felt need not correspond to that which is represented. For example, listening to The Smith's 'Heaven Knows I'm Miserable Now' will not necessarily elicit misery in the listener. Indeed, the process of catharsis allows the listener to either, (a) follow an 'intended' emotion and continue to a completion of that emotion, or (b) subvert an 'intended' emotion and have a cathartic experience centred on an alternative emotion, or, of course (c) feel nothing. The extent to which emotional responses to music are cathartic or mimetic is central to questions around aesthetic agency and further work is required in this area.

Another important contribution from DeNora concerns how music operates in relation to wider social structures. In a review of Adorno, DeNora (2003) has postulated that many of the feeling states associated with specific music are packaged and sold to the consumer, but not necessarily in the undifferentiated,

'top-down' version Adorno offered (1991). Instead, she has reiterated that it is only in seeking to explain how music is understood and used by listeners in everyday situations that its link to social structures can be observed. There is evidence that music can have an ordering influence on people, whether consciously or unconsciously (DeNora and Belcher (2000) and North, Shilcock, Hargreaves & Sheridan (2004) have shown how music can alter purchasing patterns and perceived atmosphere in retail and leisure settings), but it is questionable whether this happens in all musical interactions.

An investigation of links between music and other behaviours (including health) must attend to how music is perceived of as structuring social life through emotional engagement with it. Indeed, in a discussion of the broader sociology of emotions, Shilling (1999, 2002) suggests that the social and emotional should always be considered in tandem, and that any consideration of the relationship between structure and agency necessarily involves a consideration of embodied emotions, or, put another way: feeling states are as crucial to structure/agency debates as socio-structural position or status. Shilling suggests that the emotions people experience will have an impact on their perceived control and how they interact with wider society. This also highlights issues around the emotional implications of collective consumption of music. The ways in which music is emotionally understood in groups has received little attention compared to private music listening, yet group consumption may provide significant spaces and times for emotion work to take place.

Within psychological approaches to the study of music and emotion, there is debate around the extent to which musical encounters are inherently emotional. Juslin and Laukka (2004) reviewed this literature and concluded that the most commonly expressed emotions in music are happiness, sadness, anger, fear and tenderness. They also categorised previous investigations into music as based on specific methodologies: experimental studies; qualitative studies; brain imaging; physiological studies; questionnaire and diary studies; mood induction studies and consumer research. They highlighted the lack of qualitative studies and the lack of attention paid to emotional encounters with music in everyday contexts, concluding; "few studies in the past have actually consulted music listeners

regarding questions related to how they use and react to music in real life" (2004:226).

In order to clarify the interaction between music and emotion in everyday contexts, the authors conducted an exploratory pilot study (141 participants, with a mean age of 34) consisting of a questionnaire with equal numbers of forced choice and open-ended questions. The study indicated that emotion induction (an emotional reaction to the music) is rarer in musical encounters than emotion perception (identifying what emotion the music is representing) and that emotional reactions are felt more strongly in private listening than listening with others. A key finding was that no specific genre of music dominates in perceived or induced emotions and that classical, popular, calm and arousing music all contribute to strong emotional reactions in the listeners surveyed. Complementing other studies, the most commonly experienced emotions were happiness, relaxation and calmness, which were reported much more commonly than fear or anger. In terms of how music is used, participants reported that it was often used to change mood, to match mood, to vent emotions, and to evoke strong emotional memories, although the authors suggest clarifying research is required into how this process is actually conducted by people in everyday situations. One other notable finding was that using music 'to express, release, and influence emotions' was the most cited answer in response to a question asking participants why they listen to music at all. Overall, the authors suggest that more research into the uses and experiences of music listening from the listeners' perspective is required in order to understand how and why emotion and music function together in everyday life. The current thesis aims to contribute to this empirical gap in the literature.

Konečni (2008) argues that the notion that music alone can induce emotion in the listener is overemphasised in current studies on music and emotion. He criticises much of the recent published work (including most of the contributions in Juslin and Sloboda (2001)) for conflating mood and emotion, and suggests that 'true' emotions (i.e. temporally constrained physiological reactions which motivate action, as opposed to more generalised moods) are rarely induced by

music. He also implies that many studies of music and emotion guide their participants' answers by suggesting in the first instance (i.e. on the information sheet associated with the study) that they necessarily should, or will, feel something from the music. To test this he replicated procedures adopted by other researchers (e.g. Krumhansl 1997), demonstrating that changing the introductory wording of the study can result in a less strong observed effect in measures of induced emotion. Konečni claims instead that music and emotion should only be conceived of as being combined with 'association'; it is only through hearing music and making associations with memories (of life events or other music), that true emotion can be induced. Instead, he suggests, physical and mental reactions to music should be regarded as 'being moved' or experiencing 'thrills or chills', and that future empirical studies of music and emotion should focus on defining clearly what is meant by emotion, and what exactly is being measured (expressed or induced emotion).

The problem with Konečni's approach is that he does not accept people's perception of their own emotional experiences as valid. Sloboda and Juslin (2001) and Juslin and Laukka (2004) highlight how the everyday uses and experiences of music should be the focus of attention, an extension of which is that music listeners themselves are in a better position to describe their emotional interactions with music than academics focusing on abstract definitions. Similarly, most studies use only western classical music in measuring and analysing emotional responses (as if to suggest that other 'less complex' forms would not have a similar effect). Other forms and genres must be considered in order to make claims for music as a whole.

Kreutz, Ott, Teichmann, Osawa, and Vaitl (2008) used a questionnaire-based study to demonstrate that preference interacts strongly with the strength of induced emotions in music (again, using instrumental classical excerpts). Their findings suggest that preference matters more than the formal characteristics of music in inducing basic emotions (happiness, sadness, tenderness, and fear being the most prominent), such that a preference for classical music increased the valence and arousal of 'intended' emotions in their test pieces. This is an important factor for the current study which stresses the role of preference in

behavioural and emotional responses to musical interactions. The authors concede that similar studies should be conducted using popular music styles in order to establish whether liking a piece of music automatically heightens emotional arousal. They, however, do not extend this to include musical identities as opposed to preference alone.

This is perhaps the biggest omission from studies on music and emotion, whether in sociology or psychology; that emotional reactions to music listening may vary according to the strength or form of musical identity in the listener. The distinction between perceived and induced emotion in the work of both Juslin and Laukka (2004) and Konečni (2008) is also crucial when musical identities are considered. Many people recognise certain emotions in music based on accepted cultural conventions (e.g. that 'Nothing Compares 2U' sung by Sinead O'Connor is widely recognised as a 'sad' song and Jackie Wilson's '(Your Love Keeps Lifting Me) Higher and Higher' is widely regarded as a 'happy' song), but these are not universal and may differ based on personal experience, taste, and identity. The situation is made more complex by the significance of lyrics in aligning songs with specific emotions. However, when music (most often songs) is used to create, shape, and work through emotions, there are clear implications around how meaningful that music is to the listener, these issues can be most usefully addressed through qualitative enquiry.

The relationship between music and emotion is clearly complex and can be investigated from many perspectives; however, the findings discussed have highlighted how music can be used by some as a valuable well-being resource. If music is an important tool in maintaining emotional health (or, indeed, a corrosive influence on mental health), the extent to which this differs according to preference, and whether it changes over the lifecourse are key areas of enquiry.

Transitions to Adulthood: Structural Reproduction or Cultural Production

There is a well-established literature within psychology and sociology discussing when adult identities are realised, and what contributes to this process. Indeed, authors such as Levinson (1978, 1996) and Neugarten (1979) have discussed how the identity project (i.e. making sense of and presenting the self) continues throughout adulthood. Neugarten (1979) introduced the concept of the 'social clock', where individuals judge themselves against a set of social norms and expectations at various stages of adult life (e.g. when to be a mother/father, when to be employed, when to retire and so forth). Whilst it is acknowledged that external cultural processes, and in some cases legislation, will determine at what stage certain milestones can be achieved, Neugarten focused on the emotional and psychological strain that adherence to the social clock can cause. Similarly, Levinson (1978, 1996) discussed how there are a number of key stages matched to indicators, that a person goes through in life (including, preadulthod, early adulthood, middle adulthood and late adulthood). Levinson suggests that the life structure is both social (i.e. determined by external processes and norms) and individual (i.e. processed by the self in a bid to make sense of our place and identity). Both theories have much to offer, but with a theoretical (and methodological) focus generally beyond adolescence, they would provide more explanatory power for a thesis focusing on a later transition than that between youth and adulthood. It is vital to note, however, that identity and developmental issues continue well beyond the adolescent period.

A theoretical focus on the youth-adult transition in particular is important because there is evidence to suggest that inequalities in health, which fade in adolescence, return later in the lifecourse (West 1997). Theoretically, there is a division between those suggesting that transitions to achieved adult identities are widely the result of highly individualised goal orientated decisions and motivations, and those who insist that social structures (including economic situation and socio-cultural experience) more strongly influence the trajectories of young people. Mortimer and Larson (2004) have suggested that these

divergent theories are attributable to the academic conventions of the disciplines of sociology and social psychology, with the former's traditional focus on macro-social structures, and the latter's concentration on individual action. However, authors from both disciplines have sought to accentuate both individual agency, and the constraints of social structure in formulating their theories on achieving adult identities in late modern society (Arnett 2000, Furlong and Cartmel 2006).

Furlong and Cartmel (2006) have presented a theory of youth transitions influenced by the work of Beck (1992) and Giddens (1991), whereby young people becoming adults are reproducing the social conditions of late modernity; a necessarily different transitional process from previous generations. A key feature of these transitions, the authors argue, is greater individualisation and subjective reflexive identity work (i.e. figuring out who we are and what makes us an adult), a process framed by a new conception of risk and risk avoidance. The responsibility for individual success is therefore a key feature of transition experiences. Furlong and Cartmel suggest that this perception of risk and its effect on establishing strongly individualised identities is not sufficient to eradicate the influence of class or gender on the transitions of young people, especially when it comes to education, employment and other socio-economic trajectories. They suggest that this also extends to health (where occupational class differences in adulthood are apparent), and that although individual identities are becoming increasingly influential in how social life is conducted, traditionally structural concepts retain greater explanatory power.

Arnett's (2000) theory on 'emerging adulthood' provides an alternative paradigm from which to view youth-adult transitions. Arnett's thesis is that the approximate ages of 18-25 should be regarded as a distinctive period in the lifecourse in much the same way as childhood or adolescence. Although writing from an American perspective (which draws on a different socio-structural history from the UK and Europe), Arnett concludes that 'emerging adulthood' is a phase with distinct socio-structural conditions (finding work, setting up a home, establishing romantic partnerships) that affect the experiences and behaviours of those in it. In agreement with Furlong and Cartmel (2006), Arnett

suggests that emerging adulthood is dominated by greater subjective reflexivity (i.e. an awareness of individual identity development), greater exposure to and awareness of individualised risk, and a dominant 'tension' between self and society, as adult roles are tested and challenged. However, he goes further by suggesting that emerging adulthood (18-25) is demographically distinct from childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood (25+) in terms of employment, education, residential and relationship status, and that these stages emphasise change and exploration in roles and identities. Tied to this is a focus on the perceptions that emerging adults themselves have about how to achieve adult status. Arnett's studies indicate that the most cited criteria are 'accepting responsibility for one's self' and 'making independent decisions', closely followed by 'becoming financially independent' (where parallels to Furlong and Cartmel's work may be more clearly seen).

Both Furlong and Cartmel (2006) and Arnett (2000) have highlighted the significance of leisure and lifestyle, extending the concept of risk as an explanatory factor in what is distinctive about this age group's cultural activities. Arnett (2000) cites research showing that rates of smoking, binge drinking, unprotected sex, and substance use, all peak during emerging adulthood, and suggests that this may be the result of identity exploration, and greater parental independence during this phase. Furlong and Cartmel (2006) have also acknowledged that greater financial independence during youth-adult transitions leads to increased participation in leisure spheres, both private and public. Although they refute Beck's (1992) claims that consumption can provide a process of cultural equalisation during this time, they recognise that some emerging adults will use leisure sites and products to experiment, whether through style, music, or substance use, with self and social identities that do not necessarily reflect class background.

Their main conclusion, however, is that youth culture and access to leisure is still strongly classed. In a similar argument to Hesmondhalgh (2005) and other structuralist authors, they argue that those from the least advantaged backgrounds, and the poorest ends of the class spectrum, will experience youth culture differently from those from a socio-economically advantaged

background. Indeed, Furlong and Cartmel go further, suggesting that popular culture often mocks the fashion, music, and other leisure practices of society's most disadvantaged groups (they cite the 'chav' phenomenon which condescends certain music, fashion, and even hairstyles of the UK's lower working classes). One point made strongly by Furlong and Cartmel is that the link between social class and youth lifestyles has been neglected in recent years, perhaps due to changing academic fashions, and this should be rectified. In underestimating the effects of social structure on transitions, and overestimating the influence of youth cultural engagement (and, significantly, 'choice', or agency), Furlong and Cartmel (2006) suggest that researchers are obscuring the lived experiences and consequences of youth-adult transitions in modern society.

To place these divergent arguments within theory already discussed is fairly straightforward. Furlong and Cartmel are structuralist authors who disavow the equalisation of youth, whereas Arnett sits more closely with the contributions from Bennett (2000, 2004) and Miles (2000) in advocating the place of agency in youth trajectories. The suggestion that musical identities play a key role in young people's experiences and decision-making process would be acknowledged by Furlong and Cartmel, but ultimately they would argue that structural origins would have more power. Arnett has discussed music in relation to emerging adulthood (2007), and concludes that musical identities are often central in determining young people's actions and behaviour. The gap that exists in both approaches is the empirical investigation of how musical identities interact with transition processes (like getting a job, getting married, or starting a family). The dichotomy of and link between structural transitions and cultural transitions requires further attention. It may be that exploring musical identities as part of youth culture has a great impact on how and when young people 'achieve' adulthood (as suggested by Bennett (2000) Miles (2000) and Willis (1990)), or it may be that the structural conditions that shape childhood experience are simply more vague during the transition process and ultimately dictate adult identities (as Blackman (2005) and Shildrick and MacDonald (2006) would contend).

The lack of studies investigating divergent cultural engagement during emerging adulthood and its associations with risk and health has been identified by both Arnett (2000, 2007) and Furlong and Cartmel (1997, 2006). In order to understand how the transition experience affects health, the extent to which culture or structure influences the behaviour of young people requires clarification.

Summary

The issues and debates discussed at the beginning of the chapter focused on the significance of lifestyle in the health trajectories of young people. One of the remaining debates in the literature is the effect of parental social class in determining young people's health status and behaviours. What remains to be clarified is the relative importance of culture vis-à-vis that of social structure (notably social class) in predicting health outcomes, particularly in relation to music.

This issue is related to the nature of youth experience more generally. The extent to which youth identities are lived out in opposition to dominant hegemonic structures rather than within these structures is still contested. Willis (1990), Bennett (2004), and Miles (2000) share the perspective that young people can express themselves creatively using commodities, and that this distinguishes them from their counterparts in previous generations where identities were largely the product of social structure. Others (Blackman 2005, Hesmondhalgh 2005, Shildrick and MacDonald 2006) disagree, and propose that structural identities based on family, education, and social class are still the dominant forces in young people's identities, actions, and beliefs. The place of music in this debate remains unknown and specifically whether young people's musical identities are active (i.e. influence decision-making and behaviour) over and above traditional structural identities. Much of the literature in this respect is theoretical and requires empirical investigation. Miles' (2000) theory that identities (structural and post-structural) become active through lifestyle, and that this process is open to change, is perhaps the most fitting paradigm with

which to approach these questions. Miles' theory suggests that through lifestyle (i.e. the active demonstration of identities), some young people can use musical identities to make sense of themselves and the world around them, whereas others may have lifestyles more closely determined by their class, education or other leisure practices (e.g. sport), the empirical gap is in unpicking these potential differences.

As Hodkinson (2002), Malbon (1999), and Thornton (1995) have shown, many people embrace 'music lifestyles', but questions remain about the extent to which these lifestyles are predicated around specific musics. There is evidence that certain music lifestyles are strongly related to increased substance use (Malbon 1999, Thornton 1995), but this is based on studies of complete immersion in music scenes and may not endure for those whose scene identities are experienced and perceived differently. Indeed, recent research (Ter Bogt, *et al* 2002, Moore and Miles 2004) has suggested that substance use in music scenes is often regarded as developmentally positive by the young people engaging in it. The extent to which risk is equated with benefit within these contexts has yet to be fully explicated.

How people understand their tastes has also yet to be fully explored. Hennion (2007) has suggested that modern agents are reflexively aware of their tastes, and what they are trying to express through taste, though this has had limited empirical assessment. From taste to musical identity, Hargreaves *et al* (2002) suggest that strength of musical identity may vary from person to person, and that this will have consequences on how music is interpreted and used by people. The implications of this proposition are far reaching, yet it has not received due empirical attention. The inference that musical identities interact with other identities and have the capacity to motivate behaviour and action in many different ways has relatively recently been the focus of academic study, therefore further research is required to establish just how salient musical identities are in people's lives.

One approach has been to study associations between musical preference and other lifestyle and personality variables (North and Hargreaves 2007, 2007a,

2007b, Rentfrow and Gosling 2003, Tanner, *et al* 2008). However, the recommendations of many of these studies is for qualitative, longitudinal, studies, which focus on if, how, and why, tastes change over time. A question remains as to whether identifying commonalities amongst people with shared music preferences tells us anything about how these preferences function in their lives. Many studies of this kind suffer from an inability to determine causality; it remains unclear whether music preferences are simply the result of other socio-demographic characteristics, or whether musical identities are instrumental in shaping transitions and health in and of themselves.

Studies have shown a clear correlation between musical preference and increased substance use (Forsyth, *et al* 1997, Forsyth and Barnard 1998), and a relationship between preference and problematic externalising behaviours (Mulder, *et al* 2007), but cannot conclude the direction of the relationship. Other studies (Roberts, *et al* 1998) have indicated that emotional absorption in music may increase risk behaviours, but within a clinical setting. The formulation and perception of taste, the meaning and demonstration of musical identities, and the everyday emotional uses of music need to be studied in conjunction in order to establish whether certain musical identities are healthy or unhealthy.

Many researchers (e.g. Juslin and Laukka 2004, Kreutz, *et al* 2008) have suggested that a focus on individual perception and everyday encounters is missing in studies on music and emotion especially. DeNora (2000) has attempted this, but questions remain around how musical identity may affect the emotional processing of certain musical encounters. Cook and Dibben's (2001) discussion of mimetic emotional responses to music is valuable, but is not fully applicable to many modern interactions with music. Indeed, there is a gap in studies on music and emotion for investigations of non-western classical music (and popular music in particular).

Finally, debates continue around the significance of youth culture in determining pathways to adulthood. Some authors (Furlong and Cartmel 2006) suggest that structural forces dominate the options and availability of transition pathways,

whereas others (Arnett 2000, 2001) view the period of transition as a unique phase of the lifecourse, open to post-structural experimentation and identity play. What is lacking from both perspectives, however, is a full consideration of what role musical identities may play in transition experiences.

Following on from the broad research questions outlined in the previous chapter, the literature reviewed has highlighted some more specific questions:

How important are music preferences to people? Are musical identities understood in the same way by all people?

To what extent can tastes be considered as static, if they do change what are the consequences for musical identities?

Can musical identities motivate action and behaviour? How do musical identities affect health decisions and behaviours?

Does social structure determine musical identity and health, or does musical identity overcome social structure to predict health outcomes?

How do musical identities affect emotional engagement with music, especially in everyday contexts?

How does the transition to adulthood affect musical identities, or do musical identities determine youth trajectories?

This thesis explicitly addresses these questions. The extent to which this study has 'filled the gaps' emerging from the literature reviewed is dealt with in Chapter 8. The following chapters set out the methodological design of, and the various findings resulting from, a study of musical identities and health over the youth-adult transition.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

Introduction

In order to satisfy the aims laid out in the first chapter, two methods were employed based on different epistemological foundations. This chapter will discuss the philosophical implications of mixing methods, describe the methods employed, and justify the decision to combine them, describe the analytical process and consider the ethical implications of the study. In discussing the research design, the impact of the researcher's choices and decisions will also be considered so that a reflexive account of the process is provided; research findings are as much a product of the methodological choices and strategies of the researcher as they are the characteristics of the phenomena under study.

Mixed Methods or the Dialectic Method?

Epistemology is the philosophical term for a theory of knowledge, and modern academic thinking is based on the product (knowledge) of various epistemological approaches. Traditionally, a distinction has been made between quantitative and qualitative research designs in their philosophical origins. The predominant epistemology in scientific enquiry, both natural and social, has been Positivism, which suggests that the world can be observed, recorded and tested in a bid to uncover universal truths. Quantitative research is usually associated with a positivist epistemology. An alternative to this epistemology is Interpretivism, which suggests that 'reality' is open to a number of interpretations and that consensus, rather than fact, is the ultimate conclusion that can be drawn from research. Qualitative research methods are usually framed within an interpretivist epistemology. Due to the varied philosophical origins attributed to an interpretivist epistemology, its standing and acceptability as a valid research method has been questioned in the past and

there is a wide perception that quantitative and qualitative research methods exist in opposition to each other (Bryman 2004). Yet, quantitative data can be treated using interpretivist principles, and qualitative data can be gathered and analysed from within a positivist framework. The assumption that either method entirely represents a single epistemological approach is an oversimplification.

Conventional methods of social research are twofold, one being deductive (traditionally associated with a positivist epistemology), the other inductive (more often associated with an interpretivist epistemology). However, much like the opposition of quantitative and qualitative research methods, this dichotomisation is a limited paradigm from which to approach social research. Deductive methods of research follow the principle that theories lead to hypotheses that can either be accepted or nullified based on the results of empirical research. An inductive approach would instead aim to construct theory from the data collected, and then position the findings within theoretical frameworks.

An alternative approach, and the one influencing the research design of the present study, is to consider the research process, not as deductive or inductive, but as *dialectical*, whereby oppositional forces themselves are the operational incentive of any research undertaken. Engels' (1954) *Dialectics of Nature* describes the dialectic paradigm (an amalgamation of Marxist and Hegelian dialectics) as being founded on three principles:

1. Every object and process is composed of opposite forces.
2. Gradual changes lead to turning points, where one force overcomes the other.
3. Change moves in spirals, not circles (therefore, the end-point is always different from the start point).

Applying these principles to social research in the context of the present study:

1. The opposite forces at play are the epistemologies of positivism (deductive research) and interpretivism (inductive research)

2. The gradual change takes place as the methods of both perspectives are synthesised, and findings are accumulated – some from deductive, and others from inductive approaches.

3. The conclusions contribute to the previously established knowledge, which is now composed differently from how it was before the study was conducted (i.e. a change in knowledge).

The dialectic method could therefore be applied to all research (if the above principles are accepted) overcoming the problem of deciding whether the research is deductive or inductive, or comes from a positivist or interpretivist epistemology. Indeed the purpose of dialectic research is to bring together these opposing epistemologies in order to better understand reality (Engels 1954). To return to the common interpretation of Hegelian dialectics (Hegel, Miller & Findlay 1977) as based on thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, the methodology of social research represents the latter of these factors. The aim of social research is, largely, to exact change in established knowledge (i.e. the knowledge of a phenomenon composed of all previous studies) and this is conducted by synthesising thesis (a particular approach to phenomena) and antithesis (alternative modes of enquiry). The product of synthesis (the findings) provides a new thesis for the next cycle of dialectical enquiry.

To elaborate regarding this study, a positivist method can statistically measure rates of smoking by music preference, whilst an interpretivist method can investigate the perceived links between a particular musical identity and motivations for smoking. Neither approach offers a 'truer' answer to the research question ('what are the links between musical identities and smoking?'), but through synthesis of two competing epistemologies, a cumulative resolution to the gap in knowledge can be provided. This can also provide the basis for any future enquiry into the topic.

In addition, there is no such thing as a purely deductive or inductive approach to social enquiry, all research questions arise from established knowledge (the deductive aspect) and the process of change comes from findings, or 'new' knowledge (the inductive aspect). Change results from the conclusions drawn,

based on the competing forces of the research process (or different ways of answering the question); therefore conceiving of the research process as dialectical establishes the opposition within method and epistemology as necessary, and choosing one over the other as unnecessary. A similar set of ideas have been posited in Sociology (Friedrichs 1972, Ball 1979, Jessop 1996) and Social Psychology (Brewster Smith 1977, Cvetkavich 1977, Marianthi 1983). Cvetkavich outlined what the dialectic method allows for:

> It does not seem that there are any fundamental methodological innovations that are categorically demanded by a dialectical approach to research. We can expect that the idea of treating people as active agents would produce a greater acceptance of self-report information. The dialectal emphasis on processes and interaction over more 'static' concepts of 'state and trait' would likely change the current ratio of attitude and personality questionnaire studies and observational studies. Very likely there would also be a greater use of sophisticated historical-longitudinal designs allowing the disentanglement of generational and developmental trends. (Cvetkavich, G. 1977:689)

Acknowledging that social processes are dynamic and subject to change over time, and that this will affect the individual actor and their phenomenological perception of the world, is an important proviso of dialectic research. Instead of uncovering truth, acknowledging many perspectives of reality using existing methodology is the aim. Knowledge is not static; the way in which people understand the world changes, often based on empirical (often positivist) scientific research, dialectic thought is based on the principle that knowledge is a construct and subject to change (Kuhn 1970). In order to contribute to the form of new knowledge, the dialectical method utilises competing epistemologies and breaks down the false opposition between them.

If this is accepted, then questions also remain as to how various theoretical perspectives fit into, or influence, the methodology of a research program. The answer is that these form part of the synthesis. Theory should be considered based on its applicability to the research aims, and not limited by a particular epistemological approach. The theoretical perspectives that have most bearing on the present study are positivism, critical theory, phenomenology, and social

constructionism; therefore, it should also be clarified how these contribute to the dialectic method adopted in the present study.

1. Positivism

   Whilst there are variations on what is regarded as positivist philosophy, within sociology positivism is attributed to the work of Auguste Comte (Giddens 1974). Comte's positivism suggests that human organisation (in societies and communities) should be studied according to the principles of natural science (i.e. based on statistical analysis and the creation of laws). Through the application of empirical study, knowledge of the material world can be uncovered and built up over time. In this way, action is determined by existent laws uncovered by the social scientist. Comte believed that by measuring and uncovering universal laws, the way in which society functions as a whole could be established and developed. There have been many criticisms of this approach (discussed below). However, Comte should be recognised as acknowledging the necessity of theory in understanding the social world. In disavowing empiricism (i.e. the acceptance of 'pure' fact for facts sake) and advocating theory as a way of connecting facts, Comte is responsible for the development of social enquiry over the last 150 years (Ritzer 2008). Approaching social processes as measurable and generalisable can provide useful findings. Regarding these findings as fact can provide interesting theories. Ultimately, modern social science is founded on the testing and developing of theories and Comtean positivism is largely responsible for this 'fact'.

2. Critical Theory

   Based on the writings and teachings of the Frankfurt School (for a summary see Jay 1973), critical theory was founded on the principle that social research should be reflexive and pose a challenge to established and accepted forms of thought (i.e. to entirely positivist approaches to knowledge acquisition). The widely accepted early 'agenda' of critical theory was to highlight that most research, philosophy and social theory was uncritical of the agencies, institutions and ideologies that it assessed

and that this should be challenged by collective critique and a reappraisal of Marxist theory (Horkheimer 1972). Thus, a dialectical approach to social research was one way of combining methods and disciplines in a position of conflict to established scientific discourse. This also required an investigation into micro and macro structures and processes, and how these are interpreted by subjects and social scientists alike, with the aim of demystifying and challenging the dominant ideology of Western societies (Adorno 2000). In its focus on the transformative motive for social research, bridging of social science disciplines (like Sociology and Psychology), and in its opening up of 'the sociological imagination' to micro social processes, Critical Theory has much to offer both the concept and practice of a dialectic method.

3. Phenomenology

Phenomenology has multiple meanings in multiple academic disciplines; for the purposes of this study, phenomenology as it is currently understood and employed in sociology and psychology will be the focus. The most significant figure in the history of phenomenology is Edmund Husserl, and most of the current uses of the concept have evolved from his writings on the subject (most comprehensively laid out in *Ideas* (1931)). Husserl was concerned with the manner in which people perceived objects and concepts, and how this contributed to making sense of the world; phenomenology was an attempt to integrate 'reality', 'being' and 'thinking' about reality and being. Husserl suggested three main stages to a phenomenological 'method': epoche, phenomenological reduction, and imaginative variation. The first implies that the investigator must suspend presuppositions and identify the phenomenon to be studied; the second involves describing the phenomenon (colour, texture, feelings and so forth), and the third identifies the micro-structural associations of the phenomenon (i.e. what contributes to the understanding of the phenomena?). These 'steps' have formed the basis of subsequent phenomenological research (Moustakas 1994). Another key element of phenomenology to sociology and social psychology is *intersubjectivity*, i.e. the impact that being around other people has on

how phenomena are understood and how meaning is conveyed beyond the individual interaction with phenomena. Recognition of the interplay between phenomena, cognitive processes and social processes in order to garner the meaning of various objects and concepts (i.e. everything) is a central aspect of modern phenomenology (Luft 1999). This 'integrated' approach to the work of Husserl and his followers also provides the starting point for the development of 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis' (IPA), which has been the primary qualitative research method employed in the present study (a detailed description of which is provided below). In providing a methodology with which to investigate the nature of being and meaning, phenomenology can act as another guiding set of ideas to be incorporated into the dialectic method laid out currently.

4. Social Constructionism

Social constructionism offers yet another useful perspective from which to investigate the relationship between music, identity and health. Popularised by Berger and Luckmann (1966), social constructionism holds that perceptions of reality are created and renewed through interaction and social consensus. In an extension to Husserl's phenomenology, Berger and Luckmann focused on the social significance attributed to phenomena, indeed, suggesting that all that exists, and all that is, can only be comprehended in an interaction with the subject (self), which is then shared with others through intersubjectivity. The universe as we understand it is constructed through our subjective interpretations of it, including perceptions of 'reality' and perceptions of ourselves (Burr 1995). In this framework, there are multiple ways of conceptualising phenomena, and the interest and pursuit of the social researcher is in investigating sameness and difference in people's understandings of themselves and the world around them.

A combination of these theoretical perspectives constitutes methodological pluralism, an approach characterised by openness to various philosophical positions, as opposed to being tied to one particular epistemological standpoint. It recognises that certain kinds of knowledge come from particular methods, but

does not organise this knowledge, or the methods used to gain the knowledge into a structured hierarchy of right and wrong. Instead the consideration of these ontological perspectives together allows for the dialectical change (from one 'knowledge state' to another) to be fully realised. Comtean positivism is useful in suggesting that the world can be understood through the formulation of theories, critical theory contributes that these theories should not be closed off as laws but subject to interrogation, phenomenology implies that understanding of knowledge will differ from person to person, and social constructionism reminds us that understanding comes from shared perception. Although oppositions exist in the tenets of these theoretical approaches, the dialectic method acknowledges these differences and looks to how the mere fact of opposition can contribute to a higher level of understanding. There is no 'catch all' approach to understanding the social world, instead, varying perspectives should be brought together and their strengths and weaknesses acknowledged.

Previous arguments around integrating quantitative and qualitative methodologies have been focused on issues such as triangulation (where one method is used to corroborate the findings of another), complementarity (where methods are aimed at finding out different things about the research topic) and facilitation (when one method aids in the development of another) (Hammersley 1996). Although the third of these classifications is closer to the motivations of mixing methods in the present study there is a distinction; the dialectic method is facilitated by the synthesis of opposing forces, therefore the validation of the knowledge produced comes from the separate epistemologies represented by each method. It would therefore be erroneous to refer to the combination of methods as complementary rather than acknowledge and appreciate the different understanding of the social world that comes from each.

By acknowledging the competing epistemological foundations of quantitative and qualitative methods and accepting that they tell us different things about the 'nature of reality', the dialectic method allows for reflection on the kind of knowledge that results from their use. Indeed, at the end of each results chapter, and in the discussion chapter (chapter 8), the conclusions drawn are the product of the synthesis of methods, epistemologies and theories. It is

through this synthesis that an attempt is made to uncover what general observations and associations relating musical identity to health can be made, how the participants understand these associations, how the researcher conveys this understanding, and what implications all this has for wider society. This 'construction of meaning' reflects each of the theoretical positions that have influenced this study (outlined above) in a complementary way, thus the dialectic method is the best paradigm with which to answer the research questions highlighted in the previous chapter. What follows is a detailed exposition of the techniques and processes employed as a result of its adoption.

The Quantitative Sample

Measurement and quantification remain the principles under which the vast majority of research is presently conducted; quantitative methods make an important contribution to how the world is understood and provide a useful way to conduct social enquiry. They contribute 'fact' to theory that can then be investigated through other methods with the goal of contributing to knowledge. While there are limitations to what can be explained through quantitative means (e.g. the lack of individual perception, intersubjective meaning and interpretation), the use of questionnaire survey data has been a crucial aspect of this study. The dialectic method encouraged questions arising from the literature review to be investigated through statistical analysis of an existing dataset. This raised further questions to be explored in the qualitative component of the study, which, upon analysis, instigated further enquiry of the quantitative data.

The data used for the study came from 'The West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study: Health in the Community' ('The Twenty-07 Study'). This study is unique in collecting data on music, youth identity, and health over a 20-year period (the youth-adult transition). The aims of the study have been described in Macintyre, *et al* (1989):

> The study aims to integrate an older tradition of examining material and environmental factors on the health of the population with the more recent emphasis on the importance of personal behaviours and psychosocial factors. It also aims to study the relative importance of health selection and social causation explanations for social differentials in health, and most importantly, it provides the opportunity to study the mechanisms by which such processes – selection and social causation – might work. (Macintyre, *et al* 'The West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study: Health in the Community' 1989:57)

The participants were sampled from the Central Clydeside Conurbation (CCC); an area around Glasgow comprised of 52 postcode sectors and with a relatively heterogeneous population in terms of social class and mortality/morbidity rates. The postcode sectors selected for the study displayed a range of socio-demographic characteristics. The questionnaires included questions on education and employment history, family background, activities, behaviours, attitudes and values, as well as self-assessed health, and self-reported illness, and of crucial importance for this thesis, music taste and scene affiliations. Nurses also measured participants' height, weight, blood pressure, respiratory function and reaction times. This range of measures allowed for comparisons between self-reported health and physical measurements, as well as allowing for the analysis of a range of social and personal factors on these health outcomes (Macintyre, *et al* 1989).

The study design involved three purposively selected age cohorts; 15, 35, and 55, with a target sample size of 1000 in each cohort. The youngest cohort was selected to study changes in health and development over the youth-adult transition and is therefore the focus of this thesis. The participants were selected from the Voluntary Population Survey of Strathclyde Regional Council (1985) and approached to participate; the details of those willing to take part were then passed to the Medical Research Council and a further request to participate was sent. The sample was a probability sample with the aim of accurately representing the socio-economic characteristics of the wider population in the Central Clydeside Conurbation. Data collection took place within a regional sample (the 52 postcode sectors selected from the CCC), and a locality sample (two more concentrated areas within Glasgow). The former of these provides the data for analysis here since it is representative of the

population of the CCC (full details of the sampling scheme can be found in Ecob (1987)).

All participants were given an information sheet detailing the study and were obliged to complete a consent form, which also guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity. Upon completion, all identifying data were removed and stored separately from the questionnaire data. This process was repeated electronically for data collected on computer. Participants also had the opportunity to opt out of the research at any time and for their data to be removed from the study (this right remains indefinitely). Upon collection, all questionnaire data were coded, checked, and 'cleaned' (i.e. any missing or conflicting answers were recoded as necessary). Physical data such as the original questionnaires have been kept in locked storage within the research unit, and within professional commercial storage facilities.

The three main waves of data collection were in 1987 (age 15), 1995 (age 23) and 2000 (age 30) (the most recent wave of data collection has just been completed). A shorter follow-up postal survey was also done in 1990. In 1987 and 1995, nurses conducted home interviews with participants who also filled in a self-complete questionnaire. In the youngest cohort, participant's parents were also interviewed (Macintyre, *et al* 1989). In 1995, 2000, and the most recent wave, participants were interviewed by nurses using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI), and objective health measures were taken at the same time. The response rates of the youth cohort, along with sex and social class distribution at each wave, can be seen in Table 3.1 (social class is measured by parental occupation at 1987 and 1995, and participant head of household occupation in 2000).

Table 3.1 - Response Rate and Sex/Social Class Distribution for Youth Cohort

		1987	*1995*	*2000*	*Longitudinal*
		N	N	N	N
Participants		1009	676	579	471
Sex		%	%	%	%
	Male	47.8	47.2	45.7	45.9
	Female	52.2	52.8	54.3	54.1
Social Class					
	I	7.7	9.2	9.8	8.6
	II	19.7	20.4	34.0	36.5
	IIInm	14.0	14.7	16.7	29.9
	IIIm	37.4	36.0	24.9	17.3
	IV	14.5	13.5	11.0	5.7
	V	6.8	6.2	3.0	1.7

All longitudinal research suffers biases associated with attrition. In the case of Twenty-07, this principally involved a progressive bias towards middle-class respondents (i.e. a larger proportion of those from manual occupational backgrounds refused or were untraceable at each wave). This is common in research since the most socially disadvantaged people are hardest to trace, reach and encourage to take part. It was necessary to use the longitudinal sample for the current study so that change over time could be investigated, therefore only participants who took part at every wave of data-collection were included. The longitudinal sample has a slightly higher proportion of participants from non-manual backgrounds than the cross-sectional sample at each wave; however this has not had a significant impact on the results (checked by running analyses on both the longitudinal sample and the cross sectional samples).

Quantitative Analysis

In order to make the data more manageable, a number of variables were selected from each wave and combined to make a unique longitudinal data set pertinent to the research aims. This allowed the researcher to select all the variables that related to music taste, music scene affiliation, and musical involvement (gig and disco attendance and so forth), as well as sex, date of birth, education and employment history, lifetime and current smoking/drinking/drug use levels, and a range of other health and lifestyle variables from each wave, combining them into one dataset.

Measures

Music Taste

In 1987 participants were asked to list their three favourite bands or artists, and their three least favourite bands or artists, whereas in the latter two waves (1995 and 2000) they were asked the open-ended question 'what is your favourite type of music?' This difference in question format meant that the 1987 music preference data had to be recoded so as to be comparable with the music preference data from the subsequent waves.

This recoding was initially conducted using a coding framework devised in 1988 by one of the study's main researchers, which involved the researcher visiting schools in the same localities as the Twenty-07 Study and asking a cross-section of pupils to code named bands and artists into more general music genres. One benefit of this process is that the bands and artists were coded within the historical context of what music was popular at the time as opposed to being recoded retrospectively when the artists and bands may have changed style or genre.

The initial list of 372 bands and artists was recoded into 23. The identified genres were; Blues/Rhythm and Blues, Breakdance Music/Hip Hop, Chart Music/Pop Music/Pop, Disco, Electronic/Synthesiser Music, Folk, Gothic Music, Heavy Rock/Hard Rock, Independent Chart Music (Indies)/Alternative Music, Jazz, Rapping/Rap, Funk/Jazz Funk, Heavy Metal, New Wave Music, New Romantic, Punk Music, Psychobilly/Rockabilly Music/Country and Western, Rock Music, Soul/Motown, Thrash Music/Really Heavy Metal, Reggae, Rock 'n' Roll (50s Music), and 60s Music. A series of lists were then produced whereby each of the mentioned bands and artists were assigned a genre by the young people in the form of artists with a letter noted after their name to denote genre (e.g. 'Def Leppard' would be followed by 'm' for 'metal' or 't' for 'thrash'). Each artist was coded by around six groups of young people and the results were accepted if unanimous agreement was reached. For any contentious (i.e. non-unanimous) bands or artists the present researcher consulted the on-line music directory www.allmusic.com and assigned genres for each of the bands listed. An example of this is the band 'Kreator' which had not been assigned a genre by any young people but was labelled as 'thrash metal' by the allmusic website. The young person coding accounted for 60% of the bands and artists mentioned, with the allmusic website being used to confirm a further 40%. Once all the bands and artists had been recoded, each participant was assigned a genre based on their first listed band or artist.

Comparable data from the second two waves (1995 & 2000) resulted in 75 different genres which were simplified to a list of nine. As part of this process any genres listed by fewer than 10 participants were automatically recoded to another, more general category (e.g. participants who had stated 'Scottish', 'Indian', or 'Irish' were recoded into a Traditional category). A full list of the coding decisions made at this stage is available in Appendix 1. The resultant categories across all three waves were; Alternative (including Gothic, Psychobilly, and Christian, as these genres were deemed to represent a very particular 'alternative to mainstream' taste), Alternative Rock (including Indie and Grunge as something separate from Rock itself), Chart (including Pop, Chart and Top 40), Contemplative (including Ambient, Classical, Folk, and Jazz, as these were considered as somewhat cerebral and reflective), Dance (including

House, Rave, Techno, Electro and other descriptors of subgenres), Easy Listening (which was listed by a substantial number of participants, and appears to refer to a 'Middle of the Road' or 'Adult Pop' genre), Rock (including Heavy Metal and Hard Rock), Traditional (including Scottish, Indian, Irish, and Celtic Songs), and Various (participants who listed 'Anything' or 'Everything').

The coding process is imperfect and there is inevitably a degree of subjectivity in the construction of categories (for instance, it could be argued that fans of 'Indian' or 'Scottish' music are as likely to have an 'anti-mainstream' taste as those Gothic, Psychobilly or Christian fans in the Alternative genre). However, the codes were influenced by previous work on the structure and pattern of music preference (e.g. Rentfrow and Gosling 2003).

Frequency analysis indicated three dominant preferences (Chart, Rock and Dance). These were therefore the main variables used throughout the quantitative analysis with the addition of 'Other' to account for the tastes of those not stating one of these three genres as their primary music taste. This process was adopted to facilitate large enough numbers for meaningful statistical analysis.

Scene Affiliation and Musical Identity

At each wave of the Twenty-07 Study, participants were given a card by interviewers containing various youth scenes and asked 'which of the following scenes do you identify with?' They were then asked to indicate the extent to which they identified with the scene on a scale from 'not at all' (coded 1), 'a bit' (coded 2), 'quite a bit' (coded 3), to 'I am one' (coded 4). Participants could indicate no scene attachment by stating that they did not affiliate with any of the named scenes, but could also affiliate with as many scenes as they wished. Participants could also claim an identity not listed on the card, these varied greatly at each wave and are therefore coded as 'other' in the analysis. The youth scenes participants could choose from at each time-point can be seen in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 - Youth Scenes Listed in Twenty-07 Questionnaire (1987-2000)

1987	1990	1995	2000
Punk	──────────────────────────────►		
Mod	──────────────────────────────►		
Skinhead	──────────────────────────────►		
Heavy Metal	──────────────────────────────►		
Breakers	──────────────────────────────►		
Hippies	──────────────────────────────►		
New Wave	──────►	X	X
New Romantic	──────►	X	X
Trendies	──────►	X	X
	Hip Hop ──────────────────►		
		Clubbers ──────►	
		Grunge ──────►	
		Rave ──────►	

An important methodological issue concerns the fact that the options listed at each wave were altered to reflect contemporaneous youth scenes; e.g., 'clubber' was not included in 1987 but was in 1995 due to the emergence of clubber as a notable youth scene identity in the intervening period. Similarly, 'New Romantic' was dropped as a youth style identity between 1987 and 1995 since it was not considered a relevant youth scene by the time of the latter wave. While the decision to change the youth styles listed in the Twenty-07 questionnaire reflects the fact that youth styles changed over the period of the study, the omission of some styles limits comparison across all waves.

A collective measure of scene affiliation was devised whereby the sample was stratified into those who made no youth style affiliation, those who made a low affiliation (i.e. 'a bit'), and those who made a strong affiliation ('quite a bit' or 'I am one') at each wave. This provides the basis for constructing a variable representing participants' strength of scene identity at each wave. The extent to which scene identities map on to musical preference is dealt with fully in the following chapter.

Co-predictors

In order to determine the links between music preference, scene identities and health outcomes, two co-predictors (Sex, and Social Class) were included in the majority of the analyses conducted. Co-predictors are defined as participant characteristics that may affect the health outcomes measured. The inclusion of a measure of social class is particularly relevant in light of the debates discussed in Chapter 2.

Sex

Differences in health outcomes based on sex are common (Macintyre, *et* al 1991), and have been regularly investigated in studies using Twenty-07 data (Sweeting and West 2003). There are many complex explanations for the health differences between sexes ranging from socio-cultural to biological (and interactions between these). The inclusion of sex as a co-predictor alongside music preference and scene identity is therefore to control for its effect on health behaviours and health states.

Social Class

As was discussed in the previous chapter, social class is a central concern of the thesis due to its complex relationship with youth identity and health. Social class was measured using the Registrar General's Scheme (RGS), which places people within a class based on the occupation of the head of household. It is recognised that this classification system has been updated in recent years and the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC) Scheme is now more commonly used. In the Twenty-07 Study the former scheme was used in the initial data collection, with the NS-SEC being added since the 1995 wave. The principles guiding both schemes are similar; that social class can be determined by the earnings and status attached to the occupation of the head of

household, with managerial and professional occupations at the top of the hierarchy and those in unskilled routine occupations and the unemployed at the bottom. However, breaking the NS-SEC scheme into three classes (managerial and professional, intermediate, and routine manual) is very similar to the three-class stratification of the RGS (professional managerial, skilled manual, unskilled manual) that earlier Twenty-07 analyses were based on. The three class stratification presented in the following analyses therefore represent social class based on occupation of head of household at each wave, with parent or guardian (usually father) representing head of household in 1987 and 1995, and participant's own or spouse's occupation in 2000.

It is accepted that occupation is not the only, or necessarily the best, way of measuring social class, and that culture, identity, and environmental factors have an important role in an analysis based on social stratification and inequality. However, clear differences continue to be observed, especially in health studies, when class is measured using an occupational schema so its relevance to the current study remains.

Health Behaviours

Health behaviours are lifestyle associated behaviours that have a short or long-term (cumulative) impact on a person's health. They tend to be viewed as voluntary to the extent that active decision making is part of the process of engaging in such behaviours. However, there are complex social, cultural and environmental factors that determine people's decision-making ability and resultant health behaviours at various points of the life course. The current study investigates the links between musical identity and health behaviours over the youth-adult transition, with a focus on health behaviours particularly associated with this period. A number of health behaviours measured in the Twenty-07 study through various means were included in this study and are outlined below.

Issues around the reliability of self-report of health behaviours are acknowledged, however the implications for physical sample testing (e.g. of hair for drug use) were not viable for a study this size. Other studies have shown that, especially for behaviour occurring in the distant past, self-report is the most reliable method of investigation (Turkkan 1999).

Smoking

Smoking was measured as self-reported 'current smoker' at each wave. Although data on the extent of smoking behaviour were available, this was judged less important than the claim to a smoking identity reflected by 'current smoker' status. Smoking is an important health behaviour to study since general rates within the population are often at their highest over the youth-adult transition, and the long-term health implications are serious and largely unequivocal (Mayhew, Flay & Mott 2000). Studying the cultural contexts and significance of smoking (in this instance aligning it with musical identities) aids in understanding the motivations for uptake and cessation.

Alcohol Use

Drinking alcohol heavily was measured as consumption above the weekly-recommended limits, which is over 21 units per week for a male, and over 14 units for a female. One unit is approximately equivalent to half a pint of regular strength beer, or a small glass of white wine. Participants were asked about their alcohol consumption over the past week and were asked if this was representative of their general consumption, which was then transformed into alcohol units subsequently coded as drinking above or below the recommended levels. At age 15, participants were asked to define 'typical' consumption. Like smoking, increased alcohol consumption has been linked to long-term risk from cancer and heart disease. However, there are also many short-term risks such as alcohol poisoning, and reckless behaviour.

Drug Use

Drug use has been split into three categories based on the distinctive socio-cultural features of different kinds of regular drug users. It is as mistaken to assume that all cannabis users use other drugs, as it is to assume that users of so-called 'rave drugs' also use 'harder' drugs Therefore, the categories of drug use were as follows: Cannabis, as any previous use in 1987 (age 15), and use in the past six months at the 1995 and 2000 waves; Rave drugs (LSD, amphetamines, nitrites, cocaine, ecstasy, magic mushrooms) as any previous use in 1987, and use in the past six months in 1995 and 2000. For hard drugs (temazepam, tranquilisers, heroin, methadone, temgesic, cocaine), none of the longitudinal sample reported using them prior to 1987 and the numbers for regular use were very small in 1995 and 2000, therefore hard drug use in the past year was the measure used at these waves.

General Health Questionnaire

In the 1987 wave, the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) was administered to participants from which a measure of caseness was devised (i.e. a binary score of emotional distress was calculated based on responses to 12 questions about how they had been feeling lately). The cut off point for the GHQ 12 is the presence of symptoms in three of the 12 options and it is a valid measure of emotional distress in adolescents (Goldberg and Williams 1988). A problem occurred in collecting GHQ data in the 1995 wave; therefore, an alternative measure (HADS) was used for the latter two waves.

Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale

In the 1995 and 2000 waves, the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (HADS) was used. This measures anxiety and depression through separate questions about how participants have been feeling lately (Spinhoven, *et al*. 2000). Problematic scores were identified by a standard cut off point (a score of 11 out

of a possible 21 for each subscale) indicating caseness. HDS therefore refers to the depression component of the scale, and HAS refers to the anxiety component of the scale, with the combined scale referred to as HADS.

Transitions

To study the extent to which participants had made the transition to adulthood, educational attainment, marital status and parental status were utilised at 1995 (age 23) and 2000 (age 28-30). Educational attainment was measured by whether the participant had attended university and obtained a degree, since this presupposes a particular educational trajectory and increases the chances of a professional career. Marital status was measured via a self-report on whether the participant was married or not. Parental status refers to whether the participant had any children. These measures of transition are by no means exhaustive but were decided upon based on the availability of relevant data within the Twenty-07 questionnaire.

Analyses

Frequencies and Univariate Associations

Once measures of music preference had been established at each wave, the basic frequencies of music preference were examined and analyses conducted to determine associations with other variables.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis is a data reduction method that highlights underlying relationships between variables (Kline 1994). It was used in the current study to

identify scenes that were correlated (instead of assuming autonomy between different scenes).

The scene variables were entered into a principal components factor analysis for each year. The Kaiser rule (inclusion of factors with Eigenvalues over 1) and investigation of Scree plots (a visual representation of the factors) were used to decide how many factors should be retained in each analysis (Catell 1966). As with all factor analyses, a degree of theoretical consideration is involved in the labelling of each factor. Due to the changing nature of affiliations over each wave (as well as the change in list of available options), the labels of the factors alter to give an indication of the types of music scenes cohering at each wave.

Multivariate Analysis

Logistic regressions indicate the likelihood (odds) of an outcome (the dependent variable) for each explanatory variable (independent variable) and are used extensively in the social sciences and public health research (Hosmer and Lemeshow 2000). In order to estimate the independent effects of music and scene affiliation on health behaviours (Smoking, Drinking Alcohol, Drug Use), mental health measures (General Health Questionnaire and Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale) and transition variables (education, children and marriage), the measures of music taste and scene identity were entered into a series of logistic regressions along with sex and social class.

Qualitative Sample

The study investigates the nature of musical identities and how they relate to health. Although some of the research questions are best addressed through quantitative enquiry, others are better answered by an in-depth qualitative methodology. As has been established earlier in the chapter, rather than using qualitative research as a means of triangulating or complementing the quantitative findings, both methodologies were used in a dialectical manner,

whereby the recognition that they address separate research questions is the raison d'être for their application. With this in mind, the qualitative sampling procedure was generated both by the findings of the quantitative analysis and the theoretical incentive of the project as a whole; i.e. to access the phenomenological perceptions of the relationship between music and health within a particular population and over a specific period of the lifecourse. It was decided to interview participants from the Twenty-07 Study so that the accounts mirrored the timeframe of the survey data.

The quantitative analysis indicated a division within the taste and scenes data between fans of chart music, fans of dance music, and fans of rock music. Fans of these types of music had statistically significant differences in some health and transition measures. It was therefore decided that fans of these genres would be approached to take part in the qualitative study. On the principle of aligning qualitative data with quantitative over the course of the youth-adult transition, only participants who had taken part at every wave of the Twenty-07 Study were selected and approached to take part in the qualitative substudy.

Potential participants were selected based on their responses to the music preference questions in 1987, 1995 and 2000. The original intention was to sample from only those who had maintained the same taste in music at each wave (assuming they would have the strongest musical identities), however the number of participants claiming dance as their favourite music in 1987 was so small (n=3), that this was not viable. Instead, participants who had claimed the same music preference at two waves out of three were selected for inclusion. The method of analysis (Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, discussed at length below) implied a smaller sample size than is used in many other qualitative projects with an emphasis on depth of understanding as opposed to generalisability (as is the case with most qualitative methods). Brocki and Wearden (2006), in a review of IPA studies in health psychology, cite the average number of participants in qualitative studies as 10. This resulted in a total sample of 18 participants, 6 in each taste category (chart, dance, and rock). Since preferences were not clearly differentiated according to sex or social class, these were not considered in the sample selection.

Participants were identified using the 'select case' function in SPSS and ID numbers were sent to the survey office at the Social and Public Health Sciences Unit (SPHSU), who provided contact details for potential participants. Once potential participants had been identified, they were sent a letter devised by the researcher and signed by the director of the research unit asking whether they would be willing to take part and informing them of a future phone call from the researcher. Also included in the letter was an information sheet detailing the process of their involvement, the aims of the study, the funders, and any intended use of collected data. The initial letter, information sheet, and consent form are provided in Appendix 2.

Before beginning the qualitative study, a brief pilot study was conducted in order to test the sampling approach and the topic guide devised for the interviews. The parameters for inclusion in the pilot study were changed to participants who had taken part in the 1987 and 2000 waves (and not 1995) in order to maintain the highest possible number of participants for the main study. Out of 19 letters sent out, 8 were not contactable by telephone and 2 letters were returned. Of 9 contactable participants, 3 took part (2F,1M), 2 agreed and then pulled out, 2 had partners refusing on their behalf, 1 did not answer the phone, and 1 was away long-term. This participation rate (3/19) was clearly disappointing, and it was recognised that the sample may be biased in favour of those whose contact details had not changed since the previous wave, and those who had informed the SPHSU of any changes. Regardless of these contact issues, the pilot interviews were extremely useful for refining the topic guide and questions. It was also decided at this point that since ethical approval had already been obtained from the University of Glasgow (detailed below), recruitment should continue in the agreed way despite the potential bias.

The recruitment for the main study was less problematic than for the pilot, which was possibly a consequence of the greater participation of those being approached (i.e. in all three waves instead of two). Recruitment and fieldwork took place between 3/11/06 and 16/01/07. Of 69 letters sent, 29 were not contactable by telephone (i.e. either no dial tone or number was not

recognised). Of 40 contactable participants, 18 agreed (10F,8M), 11 did not answer phone on two attempts, 10 refused (mostly stating that they did not have spare time or citing family obligations), 1 requested not to be contacted again. One participant who had agreed (a female dance fan) re-scheduled the interview three times and ended up not taking part. In order to satisfy the aim of six participants in each taste group, one participant from the pilot study whose transcript had not been analysed fully was included in the main study; their non-participation in the 1995 wave was not deemed a significant problem in the context of the qualitative analysis.

Qualitative Method and Analysis

The study adopted Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), a qualitative method increasingly used in psychological studies of health and wellbeing (Reid, Flowers and Larkin 2005), and more recently in music psychology (Caldwell, MacDonald, Oakland, & DeSimone 2008).

IPA has developed from Husserl's philosophical concept of transcendental phenomenology which posits that reality is perceived differently by individual actors, but also that there can be generalised co-constructions of meaning through intersubjective comparison and agreement. This suggests that we all understand things differently (based partly on our experiences and past encounters), and that any thought or sense making of reality is the work of the individual, but within a social context. Therefore the experience of phenomena is never *exactly* the same between social actors but differences in experience can be described and discussed, with the overall 'shape' of phenomena being the result (Moustakas 1994). Husserl's original steps towards 'phenomenological reduction' have been updated by many recent authors (perhaps most notably in Heidegger's reassessment that locating the essence of phenomena should not be the main goal of phenomenology, instead allocating a greater focus to relativism and individualised formations of thought – i.e. the study of being itself (Heidegger *et al* 1962)). The position advanced by IPA's developers and practitioners is that there is a reality perceived by social actors (or subjects) in

many common ways, but that interpretations of that reality will differ between subjects (Smith 1999). In this way, the philosophical origins of IPA can be seen to be as influenced by social constructionism, symbolic interactionism, and hermeneutics, as by the 'core' ideas of phenomenology itself. In addition, by acknowledging a material reality, the work of Critical Theorists can also be considered from a phenomenological perspective.

The 'interpretative' aspect of IPA covers two roles; the role of the subject (or interviewee) in interpreting their experiences and perceptions and conveying them in speech to the researcher (interviewer); and the role of the researcher in interpreting the information provided by the subject (Smith 1999). To talk of 'researcher' and 'subject', however, belies the democratic and co-constructive nature of the method. As would be expected from a phenomenological method there is no claim to a singular truth, but instead recognition that what is constructed is a version of phenomena that is either shared or rejected by others. This is also what makes IPA particularly suitable for comparative research on perceptions of musical experience between people from different taste groups. What follows is a description of the method as it was adopted for the current study and a consideration of its limitations.

Constructing the Topic Guide and Sampling

By far the most common method of data gathering in IPA is the semi-structured interview, although there have been successful studies using depth interviews, focus groups, and secondary literature (diaries etc.) (Brocki and Wearden 2006). The semi-structured interview allows for deviation from a structured interview schedule and the freedom for the interviewee to discuss phenomena in a way that seems comfortable to them. The structured dimension of the interview allows the interviewer to 'keep track' of certain interview topics, ensuring that questions specific to the research are being addressed. The researcher normally has five or six broad questions or topics upon which the interview is based, allowing more 'natural' conversation to flow within these confines. For the current study these broad topics were; 'Early musical experience and the

emergence of a musical identity', 'Perceptions of youth scenes and youth identities in teens and early twenties', 'Extent to which a musical identity influenced other aspects of your life (i.e. health)', 'Feelings about music and feelings from music', and 'Feelings about growing up and how things have changed'. Implicit throughout was a consideration of how these topics might have an effect on health at any point (made explicit as the researcher had approached the interviewees from the Medical Research Council). An example of the topic guide is provided in appendix 3.

Since the topic guide had been developed prior to the interviews taking place, there was a degree of refinement as the fieldwork went on, though the structure of the interview and the questions asked were very similar across interviews. This was a key aspect of the method: that participants' perceptions of the same phenomena were conveyed despite the differences according to which they were stratified (i.e. music preference), facilitating comparison across cases.

Conducting Fieldwork

All interviews in the main study took place in participants' homes as this was thought to facilitate the greatest convenience and comfort for them, as well as contributing to more natural conversation (as opposed to the more 'authoritarian' environment of a research unit at Glasgow University and its implications for people's responses). The shortest interview was around 35 minutes (due to interviewee time constraints) and the longest around 1 hour 20 minutes. The aim was for interviews to last around 1 hour as this was estimated to produce enough data, and minimum disruption to participants. Interviews were recorded on a digital recorder, with the researcher taking limited notes during the interview mostly as an orientation device.

Within the interview context there was freedom for digressions and participants were made aware that they could question the researcher at any point, or discuss anything that had not been covered. This was often the source of important contributions to the discussion and this methodological 'space'

allowed participants to provide their thoughts and reflections on the topics after some consideration (this usually occurred at the end of the interview). The interview context also allowed the interviewee to provide clarification of interesting points, usually motivated by the researcher's prompts (e.g. 'go on', 'can you explain more', 'can you think of an example'). This highlights how the initial stages of analysis are present even in the interview where the interviewer is identifying potentially interesting themes and perceptions and asking for elaboration. An excerpt from a transcribed interview is provided in appendix 4.

Dealing with the Data and Analysis

Interview recordings were transferred to a computer and listened to in order to determine quality and coherence. They were then sent to a transcription company who completed most transcriptions within a week and returned them as Microsoft Word documents. As soon as transcripts were received, they were checked against the original recordings and any alterations made. Transcripts were also anonymised at this point (i.e. places and names changed within the transcripts) and basic notes were made on the content of each.

All analysis was conducted using Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), specifically NVivo 2 (for the pilot study and first two cases of the main study), and NVivo 7 (for the remainder). The analysis guidelines published in previous accounts of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis refer to analysis on paper by hand (via note taking, manual cutting and pasting, and so forth) (e.g. Smith 2003). However, the same analytic principles can easily be applied to computer software, especially as this software has developed and become more user friendly. CAQDAS is increasing in popularity for many topics and methods within the social sciences, and presents a number of benefits to the researcher not afforded by manual analysis; e.g. the ability to store large quantities of data, transportable access, unlimited corrections, fast search and retrieve functions and so forth (an account of the benefits of CAQDAS can be seen in Richie and Lewis 2003). It also makes each stage of the analytic process easily identifiable and traceable for any future validation or auditing purposes.

The first stage of analysis was to reread the transcripts and note down initial themes as broad codes or 'nodes'. The purpose was to make the transcript more accessible to the researcher and give an impression of the overall structure of the interview. These codes were saved in NVivo as 'free nodes' with brief notes written explaining the coding. This was followed by a greater depth of analysis where the text was reread and free nodes relating to each other were made into 'tree nodes'. This is the equivalent of placing free codes (or initial impressions) into superordinate themes in a manual analysis. Thus, a thematic model was constructed from 'wide' initial codes (e.g. around 'self identity', 'self perception', 'scenes') to particular perceptions (e.g. 'I'm not that kind of person', 'I never fitted in', 'They were the cool ones'); wherever possible, subordinate and specific 'themes' were coded in the participants' own words to reflect their perceptions. The next stage of the analysis was to summarise the meanings of these more specific observations. For example, 'I'm not that kind of person' became 'negative affirmation of self-identity', or 'They were the cool ones' became 'definition of out-groups'. This made comparison across cases more straightforward than comparing the specific ways in which participants phrased their perceptions (whilst not limiting the number of themes to allow for idiosyncrasy). Clustered sets of themes were designed for each participant, with a list of superordinate themes that applied to many cases emerging after the analysis of only a few. In this way, a balance was achieved in highlighting the commonalities between accounts and the idiographic perceptions of individual cases. The 'big theme' list was developed throughout the analysis, but always in tandem with the clustered theme lists of the individual participants.

Limitations of IPA

A limitation exists in the language participants use to describe their perceptions. Most experiences in life are felt and understood (i.e. perceived) without having to be vocalised to another person. There is undoubtedly some meaning lost in the action of making sense of and vocalising experiences to a phenomenological researcher. A real danger is that experience is being constructed through

language and not simply described through language (Willig 2001). This is a limitation of many qualitative methodologies; however, it is particularly relevant to IPA with its focus on people's experiences of realities.

Linked to this is the limitation that IPA allows participants to convey how they perceive phenomena but does not extend to an explanation of *why* phenomena are experienced in a particular way. Although some information may be given about the context, history and development of certain experiences, and although there may be common elements in different people's biographies that contribute to their understanding of particular phenomena, it is only in analysis that formulations of how and why people perceive of phenomena in certain ways can be established, the explanation of why is therefore strongly influenced by the researcher's interpretation.

Regardless of these limitations, IPA provides a useful tool for the study of peoples' perceptions of musical experience and their changing identities over the youth-adult transition and, in a dialectic relationship with the statistical analysis, provides an opportunity for the investigation of the links between music listening and health to become apparent. Once again, the aim of the methodological approach was not to identify 'the truth', but instead to allow particular phenomena to be understood from various perspectives in a bid to contribute to the established knowledge of such phenomena; a contribution to understanding and knowledge as opposed to the uncovering of a hidden reality.

Ethical Issues

Inherent in any methodological design is a consideration of the ethical implications of the research process, and this was applied throughout the current study. The study was subject to review and approval from the MRC Twenty-07 Scientific Steering Group and the ethics board of the faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences at the University of Glasgow. The ethics board primarily required information on how the proposed research would affect the

lives of the participants. Participants were reassured that their responses were confidential and anonymous; all names were changed and participants were asked to choose their pseudonym (a hint was that they could choose the name of one of their favourite music artists). All transcripts would be kept securely in a locked cabinet and a password protected file and no identifying data would be kept beside information provided by the participants. After the study's completion, all physical data will be securely stored in a secure storage facility (Iron Mountain).

One issue that arose from the ethics application was whether participants had consented to being contacted to take part in sub-studies of the Twenty-07 Study. Although subsampling in this way had been done previously, there was a concern that participants had not explicitly 'opted in' to be contacted for further study. This concern was allayed by the fact that at each wave of main data collection, the information sheet distributed to participants stated that they might be asked to participate in occasional sub-studies, and the consent form explicitly stated that participants agree to take part in the study as described in the information sheet. No participant expressed offence or distress at being contacted to participate in this sub-study.

Participants were told that they were welcome to stop the interview at any time, and that they did not have to answer all the questions. Oakley (1981) has highlighted the ethical implications around an imbalance of power in the interview context (with a focus on feminist research), suggesting that it is unethical to 'mine' the interviewee for information whilst the researcher provides none. This implies that the interviewer is in a position of advantage in steering the conversation towards relevant topics, however, the interviewee is the 'expert' in IPA interviewing and this was made clear to all participants at the start of the interview. It was also made clear that the researcher was willing to answer any questions posed by the interviewee.

The 'role' of the interviewer also has implications in the disclosure of sensitive information. Although it was not anticipated that there would be much discussion of sensitive topics in this area of study, the researcher was equipped

with helpline numbers if participants wanted further assistance. An ethical ambiguity arose in one interview where the participant mistook the researcher for a doctor trained in psychology, but it was made clear as soon as this was vocalised that the researcher was not qualified in this area and that, instead, was trained in social research. The presentation of the study as a doctoral project was made clear to all participants from the very first contact.

Reflexivity

Another way of ensuring consideration of ethical issues is through constant reflexivity on the part of the researcher. It is recognised that the decisions made by the researcher at all points of the research will influence the findings (Finlay and Gough 2003). This is true from the choice of literature, through methodological decisions, to the writing-up process itself (what information to include or leave out).

In the current project, the researcher kept a field diary, noting down the experiences encountered at each interview, along with feelings at the time that may have affected the way the interview was conducted. Any interruptions or the presence of anyone else in the homes of the participants was also noted, as were any significant gestures or experiences throughout the interview that would not have been picked up by the tape recording. Initial potential themes were also highlighted at this stage of the analysis and the diary was a useful tool for beginning the analysis of full transcripts (which was often sometime after the interview had taken place).

An important issue with reflexivity, highlighted by Mauthner and Doucet (2003), is that it is often reported at the fieldwork stage, but neglected in accounts of the analytic process. This was apparent in the current study when the researcher was analysing a transcript of a participant who had recently suffered breast cancer and was undergoing treatment. The 'story' of the participant in dealing with diagnosis despite having a young family, and her description of the therapeutic uses she had for music, paralleled experiences in the researcher's

own life. This lengthened the time it took to conduct the analysis and considerably increased the emotional labour involved, which the researcher had not anticipated. Indeed, this experience also raised questions about the extent to which the researcher was trying to retain a sense of objectivity in analysis, which was actually in opposition to the subjective and interpretivist nature of the method adopted. One of the values of qualitative research is that knowledge of social phenomena is developed as research is repeated with new authors enriching data through their own interpretation. Rather than testing hypotheses and presenting significant results (a potentially dangerous and limited dissemination of knowledge), qualitative research aims to explore all aspects of data (Banister 1994).

This should also be regarded as a positive outcome of the dialectic method, whereby the creative use of methods leads to a new knowledge state, which can then be discussed, strengthened, or rejected by others based on their own research. The dialectic method assumes that knowledge is dynamic and transient, and that understandings are specific to historical and cultural contexts.

Summary

This chapter has described the methodological design and philosophical incentive of the current study. Epistemological questions around the 'nature' of the social world were presented alongside details of the mode of enquiry. It was proposed that the most meaningful way to consider social research is as a dialectical process; a synthesis of methods producing a new set of findings that contributes to knowledge and advances our understanding of the world. This is especially useful when justifying the use of methods from opposing epistemological frameworks. In this project, the synthesis of positivist methods (statistical analyses of a large survey sample seeking statistical significance) with interpretivist methods (the IPA qualitative study) provided the best way of answering the research questions presented in the previous two chapters.

There are many theories that have contributed to the development of the current thesis and these have influenced the choice of methods and mode of analysis. In integrating ideas from positivism, critical theory, phenomenology, and social constructionism, a methodology was devised that aimed to investigate the nature of music taste and musical identity, its influence on health behaviours and health states, and how this changes over the youth-adult transition. Such a study necessarily involves investigation of social processes at the micro and macro levels, which also necessitates openness to a variety of methods. The Twenty-07 data provided a unique opportunity to study musical preferences over time, as well as facilitating an investigation into associations between music preference and a range of structural and health variables. However, the study of people's perceptions of the same phenomena can contribute greater depth and clarity than the statistical observations alone. The 'push and pull' of the analysis, where findings from one set of data encourages further investigation into the other, clearly demonstrates the dynamic nature of the dialectic method. It also highlights how research is an infinite process and how conclusions are only temporal. Nevertheless, the methodological approach of the current thesis can enable a valuable contribution to the study of musical identities and health, presented over the following chapters.

Chapter 4 - The Development of Taste and the Construction of a Musical Identity

Introduction

The function of music preference, and the significance of musical identities, must be considered before explaining how they might affect health. The theoretical debates about the origin, function, and development of taste and musical identities have been discussed in chapter 2. The aim of the current chapter is to identify where musical identities (including preferences) come from, and investigate how they change over the youth-adult transition. Another key aim is to explore whether musical identities are experienced by people in a similar way, or distinctions are apparent in the significance of music in people's lives. Many approaches to the topic are guided by genre, whereas there may be important differences in claims to a musical identity at all.

In order to meet these aims both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed (as described in chapter 3). In the first part of the chapter the focus is on Initial analysis of the Twenty-07 data, including descriptive statistics and bivariate analysis to discern significant differences (t-tests) in music taste over time. In order to investigate differences in preference based on sex and social class, a number of cross-tabulations were conducted (significance represented by chi-square tests). This was followed by the mapping of different taste trajectories. Qualitative analysis of interview data explored the participants' perceptions of their developing and changing tastes and is presented at the end of the chapter.

Quantitative Results

The popularity of different genres within the sample over the three waves and can be seen in Table 4.1

Table 4.1 - Music Taste Distribution (%) 1987-2000

	1987	*1995*	*2000*
Alternative	5.1	5.5	3.8
Alternative Rock	5.1	5.5	6.4
Chart	60.3	30.4	37.4
Contemplative	0	1.9	3.2
Dance	0.6	19.5	12.3
Easy Listening	0	2.3	10.2
Rock	20.2	13.8	13.4
Traditional	4.5	5.9	3.6
Various	4.2	15.1	9.8
Total (n)	471	471	471
Paired Sample T-Test		(t=9.7 p<.001) (1987-1995)	(t=0.89 $n.s.$) (1995-2000)

The results show that in 1987 Chart was favoured by the majority of the participants (60.3); the second largest category was Rock (20.2). Alternative and Alternative Rock were the next largest categories together accounting for a further 10% of the sample. Dance is barely represented (the 3 participants who make up this category stated Disco or Disco acts as their favourite music), although in 1987 Dance (and subsequent subgenres such as House, Techno, Trance, Jungle and so forth) was only beginning to infiltrate young people's leisure, in clubs or in music shops, and would therefore not be expected to have impacted on many 15 year olds tastes (Haslam 2000). The high proportion of Chart and Rock fans is consistent with other studies of 15 year olds' tastes and represents the considerable exposure to Pop and Chart music experienced at this age (Roe 1999).

In 1995, there was a widening of taste with Chart remaining the largest category but only representing 30.4% of the sample. A paired sample T-test indicated a statistically significant change in the distribution of tastes between 1987 and 1995. Dance became the second largest category, representing nearly a fifth of the sample, and Rock fans made up 13.8%. A notable observation was the increase in the number of people (15.1 %) claiming to be into various kinds of

music and reluctant to state one genre. Many of the other genres remained at a similar level. The heightened reporting of Dance Music as a preferred genre is consistent with changing music fashions; Dance was increasingly a feature of young people's leisure experience at this time (both in a clubbing context and more represented in music shops and the Top 40). The increase in the Various category may be linked to exposure to more varied music at this later stage of the lifecourse, or people describing a broadening in their tastes.

In 2000 Chart was once again the largest taste category (37.4), having increased slightly (though not significantly) since 1995. Rock accounted for 13.4% of the participants' tastes and Dance was the third most mentioned, accounting for 12.3% of the sample. The Various category was less represented than in 1995, accounting for just under a tenth of the sample and Easy Listening just over a tenth. A paired sample T-test indicated that the difference in taste distribution between 1995 and 2000 was not statistically significant indicating that music tastes remained relatively consistent between these two time periods. The increase in Easy Listening could be explained by changing musical identities and a move towards more 'adult-orientated' music in consumption patterns, perhaps consistent with a movement away from more youth-cultural music styles (such as Rock or Dance). It should be noted that 'Easy Listening' was mentioned verbatim by many participants as their favourite type of music, hence its inclusion as a stylistic category.

The evidence provided in Table 4.1 suggests that either tastes change as participants move across the youth-adult transition, especially between the ages of 15 and 23, or that people state their tastes as reflective of music 'fashions' at various time points; this being one explanation for the rise of Dance fans at age 23 and Easy Listening fans at age 30. The qualitative findings will expand upon these alternatives below.

Sex, Class and Music Taste 1987-2000

Before explaining any associations between music taste and health, it is important to consider whether different groups of people were more or less likely to indicate a preference for music at various stages of the youth-adult transition. As the research reviewed in chapter 2 indicated, music taste has been shown to vary according to sex. Similarly, social class variations in music preference may indicate whether people from different class backgrounds access different leisure spheres. Cross-tabulations were conducted to see if there were sex or class differences in the composition of the various taste groups at each wave. The results for sex can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 - Sex by Music Preference (%) 1987-2000

	1987		1995		2000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Alternative	5.6	3.1	3.7	7.1	2.8	4.7
Alt Rock	3.7	6.3	4.2	6.7	7.9	5.1
Chart	48.6	70.2	17.1	41.6	24.1	48.6
Contemplative	0	0	2.8	1.2	6.0	0.8
Dance	0.9	0.4	24.1	15.7	15.3	9.8
E Listening	0	0	0.5	3.9	7.9	12.2
Rock	30.6	11.4	21.3	7.5	19.9	7.8
Traditional	5.1	3.9	6.9	5.1	3.7	3.5
Various	5.6	3.1	19.4	11.4	12.5	7.5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (n)	216	255	216	255	216	255
Pearson Chi-Square (sig)	(6, N=471)=34.55		(8, N=471)=60.45		(8, N=471)=52.22	
	$p<.001$		$p<.001$		$p<.001$	

At each wave there were significantly different music preferences according to sex. Across all waves, Chart was the preference for a greater proportion of females than males, this being most acute at age 23. By contrast, Rock music was consistently more popular with males than females, and this was also the case for those favouring Various genres. Preference for Dance music was less divided according to sex, although there was a slight male bias across each wave. Fans of Contemplative music (Jazz, Folk, Ambient, and Classical) were more likely to be male, although the numbers of participants in this category are relatively small across the final two waves. There were a higher proportion of females to males in the Easy Listening category in 1995, and in 2000, but numbers are small in this category.

The female preference for Chart, and male for Rock, is consistent with previous work (Frith 1978; Roe 1985, 1999), although they are contrary to the recent findings of North and Hargreaves (2007) who found a slight female bias for fans of Rock music (this could, however, be attributable to the later date of their

study). Similarly, the work of Frith and Roe focuses on adolescence whereas these findings suggest that the female/Chart and male/Rock dichotomy is stable across the youth-adult transition. The similar number of male and female Dance fans supports ethnographic evidence reported by Thornton (1995) and Malbon (1999) which suggests that Dance music, and the leisure contexts in which it is experienced, is enjoyed equally by the sexes. One noteworthy finding is the higher proportion of females in the Alternative category over the last two waves and the Alternative Rock category over the first two waves. The taste of females as alternative to mainstream (compared with males) is not evident in the literature, and indeed is contrary to the high proportion of female Chart fans. However, this is also tempered by the higher numbers of females indicating a preference for Easy Listening music.

Another feature of the literature on lifestyle and personality correlates of music preference is the consideration of the economic position of fans of various types of music. Using head of household occupation as a measure of social class, Table 4.3 shows a cross-tabulation of music preference by social class. Class is split into two categories (Non-Manual and Manual), with parental head of household status used for the first two waves and own head of household used for the last wave.

Table 4.3 - Social Class by Music Preference 1987-2000

	1987		1995		2000	
	Non-Manual	Manual	Non-Manual	Manual	Non-Manual	Manual
Alternative	5.2	4.8	5.2	6.0	5.3	0.0
Alt Rock	6.6	4.0	5.6	5.6	6.3	7.0
Chart	55.4	64.9	29.1	31.9	38.5	37
Contemplative	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.6	2.0	7.0
Dance	0.0	1.2	20.2	18.7	12.2	11.0
Easy Listening	0.0	0.0	2.8	2.0	9.2	10.0
Rock	22.5	17.9	13.1	13.9	12.5	18.0
Traditional	5.2	4.0	6.1	5.6	4.6	0.0
Various	5.2	3.2	16.0	14.7	9.5	10.0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (n)	213	251	213	251	304	100
Pearson Chi-Square (sig)	(6, *N*=466)=8.48 *n.s.*		(8, *N*=466)=1.16 *n.s.*		(8, *N*=404)=17.68 *p*<.02	

The results show that preferences are evenly spread across classes, with a statistically significant difference only emerging at the third wave. The associations between class and music preference are consistent with the equalisation literature cited in chapter 2 which suggests that youth culture (assuming music preference is an aspect of youth culture) cuts across class or economic background. It is difficult to test the 'Cultural Capital' model of Bourdieu (1984) (tested again by Tanner, *et al* 2008) due to the low numbers of participants claiming Classical, Opera, or Jazz as their preferred music. Those who did claim these tastes were recoded into the contemplative category, which has a higher proportion of fans from Manual backgrounds than those from Non-Manual backgrounds in the third wave. Thus the 'Cultural Capital' model, as far as it can be tested, is not supported by the data; instead, it seems that for this sample of participants, and over the youth-adult transition, music preference is not regarded as an explicit expression or marker of class.

Taste Trajectories 1987-2000

The frequencies of music taste at the three study waves indicate how taste patterns change at different time points. However, the longitudinal perspective allows for an analysis of how individual tastes change over time or remain stable. In order to investigate how tastes change, music preference variables were recoded and analysed using the 'count' function in SPSS. Five possible patterns could be counted over the three waves (e.g. a participant claiming the same taste at all three waves was coded '1', a participant changing at each wave was coded '2' and so on). The patterns were labelled 'Consistent', where tastes remained the same at each wave; 'Early Shift', where tastes changed between age 15 and age 23 but remained constant across the last two waves; 'Late Shift' where taste changed between age 23 and age 28; 'Prodigal' where a stated taste at age 15 changed at age 23 but was restated at age 28; and 'Transient' where tastes changed at each wave. The proportion of participants in each category is reported in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 - Taste Character Distribution

	(%)
Consistent	17.8
Early Shift	23.6
Late Shift	10.8
Prodigal	14.6
Transient	33.1
Total (n)	471

The distribution suggests that there is a great deal of dynamism in music preference between 1987 and 2000. Less than a fifth of the sample stated consistent tastes across each wave, while a third indicated a different favourite style of music at each wave. The categories of late or early shift or a return to initial taste, suggest that rather than being constantly in flux, tastes may be determined by external social processes (including changes in music cultures) or life events. It is difficult to speculate why tastes change based on quantitative

evidence alone, but the different trajectories emphasises the potential importance of tastes within the context of the youth adult transition. Of course, these trajectories may change again beyond 2000 (and this is considered in the qualitative discussion that follows), but no other study has mapped taste trajectories in the same sample beyond adolescence. The data presented here indicates that less than 20% of the participants have consistent tastes over three waves suggesting that musical identity, based on self-reported preference, should be considered as dynamic and temporal. A breakdown of which genres make up each of the trajectories is provided in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 – Taste Trajectory by Music Genre

Consistent

Chart — 82.1
Rock — 15.5
Various — 2.4

Early Shift

Alternative — 5.4
Alternative Rock — 5.4
Chart — 23.4
Contemplative — 0.9
Dance — 30.6
Easy Listening — 3.6
Rock — 11.7
Traditional — 5.4
Various — 13.6

Prodigal

Alternative — 1.4
Alternative Rock — 1.4
Chart — 81.2
Rock — 10.1
Traditional — 2.9
Various — 2.9

Late Shift

Alternative Rock — 2
Chart — 66.7
Rock — 23.5
Traditional — 2
Various — 5.9
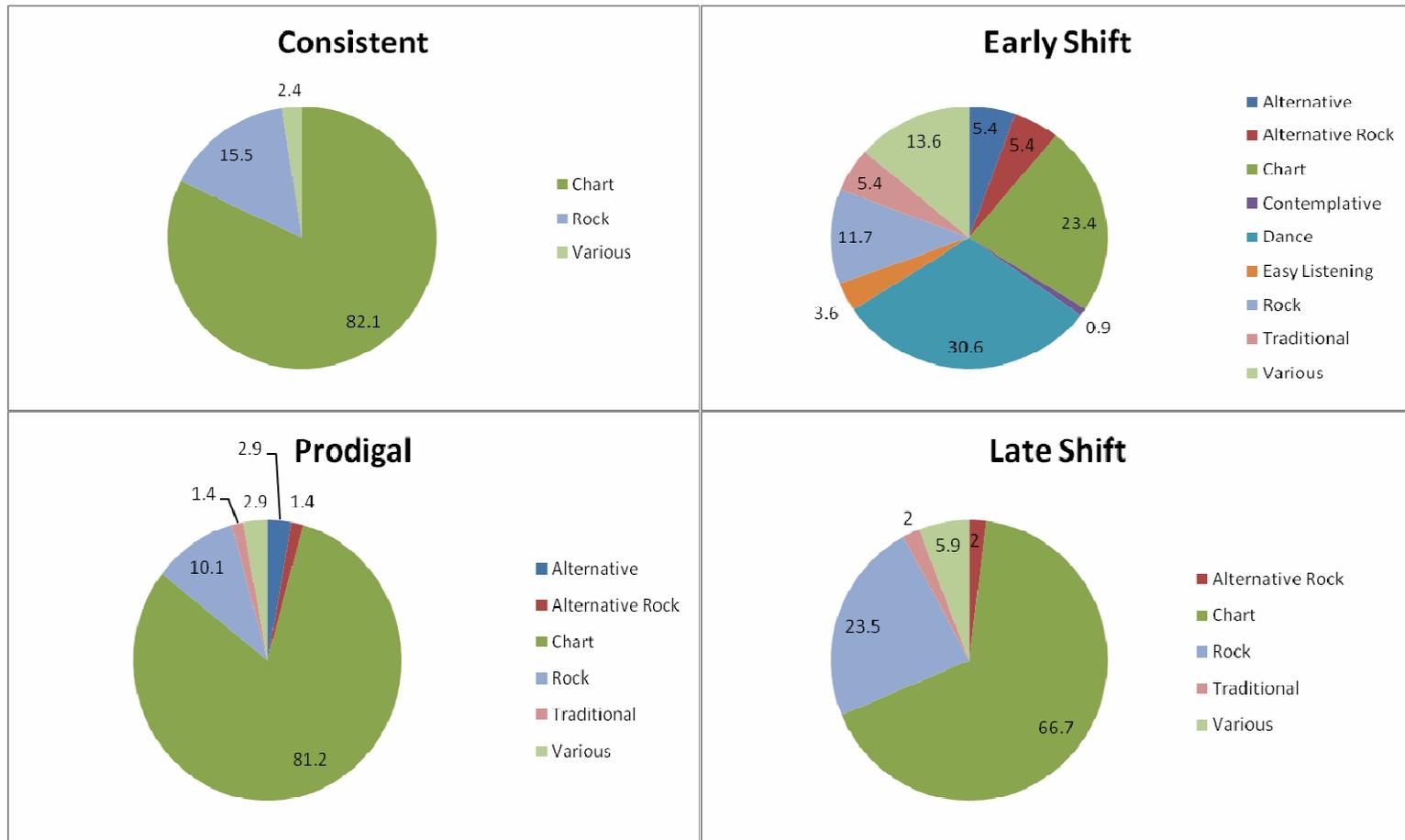
Figure 4.1 illustrates the composition of each taste trajectory. We can see that the majority of participants whose tastes remained consistent were fans of Chart music (82.1%), the only other consistent taste being Rock music (15.5%), and Various (2.4%). This suggests that these genres are most 'secure' in maintaining tastes over time. One theory is that since Chart is quite a wide genre that is not defined musically per se and changes according to sales and fashions, accordingly it may allow for a certain change in taste even in those who have claimed it as their preferred genre over three waves. Chart is also a prominent category amongst 'Early Shifters'; 23.4% of those whose taste shifted between 1987 and 1995 moved towards a taste for Chart. The biggest Early Shift, however, was toward Dance music and this fits with the observation that Dance only emerged as a popular music genre between the years 1987 and 1995. There were also significant early shifts towards Rock (11.7%) and Various (13.6%) which may suggest a more specific musical identity amongst those who have moved away from an interest in Chart. 'Late Shifters' were more likely to move away from a preference for Chart towards other genres (66.7%), and there was a shift from Rock to other genres between 1995 and 2000 (23.5%), which indicates a shifting of tastes later in the youth period (or in early adulthood, depending on definitions). This last suggestion, however, is somewhat undermined by the large proportion of 'Prodigal' fans who indicated a preference for Chart again in 2000, after stating something else at the previous wave (81.2%); unless it supposes an 'experimenting' with tastes during the mid twenties or a general resurgence in the popularity of chart at this time. The next largest proportion is those restating a preference for Rock (10.1%), which suggests that for some participants the tastes they had in youth return later in the life course, although this could also reflect wider changes in music cultures.

The quantitative results have shown that tastes within this sample are mostly mainstream and that participants were generally willing to state their tastes in genre terms when asked. This is especially evidenced in the latter two waves (the first being coded based on named bands and artists), although a significant proportion also described their taste as varied. The initial analysis indicated that for the majority of participants tastes were not static between 1987 and 2000. It was also revealed that preference varied according to sex, and that this

persisted between 1987 and 2000. Social class was not a strong predictor of music preference, with little variance observed over the first two waves. With respect to stability or change of music tastes, for many the youth-adult transition may be a time for exploring new tastes and playing with musical identities. The extent to which this is a reaction to changing external processes, or to more internalised identity work will be explored in the next section.

Qualitative Results

While the quantitative findings showed that the sample's tastes change over the youth-adult transition, the qualitative study can investigate the processes participants identify as contributing to this change. One aim is therefore to investigate how participants describe their musical identities, and whether they are expressed through preference alone. In order to meet this aim a number of themes that participants identified as being central to their understanding of music taste and how it functions will be elaborated. It is only by investigating the similarities, differences, and unique accounts of music taste in the participants' biographies that its relevance to various health states and trajectories can be fully understood.

The following findings come from a sample of 18 participants who took part in the Twenty-07 Study. The first quantitative data were collected when they were aged 15, the qualitative study was conducted when they were aged 34-36 and intended to discuss retrospective accounts of their youth, as well as how this has affected their current perceptions and identities.

Early Interest

Whilst some studies have concluded that early musical socialisation (primarily in the family) affects music taste over the lifecourse (DeNora 2000), it is also acknowledged that this theory may be too narrow and there are other potential factors influencing music taste (Rentfrow and Gosling 2003, Russell 1997). Some

of these factors will be discussed below; however, there was an interesting distinction in the interviews, between the people who highlighted early (i.e. pre-teen) musical participation and those who did not. Freia, Celeste and Sheryl all discussed how they remembered music being important to them from an early age and an integral aspect of their childhood environment. On the other hand, Ricky and Jim highlighted the lack of music they experienced in their early years. The former group went on to pursue musical interests and develop identities around the genres of Dance and Rock, whereas the latter remained in the more general Chart category and understood their musical trajectories as being mainstream and of less relevance in their lives. Freia sees early musical participation as common in children's lives:

> Freia: My family, my mum and my dad, they're not particularly musical but they've always played music [records etc] as long as I can remember, we've had music on in the house. I think it's just natural that you listen with your parents.

In this extract we can recognise that Freia distinguishes between those who are 'particularly musical' and those who are not, even though music listening was a ubiquitous feature of her childhood and seems 'natural' to her. In contrast, Ricky laments the lack of exposure he had to music as a child and describes how he wants his own children to be exposed to music, as his wife was:

> Ricky: I want the girls to listen to it, not to listen to my type of music but I would like them to do it, because I know that, I know Janice always has loved music and I think that, I can see the difference, because her family have a musical background and a musical orientation, so she still likes it and her sister still likes it and I want to have the kids that they can like music, knowing that fae my background they didn't, well, my parents didn't.

Ricky sees early music exposure as key to a continuing interest in music over the lifecourse (both of which were lacking in his experience), in contrast to Freia who sees early musical participation as natural (and presumably experienced by all). Both participants make a direct link between the amount of music they were exposed to in the home, and their current level of interest. This theme, that families were either orientated towards music or not, also emerges strongly

in the accounts of the participants mentioned above. Although the socialisation argument that a parent's music taste will extend to their children is oversimplified, for these participants the degree of exposure to music in childhood was interpreted by them as affecting their own musical participation (and by extension exposure, and taste) over the lifecourse.

Although no generalisations can be made, for many of these participants an early interest in, or early exposure to, music is linked to the significance of music in their later lives. Zara discusses the stage at which music was most important to her; she described her taste as Chart music when questioned in the Twenty-07 survey, and throughout the qualitative interview:

> **DL: So do you think, if you had to pick a stage at which it was most important to you, do you think...?**
>
> Zara: I would say around… I would actually say even younger than 15. I think I was… well, I liked music more about maybe 11, 12. That's when I started buying a lot of records. I think as well cos you got pocket money and things like that, I would say I started like maybe 11, 12, and just kept on then and… after you leave high school and things like that, still into it quite big.

Here we can see that Zara situates the period at which music was most important to her as childhood, or pre-teen, when she first had the financial resources to engage with music as a commodity. She describes how she developed a musical identity through this process and that this remained with her until the post-school period. Contrary to some of the other participants, Zara does not mention musical exposure in the home or family, but instead situates her first encounters with music when she was actively consuming (chart) music for the first time. She also discusses her current feelings towards music:

> **DL: And how important do you think it is now to you, music generally? Cos you said that when you were 15 or even before, it was quite a sort of big part of your life.**
>
> Zara: I don't think it is that important any more, no. I don't think so. I just, it's just there and I don't think about it, you know? It's more like, oh, I like that song, I'm going to buy the album and listen to it, and it's… I wouldn't say I'd go out and buy it a lot, but if I hear something I like I

just go and buy it or ask for it for Christmas or something like that, you know?

Zara's early interest in music (the period at which it was most important to her) seems to have framed her later perception of music. She sees it as a commodity to be enjoyed on occasion, but not as something that is essential to her identity. Music, to Zara, is something to be bought with pocket money or requested as a Christmas gift. Zara is a typical example of the participants who describe music as a commodity, used to entertain, as opposed to a part of their life and identity since childhood. Mary, when asked about the importance of music to her when she was around age 15, illustrates this perception further:

> Mary: I would say I probably had quite a big thing at that age. Yeah, I would say it probably took quite a bit of time of my teenage social. I tended to sit and listen to the charts on a Sunday afternoon and you'd sit with your tape recorder, you know, on record and then pause so you could record all the new entries and stuff like that, so yeah I'd say it was quite a big thing in those years.

Mary claimed a preference for Rock music throughout the 'Twenty-07 Study' but aligned herself more towards Chart music in the qualitative interview (highlighting the importance of both methods in finding out how people make sense of their tastes, as opposed to basing all evidence on questionnaire statements alone). Here she describes how she would tape the charts (again consuming commercial music, albeit illegitimately) and that this period was when music was most meaningful to her, or when her musical identity was strongest. She sees her musical identity as being the product of consumptive processes at a period of time divorced from her current identity. This is reiterated later in the interview when she was asked about her current interest in music:

> **DL: Yeah, or just, what's the sort of, like you said, when you're that age, music is a big part of your identity, whereas now, what makes up what is and is music still part of it?**
>
> Mary: No, I wouldn't say music makes an identity, I wouldn't say it's a huge part of my life now. I mean, I still enjoy listening to it and I enjoy buying CDs and having music there, but I wouldn't say it was a huge part of my life.

DL: **It's not a huge part of who you are?**

Mary: No.

Mary, like Zara, suggests that she enjoys engaging with music as a commodity, that she enjoys being entertained by music, but that is the extent of her musical identity. Indeed, she disavows the suggestion that music is a part of her identity, suggesting she views music in simpler terms. Like participants who claimed that music was not very important in their lives and did not contribute significantly to their identities, Mary describes her musical experiences as buying and listening experiences, as opposed to others who describe their early musical interactions as more meaningful. One group describe how early interests and interactions with music have contributed to who they are (almost as a natural developmental consequence), another view them as consumptive practices engaged in during youth and as an aspect of leisure. This point is extended in the following section which focuses on how tastes are developed beyond participant's 'formative years'.

Taste Epiphanies

Those participants claiming a strong musical identity describe how they did not develop a music taste or a 'real' musical identity until after the pre-teen or childhood phase. In referring to their music interest and taste in childhood they adopt a more critical view, excusing past tastes as a product of lack of exposure to 'proper' music and the lack of individual agency (i.e. in selecting their own music, rather than being exposed to whatever surrounds them). Roe (1999) suggests that peak musical interest is at age 15 for girls and 24 for boys, and although this precise suggestion is not echoed in the data presented here it is clear that some participants felt a surge of interest and a development of taste at a later point in adolescence.

Celeste makes the distinction between her childhood music self and her 'confirmed taste' music self when discussing the first records she bought:

Celeste: Ah well, the first record you buy is when you're in primary and stuff and it's something like, maybe something like the Nolans or something or not a proper record. The first record or album that I ever remember buying like buying; buying properly would be a Smiths album.

Here Celeste demarcates the first record she bought and the first 'proper' record she bought which indicates that she does not ascribe as much value to the pop purchase of her childhood as she does to the Smiths album (which she still likes today). By delineating the purchases in this way, Celeste is reconfirming her music taste as occurring at a certain point in time. This could be likened to a 'Taste Epiphany' where participants identify an age or an occasion where their tastes began, or where they developed *a* taste in music. Of course, it is likely that the participants did have and express tastes before this point, only that they do not recognise those tastes as being particularly relevant to their current lives, or as being part of their taste trajectory and the catalogue of taste resources that contribute to their contemporary musical identities.   The following extract indicates how Freia understood her changing tastes:

DL: So at what point did that, 'cause you were into sort of pop music and Boy George and that sort of thing when you were a teenager. And what, can you remember at what point that started to change?

Freia: Yeah, when I went to university. (Laughing.)... So I was about, what, eighteen.

DL: How did that change then? In what way?

Freia: I just, I think at school, as I say, it was pop music was what we all listened to and I knew there was classical music, but I wasn't really aware there was a whole lot more out there, and there was a lot of Americans at uni, and they liked a lot of bands I'd never even heard of before, at that time, so...I'm trying to think Simon and Garfunkel and things like that.

Freia, who later developed a deep interest in dance music, identifies a life event (going to university) as significantly contributing to her tastes. She highlights how she was unaware of many different kinds of music and so felt she had not been in a position to confirm her tastes until she was exposed to other things. This exposure continued as she started to go clubbing but she recognises the

move into an unfamiliar environment and a new peer group at the age of 18 marked a shift in, and beginning of, her 'proper' music taste. These 'epiphanies' are echoed in the other accounts of participants who acknowledge a strong musical identity. Karyn, a dance fan, describes how she did not develop her own taste until she was 20:

> Karyn: when I got to about 17/18, which is my husband now and my boyfriend then, he was into Simple Minds and U2 and that then, so I was probably more of a follower then of what other people kind of liked. Ehm I mean now I love dance music and I've loved it since maybe my early 20s you know, just like, not hard-core dance but just sort of the Ibiza stuff and all that. Ehm and I like all that so really it wasn't probably until I was twenty that I kind of developed my own taste and it was very much sort of disco and dance music that I preferred and probably I didn't really hear it until I started going out clubbing and so til I was about 17 I would say and I started going out and I really kind of had my own, kinda made up my own mind sort of thing.

Karyn makes the distinction between being a follower, listening to the music that she was exposed to through other people, and experiencing a sense of agency in her own tastes; when she started clubbing and 'got into' her own type of music. The tastes and identity she developed at this stage is still relevant to her current identity and leisure practices. She, like Celeste and Freia, disavows the previous music self as superfluous and lacking meaning when compared to the musical identity that developed later. Danny and Sheryl also describe the acquisition of their music identities in this way, as a fracture between a casual and somewhat meaningless interest in music, and a musical identity that has lasted into their 30s.

There are no clear accounts of such 'Taste Epiphanies' from those participants who claim a less strong musical identity. Although many of these claim a consistent taste for Chart music, they also acknowledge that the charts are likely to change, so their musical identity is more fleeting and likely to mould to music fashion, explaining their lack of epiphany and their more fluid tastes. This is a different account from those who, although acknowledging altering tastes, also remain 'true' to their established musical identities.

Following the Crowd

The notion that individual music tastes are shaped by friends, family, the media, and a host of other influences has been discussed in the literature reviewed thus far. Many scholars discussed have attempted to understand how tastes are transferred from one person or group to another. There has been work done in the school context highlighting the importance of music taste to accepted and acceptable identities, often focusing on the group dynamics that result from adherence to or deviation from the majority or in-group tastes (e.g. Tarrant, *et al* 2001). However, there is a lack of data pertaining to the post-adolescence period, where, as has been argued above, for some people musical identities are more likely to become consolidated and significant.

Although the 'taste epiphanies' described above may have led a participant to other or more specific genres of music, within sub-genres there still appears to be a perceived hierarchy of popularity. For Sheryl, who claims she did not have a particular taste before being acquainted with the rock scene in Glasgow, her new tastes could still be accommodated within the mainstream:

> Sheryl: I was exposed to a lot of bands I'd never heard before. Music was changing a lot at that time as well in the early nineties so I think I probably just... to a certain extent still went for whatever was popular in the charts but went for maybe the slightly rockier elements of it, like the Nirvanas and Pearl Jams or whatever, whereas before I might not have thought about listening to bands like that.

Sheryl sees her tastes as remaining relatively mainstream, but they become so within a particular genre. Her exposure to a new scene meant that her tastes were altered, yet she did not seek an alternative to the charts, just the rockier elements within the charts. The 'following the crowd' element of her tastes remains as she acknowledges changing her orientation to different parts of the charts. Not only does this imply that majority tastes are important, but also highlights the difficulties associated with genre classification. The quote above suggests that maintaining majority tastes was important to Sheryl, despite her involvement in a minority scene. A more explicit account of following the crowd

comes from Ricky, who felt the need to develop an interest in music due to peer pressure at school:

> Ricky: it was a need to be... what would you say, involved, know about it... I honestly do think for me personally it was a peer pressure thing... there was like popular music, everything that was in the charts you had to know about it, and everything was all... all the same, you know? Everybody had the same probably tastes. There's one or two you can say "oh, I don't like that song" but the next time, the next one that's released or the next song that's out, you know, everybody's back in and "oh, that's fantastic" and I think for me, probably did maybe get to appreciate it a wee bit more, but I think it was a push into it more than a need for me to say "well, I like music." You know, I mean, I was... kinda encouraged along to be, to probably be incorporated and be accepted. Not that I wasn't accepted, but I think just personally to make sure that you were in on it and not on the periphery, I chose to tape the charts on a Sunday night and stuff like that, and listen to it back.

Here Ricky discusses how he would tape the charts on a Sunday in order to be more knowledgeable about music. He felt that he had to develop a mainstream musical identity in order to 'fit in' at school. It is interesting that Ricky suggests that everybody had the same tastes but seems to be referring to the in-group he felt the need to be part of as opposed to 'everyone' in the more general sense. More interesting still is his suggestion that he had practically no interest in music, or a musical identity, until he felt the need to go through this process. He developed an interest in Chart music that has remained with him, but he still does not identify as someone who is particularly interested in music generally; despite following the crowd Ricky still describes his relationship to music as peripheral.

In contrast to Ricky's account, Eddie, who probably claims the strongest musical identity out of all 18 participants, recalls his own relationship to 'the crowd':

> **DL: So coming up to sort of 15 then after that, that's a couple of years after first year, had it [his taste] changed since then or?**
>
> Eddie: Erm, it was more er, a wider range of bands. Erm, anything with guitars basically. Cos I was diametrically opposite to Top of the Pops. You know I remember ABC and Flock of Seagulls you know. Er, as long as it was the opposite way from all the rest of the sheep.

Eddie describes how, as his musical identity was emerging, he deliberately chose to move away from popular and mainstream tastes. For Eddie 'the crowd' was something to be avoided at all costs in order to establish and maintain a musical identity that was meaningful to him. Compared with Sheryl who focused on an aspect of the crowd, or Ricky who was desperate to be in the crowd, Eddie developed his tastes in opposition to the crowd. These different explanations for taste development show how musical identities are developed in relation to majority and mainstream tastes in different ways, and how this process can have a lasting effect on tastes and identities well beyond the period in which they are exercised.

The home environment during adolescence, as recounted by the participants, also provided a space for tastemakers to operate, usually in the form of siblings or friends' siblings. This suggests that in the period before music tastes and identity are confirmed, some of the participants felt more malleable and open to influence. Celeste, Dora, Jake, Sarah, Zara, and Jim all discuss how their tastes were directly influenced by their siblings' (or friends' siblings') tastes. Whilst this does not denote a 'following of the crowd' in a general sense it does help explain how tastes are transferred through exposure to influential peers:

> Jim: my brothers really influenced what music I listened to cos they were older than me, basically, so it was whatever they were playing,

> Jake: Well, the rave scene kicked off, and... I wasn't into dance music at first. My younger brother, who started to leave, he started going to pubs and things then, and he started liking dance music and he started playing it a lot in the house then... And I used to think "what a load o' shit!" and I don't know what turned me, but I got heavily into it then, and everything I bought after that was dance music.

In order to develop an understanding of 'following the crowd' it should also be made clear what is meant by 'the crowd'. In the above examples 'the crowd' is both the majority music buying public, the peer group, and siblings. Jim clearly thinks he was influenced by his older siblings' tastes *because* they were older. Jake understands the turn in his tastes towards Dance music as being a product

of changing music scenes generally (macro cultural changes), as well as the changing circumstances in his own home (i.e. micro cultural changes) despite the age of his sibling. If we consider this dualism as confirming Jake's tastes up until his thirties (he still identifies strongly as a dance music fan), then the extent to which following *a* crowd has had for his tastes becomes clear. What is less clear is whether that crowd is the majority, mainstream crowd, or a minority 'subcultural' crowd. These arguments are developed in the next chapter, what is more crucial to note here is how Jim and Jake see their tastes as a reaction to a domestic exposure and an acknowledgement that they 'moved into' something. Taste and musical identity in these examples occur as a response to an external exposure, rather than the development of an internal characteristic, one aspect occurring before the next.

The participants also recognised the media as explicitly shaping their music tastes and controlling access to different types of music. Indeed the media is recognised as being in a dualistic relationship with 'the crowd'; directed by participants' tastes as well as directing participants' tastes. Jim expresses his interaction with the media in terms of developing a taste:

> Jim: when Oasis and stuff like that was coming oot, and Blur and James and stuff like that, and sorta… the Battle of Britain Band and all that sorta, you sorta got dragged into that. I liked Oasis or Blur and stuff like that. At that time I'd say… you're sorta influenced by the media, I think, at that time.
>
> **DL: In terms of… what you would listen to or what you would like, or both?**
>
> Jim: Well… like even listening to bands that you liked, sorta thing, cos sometimes, like… like, when a band doesnae get publicity, it's hard to actually find the record, whereas if you see it, you say "oh, I quite fancy that", then that sorta thing. Basically they're doing what their job is, if you know what I mean. I'd say that time, early twenties, it was sorta influenced by what the media and what they were playing at the clubs and stuff or… that sorta influenced me more… basically what they were actually… I don't know whether they force you to listen to it. I don't know.

Jim recognises that the media influences his decision making and tastes, and understands they are 'doing their job' by promoting certain bands and artists.

The media in this example is not some spectre with tacit power over the consumer, but an industry with aims and goals that the consumer can easily recognise (and choose to comply with or not). It is used as a taste resource for some people, though controlled by subjective reflexivity; many people are aware of how the media attempts to guide and direct their consumption and taste. The recognition of this in the participants' accounts indicates how 'following the crowd' in order to legitimise and develop music taste is an open practice, and not necessarily exploitative (i.e. unidirectional and influential).

By describing their developing tastes as a reaction to the crowd around them (on either a micro or a macro level), the participants are being reflexive about the development of their tastes. They can easily state the potential factors that have influenced their tastes over time and reflect on the degree of influence of each of these factors. This is not something that is always made clear in accounts of music taste development.

Structural Circumstances and Changing Tastes

Although there is recognition amongst the participants that their tastes have been influenced by a series of exposures, there is a commonality in their accounts that when it comes to changing or developing tastes the sense of agency described above (getting a taste in the first place, or opting out of music more generally) is less strong. Indeed, the process of developing or changing music tastes is often described as consequent upon changing social circumstances (Russell 1997). In this study, the participants identify socio-structural changes as having a major influence on their listening patterns and taste, with only those who have not been married nor had children understanding their tastes and their resultant leisure practices to have remained more fixed. Freia illustrates this:

> Freia: It wasn't until the children came along that you, and the whole clubbing thing kind of petered out a little bit, but we realised we'd like to listen to music again. (Laughing.)

> Freia: I know my daughter, she's six, and she's very much into the pop, catchy songs, and a lot of them I listen to, I think they're terrible but because she's going around singing them, I find myself singing them and after a while you think, it's not so bad. (Laughing.) So in that way, I suppose she definitely, I wouldn't be listening to it if it wasn't for her.

Here Freia describes how her structural circumstances changed (having children) and how this altered both her attitude towards music and her opportunities for listening to music. As a result of this, as well as spending more time in the house after the birth, Freia identifies a shift in her tastes away from dance music towards more pop and chart music. This example illustrates an understanding that social/structural changes can directly influence opportunities to listen to music, exposure to music, and by extension, music taste and musical identities. Freia's understanding of her changing structural position influencing her tastes is also echoed in Danny, Ricky, Jake, Mark, Zara, Theresa and Ryan's accounts (all of whom are married with children). Conversely, Celeste and Ian who have not experienced the same structural changes (in terms of having children, getting married, or establishing an independent home) do not identify the shift in their tastes as being limited or developed by these changes. Mark discusses an interesting contradiction where he felt his musical identity was just as strong once he was married with children but practical structural factors meant he had less time to engage with his preferred music:

> Mark: In the last few years, when I was kind of getting married and starting to have a family, then I would say the time I had for music became radically curtailed, both in terms of going out gigging, you know to gigs, again I was more selective in what I would, you know, I went to less. Still always going to stuff, but just go to less of it, and maybe not travelling as much, whereas, you know, I used to more regularly go down south for gigs and stuff like that. But certainly, once I got married, that kind of stopped a little bit. My wife desperately hates rock music, so she's never been a big fan of it being on when she's around. So it did, I would say I still enjoyed the music just as much, but it just wasn't, it didn't have the same place in amongst everything else it kind of got pushed to the side.

Here Mark describes how he had to compromise the ways in which he would act out his musical identity due to the responsibilities he had in looking after his children (and maintaining relations with his wife). He describes how he still enjoyed the music as much but that he had to sideline his musical identity in

order to pay attention to the other more pressing identities of Husband and Father. This is characteristic of many participants' accounts where they identify the transition to adulthood, and its associated structural trappings, as overshadowing dedication to their musical identities. The significance of structural changes is also discussed in terms of scenes and transitions in the chapters that follow, where this argument will be developed.

Studies often correlate music taste with social class, though a clear relationship is not always discovered (Bourdieu 1985, North and Hargreaves 2007a, Tanner, *et al* 2008). In this study, participants did not discuss their tastes in class terms explicitly; however, there was recognition that economic conditions can affect music taste (through access to music) at different points in the lifecourse. Ian discusses how his tastes became more chart-influenced when he had less money:

> Ian: Being skint as well putting, just putting the radio on and whatever. Erm, so there would be, there would be songs that I would hear for maybe a couple of months when they are kind of just released, getting successful and then they sort of die off and that would kind of be it.

Here Ian describes how his tastes were tempered by what was popular on the radio at the time, as opposed to him being able to buy the type of music he wanted to listen to. He understands this as having a direct impact on his tastes as they are limited by someone else's decisions. The sense of choice and agency often enjoyed in selecting music is constrained by financial circumstances. This was something other participants experienced at various points in the youth-adult transition. However, the participants also described how their changing economic position could cause tastes to broaden; an example can be seen in Freia's interview:

> Freia: We, I think as we've got a bit older and my husband's earning a little bit more money, we started buying music. People quite often buy us CDs as presents now, and I think, so we've got a bit more of a collection now.
>
> DL: And how would you describe your taste?
>
> Freia: I think they're quite varied... Whereas I wouldn't have said that before.

In explaining how her tastes have changed in recent years, Freia understands that economic prosperity can lead to a broadening of tastes. The increased exposure to music due to her social circumstances allows her to make more choices and decisions based on her likes and dislikes. Freia recognises a shift in her tastes and this is accounted for by structural changes; having children and being exposed to music through their musical participation, and financial security through her husband earning more money. The connection the participants make between their social circumstances and their changing taste is evidence that some people understand their tastes as being influenced by socio-economic factors. Rather than being entirely in control of their tastes, participants recognise that external factors can change their behaviour and this change in behaviour can manifest itself in alternative cultural practices, and ultimately tastes.

The Soup Pot

The assertion that preferences of people tend to be different when they are younger and older is amenable to various explanations. One is that people's tastes change as they grow older, another is that they find themselves in transformed cultural milieus. As we have seen from the quantitative evidence, there is a low level of consistency in tastes over the sample's youth-adult transition, although the qualitative evidence suggests perceived consistency in the participants' accounts of their tastes and musical identities. All participants have described some broadening of tastes; some of the reasons for this have been discussed above. This section aims to identify primarily how the participants make sense of their changing tastes and to what extent they see their tastes as different from earlier in life.

Semantically a distinction should be made between changing tastes and broadening tastes; this is where 'the soup pot' analogy is useful. Most participants discuss how *some* of their tastes remained from, if not childhood,

then certainly adolescence and early youth. It could be thought of as a soup pot where ingredients are built up to create a unique flavour. The 'stock' is developed early and is made up of the participants' initial music tastes and exposures, the 'ingredients' are then added as the participants move across the lifecourse and are exposed to more musical influences (as their structural circumstances change, as they experience different life events, as the media changes its promotional enterprises). The other key aspect of the analogy is that once ingredients are added to the soup pot it is difficult to remove them and eradicate their flavour, but more ingredients can be added to alter the flavour indefinitely.

The participants describe their broadening tastes as a product of age and changing structural circumstances, and acknowledge how they see their tastes as a dynamic and temporal process as opposed to a defined static feature of their identity. The analogy is reminiscent of a symbolic interactionist approach to identity which postulates that interactions (in this case musical interactions) are recalled over the life course and used as a resource that can be called upon so that certain identities are played up or down at different points. The same theory could be applied to tastes, participants tend not to reject tastes but amplify or mute them as situations demand. If this is the case then how is this 'taste deposit' conceived of? Some extracts should illuminate the argument:

> Freia: I just, I think they've [her tastes] broadened, in terms of when I was at school you liked these bands and that was it, and I wasn't interested in sort of trying to broaden my sort of musical tastes. When I was clubbing, that was all I ever listened to, whereas now, I feel I'm a bit more willing to listen to something else, understanding that I might like it.

> Ian: I suppose looking say from when I was 15 it's definitely broadened. Erm, whether it's broadened much say from in the last ten years or so, or now I'm 34 now so, I don't know whether I would say it's broadened an awful lot. Erm, I suppose obviously with new artists coming about but just having new types of music erm, maybe slightly a bit more worldly

> Mary: I'd say they've not changed too much apart from more varied. I still would say I like what I liked when I was fifteen. I still like all that kinda music, but I would say I've got a bigger variety of music that I

would listen to now. You know, like classical stuff was around and jazz, big band stuff was all around when I was fifteen, but I never listened to that, 'cause that was just not, you know, not the thing to sort of, you just don't listen to that when you're fifteen. So, but I would still listen, you know, if I found a Hipsway album, I would put it on now. So I still listen to all that. As I say, it's maybe got just a bit bigger variety of music that I listen to.

These participants understand their tastes as broadening, not necessarily changing, but altering as they have 'grown up'. They identify an interplay between their own personal tastes and the impact that external factors may have on these tastes (Ian suggests his tastes have been influenced by 'new artists coming about'). The assessment of their tastes as in a state of fluidity based on a range of social factors argues against adherence to a specific musical identity and there appears to be an understanding that tastes are open to change. Interestingly this perspective is described by people who claim a strong musical identity and those who do not, some in the first category being willing to renege on their previously strong musical identity (whilst still acknowledging it as part of their identity repertoire) and presenting themselves as open to change. This is not to suggest that tastes do not remain fixed into adulthood, instead it suggests that some tastes remain into adulthood in a relatively open manner and with scope to contract and expand as social circumstances dictate.

Musics and Non-Musics

As outlined in Chapter 3, three genres (Chart, Dance and Rock) were identified for the qualitative study based on previous research and the findings of the quantitative work (i.e. the three most common tastes expressed). The selection of consistent Chart fans, Rock fans and Dance fans was intended to highlight differences in musical biographies, uses of music, subcultural experiences, transition experiences, and the development of tastes and musical identities. A finding arising against expectation is that the differences according to preferred genre (i.e. the expectation that fans of the three genres would perceive their musical experiences uniquely from each other) did not materialise. Although there were differences in the participants' accounts, the expectation that these

three genres would be a major distinguishing feature in the participants' experiences and perceptions proved erroneous. Some Dance fans' accounts were more closely aligned with Rock fans' and some of those participants' accounts had more in common with Chart fans. The participants' qualitative responses highlighted how their musical identities were not expressed through preference alone.

Although the participants described different preferences, and different leisure experiences based on their stated tastes (e.g. dance fans spoke more of clubs and clubbing, and rock fans spoke more of rock bands), the process of describing how their tastes developed, the way they used music, and the meaning of music in their lives were divided at a 'higher' level. There was a distinction observed in the qualitative sample between those who indicated a perceived strong musical identity and those who did not. It was clear that claiming a musical identity (i.e. I am really into music') or disavowing a musical identity (i.e. I'm not really into music') corresponded to the biggest difference in accounts of how music was used, perceived and experienced.

Evidence of this distinction has been seen in the themes of 'Early Interest', 'Taste Epiphanies', and 'Following the Crowd', though less strongly in how structural circumstances influence tastes, and in 'The Soup Pot' analogy. What this suggests is that musical identities (i.e. whether music is important to how participants understand what makes them 'who they are') may be more influential in respect of perceived effects and uses of music than musical preference alone (as expressed by a self-report open ended question).

In the qualitative interviews, the researcher asked how important music was in the lives of the participants and this often extended into a discussion of musical identities at a general level. The resultant analysis indicated two groups; the first, 'Musics', were participants who described music as very important in their lives and an essential aspect of their identities and characters; the second, 'Non-Musics' were participants who engaged with music on some level but did not see it as particularly important in their lives, or as something contributing to

their identities. There is clear evidence of this divergence in the participants' accounts:

Musics

> **DL: And so how important is your music taste to who you are now then?**
>
> Eddie: It's very important erm, the latest symptom is the new bands when the discoveries are sort of drying out and at the same time I feel you know that I'm bored with a lot of things, bored with my job erm, bored the fact that you know my job tires me so much and I've not got the energy to do anything else if I'm bored and I need that, that something, and it's the same I'm very happy when I find a new band thinking 'yes, I'm back' you know I feel like I'm back er, when I've found a new band there is a, a definite tangent going on there.

> Dora: When you're younger you don't have responsibilities, you don't have, know you're not going through what you're going through later on in life. So it's there as an entertainment and enjoyment whereas I think you rely on it a bit more when you're older well I seem to have anyway. Yeah, I think music is a big part of my life now.

> **DL: And so do you think, how do you think your tastes have changed over the 20 year period then? And at what point was it most important was music most important to you as well?**
>
> Danny: Probably still now actually. I mean music's always been important to me... I think music's always been important to me... I don't think music's ever really diminished for me it's mainly just been an opportunity to buy it to listen to it that's the only thing that's changed.

Non-Musics

> **DL: So I suppose the same question that I asked about when you were 15 and stuff, so how, like how important was music at that stage?**
>
> Theresa: I don't know. I honestly when I think back, I don't really think it seemed very important to me, really. Cos I didn't do it to sort of be in with a crowd or anything. It didn't sort of have that pull that it seems to have [for young people] today. I just, I can't remember it being that big a part of my life, really, other than the fact that as I say, I did obviously

listen to a lot of new music then. But I don't know, maybe that was just what was expected of a teenager at that time. I don't know. It's definitely not as important to me now, but it wasn't really then either.

Zara: I'm more influenced by my family life and… just music is part of my life, but I don't think it's the most part of my life. I still like music and… I still buy it and… I enjoy socialising with music. If I'm at a party I still dance at weddings and things like that, I still like music in that sense. I don't think I would not like… to not have it, you know?

Ricky: Music never really held anything for me... I wouldn't have said I was specifically into *a* band or *a* range of music. It was broad-ranged, pop music. If it took my fancy I liked it, I liked it. If I didn't, I didn't. So I would say it was more just a broad range of everything that was going on then, which probably is as it's been all the way through. I like music as well now, but I still wouldn't say I was attached to a sort of type of music. I'm still, it's again it's if I like it or that. Even now I still don't have that sort of love, you know? A couple of people I work with are absolute music fiends. Janice [his wife] likes a lot of music, but not for, don't know, it's just me.

These quotes illustrate the difference in perception between Musics and Non-Musics. The former group attest to music as an important aspect of their lives, identities, and personalities, the latter group see music as incidental to their identities and lives. Some possible explanations for this distinction have been discussed above (i.e. early exposure to music, external events leading to a 'taste epiphany' and so forth).

The qualitative analysis suggests that being a Music or a Non-Music may be the determining factor in how music use and the perception of music is linked to health in the participants' accounts. Thus, rather than investigating 'problematic' genres alone, a variable representing musical identity was constructed in further quantitative analysis, and the comparative exercise in the qualitative analysis was not only between three genres, but also two groups; Musics and Non-Musics. Musical identities therefore frame a great deal of the findings presented in the following chapters, where similarities and differences between these two groups are highlighted (whilst also considering the effects of

preferred genre). Table 4.5 indicates which participants fall into each category, based on the strength of musical identity emerging in the qualitative analysis (i.e. how important music was in their lives, and how much it was part of who they are).

Table 4.5. - Musics and Non-Musics and Preference (alphabetical by category)

Musics		Non-Musics	
Name	**Preference**	**Name**	**Preference**
Celeste	Rock	Jim	Chart
Danny	Dance	Mary	Rock
Dora	Rock	Nina	Chart
Eddie	Rock	Ricky	Chart
Freia	Dance	Ryan	Chart
Ian	Dance	Sarah	Dance
Jake	Dance	Theresa	Chart
Karyn	Dance	Zara	Chart
Mark	Rock		
Sheryl	Rock		

Although this tabular representation is intended as an aid to understanding the results, it highlights a distinction in the preferences of the participants falling into each category. None of the Musics consistently stated their tastes as Chart, and all of the Chart fans were in the Non-Musics category. This implies that while stated preference may be a key component of musical identity, they should not be considered as indicative of a strong musical identity in itself (as the Dance and Rock fans in the Non-Musics category exemplify).

This finding has been somewhat neglected in much of the previous literature on musical identities which assumes that everyone has a musical identity, and looks to find general rules on how music functions in peoples' lives. While cultural differences in the understanding, perception, and use of music are readily acknowledged, many authors fail to recognise that within Western culture music does not carry a lot of weight or significance for some people's identities. The accounts of the Musics are not seen as more valid or given preference in the following results; indeed, many of the most interesting findings come from differences in accounts of those with a central and those with a minimal musical identity.

Summary

More can be learned about the structure of tastes and the development of a musical identity when a mixed methods approach is adopted. Using participants from the same sample is especially useful as those whose qualitative accounts are featured here make up 18 of the 471 participants discussed in the earlier part of the chapter. This makes the analysis of both types of data match more closely, since the qualitative sample largely experienced the same external cultures and fashions of those in the quantitative sample. Investigating tastes over time, the extent to which they remain fixed, or change, contributes to work on the nature of music taste. It has been shown here that tastes are not fixed, whether measured quantitatively over three waves, or investigated qualitatively by asking participants to reflect on the character of their tastes.

One of the main findings is the separation between those who see music as an important feature of their lives and identities (Musics), and those who tend not to view music as particularly important (Non-Musics). These two groups describe the development of their tastes in different ways, and as shall be seen, use music differently in their lives. The quantitative data alone do not illuminate this distinction; indeed, none of the participants in the 471-strong longitudinal sample claimed that they did not like music. Not all the factors contributing to taste development are split according to Music/Non-Music, the accounts of the development of tastes in adulthood being similar across both groups. However, early musical experience and the effect this is perceived to have on future relationships with music were distinct for Musics and Non-Musics.

Another central finding is that participants demonstrate a great deal of reflexivity in reference to their tastes. As Hennion (2007) proposed, participants see their tastes as active elements of their identities; they can describe times when tastes have been amplified or muted, and how they have developed over time. This illustrates active taste. In a similar vein, participants recognise the mass media, and other cultural agents, as striving to act upon and influence

their preferences and attachments, and demonstrate agency in whether to 'go with the flow' or 'go against the flow'.

Ultimately, participants perceive their tastes as changeable but exercise control over the extent to which they make their tastes passive or active, and this pertains to Musics and Non-Musics alike. Indeed, by not submitting to or adhering to a more solid taste, the Non-Musics may find it easier to play with their musical identities as (and if) required. Perceived agency has much to do with the way health behaviours and transitions are relevant to musical identities. Far from being passive victims of music's corrupting influence, the evidence thus far suggests that the participants in this study see themselves as active agents in constructing and navigating their identities, musical and non musical, as they cross the youth-adult transition.

Chapter 5 – Music Scene Affiliations, Musical Identities, and Health Behaviours

Introduction

Although taste trajectories clearly differ according to a number of personal and social factors, the question remains as to what extent different tastes, different taste trajectories, and different associated scene affiliations have an impact on the health of young people as they make the transition to adulthood. Many of the debates discussed in the literature review concerned the extent to which young people use scene affiliations as markers of identity and where these identities stand in relation to dominant ideologies and discourses. 'Subcultural' or 'scene' identities may also have an impact on the way that people behave, and these actions may have a temporal or lasting affect on health. It is important to consider the extent to which people attach meaning to scene identities, and how this influences their life choices and actions.

The aims of this chapter are therefore: To investigate the associations between being a fan of a particular type of music and various health behaviours; to address the way in which people situate themselves in music scenes based on their music taste, and how this might change over time; and to enquire whether associations that exist between taste, scene affiliation, and health, operate similarly across taste groups and scenes and whether these change over the youth-adult transition?

More specifically, the objectives of the chapter include a factor analysis of scene affiliations at four waves of the Twenty-07 Study[1], followed by a presentation of the correlations between music taste and scene affiliation, assessing whether fans of certain musics also tend to identify with the scenes traditionally

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[1] The 1990 postal survey included questions on scene affiliation but not music taste, hence its inclusion in this results chapter but not in the previous chapter

associated with these tastes. This is followed by a series of logistic regressions to identify, over and above class and gender, whether fans of particular musics, and those identifying with scenes, are more likely than others to practise risky health behaviours. Finally, some findings from the qualitative study will be presented to explain how the participants understand their scene affiliations over time, the importance of these affiliations, and the links they make between these affiliations and health behaviours.

Quantitative Results

The way in which scene affiliation was measured has been described in detail earlier. It is worth noting, however, that the options listed in the questionnaire changed to accommodate new scenes as youth culture evolved and participants were asked to self-assess their level of affiliation (i.e. not at all, a bit, quite a bit, or I am one). The following analysis has collapsed the last two affiliations, leaving three levels, none, limited, and strong. Table 5.1 shows the frequencies with which each scene was affiliated, the total being shown at the bottom of the table. The column percentages refer to all participants affiliating with each scene at each wave (i.e. the total longitudinal sample of 471); the 'all affiliation' row shows all participants making any affiliation. Scenes are sorted in the order in which they were presented to participants.

Table 5.1 – Distribution of Level of Affiliation for Scenes 1987-2000

Scene	Level of Affiliation	1987	1990	1995	2000
Punks					
	None	97.7	98.3	96.0	93.0
	Limited	1.5	1.1	3.2	5.5
	Strong	0.8	0.6	0.8	1.5
Mod					
	None	97.9	98.9	95.3	93.0
	Limited	1.9	0.6	3.4	5.9
	Strong	0.2	0.4	1.3	1.1
Skinhead					
	None	99.6	99.4	98.9	98.7
	Limited	0.4	0.2	0.4	1.1
	Strong	0.0	0.4	0.6	0.2
Heavy Metal					
	None	90.4	88.0	82.0	85.1
	Limited	5.7	5.4	13.6	9.3
	Strong	3.8	6.6	4.5	5.6
Breakers					
	None	98.5	97.2	97.7	98.1
	Limited	1.1	1.9	1.9	1.3
	Strong	0.4	0.9	0.4	0.6
Hippies					
	None	98.9	93.3	84.9	91.7
	Limited	0.8	4.3	10.6	5.7
	Strong	0.2	2.3	4.4	2.5
New Wave					
	None	96.2	95.1		
	Limited	3.0	3.4		
	Strong	0.8	1.5		
New Romantic					
	None	93.8	95.5		
	Limited	4.7	3.0		
	Strong	1.5	1.5		
Trendies					
	None	65.6	75.5		
	Limited	20.6	17.6		
	Strong	13.8	6.9		
Hip Hop					
	None		80.0	86.0	85.6
	Limited		12.0	11.5	11.3
	Strong		7.9	2.5	3.2
Clubbers					
	None			56.3	71.3
	Limited			26.1	18.3
	Strong			17.7	10.4
Grunge					
	None			87.0	90.0
	Limited			9.8	7.4
	Strong			3.1	2.5
Rave					
	None			78.6	88.5
	Limited			14.9	8.3
	Strong			6.5	3.2
Other					
	None	97.0	95.1	92.6	
	Limited	1.7	0.6	3.8	
	Strong	1.2	4.3	3.7	
All Affiliation					
	None	50.3	50.8	41.2	56.8
	Limited	29.0	27.4	31.8	24.5
	Strong	20.7	21.8	27.0	18.7
Total (n)		471	471	471	471

Table 5.1 shows that relatively few people made strong scene affiliations at each wave, but that overall, participants did affiliate with scenes to some

extent. The figures in the bottom row of the table indicate that around half the sample made some level of affiliation at each wave. The largest affiliation was with clubbers in 1995 (17.7% making a strong affiliation and a further 26.1% making a limited affiliation), followed by trendies (i.e. fashion and consumer orientated youth) in 1987 when 13.8% made a strong affiliation. Clubbing was a popular scene again in 2000 with 10.4% of the sample making a strong, and 18.3% a limited, affiliation. The heavy metal scene had a similar number of affiliates over each wave, as did punk. Hip hop also had similar numbers of affiliates over the last two waves, and more people affiliated with the hippy scene in the latter three waves than in the first. 'Other' was not measured in 2000.

These results show that more participants claimed a strong identity with (arguably) mainstream youth scenes (i.e. trendies, clubbers) than with the more 'spectacular' youth scenes mentioned on the cards (i.e. skinheads, punks or mods). The results also suggest that certain scenes exhibit more consistent affiliation over time (e.g. heavy metal). Moreover, the distributions reveal that more people made identifications in 1995 than in any other year (particularly hippies, heavy metal, grunge, clubber, and rave), which may suggest an age effect in scene affiliation around the early twenties. However, this was also the first time some of these categories were included in the survey and the increased numbers may be a result of the more accurate range of scenes used to measure affiliation. Similarly, the changing proportion of affiliations at every wave could as much be the result of changing identities (age effects) as changing cultural trends (period effects).

The analysis presented above does not tell us if there were underlying dimensions to youth scene affiliation. Much like the distinction between Musics and Non-Musics discussed in the previous chapter, it may be the case that people were 'Scenesters' or 'Non-Scenesters' based on the number and strength of affiliations they made at different time points. Factor analysis was adopted in order to reduce these disparate scenes into factors that may suggest broader movements at each wave (the rationale for selecting this analytic technique is provided in Chapter 3). Based on the work of Bennett (2000), Miles (2000) and

Willis (1990) it may be expected that 'similar' scenes would load together (e.g. that people into rock music might affiliate on broader levels and scenes).

As with all factor analysis there is an element of creativity involved in labelling the factors and explaining the results. What these analyses show is how the data can be reduced to explanatory factors of why people affiliate with *a* scene (or several scenes); they can indicate broader movements and allow for further theory to be conceptualised. A key aspect worth considering is how youth cultural movements change over time, and people's affiliations with scenes may also change as they age, therefore, the factors presented here are cross-sectional and aim to illuminate whether there were dominant scenes affiliated with at each wave of the study (over and above the individual scenes selected by participants). The varimax-rotated factor loadings for each year are shown in Tables 5.2-5.5.

Table 5.2 - Factor Loadings of 8 Scenes on Four Varimax-Rotated Principal Components in 1987

Scenes	*Scene Affiliation Dimension*			
	Fashionable	Non-Mainstream	Stylistic	Trendy
Punks	-.187	.073	**.794**	.056
Mods	.278	-.103	**.519**	-.171
New Wave	**.753**	.167	.099	.111
Heavy Metal	-.084	**.812**	-.208	-.148
New Romantics	**.710**	.013	-.004	.064
Breakers	**.510**	-.188	-.052	-.277
Hippies	.178	**.638**	.392	.108
Trendies	.045	-.086	-.063	**.925**
Eigenvalues	1.48	1.15	1.11	1.02
% of Variance Explained	59.56			

Note. N=471. All Loadings over .4 are in italics; all loadings over .5 are in boldface type.

Table 5.2 indicates four factors of scene affiliation in 1987 where music may not be the only, or even main, uniting force. The first factor alludes to a scene driven by music, dance, or distinctive clothes; accordingly, it has been labelled 'Fashionable' suggesting that people into keeping up with fashions and youth cultural movements may be likely to see themselves as part of a scene. The second factor, 'Non-Mainstream' describes those who express their affiliations in non-mainstream ways (be it music, fashion, or attitude). Heavy Metal and Hippy scenes were both considered as 'out-groups' by 15 year olds in 1987 (at least according to the qualitative accounts in the previous chapter), therefore it follows that those embracing those identities would be likely to affiliate with a scene as a way of demarcating themselves from the mainstream. Similarly, the third factor represents those with a very distinctive (subcultural?) style of dress and music separate from the mainstream. Distinct from the second factor however, the 'Stylistics' may well be considered cool because of their dedication to style and reckless attitude. The final factor is clearly dominated by the 'Trendies', an 'in-group' of mainstream affiliates who were less likely to demonstrate extreme scene affiliations, and make up a scene by themselves as a consequence. The extent to which this remains in 1990 is shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 - Factor Loadings of 9 Scenes on Three Varimax-Rotated Principal Components in 1990

Scenes	Scene Affiliation Dimension		
	Stylistic	Non-Mainstream	Trendy
Mod	*.808*	.202	.059
Breaker	*.733*	.079	.113
Punk	*.667*	.204	-.057
New Romantic	*.649*	-.200	.191
New Wave	*.534*	.353	.057
Heavy Metal	.053	*.805*	-.141
Hippy	.208	*.763*	.194
Hip Hop	.096	.026	*.792*
Trendy	.068	.003	*.807*
Eigenvalues	2.82	1.37	1.08
% of Variance Explained	58.67		

Note. N=471. All Loadings over .4 are in italics; all loadings over .5 are in boldface type.

In 1990, much the same pattern is observed as in 1987. The main difference, whether attributable to changing youth cultures, or the convergence of 'stylistic' scenes as an alternative to more dominant movements, was that the fashionable and stylistic factors united. The appreciation of style and scene in and of itself seems to be a clear motivating factor for scene affiliation at this wave (with 'spectacular' scenes such as punk, mod, and new romantic all loading together). The non-mainstream factor from 1987 retained its association with heavy metal and hippy, representing affiliations in opposition to popular cultural movements (and especially whatever was 'trendy' or fashionable). This is exemplified further in the third factor which sees trendy and hip hop loading together (in opposition to heavy metal) and representing mainstream, 'in-group', popular culture. Interestingly, there does not appear to be strong associations with particular music styles; the musics conventionally associated with heavy metal and hippies are somewhat distinct, as are the many musics traditionally associated with the scenes in the first factor. This changes in 1995, as can be seen in table 5.4.

Table 5.4 - Factor Loadings of 9 Scenes on Two Varimax-Rotated Principal Components in 1995

Scenes	Scene Affiliation Dimensions		
	Stylistic	Rock	Dance
Mod	*.817*	.142	.074
Punk	*.733*	.342	.011
Breaker	*.668*	.030	.273
Heavy Metal	.052	*.819*	-.057
Grunge	.217	*.782*	.169
Hippy	.292	*.576*	.346
Rave	.049	.103	*.800*
Clubber	.096	-.018	*.783*
Hip Hop	.297	.322	*.569*
Eigenvalues	3.24	1.30	1.00
% of Variance Explained		61.8	

Note. N=471. All Loadings over .4 are in italics; all loadings over .5 are in boldface type.

Table 5.4 shows similar results for 1995, indicating a three-factor solution. The first has been labelled 'Stylistic' since, as in 1990, it represents affiliates with a range of quite distinctive youth styles that do not sit squarely in the mainstream or in a popular alternative category. The second factor is similar to 1990 and represents a scene quite distinct from the first and third, but now notably includes grunge, suggesting a convergence around rock styles. The third is more explicitly associated with dance music scenes (clubber, rave and hip hop). The observed differences in the previous factor analyses between mainstream and non-mainstream scenes are even more marked in this analysis, and the parallels with the 1995 taste data presented in the previous chapter are striking. The first factor may be associated with the various category, the second with rock, and the third with dance. Although this analysis alone does not demonstrate a correlation between music taste and scene affiliation, the distinction between stylistic, rock and dance oriented scenes clearly suggests it is. Table 5.5 shows the dimensions extracted for 2000.

Table 5.5 - Factor Loadings of 9 Scenes on Two Varimax-Rotated Principal Components in 2000

Scene	*Scene Affiliation Dimensions*	
	Stylistic/Rock	Dance
Punk	*.827*	.072
Grunge	*.738*	.219
Heavy Metal	*.723*	-.031
Mod	*.666*	.198
Hippy	*.596*	.180
Hip Hop	.177	*.761*
Rave	.132	*.745*
Breaker	.013	*.674*
Clubber	.145	*.536*
Eigenvalues	3.13	1.49
% of Variance Explained	59.5	

Note. N=471. All Loadings over .4 are in italics; all loadings over .5 are in boldface type.

Table 5.5 strengthens the likelihood that scene affiliation is related to music preference with the first factor representing a Stylistic and Rock dimension, and the second, a broadly Dance-based dimension. Of course there are clear stylistic differences between punk, heavy metal, mod and hippy, however they share a quality that is distinctive from the mainstream (whether in music or fashion), and evidently, distinctive from a dance based scene. This suggests, even more strongly than the previous factor analyses a distinction between fans of rock, various, and dance music, is related to scenes in which participants demonstrate and practise these music preferences. It may be that the two-factor solution represents the perceived scenes with which participants could affiliate at this wave (rock or dance), which may also reflect an age effect (i.e. participants felt that they could only really choose to affiliate with dance or rock scenes because affiliation options were more limited in 1987). This type of analysis does not allow for the perception of scenes to be investigated, but the quantitative analysis can be taken forward to look more closely at associations between scenes and music preferences.

By investigating the change in factors over time we can track the evolution of youth scene identification from 1987-2000. There seems to be a shift from more vague and blurred distinctions between groups in the first wave (with the exception of the division between heavy metal and trendy), towards a clearer dichotomy between rock based scenes and dance based scenes in the latter waves, culminating in the two factor solution in 2000.

A number of caveats should be acknowledged when drawing these conclusions. The affiliations expressed by participants were selected from a range of fixed options, and although this was methodologically simpler, it inevitably restricted the range of affiliations they could make. Although participants could list their identification as 'other', the listed affiliations were so disparate that they could not be combined into a single category. Another methodological issue to note is the appropriateness of the options offered to the participants at each wave. The necessarily fleeting nature of many youth styles may have limited the comprehensiveness of the options available to participants, although every effort was made to ensure that they were representative of popular youth styles of the time (as well as to maintain some consistency in the survey data). One final note is that Glasgow, like many urban spaces, has a distinct cultural history and this will have affected the composition of, and access to, youth scenes over the past twenty years. Therefore, although the sample is representative of the Greater Glasgow population, there are certain youth scenes which are not represented but which feature in different cultural spaces at different times around the UK and beyond.

Scene Affiliation and Music Preference 1987-2000

Although a link between scene affiliation and music preference is suggested by the above results, it is necessary to identify the extent to which they are correlated in this sample. Because there are several scenes where very few people make an affiliation at each wave, only those with relatively large numbers were selected for the analysis. Accordingly, the analysis is restricted

to three scenes and three time points. The taste data in the previous chapter indicated a trichotomy between chart fans, dance fans, and rock fans, thus for 1987 trendies' music tastes were compared to non-trendies', for 1995 clubbers' music tastes were compared to non-clubbers', and for 2000 heavy metal's music tastes were compared to those without this affiliation. Scene affiliation (coded as any affiliation) was cross-tabulated with music taste (the codes outlined in the previous chapter; a range of 9 genres). The tables compare the tastes of those making any affiliation with the selected scene against those not making that affiliation (including those who affiliated with other scenes and those who made no affiliation) the first cross-tabulation is in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 - Cross-tabulation of Music Taste and Trendy/Non-Trendy Scene Affiliation (1987)

Music Taste	Non-Trendy	Trendy
Alternative	4.5	5.7
Alt Rock	4.5	5.7
Chart	60.4	59.9
Contemplative	0.0	0.0
Dance	1.0	0.0
E Listening	0.0	0.0
Rock	21.1	19.1
Traditional	4.9	3.8
Various	3.6	5.7
Total %	100	100
Total (n)	308	157
Pearson Chi-Square (sig)	(6, N=456)=3.71 *n.s.*	

The table indicates that there were no statistically significant differences in the music tastes of trendies and non-trendies in 1987. This lack of difference suggests that trendies tended to have mainstream tastes, chart being the preferred genre for 60.3% of the overall sample. The relevance of this finding for the correlation between scene affiliation and music taste is questionable because chart music can encompass many forms, and more clearly converges around what is popular. It suggests that 'trendies' represent a mainstream, and commercial group, without a *specific* taste in music (other than what is in the

charts). By contrast, for clubbers in 1995 there was a marked difference between their music taste and that of non-clubbers, as can be seen in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 - Cross-tabulation of Music Taste and Clubber/Non-Clubber Scene Affiliation (1995)

Music Taste	Non-Clubber	Clubber
Alternative	5.7	5.4
Alt Rock	5.0	6.4
Chart	34.5	23.5
Contemplative	2.7	1.0
Dance	9.2	33.3
E Listening	2.7	2.0
Rock	14.6	13.2
Traditional	8.4	2.9
Various	17.2	12.3
Total (%)	100	100
Total (n)	261	204
Pearson Chi-Square (sig)	(8, N=465)=48.5 (p<.001)	

The difference between the music tastes of clubbers compared to non-clubbers was significant as demonstrated by a lower proportion of clubbers than non-clubbers preferring chart, various, and traditional music, and a higher proportion favouring dance music. This is not surprising since dance music was a popular type of music in mainstream nightclubs in 1995; therefore those identifying as a clubber would have far greater exposure to this type of music (or, indeed fans of this music would be more likely to frequent clubs). What is perhaps more interesting is that only a third of those who identified as a clubber claimed Dance as their favourite type of music. This highlights how it is erroneous to assume that all those identifying with a specific youth scene necessarily share the same music tastes. Nevertheless, the significantly different taste between clubbers and non-clubbers does suggest that this scene is predicated around different tastes from the rest of the sample. This strengthens the assertion that musical identities (as well as other lifestyle factors) are different between scene members and non-scene members for clubbers in 1995. The final comparison

between heavy metal affiliates and non-heavy metal affiliates in 2000 is presented in Table 5.8

Table 5.8 - Cross-tabulation of Music Taste and Heavy Metal/Non-Heavy Metal Scene Affiliation (2000)

Music Taste	Non-Heavy Metal	Heavy Metal
Alternative	3.8	2.9
Alt Rock	6.6	5.7
Chart	41.0	17.1
Contemplative	3.3	2.9
Dance	12.7	8.6
E Listening	11.6	2.9
Rock	7.8	45.7
Traditional	3.5	4.3
Various	9.6	10.0
Total (%)	100	100
Total (n)	395	70
Pearson Chi-Square (sig)	(8, N=465)=77.6 p<.001	

The results reveal a significant difference between the music tastes of those who did and did not identify with heavy metal. This is most notable in a taste for Rock music, nearly half of those identifying with heavy metal claiming Rock as their taste, against less than a tenth of non-identifiers. Conversely, more than twice as many non-identifiers stated that Chart was their favourite type of music compared with identifiers (and significantly more non-identifiers claimed a taste for easy listening). Affiliates of heavy metal showed demonstrably different music preferences from non-affiliates.

These results raise an issue about the extent to which a strong link between music taste and scene affiliation can be *assumed*. The labels of many of the youth scenes are popularly associated with music styles but, when questioned, the participants did not overwhelmingly name the expected genres. This indicates that whilst there are significant difference between the tastes of

clubbers and non-clubbers, and heavy metal affiliates and non-affiliates, not all people within the same scene have exactly the same tastes. Scene affiliation (and, indeed, affiliation with multiple scenes) may be expressed in fashion, lifestyle and shared social spaces as much as through music preference; qualities that these data do not allow us to explore.

For this reason, the distinction between music preference and scene affiliation should be made clear. Musical identities may be made up of many factors: the importance of music in a person's life, the complexity (or specificity) of their tastes, their involvement in scenes specifically predicated around music, or their appreciation and knowledge of music in many forms. The current analysis has shown how scenes are not necessarily structured around specific musics, as well as how preferences within scenes can vary. Therefore, separate variables were constructed for the remainder of the quantitative analysis, music preference (Chart, Rock, Dance or Other) as one aspect of musical identity, and strength of (any) scene affiliation (None, Limited, Strong) as another. The extent to which they converge in participant's perceptions of their musical identities is dealt with in the qualitative findings.

Music Taste, Identity, and Health Behaviours 1987-2000

As was discussed in the literature review, musical identities can play a crucial role in the behaviour of young people (and some adults), and this might extend to health behaviours. If young people are engaged in a scene based on their tastes, or if they choose to demonstrate their tastes in certain ways, this may lead to risky behaviours and problematic health outcomes. A central concern of this thesis is the variation in health of those with different musical identities. The focus of the following analyses is on 'problematic' and negative health behaviours (as opposed to exercise or healthy eating) since these appear to be the most controversial in the academic literature presented earlier in the thesis.

Before presenting the multivariate results controlling for sex and social class, the rates of the selected health behaviours are presented by music preference.

As highlighted in Chapter 3, taste was recoded into four categories for the following analysis due to the small number of fans for some of the genres (where 'Other' acts as a proxy for all other tastes). The overall rates can be seen in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 - Health Behaviours by Music Taste (1987-2000)

		Smoking	Drinking	Cannabis	Rave Drug	Hard Drug
1987						
	Chart	9.5	3.2	2.8	3.5	n/a
	Rock	10.5	11.9	7.7	7.7	n/a
	Other	9.8	2.4	4.9	2.4	n/a
	Dance	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Chi-Square	0.43 (df=3)	14.49 (df=3)	5.46 (df=3)	4.38 (df=3)	n/a
		n.s.	p<.001***	n.s.	n.s.	
1995						
	Chart	21.7	15.6	12.6	2.1	0.0
	Rock	43.6	32.7	27.4	13.7	6.0
	Other	31.1	25.7	22.7	8.4	0.8
	Dance	56.0	25.3	35.2	35.2	11.0
	Chi-Square	32.7 (df=3)	11.34 (df=3)	17.5 (df=3)	56.91 (df=3)	22.72 (df=3)
		p<.001***	p<.01**	p<.001***	p<.001***	p<.001***
2000						
	Chart	23.3	17.6	9.7	1.1	0.6
	Rock	44.1	33.3	17.1	10.8	6.3
	Other	38.4	24.2	14.3	8.7	6.3
	Dance	36.8	28.1	24.1	20.7	12.1
	Chi-Square	15.38 (df=3)	9.63 (df=3)	8.31 (df=3)	25.65 (df=3)	14.57 (df=3)
		p<.001***	p<.02**	p<.04*	p<.001***	p<.001***
Total (n)				471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5.9 shows an elevated rate of use of all substances for rock fans in 1987, although only heavy drinking was statistically significant. The three dance fans at this wave did not report using any of the substances measured, hence their absence from the table. Chart fans, and all other tastes, had similar rates of smoking, drinking heavily, cannabis use, and rave drug use. However, none of the participants had used (or admitted to using) hard drugs in the previous year.

By 1995, rates for all behaviours had increased, with rock fans still reporting participation in risky health behaviours more than chart fans, or fans of other types of music. As previous findings indicated, Dance fans demonstrated higher rates of smoking, cannabis use, rave drug use and hard drug use than fans of any other type of music. Rock fans were the biggest drinkers at this wave, with around a third drinking over the recommended weekly limits. Chart fans indicated lower than average rates of all health behaviours.

This situation broadly prevailed in 2000 when rock and dance fans indicated significantly higher levels of alcohol, cannabis and rave drug use than fans of chart or other genres. However, a higher proportion of rock fans said they smoked than fans of any other music, and a third still reported heavy drinking. Dance fans demonstrated the highest rates for all drug measures, though smoking rates declined amongst this group. Significance was achieved across all behaviours.

A broader observation is the increase in rates of hard drug use overall, when rates of all other health behaviours declined between 1995 and 2000 (excluding alcohol which remained the same). It may be the result of personal, cultural, or social factors over the study period, and requires further investigation (some of which is afforded by the qualitative results later in the chapter).

Previous research has indicated that health behaviours and problematic substance use has been associated with particular groups over the youth-adult transition. Girls have traditionally engaged in lower levels of substance use than boys have, although this has been shown to change in recent years with regard to smoking (Sweeting and West 2003). Similarly, studies have shown that substance use rates is higher amongst people from manual social class backgrounds (Karvonen, *et al* 2001), though this is most acute with drug use. It is for these reasons that multivariate analysis was required in the current study.

In order to assess whether associations between substance use and music preference remained alongside co-predictors, a series of logistic regressions were conducted. The findings of this chapter have highlighted how scene

affiliations also have a role to play in young people's lifestyles therefore a measure of overall affiliation (i.e. the extent to which participants identified with any scene) was included in the regression models alongside sex, social class and music preference. The results for regular smoking and drinking alcohol above the recommended weekly limits are presented in tables 5.10 and 5.11.

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Table 5.10 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Regular Smoking by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1987-2000)

	1987	95%CI	1995	95%CI	2000	95%CI
Sex						
Male	1		1		1	
Female	1.50	0.76, 2.97	0.85	0.56, 1.29	0.79	0.49, 1.28
Social Class						
I, II, IIInm	1		1		1	
IIIm	2.16	0.99, 4.68	1.01	0.64, 1.59	2.10*	1.17, 3.78
IV, V	2.95*	1.24, 6.98	0.75	0.42, 1.32	5.67***	2.50, 12.84
Music Taste						
Chart	1		1		1	
Rock	1.07	0.50, 2.26	2.13*	1.18, 3.83	2.12*	1.15, 3.88
Other	0.85	0.85, 0.24	1.61	0.89, 2.90	2.10*	1.17, 3.77
Dance	0.00	0.00, 0.00	2.83**	1.49, 5.38	1.23	0.55, 2.73
Scene Affiliation						
None	1		1		1	
Limited	0.82	0.36, 1.87	1.74*	1.05, 2.88	1.11	0.65, 1.90
Strong	1.97	0.90, 4.30	2.47**	1.42, 4.29	2.05*	1.10, 3.82
Total (n)			471			

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5.11 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Heavy Drinking by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1987-2000)

		1987	95%CI	1995	95%CI	2000	95%CI
Sex							
	Male	1		1		1	
	Female	0.51	0.22, 1.20	0.20***	0.12, 0.34	0.36***	0.22, 0.60
Social Class							
	I, II, IIInm	1		1		1	
	IIIm	2.13	0.89, 5.09	0.89	0.52, 1.52	1.21	0.66, 2.01
	IV, V	0.74	0.19, 2.83	0.99	0.52, 1.91	1.46	0.62, 3.42
Music Taste							
	Chart	1		1		1	
	Rock	4.33**	1.79, 10.47	1.37	0.69, 2.72	1.66	0.89, 3.09
	Other	0.77	0.09, 6.42	1.16	0.58, 2.33	1.36	0.73, 2.52
	Dance	0.99	0.00, 0.00	1.04	0.49, 2.20	1.21	0.54, 2.72
Scene Affiliation							
	No	1		1		1	
	Limited	0.56	0.21, 1.54	2.08*	1.14, 3.79	1.61	0.94, 2.77
	Strong	0.61	0.22, 1.72	2.46**	1.29, 4.69	1.51	0.78, 2.93
Total (n)				471			

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5.10 shows that in all models, and at every wave, sex was not a significant predictor of regular smoking. In 1987, participants in social classes IV and V were more likely to smoke regularly, but there were no significant differences based on music taste, or strength of identity. This changed in 1995 when smoking exhibited no difference by class but did according to music preference; rock and dance fans being more likely to smoke than chart fans. Those making any scene affiliation were also more likely to smoke than those who did not (though the likelihood was higher amongst those making a strong affiliation). In 2000, class once again predicted regular smoking with those from manual backgrounds more likely to smoke than those from non-manual backgrounds. While being a dance fan no longer predicted smoking in 2000, rock fans and fans of other music were more likely to smoke than chart fans. Those with a strong scene identity were also significantly more likely to be regular smokers at this wave.

Table 5.11 presents the odds ratios for heavy drinking. In 1995 and 2000, females were far less likely than males to exceed the weekly recommendations. There were no significant differences in heavy drinking based on social class at any wave. With respect to music taste, fans of rock music in 1987 were significantly more likely to drink excessively than fans of Chart music. There were no significant differences in heavy drinking by fans of other music or dance music when compared to chart fans at each wave. In 1995, participants who made a limited or strong identification with any youth scene were significantly more likely to drink heavily than those who did not.

Logistic regressions were also carried out to assess the likelihood of drug use amongst fans of different music. The results for drug use (cannabis, rave drugs, and hard drugs) can be seen in Tables 5.12-5.14.

Table 5.12 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Regular Cannabis Use by Sex, Social Class and Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1987-2000)

		1987	95%CI	1995	95%CI	2000	95%CI
Sex							
	Male	1		1		1	
	Female	0.44	0.16, 1.22	0.23***	0.14, 0.39	0.62	0.30, 1.29
Social Class							
	I, II, IIInm	1		1		1	
	IIIm	1.40	0.47, 4.16	0.55*	0.32, 0.96	3.29**	1.51, 7.15
	IV, V	2.03	0.61, 6.77	0.56	0.28, 1.12	8.46***	3.35, 21.36
Music Taste							
	Chart	1		1		1	
	Rock	2.09	0.76, 5.76	1.52	0.73, 3.18	1.29	0.53, 3.15
	Other	0.75	0.09, 6.27	1.30	0.62, 2.73	1.39	0.57, 3.39
	Dance	0.00	0.00, 0.00	1.74	0.80, 3.76	2.53	0.93, 6.90
Scene Affiliation							
	None	1		1		1	
	Limited	1.04	0.33, 3.33	1.81	0.96, 3.41	2.33*	1.09, 4.98
	Strong	1.55	0.50, 4.86	3.08**	1.60, 5.96	2.74*	1.17, 6.43
Total (n)				471			

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5.13 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Regular Rave Drug Use by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1987-2000)

		1987	*95%CI*	*1995*	*95%CI*	*2000*	*95%CI*
Sex							
	Male	1		1		1	
	Female	1.45	0.56, 3.74	0.42*	0.21, 0.82	0.19**	0.06, 0.60
Social Class							
	I, II, IIInm	1		1		1	
	IIIm	3.32*	1.09, 10.22	2.36*	1.15, 4.86	1.98	0.76, 5.20
	IV, V	4.01*	1.16, 13.95	2.14	0.87, 5.29	3.01	0.81, 11.23
Music Taste							
	Chart	1		1		1	
	Rock	2.35	0.88, 6.27	3.47	0.93, 13.02	3.53	0.70, 17.91
	Other	0.81	0.10, 6.84	3.30	0.83, 13.10	5.98*	1.21, 29.54
	Dance	0.00	0.00, 0.00	10.69***	2.94, 38.83	10.93**	2.13, 56.14
Scene Affiliation							
	No	1		1		1	
	Limited	2.93*	1.00, 8.59	2.23	0.78, 6.37	2.01	0.70. 5.79
	Strong	2.54	0.76, 8.45	6.61***	2.47, 17.66	4.21**	1.49, 11.91
Total (n)				471			

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5.14 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Hard Drug Use (previous year) by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1995-2000)

		1995	*95%CI*	*2000*	*95%CI*
Sex					
	Male	1		1	
	Female	0.38	0.12, 1.25	0.21**	0.07, 0.66
Social Class					
	I, II, IIInm	1		1	
	IIIm	0.81	0.24, 2.74	1.99	0.77, 5.19
	IV, V	1.50	0.41, 5.54	2.79	0.77, 10.06
Music Taste					
	Chart	1		1	
	Rock	1.28	0.23, 7.23	5.09*	1.04, 24.96
	Other	1.20	0.19, 7.78	4.92	0.99, 24.48
	Dance	1.59	0.28, 8.94	8.39*	1.60, 43.97
Scene Affiliation					
	No	1		1	
	Limited	4.54	0.49, 42.48	1.03	0.35, 3.04
	Strong	13.76*	1.60, 118.18	2.81*	1.04, 7.61
Total (n)			471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5.12 shows that females were less likely than males to smoke cannabis in 1995 and participants from social classes IIIm, IV, and V were significantly more likely to do so than those in non-manual classes in 2000. There were no significant differences in cannabis use according to music taste at any wave. However, having a strong scene identity predicted cannabis use in 1995, and this remained the case in 2000, where limited affiliation with a scene increased the chances of regular cannabis use.

The results for regular rave drug use, presented in Table 5.13, show that females were significantly less likely than males to be users in 1995 and 2000. Participants from social classes IIIm, IV and V were also more likely to have used rave drugs in 1987, and this remained the case, though to a lesser extent in 1995 for those from IIIm. As expected, dance fans were significantly more likely to use rave drugs in 1995 and 2000 (with striking odds ratios of 10.69 and 10.93 respectively) when compared to chart fans, although, in 2000, fans of other musics were also more likely to use rave drugs. Scene identity predicted an increased likelihood of rave drug use at each wave, with those making a limited affiliation more likely to have used them in 1987, and those with a strong identity far more likely to have used rave drugs in 1995 and 2000.

The findings for regular use of hard drugs are shown in Table 5.14. None of the participants in the longitudinal sample had reported using hard drugs at age 15 so this year was excluded from the analysis. By 2000, females were significantly less likely to have used hard drugs than males, although there were no significant differences according to social class in either 1995 or 2000. In 1995, those with a strong scene affiliation were far more likely to have used hard drugs in the past year, and this remained in 2000, though less pronounced. Music taste predicted hard drug use in 2000 only, with rock fans and dance fans both being far more likely to have used hard drugs in the previous year.

The results of the logistic regressions demonstrate strong independent associations between music taste, scene identity, and elevated use of a range of substances, even when controlling for sex and social class. Dance and rock stand out as the tastes predicting greater substance use, although a strong scene

identity seems as important as preference for predicting elevated use. The finding that music preference and scene affiliation have independent effects on substance use suggests that the connections between these variables and people's experience of engagement in risk behaviours should also be studied in depth. The analysis compares fans of rock, dance, and other genres with chart fans, and limited and strong identities with no identities, which implies that being a fan of chart music, and not affiliating with youth scenes, is in some way protective of risky behaviour. Previous studies have highlighted differences in substance use according to social class, but the findings here suggest negligible class effects on alcohol, rave drug and hard drug consumption. This lends support to arguments claiming that (youth) cultural variables have more power in predicting substance use than traditional structural variables. Overall, the findings suggest that musical identity is a strong predictor of substance use, particularly in the latter stages of the youth-adult transition.

There are several possible explanations of the higher odds of substance use within these groups. One explanation is that those participants who use substances are attracted to scenes that accommodate their use and demonstrate the associated music tastes. Another is that tastes for dance or rock encourage participants into scenes where they may be exposed to substances and 'acceptable' substance use. With the exception of hard drug use, which increased between 1995 and 2000, all risk behaviours fell between these years; suggesting a temporality to the peak observed in 1995. This finding presents a challenge to the idea that musical identity and increased substance use remain over the lifecourse, or a feature of a particular point in the youth-adult transition. This is complicated further by the increase in rave and hard drug use by dance and rock fans in 2000; it may be that a strong musical identity (i.e. preferring specific genres or having strong scene affiliations) predicts risky substance use into adulthood (or that substance use in adulthood predicts a strong musical identity).

The quantitative findings thus far have addressed questions about the relationship between musical identity and risky health behaviours. The qualitative study also provides an opportunity to investigate more fully how

people perceive music scenes, the relationship between their musical identities and their health behaviours, and how they understand the transition to adulthood changes these behaviours.

Qualitative Results

The first section below illustrates how participants have experienced scenes over the youth-adult transition. This is followed by a section focusing on how participants understand the links between their scene affiliations and health behaviours. The final section investigates the extent to which scenes and their associated practices maintain meaning in the lives of the participants in their 'achieved adulthood' status.

Defining a Scene

In order to investigate whether scenes carry meaning in participant's lives, and if this stays constant over the youth-adult transition, it is important first to clarify what scenes are understood to be.

From all accounts it was clear that scenes were associated with leisure identities, whether participants were discussing their own involvement in a scene, or that of other people. This distinction between leisure time and non-leisure time suggests that some participants understood their identities as multiple, shifting between structural identities, played out in the institutions of school, university, work and marriage, and cultural identities, played out with friends and peer groups in 'spare' time. Scenes, for these participants, were bound in spaces (such as pubs, clubs, friends' houses) and times (i.e. non-work time, and a specific period of youth) and were not described as essential aspects of their identity in 'everyday life'. Scenes were also understood by these participants as something that can be participated in on individual terms. Scene membership, much like the participants' understanding of taste, was understood

as active, participants choosing whether to be involved in a particular scene and to what extent.

Danny describes how to the outsider he appeared to be part of a scene but he did not associate with scenes in a way that was meaningful to his identity:

> Danny: I wouldn't say I associated myself with a particular scene. Erm what was more important to me was that I had a group of friends there that were kind of with me and that was it. Now, we probably all did dress alike and you know liked the same things, so you know we probably were to the outsider looking in, you know part of a particular scene. But I never felt that you know I was part of that, you know and I couldn't listen to other things and feel I was being a traitor. So no I never felt part of any kind of scene... I mean that, that age you wouldn't know to look at me but I used to be quite sporty so it was swimming, badminton and football so I had all these kind of things going on at the same time so music wasn't the most important thing to me but it was pretty important, but it was kind of a weekend thing, you know just one weekend night.

Danny highlights how to him scenes were something that had meaning to other people. Although he acknowledges that he had similar interests and tastes to his peer-group, this did not amount to a lifestyle outside the mainstream (i.e. a 'subculture'), but instead reflected the stylistic and symbolic ordering of his leisure time and space. This is an important distinction since it underlines that aesthetic and stylistic commonalities may be key factors in young people's leisure and peer structure, without suggesting that they form an all-encompassing identity which determines other behaviour. The quote from Danny supports an understanding that scenes can only have authentic meaning to people, and by extension, an influence on their life, if that person sees himself or herself as part of a scene. External impressions of scene membership (i.e. other people thinking you are in a scene) are much less 'powerful' than internal recognition of scene membership. Danny views his youth self as a person with multiple leisure identities that could be exercised at appropriate times and in appropriate spaces rather than as someone with one all-encompassing youth scene identity. Therefore, the power of a music scene identity to influence Danny's actions and behaviours was understood by him as minimal.

That is not to suggest that scenes have no power over people's behaviour; Nina describes how aspiration played a role in her leisure behaviour and that she structured her leisure time in order to be associated with the 'cool' scene:

> **DL: You mentioned the word "scene" there. I mean, do you think it was a scene?**
>
> Nina: Yeah, yeah I do, I do. I think it was… I suppose it was probably hip. You were in the in crowd because it was all new and everybody that you knew was doing it and all the kinda cool people were going to the dance clubs and all this kinda stuff. So it probably was a scene that's set and I think you associated very much with, that's where, you know, you wanted to be, cos you wanted to kinda be in with all the cool people and all that kinda stuff, and you always headed to the same kinda clubs and stuff. Yeah.

Even although Nina's description of a scene hangs heavily on association and aspiration (i.e. feeling the need to 'hang out with the cool people'), she still situates her understanding of a scene within specific spaces (dance clubs) and times (the weekend). Unlike Danny's perception, this suggests that a leisure identity associated with aesthetic and cultural phenomena, spaces, and communities, played out at a certain time (the weekend) and life-point (youth) was a meaningful scene to Nina. However, her account is similar to Danny's in that this leisure identity was confined to particular spaces and times and something that could be engaged in at certain points.

One meaning of 'scene' understood by participants, then, alludes to a label either accepted and applied internally ('I'm part of a scene at the weekend'), or suggested externally ('They're part of that scene at the weekend'), denoting a group of people with similar tastes meeting at specific sites and times. Crucially, this label does not have to be meaningful to the participant's identities on a day-to-day basis, it is used more to organise and structure youth leisure spaces and times. These scene identities could be labelled 'marginal' and were described by Danny, Eddie, Ian, Jim, Karyn, Mary, Nina, Ricky, Ryan, Sarah, Theresa, and Zara.

An alternative understanding of scene, and one expressed by participants who described scenes as extending beyond explicit leisure spaces and times, is as an identity permeating many other aspects of their lives. The participants who described their scene identities in this way were Celeste, Dora, Freia, Jake, Mark, and Sheryl. For these participants, affiliating with a scene was understood as intimately related to their actions and behaviour. Freia describes what clubbing meant to her in her early twenties:

> Freia: It became, when I look back now, actually kinda took over my whole, everything rotated around going clubbing, everybody I knew, most people we met clubbing, it became like the most important thing to me at that point.
>
> **DL: But like, I suppose in that, like, would you call it a scene, then? Or what would you call it, would you call it something like, how would you describe a scene, and would you call your clubbing days then, a scene?**
>
> Freia: Yeah, definitely.
>
> **DL: In what ways was it a scene?**
>
> Freia: Just that I look back and say it was a phase, but at the time, it was, I couldn't see outside of going clubbing, everything rotated round it, everything I did was based on going clubbing, basically.
>
> **DL: And what do you mean by that?**
>
> Freia: Just, if you weren't, if it wasn't the night you were going out, all you were doing was thinking about the night you were going to go out and you would constantly, clothes you would buy would be based on going clubbing they weren't practical clothes, they were what you would wear clubbing and just how you were gonna get there and who was going and it would just be, from one week to the next, that was all you were thinking about.

Although the introduction of the term 'scene' was led by the researcher in this extract, Freia confirmed that she did conceptualise this time in her life as being centred on a scene. Freia's strength of commitment to the clubbing scene meant that she understood her everyday life as facilitating scene membership, as opposed to a separate identity or sphere of life. Her scene identity and her musical identity were the primary self and social identity that she demonstrated for a significant period of her life and she perceived this as having a direct

effect on her behaviour. Eschewing the distinctions made by other participants between a scene as something that happened on a Saturday night and other, structural, obligations, Freia prioritised a scene identity and structured her life around this. Thus, a clear distinction in the meaning of scene membership can be drawn between those who viewed it as something occurring externally that requires active engagement on individual terms (a 'marginal' scene identity), and those who understood their scene membership as an essential part of their personality, and ultimately their primary identity for a specific period of time (a 'central' scene identity).

A question remains, however, as to how the type of scene identity adopted by a participant (marginal or central) may be related to their choices, actions and behaviours, specifically, health behaviours. One theory is that those with a central scene identity would be more likely to be influenced by the norms and practices associated with a particular scene than those with a marginal scene identity, and this is borne out by the qualitative data to an extent. Jake describes what constituted the dance scene he identified with centrally in Glasgow in his late teens:

> Jake: Oh, you would always bump into somebody that you knew. The crowd that I used to go about with, or meet, not anyone you would know in particular, but they knew you, we all went to the same places, we would say "hello." After a few, you start talking, you know? We all kinda cliqued around the same places.
>
> **DL: And what would you… I mean, I suppose what I'm getting at is whether you would call that a scene or not.**
>
> Jake: It was a scene, it was a big scene. Aye, definitely.
>
> **DL: And what do you think makes up a scene? If we were to call it a scene, why do you think it was a scene? What makes it a scene, sorta thing?**
>
> Jake: It was all based round the music.
>
> **DL: Right.**
>
> Jake: And secondary to that was probably the drugs that were involved back then. I mean, everybody was out their face, so… that was… that was the two main things about that scene.

Once again, the researcher introduces the term scene, but Jake confirms that it is an accurate definition of his experiences at the time. Jake describes how a shared taste for music and drugs were the defining feature of the dance scene he affiliated with in his youth. Although he highlights meeting in particular spaces, elsewhere in the interview he describes going out clubbing during the week and working in jobs to sustain his participation in the dance scene. For Jake, meeting like-minded people, dressing a particular way, and participating in mainstream employment to fund his clubbing and drug consumption were the main priorities for a period of his youth. He classifies the 'scene' that was important to him during this time as predicated around two things: music and drugs. This highlights that for Jake music and drugs formed the 'main things' of the scene he identified with. He does not perceive one thing as leading to another; the two aspects combined made up the scene, and by extension, Jake's primary identity for a time.

A clear distinction was observed, then, between the six participants who claimed a central scene identity and the twelve who claimed a marginal scene identity. The former group consists entirely of Musics and the latter group contains all the Non-Musics, as well as the remaining two Musics (Danny and Eddie) who did not describe adopting a central scene identity at any point in their lives. Of those who adopted a central scene identity, four were from the rock category and two were from the dance category (although Celeste, labelled a Rock fan based on her tastes, actually identified with the Dance scene for a significant period of time). Indeed their description of how scenes functioned in their lives and the meaning that they took from their scene identity does not appear entirely related to the type of music around which the scene was based. Although there were differences in the aesthetics and practices described for the dance scene and the rock scene, there were similarities in the way the participants described how both scenes functioned and why they had such an influence on their lives. The following section highlights some of these shared features.

Community

'Community' and 'camaraderie' were words often used by those with a central scene identity, indicating that they understood their scenes to be distinct social groups from those they had experienced elsewhere in their lives. There was an acknowledgement of shared values, tastes, and social identities, the combination of which led to the participants' understanding of their scene as a community[2]. The participants focused on social relationships as being central to their scenes, whilst acknowledging the importance of fashion and location. One of the main distinctions between them and those with a marginal scene identity was the importance of maintaining relationships with other people in the scene, as Jake's quote illustrates:

> Jake: There was a big camaraderie in that club.
>
> **DL: Yeah, that sort of implies that there was a sense of community, or…?**
>
> Jake: There was a big community in there, and even, I still pass guys and recognise them and we'll nod to each other, but I couldn't tell you their names. I bumped into the owner of the [club] who owned it back then, a wee while back, in a shop, and he knew, he remembered my name, you know? I was like, God. It's been, like, oh, 12 years since I've seen this guy, you know? There was a real sense of community in there.

Here Jake highlights how recognition and familiarity were integral to maintaining a scene identity. The recognition of individual actors within the scene set Jake (and presumably all those who recognised each other) apart from more transient visitors (no doubt including some with marginal identities). These relationships are understood as strengthening scene identities, for those who claim them, both in scenes at the time, and in 'real world' contexts beyond the time. Jake thinks of his scene as a community because of the lasting

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[2] The participants' scenes are referred to as 'theirs' because, although there were many similarities in their descriptions, the phenomenological method (and, indeed, epistemology) warrants that the experience of scenes, and the meanings these held, will necessarily differ from person to person. It is therefore not suitable to talk of the Rock scene, or the Dance scene, as unified sites, experienced in the same spaces or times, for those participants who share these scene identities.

relationships it fostered. Sheryl also describes how she understood establishing familiar relationships as integral to her scene experience:

> Sheryl: I think it was more to do with the place and the people than the music, because… you know, you definitely felt when you went in there and it got to the point, cos I went so frequently, I knew everybody in there, and… I don't know, you just, there wasn't a uniform but, you know, you would all wear the same kind of clothes and you'd listen to the same kind of music and, you know, you'd all be in there several nights a week and it just felt… I don't know. I don't know, it just felt as if it had a kind of community spirit to it. I know that sounds really naff, but… I don't know how else to define it, really.

Sheryl finds it difficult to exactly describe what made her scene 'a scene', but central to her understanding is the community spirit she felt as a result of recognizing people and establishing relationships, as well as shared aesthetics (in the form of clothes and music). She describes the site, a rock bar in Glasgow city centre, as being crucial to the organisation of her scene, but fundamentally it was the people, and the 'community spirit' that made up the essential characteristics of her scene. This perception was echoed in the accounts of all those labeled as having a central scene identity.

Ritual and Convention

Another aspect associated with a central scene identity was 'ritual'. Understood as a series of repeated customs and behaviours that serve to strengthen an identity within a given community, scene rituals involve attending the same spaces at the same times and, crucially, engaging in repeated practices that are shared with other scene members. Thus rituals can include fashion and dance, but are more explicitly expressed by the participants as involving the use of substances, and for the dance scene especially, ecstasy:

> Freia: Well, basically, you would, 'cause there was illegal substances involved, you would be trying to find out where you were gonna get all that and making sure that was all sorted out, then you would all arrange to meet, probably at somebody's house before you went clubbing, and then you'd all go together, make sure you get in the queue early,

otherwise you had to stand outside, and it was just pretty much, it was like that every week.

Celeste: Well there was no, it was like everyone. When I went to the [club] everybody took 'E' and if you say you didn't then you're a liar or they didn't go every week because you don't know, I'm not saying I did all the time, but I did and everybody who went, who went clubbing that was when it sort of started and they did.

Celeste's and Freia's accounts highlight the centrality of drugs to engaging in their Dance scenes. Rather than just being aware of drugs in the dance scene, for these participants, and Jake, obtaining and taking drugs was a ritualistic way of demonstrating and maintaining their scene identity. This was less marked amongst those centrally identifying with rock scenes. None of the participants who claimed a rock identity (either in taste or scene affiliation) mentioned drugs as a ritualistic practice. Instead, those with a central rock identity were more likely to describe pubs (and one Glasgow pub in particular) and drinking as the ritualistic behaviours that served to strengthen and maintain their scene identities, echoing the associations presented in the quantitative findings. Sheryl describes the advent of her excessive health behaviours:

DL: And what about the sort of other side of... social, when you were talking about going to the [pub] and... what about sort of drinking and drugs? Was there a big element of sort of...?

Sheryl: A big element of drinking. And I started smoking. I never did drugs. I think that was probably what. And certainly initially when I started going, my dad gave me a really hard time about going because he did see me coming in a bit drunk and stinking of smoke and, you know... I'm sure it's not the ideal way you want to see your daughter, but... it was never a problem... she said [laughs]. Twelve pints of heavy later, you know? I had an enormous appetite for pints of heavy. Terrible! And smoking. I smoked a lot. But that's just what you did.

Sheryl describes how she perceived the scene as being associated with specific substances (although adamantly not drugs). In being part of the scene she felt she could engage in behaviours that sealed that scene identity; everybody on the scene was drinking and smoking heavily, therefore in order to establish and maintain her authenticity she did the same. She recognises that this would be

perceived by her father as inappropriate, but also that it was part of her commitment to the rock scene.

In this way, rituals around substance use were recalled as having served to strengthen scene identities repeatedly over the period of time at which the scene identity was central to the participant. These ritualistic practices were described differently from the repeated experiences or conventions described by those with a marginal scene identity.

Rather than engaging in practices which serve to solidify and tie their identities with others around them in a particular scene, those participants with a marginal scene identity more often described conventional leisure behaviour that was repeated; i.e. they made no association with this behaviour and a specific scene, but instead described and understood it as the structure of their leisure practices. Ian and Jim describe their weekend leisure conventions:

> Ian: I used to go to one [a pub] up the road, really because it was up the road. You know erm, there was a spell, a couple of mates but maybe, usually just the one of us, we used to always meet on, on a Friday night and we'd just go to the pub up the road and that was usually what we did, but I would say 90% of the time, we ended up in a club you know fancy another beer and whatever. And we were usually there till three o'clock in the morning.

> Jim: Aye, I was... it's a bit o' a tradition that you went straight fae work on a Friday afternoon and then you went to the pub and then every Saturday you'd go to the football and then you'd go roond to... this was like a weekly thing you'd go round to one o' your pal's hoose or his ma's hoose and then go to a club.

There is a similarity in the accounts of Ian and Jim, and Freia and Celeste in that they are describing behaviour that is repeated week after week. The difference lies in the meanings attached to these repeated behaviours; those with a central scene identity see these rituals as a necessary part of that scene identity, those with a marginal scene identity are describing the organization of their leisure time and make no link between their repeated behaviours and their identity, or a specific scene. Therefore, one reason that substance use is higher amongst those with a central scene identity may be that in expressing particular music

tastes within certain scenes, the participants engage in risky behaviours in a ritualistic manner as a means of maintaining their self and social scene identities.

Perceptions of Substance Use and Comparative Justification

Interestingly, participants who made a central scene identification with rock repeatedly associated the dance scene with drugs, whilst at the same time justifying their own substance use (predominantly alcohol) as comparatively harmless:

> Dora: And when it was more kind of the rock scene, well I was older I suppose and then I started getting offered dope and stuff like that which by that time I was like oh you're joking drink's bad enough for me, but you know you seen a lot more kinda like that and a lot of these things are involved in your, in the music scene. You know, but I'd say like that em, I don't go to raves and stuff you just expect there to be all these kinda drugs and stuff so that's really the only thing I'd say which would be bad for your health but not in, certainly not in my, in my day I was, you know I went out and had a drink and that was it, it was nothing.

Dora comprehends that drug use, in other scenes, is the main way in which music scenes can be bad for a person's health. She does not make an explicit link between her own substance use and the effects it may have on her health, indeed, she does not perceive her scene involvement as having any adverse effect on her health ('it was nothing'). The same is true for Mark:

> Mark: But I was never really aware of drugs at all in the scene, and I can honestly put, I'm pretty sure I could say I don't think I've ever been offered drugs in a pub or a club in Glasgow in all the years... And again, you know when I was out and about and going to gigs and going to clubs and pubs, again, you know, you know I just never was aware of drugs really being freely available, when I was out and about, and hence I was just never particularly interested in it... But again, I think my perception, certainly at that time, was I feel there was a big drugs scene involved with sort of the dance scene. But again, that was just a perception. That wasn't from me knowing people well, who regularly were into the rave scene and coming and talking to me about, you know, this was great and

blah, blah, blah. As I say, it certainly wasn't on any personal basis, you know, it was just obviously a perception I held from wherever.

Mark points out that in his (rock) scene he was not exposed to drugs, and they did not feature as an integral practice within that scene. Both of these accounts refer to drug use but associate it with another scene. In doing this, participants are justifying the relative safety of their own scenes by highlighting the risks associated with other scenes. This indicates a lack of perception of the risks associated with alcohol, and highlights the normalisation of 'acceptable substance use' within the rock scene itself. That said, as the quantitative analysis has indicated, those with a preference for dance music are far more likely to engage in drug use than chart fans or rock fans, so the perception of the dance scene as associated with drugs is affirmed by the quantitative findings (as, indeed are the associations between rock and alcohol use).

As was discussed in the previous section, drug use has been perceived by those participants in the dance scene as ritualistic (i.e. a common practice that serves to confirm scene identities). Therefore in the accounts of Jake, Celeste and Freia, it could be that the association between dance and drugs is assumed and not highlighted as it is by participants with a Rock scene identity. Rather than making the intuitive connection between the Dance scene and 'bad' health behaviours (as opposed to a notion of other substances being comparatively 'good'), these participants undertook their drug use with an awareness of risk, leading to perceptions of 'acceptable' levels of use. This can be seen when Freia assesses her drug use during her time in her Dance scene:

DL: So what sort of drugs was it that you were taking at the time?

Freia: What wasn't I would be better; speed, ecstasy, smoking, pretty much anything went to be honest.

DL: And so, do you think you had a responsible attitude, in what ways were you being responsible in your drug taking?

Freia: I ne… I was never, I had friends who would just take as much as they could and I tended to take what I needed, and as long as I could keep dancing, that was fine I wouldn't, I wouldn't push it too much. I don't think I was the most responsible person by any rate. We all had

days where we did take too much, but I think, on the whole, I was reasonably responsible.

DL: Mm hmm, but how is being responsible, like how would you describe being responsible in that situation?

Freia: Just knowing your limitations and not being greedy, basically. One thing I do know I didn't do was I never drank enough water, and again, it's just stuff, I didn't look after myself very well

Although her response may have been led by the researcher, Freia understands that substance use can be damaging, but also that her own drug career was tempered by her 'reasonably responsible' approach. Rather than comparing herself to people in other scenes, Freia compares herself to those around her own scene and justifies her use accordingly. This suggests that drug use is understood according to what Freia perceives as acceptable and unacceptable within her experience of the scene. Drug use is normalised in the accounts of Freia, Jake and Celeste, there is more a perception of acceptable use rather than a value judgement over any use (as seems the perception of those in the rock scene). Substance use is justified by participants claiming that they are 'not the worst' within their scenes, and a feature of accounts of both heavy drinking and drug use is that risk is considered, but not, in itself, preventative. In assessing his perceptions of the long-term effects of his earlier drug use, Jake also makes an interesting comparison:

Jake: So... I always think back and think if something has gone wrong, I mean, I do think my head's not as clear as it possibly would have been, but you don't know because it's all hindsight, isn't it? As you grow older you don't, you're not quite as sharp as you were. I feel a wee difference in my head. I'm not quite as sharp as I used to be, but... whether it's the E or not, I don't know. I'm sure people who have overdone it, though, will definitely think that. A lot of these guys that overdid it took other things, though, you know? It wasn't just ecstasy, you know? They were mixing everything. A bit of polypharmacy going on. They were doing the whole shebang.

Jake distinguishes himself from others on the scene who consumed greater quantities, and a wider range, of drugs; in doing so he, like Freia, and Celeste, justifies and normalises his own substance use by externalizing 'problem' substance use onto others from the same scene. Jake also makes an evaluation

of the effects of ecstasy use on his mental function over time which suggests that, at least in retrospect, he has acknowledged and assessed the risks of using that particular substance. What was clear in the participants who claimed a central Dance identity was that their drug taking practices were not perceived to be damaging in the short term. Because drugs were thought of as ubiquitous, and, as theorised above, ritualistic, the dance participants seemed less concerned with the associated risks than those 'looking in' from other scenes.

The fact that the interviews were retrospective allows participants to reflect on their drug use, but this reflection comes from a point where their scene identities have dissipated and been replaced by more structural identities, which will necessarily alter the perception of what is responsible and irresponsible behavior. It may be that from the vantage point of adulthood, the narratives around drug use, and participants' motivations for drug use have been moderated by their current identities and are not wholly reflective of their understanding at the time. This makes perceptions of risk and responsibility rather more complex. Danny, a Music, but with a marginal scene identity describes his experiences of drug use in his youth:

> Danny: I, I had an absolute blast. Erm, I mean that probably as well is the first time that I tried ecstasy and speed, erm, you know at that point. But I wouldn't say that was anything to do with the kind of you know the fact it was clubbing, it was just the, I mean the guy that gave it to me, he worked in the pub that I worked in, and he was a really nice guy he said 'look you know you've gotta try some of this'. And it was, you know it was all quite low key which was great erm but I mean there was nothing negative about it for me. I had a great time. I really enjoyed it.

Danny reflects on his drug use as non-problematic, indeed, he regards it as a positive experience with no negative consequences. Although he did go clubbing and was aware of an association with drugs, he describes his experience as a consequence of his peer relationship and not due to an exposure on the scene (i.e. Danny makes no causal link between going clubbing and taking drugs). He understands a work relationship and a work setting (the pub he worked in) as being instrumental in his exposure to drugs, which suggests drug use may be part of some young people's youth-adult transitions, without being tied to a

particular scene. Danny describes his use as an almost inevitable part of his development, and not something he considers particularly risky or dangerous.

This is the biggest difference in perception between those who have spoken about taking drugs (all those with a central dance scene identity along with Danny and Ian), and those who have not (those affiliating with rock, and the others with a marginal scene identity); the former do not perceive drug use as simply a consequence of going clubbing, but instead understand it as part of expressing their scene identities, the latter make a causal association between exposure to the dance scene and the use of drugs. This clearly parallels Tajfel's (1979) social identity theory, where perceptions and identities are constructed by individuals in groups comparing themselves to other groups.

The resulting picture is unclear since a central dance identity is most likely to be developed and fostered by attendance at clubs, and drug use as an expression of that identity may be the result. Through a process of normalisation, and ritual, the risks associated with drug use are not necessarily perceived by those with a strong dance affiliation, the resultant behaviours are therefore likely to remain part of that scene identity for as long as it remains central. Conversely, the rock affiliates' perceived a stereotype aligning dance scenes with drug use, and, as Danny's account highlights (along with the elevated odds for rock fans to use drugs in the quantitative findings), this is not necessarily the only association that exists. Although the stereotype of the dance scene being associated with drugs is substantiated by the quantitative evidence, there were also significant associations between rock fans and alcohol and some drug use. Overriding all accounts of excessive substance use, however, is a narrative of comparative justification, the perception that 'I was bad, but I wasn't the worst' whether in their own scene (dance) or in others (rock comparing themselves to dance). The distinction between rock and dance scenes in this respect may be important in understanding the motivations for increased substance use in each.

Scene as a Protective Site

The quantitative evidence earlier in the chapter suggests that a central scene identity can be linked to risky health behaviours. Nevertheless, within the accounts of those expressing these identities, a theme of protection and wellbeing through being affiliated with that scene also emerged. Rather than engaging in substance use (i.e. smoking, drinking, and all drugs) in less 'scene-ic' environments, participants described how the relationships, familiarity and social organisation of their scene inculcated a feeling of security:

> Dora: in a pub with lots of other different people you felt a bit oh, hang on a minute definitely yeah, definitely. I don't know it might be a very silly thing to think but you just think, same people, same interests, same music, same looks, you know it's like one big family type of thing whereas once you're outside that you maybe could be trouble, aye, you felt quite safe.

> Sheryl: I always felt much, much safer getting drunk in there than getting drunk in some other pubs. Not that, I didn't get drunk to the point of falling over or anything, but I never at all felt threatened or at risk at all in there, just purely I think because everybody knew everybody else and… in fact, when you get to know a lot of the kind of biker people, they're not the kind of really hard tough folk that you imagine them to be. They're… I can't generalise, but a lot of them are just genuinely really nice people and I never had any problems at all. Quite the opposite, I think.

Although those with a preference for rock music were more likely have higher levels of substance use than those without, these participants perceived the risks associated with going out to be fewer. Having a central scene affiliation is perceived as a buffer to some of the threats that may exist in non-scene social settings. The scene community may have led to greater substance use, as participants felt secure enough to drink/smoke/take drugs more so than they would in non-scene settings. This may explain why the notion of risk amongst those with a central scene identity does not seem to match the actual risk in the literature associated with their behaviours. Similarly, some of those without a strong scene identity, having not socialised in the same way, emphasise the risks associated with certain substances. Although a perception of safety within a scene does not, in itself, protect against risk behaviours, those without a scene

identity may have a heightened perception of risk, which could also be damaging. The evidence suggests that perceptions of risk may be orchestrated by musical identities (including scene and preference) which results in the engagement in and continuation of certain health behaviours.

Scene Cessation

Nearly all participants discussed youth scenes as being limited to a biographical period. Although not every participant claimed an 'adult' identity (a point which features more extensively in Chapter 7), most participants discussed how it was important to 'grow up' and behave in a way that is deemed normal and appropriate for their current age. Much like the section in Chapter 4 concerned with the influence of structural changes on music taste, structural changes are also understood by participants as curtailing youth scene involvement, and ultimately, youth scene identity. This happened particularly quickly in Freia's case:

> Freia: I definitely was very conscious because we were still clubbing when I found out I was pregnant, and I can remember being mortified at the idea that I might have been pregnant and been harming the baby, so I stopped smoking, stopped taking any drugs. We even, I remember going shopping we didn't used to go shopping, you'd go shopping and you'd cook meals so just, yeah, my health definitely did improve and it was definitely a conscious thing.

Freia understands that her practices, and by extension, her identity, had to change once she was pregnant. The role of mother-to-be and carer meant an end to the lifestyle she had adopted when her scene identity was most important, and a change to her principal identity, or, phrased differently; a shift from a cultural identity to a structural identity. Freia's example was a relatively brisk transition; however, other participants described the process as more gradual and opaque:

> Dora: that era just seemed to last a few years, you know like two or three years if you like when the clubs started changing and there was lifestyle kind of I've got a house, bought a house when I was 21, 22 so I

had other priorities where they were still with mum and dad kinda thing so the money wasn't there to go out clubbing every, three nights every weekend you know. So that kinda changed a bit.

In this extract, Dora describes how she had to prioritise her expenditure to maintain her own house, the result being less frequent visits to the sites of her rock scene and an eschewing of the commitments to that scene. Although her tastes remained rock, her scene identity waned as more structural responsibilities advanced. This made the scene identity that was very important to Dora for a number of years somewhat redundant, as she felt she had to focus her energies elsewhere. This process was described by all those participants with a central scene identity; indeed, the temporal nature of this identity (and, crucially, the associated risky health behaviours) is a key finding and consistent theme of the thesis. However, another important finding is that structural transitions (i.e. of buying a house, getting married, having children) do not have to be experienced before cultural identities are understood as fading. Celeste lives with her parents, owns no property, has no children and no long term partner, yet she still recognises the end of a cultural identity as described by other participants who have experienced structural transitions:

> Celeste: Probably it kind of stops mid, mid to late 20s, that's when it does, things do change a bit more. And part of that is, as I say circumstance, people getting married, people moving away. Which is a huge thing, growing apart. Meeting different people so you, you get more friends that are interested in different things and maybe don't have the same music taste as you. It's rubbish.

Celeste recognises the advent of structural identities and concerns as she ages and her peer group shifts. She understands this process as an inevitable consequence of achieving adulthood. The shared peer identities and tastes of her youth are replaced through physical distance and structural circumstance (a process she jokes is 'rubbish' having just talked about her youth tastes and behaviours for the past hour). As Celeste and Ian (the only two participants without children) attest, the shift in identity is recognised even by those who have not experienced the same transitions. It was understood by all the participants that youth scene identities belong mainly to the youth period, and that adult structural identities are their replacement.

The *difference* in the participants' accounts comes from the point at which cultural identities shift and structural identities are adopted (i.e. late teens, mid twenties, or late twenties). This has broad implications for the temporality of any negative, or positive, health consequences stemming from a musical or scene identity. Many participants described how cultural identities were less significant than structural identities in their current lives, although this perception was associated much more strongly with Non-Musics than Musics. For the former group, music was something to be enjoyed in leisure time and separately from the structural roles and identities that dominate their current lives. The implications of musical identity for transitions (and vice versa) are considered fully in Chapter 7.

Summary

The links between music taste, music scene involvement, and a variety of risky behaviours have been made repeatedly in the literature (Arnett, 1991; Forsyth and Barnard 1998; Gross, *et al* 2002; Klein, *et al* 1993). However, missing from these quantitative studies is an in-depth qualitative account of participants' reasoning and understanding of the links between their music scene identities and the adverse behaviours so often reported. Although there have been qualitative studies focusing on dance culture (Bennett, 1999; Malbon, 1999), as well as on the meaning of music in everyday life (DeNora 2000), there are few which investigate the complex social processes that facilitate and maintain the links between being a music fan and partaking in potentially harmful health behaviours. The findings in this chapter bridge the gap between a quantitative and qualitative approach to the problem of 'problem pop', as well as allowing for reflection on changes within the same sample over a twenty-year period. This unique approach allows for the linking up of findings from both kinds of data, in return providing a fuller answer to the research questions.

The quantitative findings revealed that around half the sample made any scene identification at three waves, with a 'spike' of around two-thirds in 1995. This

is consonant with the qualitative findings where there was a split between those with a marginal scene identity, and those who claimed a central scene identity. Moreover, all participants described how scene identities were mostly limited to their teens and twenties, and had generally abated in significance upon reaching their thirties. Of course, it may still be the case that there was some sort of period effect around 1995 (i.e. that certain youth scenes were especially popular, or that those listed in the questionnaire were particularly accurate), however, such a specific effect was not referred to by any of the participants. The focus, therefore, should remain on what they perceived as the relative importance of scene identities in their early twenties and the declining significance of these identities for their current selves.

The quantitative findings demonstrated that clubber and heavy metal were consistent and popular affiliations for many in the sample. This was supported by the qualitative findings suggesting that fans of many different types of music went clubbing in their late teens and early twenties. A distinction became apparent between those who had a central scene identity (where, clubbing, for example was a key aspect of their sense of self), and those with a marginal scene identity (who just went to clubs in their leisure time). The demarcation between rock and dance in the leisure sites and pursuits of participants were made clear when they described the venues they frequented and through their opinions of those in the 'other' scene. This is consistent with the factor analyses, particularly for the latter waves, which revealed a dichotomy between dance affiliates and rock affiliates. The qualitative evidence also showed that rockers often derided their dance affiliating peers, and both parties described different rituals, fashions and spaces from each other, and from what they perceived to be 'mainstream' behaviour.

Despite these differences, similarities in rock and dance affiliates' accounts in respect of how they described scenes as revolving around communities, and maintained through ritualistic practices. Those with a central scene identity described how their scene involvement constituted a dominant youth identity, inextricably linking their leisure and work time and dictating their beliefs and actions. This is one explanation for the increased likelihood of substance use

amongst those claiming a central scene identity and a strong musical identity; the practices associated with these tastes and scenes symbolised the identities participants adopted. At its simplest, a meaningful rock or dance identity could only be achieved through increased substance use for all the participants who described a central scene identity.

Although the risks around excessive drinking and drug consumption are well documented in the health literature, the nature of 'risk' as a concept suggests a spectrum of positive/negative evaluations and consequences. The participants who made a central scene identity perceived the risk of their substance use as less than those engaging in the same practices outside of the scene. The dance fans and scene affiliates described an awareness of the risks of their drug consumption, and rock affiliates perceived their scene as safer than alternative scenes or mainstream sites. Thus, participants perceived risk in their scenes, but did not feel *at risk* in their scenes, perhaps distorting their actual risk. The drug use and heavy drinking participants described was not understood to be harmful at the time (nor entirely in retrospect), indeed it was conveyed as a normal, or even desirable, feature of their scene involvement. Participants described processes of normalisation, socialisation, and ritual, which may explain the increased likelihood of the risky behaviours observed in the quantitative study.

A final, and crucial, conclusion is the temporality of the observed effects and the cessation of youth scene identities. The frequency table (Table 5.9) indicates that all health behaviours (with the exception of hard drug use) decreased from 1995 to 2000. This is complemented by the qualitative results which indicate that all participants understood a youth scene identity as limited in time. Upon cessation of a youth scene identity, whether marginal or central, participants described how the concerns and identities associated with their adult selves took precedence. A consequence of this is a shift away from the scenes, tastes and substance use associated with their youth identity. Although some have described how they wonder about the consequences of their earlier behaviours, none made a direct link between their risky practices and their current health status. Indeed, most reflected on how the good times they had in

youth are now a pleasant memory and some more explicitly mourned the loss or abating of their youth identities. The significance of this will be fully considered in Chapter 7; for the moment it is important to highlight that elevated substance use is unlikely to remain once structural identities take precedence.

There are risks associated with maintaining and expressing a strong musical identity (whether for rock or dance, when compared to chart). However, the benefits of preserving such a musical identity can be many, and oft overlooked. Thus, although being a Music and maintaining a strong scene identity carries with it an increased chance of elevated substance use, there are social benefits that come from being involved in a music scene (the sense of community and belonging described by the participants). There are also benefits that come from a strong musical identity when emotional interactions with music are considered, and this is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 6 - Musical Identities and Emotional Health

Introduction

The relationship between music and emotion is complex, and can be empirically studied from different disciplines. The tension between sociology and psychology, in this respect, was alluded to in Chapter 2; however, there remains an approach that is valid in both disciplines. As the previous results chapters have shown, musical identities are necessarily social identities. Music exists to communicate something between composer and performer, composer and listener, or performer and listener. Through these communications (of style, political message, mood, emotion and more), identities can be built up that carry varying degrees of meaning in people's lives, and which change at different parts of the youth-adult transition. Although links have been established between certain musical identities and elevated substance use, a different sphere of health and wellbeing (i.e. emotional health) remains to be investigated from a musical identities perspective.

It is for this reason that this chapter has the following aims: to investigate, quantitatively, links between different musical identities and mental health at various stages of the youth-adult transition; to investigate, qualitatively, the way participants understand their musical encounters as emotional encounters; to discover whether emotional engagements with music differ according to musical identity; and to investigate how everyday encounters with music contribute to emotional health and wellbeing.

In order to meet the aims the objectives included the computation of mental health rates by music taste, followed by a series of logistic regressions and a detailed thematic analysis of qualitative interviews (methods described at length in chapter 3).

Quantitative Results

To investigate the relationship between mental health and musical identity two measures of recent emotional distress (GHQ and HADS), were used. The basic rates of GHQ and HADS caseness by music taste at the three main waves of the study can be seen in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 - GHQ/HADS case prevalence by music taste 1987-2000

	1987	1995	2000
GHQ			
Chart	14.7		
Rock	8.7		
Other	12.8		
Dance	n/a		
Chi-Square	3.44 (df=3)		
	n.s.		
HDS			
Chart		9.8	9.2
Rock		6.2	2.9
Other		5.1	16.2
Dance		5.6	16.4
Chi-Square		2.78 (df=2)	12.56 (df=3)
		n.s.	*p<.01***
HAS			
Chart		36.1	37.9
Rock		23.1	20.3
Other		21.2	29.9
Dance		19.7	11.9
Chi-Square		6.37 (df=3)	4.02 (df=3)
		n.s.	*n.s.*
Total (n)		471	

Table 1 indicates GHQ caseness was lowest in those with a preference for rock (8.7%), though not significant. Problematic depression scores in 1995 were highest amongst chart fans (9.8%) and lowest amongst fans of dance (5.6%) and

all other musics (5.1%). This reversed in 2000 where dance and other were higher (16.4% and 16.2% respectively) than preferences for rock (2.9%) and chart (9.2%). For anxiety, there was a larger prevalence of problematic scores than for depression across all preferences, though no significant differences between them. These figures are consistent with prevalence rates reported in an earlier study of the Twenty-07 sample (West and Sweeting 1996), and indicate a relatively steady level of mental ill health across the youth-adult transition.

The GHQ/HADS measures are designed to reflect recent mental health status (as well as being indicative of certain mental health conditions), and as such are limited in the extent to which they detail specific emotional states or experiences. Nevertheless, the GHQ and HADS measures are still useful indicators of whether the participants are feeling sad or happy, which are two of the basic emotions that tend to be evaluated in empirical assessments of emotion.

Both Sex and Social Class have previously been shown to affect problematic mental health (West and Sweeting 1996, 2003) so they were judged as appropriate co-predictors in the regression models. The independent adjusted odds ratios for each of these variables together with measures of music taste and level of scene affiliation regressed with problematic mental health can be seen in Tables 6.2 – 6.4.

Table 6.2 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of GHQ Caseness by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1987)

		1987	*95%CI*
Sex			
	Male	1	
	Female	2.03*	1.08, 3.98
Social Class			
	I, II, IIInm	1	
	IIIm	2.06*	1.04, 4.07
	IV, V	1.74	0.75, 4.03
Music Taste			
	Chart	1	
	Rock	1.78	0.87, 3.64
	Other	1.43	0.47, 4.40
	Dance	n/a	
Scene Affiliation			
	None	1	
	Limited	0.51*	0.27, 0.98
	Strong	0.72	0.32, 1.60
Total (n)		471	

Table 6.3 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Problematic HAS (anxiety) Score by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste, and Scene Affiliation (1995-2000)

		1995	*95% CI*	*2000*	*95%CI*
Sex					
	Male	1		1	
	Female	1.42	0.95, 2.11	1.89**	1.18, 3.02
Social Class					
	I, II, IIInm	1		1	
	IIIm	0.90	0.59, 1.38	1.19	0.65, 2.18
	IV, V	0.60	0.35, 1.02	1.15	0.51, 2.58
Music Taste					
	Chart	1		1	
	Rock	0.73	0.43, 1.26	0.78	0.44, 1.41
	Other	0.66	0.39, 1.11	1.35	0.79, 2.33
	Dance	0.81	0.44, 1.49	0.82	0.38, 1.76
Scene Affiliation					
	None	1		1	
	Limited	1.30	0.81, 2.06	1.13	0.68, 1.90
	Strong	1.18	0.69, 2.00	1.20	0.65, 2.22
Total (n)			471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 6.4 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Problematic HDS (depression) Score by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1995-2000)

		1995	95% CI	2000	95%CI
Sex					
	Male	1		1	
	Female	1.88	0.82, 4.31	1.98	0.86, 4.59
Social Class					
	I, II, IIInm	1		1	
	IIIm	1.24	0.55, 2.82	1.94	0.70, 5.22
	IV, V	1.12	0.41, 3.09	4.10**	1.42, 11.84
Music Taste					
	Chart	1		1	
	Rock	0.81	0.29, 2.22	0.33	0.07, 1.55
	Other	0.63	0.23, 1.76	2.09	0.88, 4.95
	Dance	0.82	0.25, 2.70	2.81	0.86, 9.22
Scene Affiliation					
	None	1		1	
	Limited	0.94	0.39, 2.24	0.68	0.26, 1.77
	Strong	0.74	0.24, 2.22	0.46	0.13, 1.59
Total (n)			471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 6.2 indicates that sex and class have a predictive effect on mental health in 1987, but there is no statistically significant effect of musical preference. Having a limited scene identity lowers the likelihood of GHQ caseness in 1987, although this effect does not remain for those with a strong scene identity. This suggests that the social cohesion and strength of identity associated with some scene membership could explain the lower odds of problematic mental health.

Table 6.3 shows that neither music preference nor scene identity predicts anxiety in 1995 and 2000. Indeed, the only significant result was increased odds for anxiety caseness for females in 2000. The lack of significance for the music variables is noteworthy in relation to previous literature which associates music preference with problematic mental health (e.g. Took and Weiss 1994) and suggests that associations between music preference, scene identity and health behaviours do not extend to increased anxiety as measured here.

In respect of the HADS measure of depression, table 6.4 shows that social class is the only significant predictor in 2000. Again, there were no significant effects of music preference or scene identity at either wave. The evidence indicates that neither music preference, nor scene affiliation, predicts problematic mental health, measured by a number of scales, and at several time points.

However, these results do not fully address the questions around how music functions as an emotional aid in the daily lives of the participants. It could be argued that associations between music tastes and recent emotional distress, tells us very little about how music affects mental health in everyday situations, or about the relationship between musical identities (i.e. identities that shift over time), and emotional wellbeing over the lifecourse, or, indeed, about whether there are observable differences in how and why music affects people's mental states at different times. Accurate measures of emotional wellbeing were not collected as part of the Twenty-07 Study; therefore the measures of ill-being presented above are the best way of getting at relationships between music preference and mental health in the available data. The distinction between well-being and ill-being is an important one and it may be that music has a bigger role to play in the former. These issues can be addressed more fully

in qualitative methodology and analysis and this is the aim of the following section.

Qualitative Results

Although the quantitative findings suggest that mental ill health is not predicted by musical identity, there is another aspect of emotional health that studies have shown is strongly related to music (DeNora 2000, Juslin and Laukka 2004, North, *et al* 2004, Tarrant *et al* 2002). Rather than focusing on clinical measures of mental health caseness, these studies have shown that people (and especially young people) often use music as an everyday emotional wellbeing resource. There remains some debate on how this process is actually understood by those engaging in it, and, once again, the extent to which the relationship between music and emotion remains constant over the lifecourse. Using IPA to investigate how participants understand their emotional encounters with music, the following section aims to unpick how emotion is induced and perceived by participants, any differences in this process, and how it contributes to wellbeing (as opposed to ill-health) across the youth-adult transition. As Juslin and Laukka's (2004) paper concluded, a greater focus on maintaining emotional wellbeing and less of a drive toward proving a link between music and morbidity may be a more useful trajectory for studies on music and emotion.

In the participants' talk, music emerges as an embodied experience in both an individual and group context. Music is also understood as a social, communicative entity in that it is both a material product and an experiential encounter; it is social in that it creates a point of interaction for the agent to react against. In experiencing music, the agent is embodying a social product. Whether experiencing music through a personal stereo, in a room with friends or at a large-scale concert with many other fans, the participants regularly describe a process of embodiment:

> Theresa: I get quite emotional, actually, when I hear music live. I kinda in a way it makes me a bit teary, actually, just the whole, just

everybody shouting and just the music, and you can feel your hairs on the back of your neck standing up. Yeah, it's quite a good feeling.

Danny: You know so I mean that's the kind of thing as well that when you hear really inspiring songs you get that kind of like wee hairs on the back of your neck.

Participants described an interaction with music, resulting in a subjective understanding of musical meaning, and a physiological reaction to the music (as an *emotional* reaction). There is no suggestion in the participants' accounts that this happens every time they encounter music, however all participants understood music as something that can affect them physically; they literally embody the musical experience and the result is often perceived as an emotional experience.

Interaction, Causality and Intentionality

In order for a person to experience music, they must encounter the music and interact with it. This interaction may be with the music, the lyrics, or a combination thereof but the experience of listening to music at its most basic level involves a communicative act between the music and the listener. This is obviously complicated by considering whether the communicative act is between the composer and the performer, the performer and the listener, or the composer and the listener (or any combination thereof) and, as with any communicative act, there may be multiple comprehensions, readings, and intentions (Miell *et al* 2005).

The participants offer full accounts of engagement in communicative acts with music, from which we can see if they perceive the interaction as intentional (i.e. they intend to create a specific emotional state) and causal (i.e. that the interaction actually *causes* the emotional state). What needs to be established is whether people actively select music for emotional regulation, and how they perceive of music as causing an emotional response.

Celeste comprehends the relationship between music and emotion thus: "all songs have certain emotions that they bring out in you". By conveying her understanding like this, Celeste identifies music as being the active element in the interaction between herself and the music (i.e. the music activates the emotion). She perceives lyrical music ('songs') as having an innate emotional content that creates the listener's emotional reaction. She discusses this in more detail:

> Celeste: there's one, two, there's about four or five songs that have, they're still, where I can actually feel my eyes filling up and I don't know what it is it's more about the voice there's an Elvis song and there's a couple of songs actually do that, a couple of Smiths songs if I hear them now and it's not to do with, like it's to do with the, the, the sound of the song rather than what they're saying in the song.
>
> **DL: And how would you describe that emotion is it?**
>
> Celeste: Good you know it's not, not bad I'm not like in floods of tears or anything, but it just chokes you a little bit and that it's just the way how good it is.

In this example, Celeste describes how the music causes an intense emotional reaction, which extends to a physical reaction - 'welling up' – explicitly highlighting the perceived direction of causality. This was echoed in other participants' accounts where there is a clear directional line between actively selecting music and experiencing a specific emotional and physiological reaction:

> Theresa: Maybe I suppose maybe if I am feeling... a bit down, I would stick on Brian Kennedy.
>
> **DL: Why do you think...?**
>
> Theresa: I don't know, it's quite uplifting, that one, that album. I don't know. Probably, I think I have done that in the past, went and got that and stuck that on, cos there's a couple of songs on there that are quite good and you can... it just makes you feel quite good.

> Danny: I mean some, sometimes, if I have a shitty day at work, then I'll just shove on er, you know a couple of sort really either sort of you know dancey songs just to kind of get it going erm, or you know I'll stick on you know some of those kinda Doves 'Pounding' those kind of things erm,

> so I would use it then just to kind of almost cheer yourself up or just thinking right bugger the day's gone you know and that's it. And you can see yourself as a two minute walk. So you, you have to pick wisely cos you'll only get one song at the most out it. So I'll stick on, you know, Doves and be like some kind of Olympic speed walker. But, and by the time I get to the door that's it and you know your shitty day's forgotten about and the kids are there so it's, er, so yeah I would use music to cheer me up.

The issue of intentionality is also addressed in that these participants understand and describe this process as an emotional utility. Participants perceive music as a resource and use it intentionally to create, cause and alter emotional states. Music is an emotional literacy tool used in maintaining emotional wellbeing. Rather than simply selecting music based on a specific mood, participants use music to feel good and take control of their emotional state. This has parallels with DeNora's (2000, 2003) theory of 'aesthetic agency', whereby participants intentionally select music to cause and 'live out' certain emotions. Both Musics and Non-Musics spoke eloquently about times when they have actively selected music to make them feel a certain way, thus highlighting the intentionality and the causality of the interaction with the music.

Although all participants described a time where they used music intentionally to create a specific emotional state (contentment, excitement, sadness, joy and so forth), emotional reactions to music were not always the result of aesthetic agency (i.e. the situation where emotions are guided by intentionality). Strong emotional experiences can also result from the combination of musical interactions and external social factors; this loss of control over emotional valence is quite different from the aesthetic agency described above. In this case, the causal, intentional, link between music and emotion can be problematic, as Mary explains:

> Mary: there has been times I've just been listening to a song and just, all of a sudden, you see tears coming down. I think it just depends what you're going through in your own life, at the time you know? If you're going through a hard time, no matter what, you just listen to a song and all of a sudden, why am I feeling like this? You know? And you don't,

> sometimes it's just music, like the Kenny G. No words singing, it's just the music makes me feel like that.

Here Mary perceives her emotional reaction to the musical experience as a function of other emotional stressors in her life. Rather than selecting music to create or maintain an emotional state, her agency is overridden; her emotional experience is reactive, instead of active. In this instance, Mary relinquishes control (emotional illiteracy) and instead of maintaining wellbeing through aesthetic agency, understands the process as external to her intentions. This is not necessarily unhealthy, but the notions of aesthetic agency and emotional literacy, described by the other participants, are not conveyed by Mary in this example. Instead she views the emotional reaction as being dependent on an external exposure (encountering music that communicates something), and an internal mood (mixing with an underlying psychological state). Mary's account implies that emotional responses to music are not necessarily orchestrated by agents themselves, and that intense emotional responses to music can occur without being intended. This suggests that not all emotional encounters with music are active and pleasurable.

To summarise, music was conceived of as a social product, with something to communicate (i.e. a song), leading to a process in which participants could interact (music listening). Upon interaction, participants overwhelmingly identified the direction of causality as the musical encounter causing the emotional reaction. More often than not, this process was described as orchestrated by participants as they intentionally used music to move from one feeling state to another (aesthetic agency). However, music could also be understood to engender a tangible emotional reaction that was not wholly intended or desirable. Despite this, music was widely perceived as a valuable resource for maintaining emotional wellbeing, and the various ways in which music was used for this reason are discussed in the following sections.

Distraction

Some participants described distraction as a meaningful way to deal with negative emotional states. In order to 'take their mind off' stressful thoughts, participants gave accounts of actively engaging with music to engender other thoughts, and alter their emotional situation. This indicates a sophisticated level of agency in emotion regulation, which in some cases could be understood as analogous to 'self medication', as an excerpt from Ian's interview shows:

> Ian: I've got quite an active mind and I'm not, not saying that it's constructive or produces a lot of great thoughts, but it erm, quite an active mind and sometimes if just needs to be like, like chilled a bit. That's why I quite like sort of chilled music as well away from the dancey side of things, kinda chilled. Cos sometimes it's a case of just to take my mind off, whether it's good things or bad things, but just to sort of calm down a bit and just kind of, again like a lot of the time it's just like, it's kind of background music. Erm, and I am listening but maybe I'm not 100% listening. But it just takes the edge off things. Erm, and it's very rare.

In this example, Ian understands music as a resource for him to 'chill' his 'over-active' mind. He understands that he is actively using music to create an alternative mental state and ease his emotional state as a result. He does not describe an intense and concentrated interaction with the music in a bid to do this, but instead, emphasises how it distracts and sedates his thoughts. Freia provides another interesting account of this phenomenon:

> Freia: Yeah. I had cancer and I'm still getting treatment, but that was quite, well it is a sort of scary thing to hear and, you know, your initial reaction is oh, I'm gonna die, and you've got the kids, but I would put music on and it would kind of make me forget about it for a little while, make me feel better, depending on what I was listening to, it would cheer me up again. When I've been in hospital, it's reminded me of home.

Freia identifies the importance of using music to distract herself from fearful thoughts and emotions. She describes her agency in selecting specific tracks and artists to transcend negative emotional states and transform them to ones that

are more positive. She initially perceives music as an instrument of distraction, and then as an emotional aid, and one that is integral to her treatment. Another significant aspect of Freia's account comes from her final observation that music serves as a narrative catalyst, reminding her of home (an observation dealt with more extensively below).

The 'distracting listening' experience is not described as engaging with music totally, but it does provide listeners with an opportunity to alter and control their thoughts and emotions in a relatively safe and straightforward way. This perception of music use as a way to deal with stress is notable in many of the participants' accounts, and Celeste offers an explanation as to where she thinks she may have learned it:

> Celeste: When you're a teenager that's your only other, it's an, a big outlet isn't it music. A huge outlet because you don't go out as much between 15 and 17, 18. You go out with your friends, but you sit in your room quite a lot or you probably listen to music a heck of a lot more than you watch television. So I suppose that's why it's a big influence.

Celeste suggests that the lack of other leisure and socialising opportunities she experienced when she was a teenager meant she used music as an outlet and this is how she trained herself in emotional literacy with music. A range of complex emotional experiences occur in adolescence and Celeste identified music as a particular way of dealing with some of these emotions. Many participants recognised that music could act as a release from daily pressures, ranging from the banal (worrying about work on the daily commute) to the rare (using music as a treatment aid in dealing with cancer). Emotional regulation with music was perceived as a relatively easy and safe form of both transforming and distracting from negative emotional states, and some suggested this practice originates in adolescence. The use of music for distraction was a theme that emerged much more firmly from the accounts of those with a strong musical identity (Musics), than those without (Non-Musics) which implies that emotional literacy with music is also linked to musical identity.

So far, most of the experiences described have occurred during private listening. However, there is also an important emotional dimension to listening to music in collective settings.

Group Effervescence

Group effervescence is a Durkheimian concept alluding to a spiritual/transcendental experience attained in a group setting. Originally used in 'Elementary Forms of Religious Life', some modern critics (e.g. Ramp 1998) have discussed how there are two reactions to group effervescence, cohesion and differentiation. In this study, 11 of the 18 participants described concert attendance as characteristic of group effervescence, mostly highlighting the cohesiveness they experienced as a result. The fact that participants can remember concerts quite clearly, and the way they describe them, indicates their status as key moments, experientially unique and on occasion transcendental. Below are some examples of this:

> Sheryl: we saw U2 at... where were we? Hampden in June, and there's a song on their new album where he sings about his father who died the year before, and it's... I find it just a really emotional song just to listen to, when you listen to the lyrics and everything, it's very operatic, and when he sang that live I was in floods of tears, cos we were right down the front of the concert again, and when he was singing it just... I don't know, you just really feel the pain that he feels about losing his dad, and like I turned round and everyone around me were in floods of tears as well.

> Ricky: It was like, well, I think I was, like, on a high because of it. I was... probably in fact, I was probably on a high for... after the Big Day, I think it was, that was the Glasgow concert, the one at Glasgow Green, I remember talking about it for weeks afterwards. Like, it took us a couple of days to actually come down cos it was like a, a full-day experience, it was like a high. It was such a good feeling. There was no... you weren't bothered about standing on somebody's toes, everybody was happy and there was like a big jolly atmosphere. It was just good to be involved in. Didn't feel anything apart fae... good aboot

> yourself and good just enjoying it, sorta thing. No, they were… probably adrenaline, the buzz from it was probably the best thing.

Although participants did not go as far as to describe the concerts as a religious experience, they conveyed an understanding of these events as being out of the ordinary, social, and emotional. The combination of these different elements in participants' experiences highlights 'the concert' as a key site for emotional gratification in a social context. Ricky remembers his physical reaction to being in a crowd of like-minded individuals, and Sheryl discusses the combination of her individual memories of a particular song and being *allowed* to be emotional in a crowd of people who appeared to feel the same way. The participants perceive the concert as a site for safe emotion work; it provides a spectacular outlet for their collective emotional experiences. The role-distancing between the performer and the audience allows for vicarious emotion play; the performer leads the audiences' emotions from inducement to completion. In Sheryl's example, sadness was encountered and the entire emotional experience was played out collectively.

The concert performance of a song is the musical interaction which sets off the emotion, the emotion is felt (i.e. physiologically) and expressed individually and collectively (crying, sad facial expressions), then completion occurs upon the end of the song (cheering and clapping), ready for the next emotional experience to be encountered. In many of the other examples, this process would revolve around more 'positive' emotions (e.g. happiness, amusement, love), but the basic process is described by the participants in a similar way; the concert is a 'rollercoaster' of emotional experience. This collective expression of emotion is not experienced every day; therefore, it stands out as an emotional occasion in the participants' biographies. The cathartic effect of concert attendance and group effervescence also provides an indication of how some private musical encounters function to maintain emotional wellbeing. Participants use music to live out and 'complete' emotions in real time, whether by selecting music to induce a certain emotion in private listening, or attending a concert where they have learned that collective emotional expression will make them feel better, they understand music as instigating emotional

wellbeing. The group effervescence that appears to have occurred in these spectacular (i.e. out of the ordinary) settings was described in similar terms, equally, by Musics and Non-Musics. This suggests that musical identities play less of a role in emotional reactions to music in large-scale collective settings than they do in private listening (or music scenes).

Narrative Catalyst

Aside from direct causation of emotion upon interaction with music, participants also described music as being emotional when it reminded them of something from their past. There are two levels of emotional engagement with music in this circumstance; firstly, there is the immediate emotional reaction to the interaction; secondly, there is an emotional reaction to the memories associated with a particular interaction. In feeling a certain way, participants re-enact past emotions and past identities. Music acts as a narrative catalyst; a point at which participants make sense of their current emotional state based on the memories of past events and associations. It may be that the music acts as a nostalgic filter (or instigator) of past emotions, (e.g. 'this song reminds me of feeling safe and happy as a child'), but participants' descriptions, involving places and people as well as previous emotions makes their accounts sound more like stories than the straightforward emotional interactions discussed in previous sections of this chapter. DeNora (2000) describes a similar process in her attempts to explain music's emotional function, though she suggests that this occurs at every musical interaction. Where the accounts in this study differ is that participants highlight narrative catalyst 'moments', with certain types of music, artists or songs. This can be seen in a range of extracts:

> Ricky: I remember my dad listening to country and western music. But I always associate the music with a Sunday. In the house, cleaning, doing the washing, making the dinner, Hoovering and dusting, you know, whenever there was a Sunday cleaning in the house, and I always remember that being… if I hear the song, that is the drawback to when it was, sorta thing.

Ian: I've mentioned the Smiths I go back to the Smiths partly cos of his voice, erm, as I say his voice, em if they ever brought out instrumental albums I'd buy them. But erm, again, I think that's to do with an ex girlfriend so I'll, when I hear probably like kind of older stuff that was when it was in the 80s maybe then, er, I'd maybe link it to that and maybe not so much now but for a good few years afterwards it would have like a, an effect on me I wouldn't say physically, I wouldn't be sick or anything, I don't think, but erm, it would have an emotional effect, do you know what I mean a negative emotional effect

Sheryl: I think it's good feelings, even when you listen to something that you can remember loving, like something out the charts or whatever, and if it sounds dreadful now, I mean, like Wham or whatever, it's still a nice feeling, you know, remembering back to what... not where you were but what age you were and who your friends were and what school was like when it was popular and... I think it's usually a nice nostalgic feeling. I can't think of anything that I listened to and think "oh, that reminds me of a dreadful time in my life" or whatever, thankfully. So it's usually positive feelings, even if I don't like it, like the sound of it now, usually it's a nice feeling.

As opposed to highlighting the influence of memory every time they listen to music, participants singled out specific types of music (or a specific artist) that were linked to a certain time in their life. They perceived memory as an integral part of the listening experience, whether the emotional response is positive or negative. Participants described how the music contributes to an emotional interaction with the memory, and that the response is different from when they hear a song that is not associated with something from their past. Ricky suggests that he is reminded of his mum and dad cleaning the house on a Sunday whenever he hears country and western music. Ian describes the negative emotions he felt when hearing The Smiths, based on his memories of an ex-girlfriend. Sheryl's understanding indicates that the music can become somewhat incidental as her emotional reaction gets tied up in reminiscence about many of the things associated with whatever period she is 'taken back' to. Music, in these examples, acts as a narrative and emotional catalyst, (re)constructing identities through stories and relived emotions (identities, here, as a combination of experience, memory and emotion). The result is a canon of genres and artists that participants use to feel a certain way at certain times in their life; emotional literacy is practised with music that means something in their individual biographies. There are fewer accounts of catharsis music is

described as a narrative and emotional catalyst; however, the gratification described from the nostalgic feelings induced does suggest a level of emotional wellbeing, and one that is practised quite intentionally by the participants. Nina summarises many of the processes described thus far:

> Nina: I would say music can play… a good part in somebody's life. I mean, music can heavily influence a person's mood. If somebody's feeling down or… depressed, maybe a certain piece of music might make them feel better. Music can influence people's memories. You know, they hear a song and associate it with something either good or bad that's maybe happened in their past, and it can bring up these feelings of maybe how they felt at that point in time. So I think it plays a very big part in people's lives. A lot of the time I think it plays a big part, and people don't realise it plays such a big part until they maybe hear something or even see an advert on the television or something that's got music in it and think "do you remember when we listened to that music back ten years ago and we were doing this and that?", and then you start reminiscing and you can have good feelings or bad feelings or whatever.

Emotional Attachment

Participants' use of music for reminiscence, as well as creating and constructing emotional states, is a practice that has been learned over the lifecourse. Related to this are accounts of establishing relationships with certain bands, albums and artists. This theme only came from the Musics, which suggests that this type of attachment is linked to a strong musical identity. As with many of the interactions with music described thus far, framing emotional attachments to music as 'relationships' highlights the way music is perceived by many as a social entity. Some excerpts illuminate this:

> Ian: I always joked, you know when I'm packing the Stone Roses is the first thing that goes into my bag. Erm...Cos they're my fave, they're my favourite, you know. Erm, I mean there's other stuff as well, but I mean I go through spells I maybe haven't listened to it, but I kinda need to have it on hand.
>
> Sheryl: I think the reason I'm getting the feeling listening to it is just because it's such a beautiful piece of music, and it sounds so good, and I

> never get tired of listening to it, you know, cos I've listened to it for twenty years and every time I put it on, it'll still… it still just gives you the same kind of wee shiver, you know, which is a good thing, really

> Celeste: I still have a strong emotional attachment to the Smiths and I always will do, I always will.

Ian describes how he has to have the Stone Roses 'on hand' and that he rarely travels without it, indicating that he has an emotional investment in this particular band and can rely on the gratifications he can get from the music if he requires it. Similarly, Sheryl, when discussing her love of the songs of James Taylor, offers that she will 'never get tired of listening to it', suggesting an ongoing relationship with the music that she has listened to since her teens. In Celeste's extract, she perceives that her 'strong emotional attachment to the Smiths' will continue indefinitely. These show us people singling out music that, having become special to them, follows them, or is taken by them, through subsequent years and maintains that bond.

What these extracts have in common is the focus on establishing and maintaining an emotional attachment throughout the lifecourse. For each of these examples the relationship began in adolescence or youth, which suggests this period as one where the use of music for emotional gratification and control is fostered. Participants often described their emotional attachment to artists as opposed to songs or pieces of music, thus indicating that the relationship is wider than with the music itself (including extra-musical aspects such as merchandise), although the 'emotion process' is still associated with the listening experience in the participants' descriptions.

As with the social significance of group encounters with music, the perception that relationships can be established and maintained with certain artists and their musical output is an important, though often overlooked, dimension of music and emotional wellbeing. If participants feel they have a resource that can be utilised as and when they need it in order to make themselves feel better, this should be highlighted. Theoretically, it is interesting to consider the social nature of music; participants describe their favourite music as they would a reliable friend or family member, as a constant source of support. Unlike the

sometimes-negative relationships that exist between social actors however, music, as a source of emotional support, may be more effective than another person in satisfactorily allowing for the venting of negative emotions, or the instigation and completion of positive emotions. Perhaps most importantly, all those participants who described a relationship with music in this way were Musics, as opposed to Non-Musics who did not identify specific artists whom they turned to for emotional support and spoke of emotion and music at a more general level.

Musical Identity and 'Listening against the Grain'

A distinction, based on musical identity, has emerged in the findings presented in this chapter thus far. Although the basic intention/causality process for explaining interactions between music and emotion was broadly described in the same way by Musics and Non-Musics, Musics spoke at greater length about the phenomenon. Similarly, Musics more often described times when music provided a resource for emotional support (through distraction, as a narrative catalyst, or as 'self-medication'). This difference was even more pronounced when participants discussed genres, artists, and albums that they had developed an emotional attachment with and repeatedly turned to for emotional support. This distinction can also be extended to understanding how people perceive *intended* emotions in music.

To suggest that music has intended emotions is controversial, as has already been discussed there may be a communication of emotion between composer and listener, or performer and listener. However, there does appear to be some level of consensus amongst Non-Musics as to how certain songs are supposed to make the listener feel. As demonstrated by Sarah:

> Sarah: I think if you want your housework done then you put fast music on, do you know what I mean? Dance kinda music so you get it done, but… just kinda lying about, probably sad music [laughs], to sit and make me greet [cry] how sad's that, em but aye that's probably it, mhm.

Here Sarah describes how she has a clear idea of what music suits what mood and that this is in line with the dominant attitudes and opinions in society, as she understands it. Sarah aligns herself with the emotion norms of society and perceives aesthetic agency in a similar to other Non-Musics. She selects music to imitate a mood, task, or emotional state that she wants to achieve. This could be regarded as a mimetic and transient interaction with music since, although she may build up a canon of songs or albums that accompany certain tasks and moods, Sarah has a clear idea of what music 'suits' the emotion (i.e. sad songs for sad times and happy songs for happy times). This is seen further in Ryan's account of what kind of music makes him relax, and which has a more motivating effect:

> **DL: I mean, do you feel that that's… I dunno, the times that you listen to music or the way that you listen to music's changed because of that?**
>
> Ryan: Aye. Probably… just noo, like, even if I'm just sitting in the hoose relaxing or that, I'll put… a CD on, it doesnae matter if it's country noo, just to relax, just to listen to it. Makes you relaxed.
>
> **DL: And would… the club stuff or, like, the rave stuff, would that have… relaxed you as well, or… is it a different kind of relaxed?**
>
> Ryan: It's a different kind o' relaxed, aye.
>
> **DL: Like, how, in what way is it…?**
>
> Ryan: You're relaxed but you're still… want to be jumping aboot and that, dancing and that, whereas… the other stuff, you're just mair just sitting there, relaxed, just like mellowing oot.

Here Ryan describes how different musics are suited to different kinds of relaxation. He perceives country music as something that can be listened to in stillness and contentment, whereas dance music is understood as energising and motivating. He, like Sarah and other Non-Musics, exercises aesthetic agency in a mimetic way, selecting music that is commonly understood and associated with certain feeling states (e.g. happy songs, sad songs, mellow songs or dancey songs); however, it was only Musics who reported listening to music in a non-mimetic way.

The Musics more readily described emotional interactions with music that transgressed what they perceived as the 'intended' or 'expected' emotions. Karyn summarises her perspective succinctly:

> Karyn: I mean some people listen to sad music if they're sad I mean I never think 'oh god I'm sad I'd better put on a sad song you know' do you know what I mean I'm just not that type of person, I could listen to it [dance music] anytime basically.

Karyn indicates that she would always select dance music to listen to, despite her mood, and that she perceives people who would wallow in sad musics as being a different type of person, or having a different identity from herself. In listening to what she believes is uplifting music when she is sad Karyn does not listen in a mimetic way. She indicates no intention to wallow, or 'luxuriate in sadness' (to borrow DeNora's (2000) term), instead choosing music that opposes the emotion she is experiencing. This sums up the experiences of many Musics when selecting music for emotional wellbeing. Eddie discusses his experiences at greater length:

> Eddie: There's no, there's no sort of natural enemy of you know feeling er, you know no antithesis to feeling down or you know no major sort of er, echo, or a good mood, it's just a sad song, when I'm unhappy can you stop and make me feel happy? Actually Tori Amos does that which is a bit strange, cause you'd think she was depressing. Just the, the fact that she could write something like that and me again in my fantasies trying to work out how she'd actually play it makes me happy you know sort of my God that's some amazing bit of music… She does a great misery.

Here Eddie describes how the process of figuring out how Tori Amos created the piece of music he is listening to makes him feel happy. The fact that 'she does a great misery' does not make him feel miserable, but quite the opposite. Eddie is, to borrow a term from film theory, 'listening against the grain' of the perceived intended emotions contained within his Tori Amos albums ('cause [we'd] think she was depressing'). This is a subtle difference between Musics and Non-Musics in how music is used to work through emotional states, but alludes to a wider debate around whether perception of intended emotion actually matches the inducement of emotion in the listener. It seems that

strength of musical identity may be a strong predictive factor in the way in which people actually perceive emotion in music, as well as how they use it in their lives. Celeste, Danny, Freia, Ian, Karyn, Mark, and Sheryl all discussed times when they have listened to music that does not match or imitate their mood, whereas none of the Non-Musics described this as a resource they use for emotional wellbeing. A final explanatory factor may be that, through developing relationships with music (contributing to their musical identities), and increased exposure, Musics greater familiarity with pieces of music and songs allows them to 'subvert' expected or intended emotions.

Summary

The quantitative findings presented at the start of the chapter indicated that there was no significant association between music preference or scene identity and mental ill health (with the exception of lower odds for GHQ caseness for those with a limited scene identity in 1987). This finding suggests that musical identity is not a useful predictor of mental ill health, despite the strong associations between musical identity and health *behaviours* reported in the previous chapter. However, the measures used to assess mental health did not extend to emotional wellbeing, and this is an area where previous work has suggested that preference and identity may play an important role.

The findings of the qualitative study indicate that there are similarities in the ways that people understand their emotional interactions with music, and the effects this may have on them. Firstly, it was broadly conceived that music listening is the product of a social interaction, and that this often results in an embodied experience. Secondly, it was recognised by most participants, irrespective of taste or musical identity, that intentionality is key to significant music emotional experiences. Many participants described the significance that collective musical experience could have in relation to their emotional wellbeing similarities to Durkheim's concept of 'Group Effervescence' were evident.

A distinction was apparent between Musics and Non-Musics in the 'next step' of music and emotional interaction whereby Musics discussed how they developed a canon of music they used for emotional regulation and perceived ownership of artists and albums. Non-Musics described far more fleeting occurrences of music/emotion interactions; they talked about types of music they would use for types of feelings and were much less specific on artists and albums that were meaningful to them. This extended to a different use of music for emotional gratification where Musics would more readily describe 'listening against the grain' and Non-Musics more often described a mimetic reaction to music. This divergence indicates that Musics are able to use music for emotional regulation and wellbeing in a more differentiated and meaningful way than Non-Musics. Indeed, Musics conceive of music as an essential component of their emotional literacy and an integral tool in maintaining their health and happiness.

This conclusion goes some way to explaining the lack of significance in the quantitative findings; previous studies would lead us to hypothesise that fans of 'problem pop' (like Rock and Dance in this study) will also experience poorer mental health and emotional functioning. The qualitative findings here do not support this conclusion, although it may be the case that everyday emotional wellbeing is not entirely linked to measurable mental ill health. It is clear, however, that the process of using music for emotional wellbeing is different for those with a strong musical identity, than those without, and by carrying more meaning in their lives, these people describe using music more often, and in more complex ways, for maintaining emotional health.

This evidence leads us further towards a conclusion that there are clear differences in musical participation and behaviour based on strength of musical identity and that these differences have an effect on the associations between music and health over the lifecourse, whether in predicting health behaviours, or carrying out emotion work. The following chapter assesses how this difference may explain, or be explained by, the various trajectories that young people follow into adulthood and how this extends to issues of health.

Chapter 7 – Musical Identity and the Youth-Adult Transition

Introduction

In chapter 4, differences emerged in musical taste development based on various structural factors (i.e. education trajectories, access to financial resources and having children). In chapter 5, it was demonstrated that both structural and cultural transitions affect the unhealthy behaviours that participants engage in. In the previous chapter, participants described differences in the way they use music for emotional health, based on their musical identities. The main aim of the following chapter, therefore, is to investigate the significance of musical identities in transitions to adulthood and how these relate to people's health. This can be divided into several objectives: to investigate whether transition indicators vary according to music preference and scene identity; to identify the factors that contribute to 'achieved adult' status; to explore differences in participants' transitions based on their musical identities; and to evaluate the significance of musical identity in discussions on the youth-adult transition.

In order to satisfy these aims, a number of analyses of the Twenty-07 data are presented, followed by the qualitative findings relating to transitions and identity.

Quantitative Findings

'Transition indicators' (here represented by degree qualification, marital and parental status) were selected in reflection of the adult identities discussed by the participants (i.e. Mother, Husband, and so forth). The inclusion of 'degree obtained' as a measure of educational attainment alludes to the fact that some participants spoke of how their experiences at university contributed to their musical identities. In a parallel analysis, the variable 'in paid work' showed no

statistically significant differences. This provides another example of the dialectic method, where the findings from one method (qualitative) informed the design of another (quantitative). Rates for these transition indicators by music preference can be seen in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 - Rates of 'Transition Variables' (1995-2000)

		Degree	*Married*	*Children*
1995				
	Chart	23.9	21.4	18.3
	Rock	23.5	14.5	17.2
	Other	33.7	21.0	16.8
	Dance	29.2	7.7	18.7
	Chi-Square	3.56 (df=3)	9.66 (df=3)	2.45 (df=3)
		n.s.	*p<.02**	*n.s.*
2000				
	Chart	27.3	49.1	44.3
	Rock	26.9	33.3	27.9
	Other	27.7	56.3	46.8
	Dance	45.5	35.1	36.8
	Chi-Square	6.20 (df=3)	16.03 (df=3)	10.19 (df=3)
		n.s.	*p<.001***	*p<.02**
Total (n)		471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 7.1 shows that degree qualification did not differ significantly according to music preference in either 1995 or 2000. In 1995, the proportion of married rock and dance fans was significantly lower than fans of chart or other music, and this remained in 2000. The proportion of participants with children did not differ greatly in 1995, although in 2000 the proportion of rock fans with children was significantly lower (27.9%) than fans of other types of music.

Clearly, the differences in these transition indicators may be the result of other demographic features, and not music preference alone. Therefore, as in previous chapters, the transition indicators were regressed against music preference, scene affiliation and co-predictors, sex and social class. The results

for degree level qualification, marriage, and children in 1995 and 2000 are presented in Tables 7.2 – 7.4.

Table 7.2 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of degree level qualification by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1995-2000)

		1995	*95% CI*	*2000*	*95%CI*
Sex					
	Male	1		1	
	Female	0.92	0.56, 1.50	0.87	0.42, 1.36
Social Class					
	I, II, IIInm	1		1	
	IIIm	0.30***	0.17, 0.54	0.09***	0.03, 0.25
	IV, V	0.22***	0.10, 0.46	0.05***	0.00, 0.19
Music Taste					
	Chart	1		1	
	Rock	0.91	0.46, 1.80	0.94	0.47, 1.88
	Various	1.59	0.84, 3.03	1.03	0.54, 1.97
	Dance	1.10	0.52, 2.33	1.86	0.77, 4.46
Scene Affiliation					
	None	1		1	
	Limited	0.72	0.39, 1.32	0.81	0.44, 1.49
	Strong	0.90	0.45, 1.79	0.90	0.42, 1.92
Total (n)			471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 7.3 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Marriage by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste, and Scene Affiliation (1995 and 2000)

	1995	*95% CI*	*2000*	*95% CI*
Sex				
Male	1		1	
Female	0.78	0.46, 1.31	1.45	0.94, 2.26
Social Class				
I, II, IIInm	1		1	
IIIm	0.75	0.43, 1.33	0.77	0.44, 1.37
IV, V	0.93	0.48, 1.81	0.56	0.25, 1.25
Music Taste				
Chart	1		1	
Rock	0.72	0.36, 1.44	0.83	0.48, 1.44
Various	0.69	0.36, 1.34	1.66	0.99, 2.79
Dance	0.45	0.19, 1.04	0.91	0.44, 1.90
Scene Affiliation				
None	1		1	
Limited	0.74	0.39, 1.04	1.00	0.62, 1.63
Strong	1.36	0.70, 2.65	0.51*	0.27, 0.93
Total (n)		471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 7.4 - Likelihood (adjusted odds ratio) of Children by Sex, Social Class, Music Taste and Scene Affiliation (1995 and 2000)

		1995	95% CI	Children	95%CI
Sex					
	Male	1		1	
	Female	0.78	0.47, 1.29	1.54	0.96, 2.48
Social Class					
	I, II, IIInm	1		1	
	IIIm	1.12	0.65, 1.93	3.58***	1.99, 6.43
	IV, V	1.24	0.65, 2.39	2.71*	1.25, 5.89
Music Taste					
	Chart	1		1	
	Rock	1.06	0.53, 2.15	0.68	0.38, 1.21
	Various	0.88	0.45, 1.71	1.30	0.76, 2.22
	Dance	1.16	0.54, 2.53	0.78	0.37, 1.63
Scene Affiliation					
	None	1		1	
	Limited	0.42**	0.22, 0.80	0.80	0.48, 1.35
	Strong	0.80	0.42, 1.52	0.80	0.43, 1.53
Total (n)			471		

Note: Significance Levels; *p=0.01 to 0.05, **p0.001 to 0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 7.2 shows that the likelihood of a degree qualification does not significantly differ according to music preference or scene identity in either 1995 or 2000. The only significant predictor of degree qualification is social class; those from manual class backgrounds being far less likely to go to university and complete a degree than those from non-manual backgrounds.

Table 7.3 indicates that class, sex, and music preference have no significant effect on likelihood of marriage at age 23 or 30. However, those with a strong scene affiliation are around half as likely to be married as those without a scene identity at age 30. Although causality cannot be determined from this analysis, it does indicate a relationship between strength of (youth) scene identity and subsequent marriage. The stability of a rock scene over time (as evidenced in previous analyses) also suggests a causal relationship (i.e. it is likely that a rock identity precedes marriage).

In Table 7.4 we can see that those from manual class backgrounds were more likely to have children by age 30 than those from non-manual backgrounds. In addition, those who expressed a limited scene identity were significantly less likely to have children than those who did not at age 23.

What these findings suggest is that, whilst music preference alone does not predict transitions (as measured above), scene identity may be an important factor to consider in relation to youth-adult transitions. The extent to which this is perceived by the participants is discussed in the qualitative results that follow, as is a fuller exposition of how musical identities affect transitions (and vice versa).

Qualitative Results

This section begins with a discussion of cultural and structural transitions based on musical identity. It then goes on to consider whether transitions to adulthood are understood differently by those who are yet to marry, or have children. The importance of gender in perceptions of transitions is then considered, and the

final section ties these observations to a discussion of identity and health in adulthood.

Cultural and Structural Transitions to Adulthood

Participants were asked if they felt like an adult, and if so, at what point they thought they had 'grown up'. They were also asked the more general question of 'what do you think makes up who you are today?' to invite them to discuss their principal identities. Out of all interviews, seven of eighteen participants claimed they still did not feel like a 'proper' adult and those seven were all Musics (Danny, Ian, Karyn, Eddie, Celeste, Jake, and Mark); although there is a danger in treating the qualitative sample with quantitative principles. The following excerpts from the interviews indicate the different perceptions of the transition to adulthood amongst Musics, compared to Non-Musics.

> Danny: I don't see myself massively different to when I was 17 and 18 erm, but the big moment for me I think was buying a flat. I mean that was 22 or something, bought a flat, and that's kind of really you know that was a moment I thought oh my god I'm an adult. Even when I got married you know it's, you know you didn't feel like an adult, having the kids again, you know, it still freaks you out from time to time you think oh my God, we've got two kids what the hell are we doing. We don't know what we're doing you know we're just playing at this. Erm, so the, the prompt for me is that I've never actually fully made that transition from youth to adult and I probably you know won't. But erm, I still think I am able to recognise you know kinda youth culture er, and still enjoy it rather than just looking.

Danny understands that to the outside world he has the trappings of an adult life. He obtained certain structural goals such as buying a flat, getting married, and having children, but when it comes to his self-identity (as opposed to his social identity), he finds it difficult to accept an adult role or an adult identity. His perception of being able to 'enjoy [youth culture] rather than just looking' suggests a dichotomy of inside/outside youth culture, positioning him squarely in the former, and 'adults' in the latter. This conception was put forward by all of those disclaiming an adult identity; that despite the structural trappings they

have obtained, they still feel part of youth culture and their self-identity is one of youth as opposed to adult. Karyn explains her position in a similar way:

> Karyn: I suppose like most people like my husband's what 36/37 and he feels old and I don't feel any different I mean I've had my kids and that but I'm still the same person that I was at 20 and obviously I'm a mother and I do feel that I'm a young mother I don't feel like I have to wear dowdy clothes and start listening to the easy listening stuff and get my slippers out just yet you know, and people do say that to me you know 'oh you can't still go out dancing' and I'm like, well why not? Who says? You know I want to be young, especially as my daughter grows up, my husband always says 'oh you'll be at the dancing with her' and I'm like well, why not? So I don't really feel, I still feel young and I don't feel like age isn't really an issue to me you know some people are like 'oh' and I'm 35 and I'm like, you feel like you feel and I still feel young and I'm still fit so...

Much like Danny, Karyn accepts that with parenthood comes greater responsibility; however, she also believes this should not restrict her youth identity. She perceives her identity to have remained constant since her twenties and sees nothing wrong with feeling and acting young. She mentions that going out dancing is an important part of who she is, and that she does not feel dissuaded by external pressures to conform to gender (i.e. 'good wife'), or parental (i.e. 'good mum'), stereotypes. In this way, Karyn is expressing a similar understanding to Danny (and indeed all the other 'young Musics'), that she feels 'inside' youth culture, sees no reason to 'grow up', and is quite accepting of her youth identity.

In contrast, Freia, a Music with a self-claimed adult identity, views her relationship to youth culture in different terms:

> Freia: I think I, for me, I associate clubbing, the way I did it when I was a bit younger, and I wouldn't do that with the kids. I just, as I say, I wasn't particularly responsible at that point in my life and you can't have children and carry on like that, in my opinion, so I just wouldn't want to. To be honest, we don't really go out all that much. We very rarely, we go, if we do, it'll be the cinema, rather than even a pub.

Freia associates her clubbing days with a previous identity and one she has replaced with the structural identity of Parent. Interestingly, she does not

mourn her clubber identity and seems satisfied with her responsible new role. Unlike other musics who defend their youth identities in the face of structural obligations, Freia does not frame her current musical identity in opposition to her adult role; instead, her musical identity (including taste and scene participation) has changed to fit her structural identity. The other musics, who deny an adult identity, have a perception of their cultural and structural identities in opposition.

Non-Musics talked about their identities quite differently from most Musics. Rather than accepting some adult roles and responsibilities, but acknowledging a youth identity, Non-Musics more readily saw their adult identity as being the product of changing roles and responsibilities. In conjunction with objective structural changes (employment, property acquisition, marriage, children), they seemed more willing to accept the associated social identity. As opposed to resisting the (external) pressures to feel and act like an adult, Non-Musics portray themselves as conforming to a social ideal of what a responsible adult should be. Theresa provides an example:

> Theresa: I probably didn't sort of follow the sort of pattern that most other people did, because I actually met my husband when I was 16 and he was older than me, and his friends were even older, so from an early age I was always in quite a sort of a couple sort of orientation, so I didn't really kinda go out and do clubs or anything like that, particularly. So again, music wouldn't have played a big part in that. If we were going out it was maybe, like, round to someone's house for a meal, or going out to a restaurant or just kinda getting together in that respect. I kinda missed out on that, really, that whole kind of sort of the club scene, really.

Theresa makes a link between her relationship with someone older, and her willingness to engage in 'older' leisure pursuits, resulting in her lack of engagement in what she perceives as a youth scene. In tying this to her lack of musical identity, she makes the link between her involvement in a serious relationship and the effects this had on her availability and access to musical participation. It is clear that Theresa understands her structural trajectory (here exemplified by a relationship that guided her towards more adult oriented leisure) as being negatively correlated with her youth cultural identity. In this

way, the time that structural responsibilities take hold seems to impact on the participants' perceptions of adulthood, as Zara, another Non-Music explains:

> Zara: Well, when I was 15, I think...a lot wasn't important to me, cos I didn't worry so much about things and I was at school, I was just doing exams. That was more... my head wasn't thinking ahead, what I'm gonna do for my job or anything, things like that. I wasn't as far on as that, and I liked easy listening bands and things like that, chart music. And then when I'm 25... I had got married, so I had kinda lost music a little bit, cos I focussed on... well, work and like, just building a house and getting things sorted between... money was focussed on the house at the time. And maybe holidays more and things like that were more important to me. And then when I was... now, I would say... it's more like a family now. I'm more influenced by my family life and... just music is part of my life, but I don't think it's the most part of my life.

Zara describes how at different times her responsibilities changed, and her identity changed in tandem with these responsibilities. Instead of maintaining a youth identity, Zara perceives her adult roles as superseding the more superfluous musical identities she upheld in her youth. Zara, like most other Non-Musics, perceives her family obligations as being the central defining feature of her identity, at the expense of previous youth cultural identities. There is also a suggestion in these accounts that early transitions (i.e. getting married earlier, having children earlier, and eschewing higher education in favour of fulltime employment) are understood as restricting or weakening musical identities. The 'I don't have time for music' explanation for music's lack of importance in their lives was common amongst early transitioning Non-Musics.

What cannot be concluded from these data, either quantitative or qualitative, is whether those with a stronger musical identity in youth are more likely to experience later transitions, or vice-versa. What can be concluded, however, is that cultural identities were more apparent in adulthood amongst Musics (with the exception of Freia and Dora), and that structural identities were more so in the lives of Non-Musics. The point at which structural identities dominate varies from person to person, but there is a clear difference in these accounts of adulthood related to, if not based on, musical identity.

Socio-structural Pressures on 'Late Transitioners'

There are also differences between the accounts of those who are married, are parents, and are living in their own homes, and those who are not. Only Celeste and Ian (both Musics) were living in their parents' home, were unmarried, and had no children. They described how they felt their self-identity, a primarily youth identity, was in opposition to the idealised adult identity of modern society, and the resultant pressure this had on them. Celeste discusses so-called 'normal' transitions:

> Celeste: It's funny when you get older, you're not as defined by your music and films you liked as you were when you were younger. Cos I'm not as dismissive with people now so it's not the first thing you ask someone. When I was young, when you're in a group situation and meet people you kinda when you're 19/20 you assume that people aren't married and don't have kids so it's the, it's the first thing you sort of talk about, music and films and where they go, what they do. Whereas now probably more people say oh where are you from and are you married, have you got any kids and what do you do, what do you work as and stuff… it's rubbish (laugh).

Celeste describes how the social interactions she has now are framed by questions around an idealised adult identity. She understands that the focus on cultural pursuits that dominated the sharing and establishing of identities in her youth has changed, and finds this change somewhat regretful. She describes a normative transitional process (marriage, kids, and work) as a common assumption people make based on her age, although she acknowledges that this is perhaps an inevitable consequence of getting older. Ian makes this point even clearer by discussing the normative structural pressures he feels as a 34 year old:

> Ian: But for some people, whether it be a certain age that they feel that they have to do, I mean I kinda feel the same, although I haven't done it. But you have to do certain things in certain times and have certain things sorted out. And I'm 34 now and I'm kinda thinking that I'm well, like get it sorted. Erm, but that's purely because of me and the way I'm kinda feeling. I think a lot of people feel they have to do certain things and they have to be a certain place, by a certain age and whether it's because that's what they wanna do or I think a lot of it's to do with what society wants for them as well. And, and I think that can be linked to

> music as well because people might sit there my age and think, well I'm married with a mortgage and two kids etc, you know that isn't the type of music that I should be listening to. You know they maybe more the easy listening type sort of thing. I don't know I, I mean I can't speak for other people but like generally in life I can, I know some people that they've tended to go that way so it might well affect their musical tastes as well.

Ian is acutely aware of a pressure to conform to the structural circumstances of many of his peers. His understanding is that 'society' has a certain way for people to behave at certain ages and that a failure to conform to this is a wider failure as a member of society. He constructs his self-identity in relation to a 'generalised other', and assesses that he should be more like other people in his achievements. Like Celeste, he is aware that the process of ageing changes others' expectations of his social identity resulting in an implicit pressure to 'achieve' certain structural goals. Ian also suggests that musical identities may suffer in consequence of normative structural transitions, that the same pressures have an impact on the way that those who (self) identify as adults listen to and consume music. His own musical identity is still very important and he describes (through his discussion of what 'people might think') how this may be at odds with the acquisition of a fully adult, structural, identity. Interestingly, Ian places these 'generalised normative adults' in an out-group based on musical preference ('they maybe the more easy listening type') reflecting the quantitative sample where there was a surge in participants describing their preference as 'easy listening' at the final wave.

The recognition by Celeste and Ian that structural pressures impact upon their own self-concept is relevant to the wider issue of cultural versus structural transitions. Their assertions, that the pressure to get married, have children and buy a house, is tangible and eroding their youth identities raises a wider question as to whether fully structural adult identities are inevitable, or consequent upon achieving certain 'adult milestones'. Whilst many of those who are married, have children, or own a house, also wish to maintain a youth identity (i.e. many of the Musics), those who do not seem cautious in outwardly demonstrating the cultural identities they maintain (i.e. Ian and Celeste).

Gendered Transitions (or 'how being a mum made me grow up')

Whilst many of the men in the sample had children, they did not automatically equate this with a full adult identity (as Danny alluded to above). In contrast, many of the mothers in the sample described how the process of having children made them feel they had established an adult identity. This was generally conveyed as a youth (cultural) identity being immediately superseded by a structural identity either during pregnancy or at birth. Once again, this was not conveyed by all participants (Karyn being the exception), but this strong theme highlights a difference in male and female participants' experiences of transition:

> **DL: How would you describe yourself today? What's the things that are, sort of who are you, what makes you who you are?**
>
> Freia: I'm a mum. (Laughing.) That's it. I think everything's dictated by that to be quite honest. Yeah, just because I'm a mum, that's what I do full time, it's, everything's got to be practical and based around making that easier, basically.
>
> Mary: What makes up who I am? Well being a mother, probably. The biggest thing, I would say, a wife and mother, and I'm a mother to three children, so I've got, you know, they kinda take over your life and you don't have time to always sit and listen to music because the kids are in the background. So I would say that certainly in the past ten years, since I had Stuart, being a mother is probably the biggest thing.
>
> Theresa: I actually don't, I don't think I really actually thought about myself being an adult until I had a baby. I just felt exactly the same. I mean, I had, as I say, I had responsibilities. I had bills to pay and mortgage and I had sort of a good job and everything, but I just felt the same, and I think when my son was born, you kinda come home and you have that whole realisation and it's quite a horrible feeling that you think that "I am responsible now", and it's not just all this rubbish like, if you lose your house, big deal, but if you have a baby to look after, I think that was sort of the moment for me when I thought right, no, I am a grown-up now.

These women convey the understanding that the responsibility that comes with having children is so great that Motherhood is their primary identity, and in the

context of the interviews, these participants equate Motherhood with adulthood. There is a sense that they have allowed themselves a cultural (including musical) identity up until the point that their prime identity becomes Mother. This perception was expressed by almost all mothers in the study including Dora and Freia who were categorised as Musics. The one exception was Karyn, who discusses her identity as a mother in tandem with a musical and youth identity ("I feel that I'm a young mother... don't need to get my slippers out just yet" p214). Karyn understands the social obligation to identify as a mother, but presents herself as a 'young' mother who can still engage with youth culture at her leisure. Rather than defining her adult status through motherhood, Karyn highlights the stereotypical trappings of motherhood that she aims to avoid, thereby reiterating her youth, and music, identities.

This presentation of a parental identity, but in tandem with a residual youth identity is closer to the perceptions of the fathers in the sample. Jake provides an example of this perspective:

> Jake: I've still got a bit of the Saturday night fever in me. I still want that... that great Saturday night. That's not left me. A lot of my mates don't look for it any more at all.
>
> **DL: Mhm. And how do you feel about that? I mean, how do you feel about the fact that you do and they don't, or whatever?**
>
> Jake: Well, it doesn't affect me at all, because I don't see them that much now. Wife and kids and all that palaver. I don't actually go out too much at all, but if I do, I mean, it really annoys my wife that I'm, I'm the man that's right up for it, you know? I can't just go and have a few beers and just slightly enjoy a night [laughs].

Jake perceives that he still has a (youth) cultural identity within him that he only gets to exercise sometimes due to the constraints of his structural identity (or 'wife and kids and all that palaver' as he more succinctly puts it). In doing this, Jake, like the other Music fathers in the sample, presents himself as retaining a cultural identity despite his structural identity, unlike the mothers above who adopt a structural identity, often in place of a cultural identity.

Structural/Cultural Identities and Health

The implication from previous research and, indeed previous chapters of the current thesis, is that maintaining a strong musical identity may have negative implications for health (certainly with regard to damaging behaviours). However, whether this extends to type of identity (i.e. cultural or structural) has yet to be established.

Freia, discussing the cessation of her clubbing days and her very strong cultural identity, describes the consequences for her health:

> Freia: Once we got more, once you got your group of friends, I think we spent, gradually, it wasn't a conscious thing, but we gradually started to go to each other's houses rather than going clubbing. It was cheaper. Everybody had decks, we could still get the music part of it, and I think, just naturally, because I wasn't going out every single night and staying up late, I was actually getting a bit healthier.

Here we can see that Freia perceives the cessation of clubbing as improving her health, however, not at the expense of a musical identity. Her social organisation was still predicated on music, but exercised in a different way. The youth cultural practices that she perceives as damaging, lessened with her distancing from the scene. Such that, rather than the musical identity itself being damaging, she understood the practices associated with involvement in a scene as damaging. In switching these practices, Freia perceived an improvement in her health. Therefore, youth cultural identities (that require a site, or scene, of practice) could be understood as more *risky* than musical identities alone, which do not necessarily require a site of practice. When considered in this regard, it is not the musical preference itself which is potentially damaging, but the associated scene. Since music preferences vary within scenes, the focus of attention should not always sit squarely with preference alone. This concept of scene specific risk was alluded to by Theresa, a Non-Music:

> DL: how do you assess your health, over your sort of... throughout your twenties I'm still sort of thinking as opposed to now?

> Theresa: It's probably not really been any healthier, I wouldn't say. Maybe more risk-free, I mean… I would sort of go out for a couple of drinks, then I would maybe come home or go out with, like, friends, like a sort of couple of friends and you'd have a big meal and wine and things, so I mean, it wasn't as if I was sort of an abstinent person that didn't drink or anything. So I mean, I was going out and I was having, like, a meal and drinking, so I suppose in that point of view, probably wasn't really any healthier than people that were just going out and drinking all night, but I suppose risk-free, I suppose, you know, clubbing and drugs sort of never came into our lifestyle and… I mean, none of us smoke, even. I didn't sorta do anything like that, so I suppose from that point of view, it was probably quite risk-free.

Theresa, who 'transitioned' very early in terms of adopting a structural identity, associates risk with a specific kind of cultural identity in opposition to her own. Whilst not suggesting that she had a particularly healthy experience, she equates her dominant structural and Non-Music identities with risk-free leisure. What is interesting about this perception is that Theresa's retrospective account of her twenties reflects the contemporary perceptions of many others in the sample (now in their mid-thirties); that the risks associated with youth cultural identities are constrained to the period during which those identities are manifest. A structural identity, in this sense, is understood as protective of risk.

Nevertheless, some participants (all Musics) describe the emotional gratification that comes from engaging in youth cultural practices every once in a while, and how this increases wellbeing in a more general sense (i.e. not in terms of risk). Mark and Sheryl highlight this:

> Mark: I would count it as one of my best nights out getting out, getting away from the kids for a night and going to a gig and you know, enjoying it, relaxing, cutting loose a little.

> Sheryl: There's nothing like going to a gig, even somewhere tiny, to just eh, relax. Sitting with a pint of beer and enjoying something new, new bands or whatever. I don't get much chance these days, working all the time, you know, but it's still one of my favourite things to do.

In these extracts, we see how the maintenance of some level of cultural identity provides an avenue for these participants to reduce (structural) tensions.

Although primarily associated with a previous era of their lives, these participants do not focus on any physical risk, but the positive psychological benefit that comes from escaping their structural responsibilities and reliving the cultural identities of their youth. Since it was only Musics who described using (music) leisure in this way, it may be the case that sustaining a strong musical identity makes this process simpler. Those without a strong musical identity, no doubt, also have ways to relax, but what is illustrated here is how preserving a youth cultural identity is related to a musical identity, and can be understood as beneficial to health.

Summary

Whilst many studies of the youth-adult transition focus on education, work, cohabitation, and parenting, the intention of the present chapter was to consider the implication of culture, and specifically music culture on youth-adult transitions. Clearly, the relationship between social structure and culture is complex and intertwined, however in separating these spheres out, a novel approach to understanding transitions has emerged.

The quantitative analysis indicated that music preference has less predictive power for a range of transition indicators than the more structural variables of gender and social class, especially in relation to degree qualification and parenting. However, those with a limited scene affiliation were significantly less likely to have children at age 23, and those with a strong affiliation less likely to be married at age 30, suggesting that youth cultural engagement may be a barrier to 'achieving' these structural goals. Conversely, the structural limitations that marriage and parenthood bring could be restrictive for youth scene participation.

This latter suggestion was supported by the findings of the qualitative analysis where it was seen that the advent of structural obligations and identities replaced youth cultural identities. For those participants with a strong musical

identity, cultural identities were limited, though not eradicated by their structural obligations. Those without a strong musical identity spoke far less of youth culture as important in their lives, or how they viewed themselves. For those who maintained strong musical identities, and 'enjoyed' living out cultural identities from time to time, there was a tension between conforming to structural identities without actually perceiving them as central to their own self-concept. This tension is not apparent amongst those who accepted adult, structural, identities (i.e. the Non-Musics). Culture, and music especially, is used to make links with youth identities by those who feel pressure to maintain structural identities, but not by those who are comfortable with their structural identities. This marks another important distinction between Musics and Non-Musics in how music is used, and what effect it has on their lives.

Gender was also shown to play an important role in how adult identities are understood and presented. Most mothers in the sample described how the responsibility and obligation associated with having children made them accept an adult role. Although it may have been, for Non-Musics especially, that the adult role they were embracing led them to have children. This perception was in contrast to Karyn's, and many of the fathers in the sample who understood that the structural identity of Parent could co-exist with a cultural identity, albeit not exercised as much as it was in youth.

Finally, for many participants youth cultural identities were associated with risk and poor health behaviours, and the adoption of structural identities was understood as preventative of these negative effects. However, for others, engagement in youth cultural practices and the temporal acceptance of a youth cultural identity was seen to provide solace from the stressful demands of adult life.

What these results suggest is that musical identities are inextricably linked to the youth-adult transition. As has been shown throughout the thesis, music preferences are often exercised within scenes and through youth cultural identities, with the two being most strongly connected around age 23. Whilst

structural identities (whether through work, parenting, marriage, property ownership, financial in/dependence) often stand as markers of adulthood, not all of those engaged in these structures accept an adult identity. Indeed, for many, the cultural identities they retain are the most important to their sense of self. The evidence presented here cannot adjudicate whether a structural identity is any better, or healthier, than a cultural identity. However, for some of the qualitative sample, musical identities have played a crucial role in their behaviours, decisions, and transitions to adulthood.

Chapter 8 – Discussion

Introduction

The purpose of this final chapter is to draw together the findings of each results chapter highlighting the extent to which the aims outlined in Chapter 1 have been met and contributing to the debates discussed in Chapter 2. In doing so, and as a demonstration of the dialectic method, the extent to which the study contributes to previous knowledge on the topic of young people, music, and health will be established. This will be followed by a consideration of the limitations of the study, recommendations for future research, and concluding remarks.

The Twenty-07 Study, the Dialectic Method, and the Empirical Study of Musical Identity

When the Twenty-07 Study was set up, its core aim was to examine the impact on health of material factors together with the influence of personal behaviour and psychosocial factors. The current study, using Twenty-07 data and sub-sampling from the survey population, meets this aim well. Although many studies continue to investigate socio-economic inequalities in health, the Twenty-07 Study is especially useful for the range of data collected, including objective health measures, socio-economic circumstance, education, diet, and substance use (amongst many others) over 20 years. Crucially, and uniquely, data have also been collected on youth cultural participation and music taste over the same period, and the current thesis is the first to fully utilise and link these data.

In adopting a dialectic method, integrating quantitative and qualitative methodologies, this study has synthesised the types of conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the data. The combination of conclusions from

statistically significant findings, and the exposition of individuals' perceptions, not only highlights consistencies and contradictions, but allows the reader to reflect on the extent to which the findings represent 'the truth'. The synthesis of opposing epistemologies, through methodology, is also rare in studies on youth, health, and music, and is an asset to the current thesis. Similarly, the study of individual health behaviours, alongside a focus on emotional wellbeing, ties together the effects of musical identity on health in a way not commonly seen in contemporary studies of music and health.

The issues around attrition discussed in chapter 3 remain a concern in validating the quantitative findings. It may be that particular groups were excluded from the analysis due to their non-participation in the latter waves of the Twenty-07 study. However, this should be set alongside the benefit of using a longitudinal dataset to answer questions around the development of tastes and identities over time. The sheer volume of questions in the Twenty-07 questionnaires over the course of the study attests to the many ways data on music preference and scene affiliation could be examined (e.g. more objective measures of health or sexual behaviour) to expand the associations with health and wellbeing. Nevertheless, despite the constraints of the current analysis, the thesis adds depth to the key questions around the development of musical identities and health during a specific phase in the lifecourse. Further investigation of the dataset may provide fruitful findings and theories to be tested in the future.

The selection of IPA as the qualitative mode of enquiry has resulted in the findings being presented as they are. Alternative methods may have provided more breadth (e.g. through an increase in sample size), or a more systematic account (e.g. a hierarchical presentation of themes according to frequency). However, the depth of analysis required by a phenomenological approach suggests that the richness of the findings, achieved through interpretation on the part of the participant and the researcher, is where the value of the method lies. Weaving together the similarities and differences, commonalities and idiosyncrasies, of the participants' perceptions of their musical identities has provided a depth of understanding that may not have come from an alternative methodology.

Ultimately, it is in bringing together the findings from both the quantitative and qualitative methods that has provided the greatest value and validity to the study. The aim of a dialectic method is to use epistemologies traditionally regarded as being in opposition to contribute something new to established knowledge. It may be argued that adopting a 'mixed methods' approach would have resulted in the same findings. However, many mixed methods studies do not address the philosophical implications of mixing methodology, and tend to present one epistemological standpoint more strongly over the other such that they are 'mixed' in name only (Giddings 2006, Simons, 2007). In the dialectic method the philosophical consequences of mixing methods are considered in the gathering, analysing, and discussion of data, but the ultimate value comes from the bringing together of two types of enquiry.

Musical Identities and Health over the Youth-Adult Transition

The importance of culture in the health practices of individuals is a relatively recent focus of public health research (Martin & McQueen 1989). Whilst traditional approaches have focused on people's material conditions and how this affects morbidity and mortality, it is now widely recognised that culture, behaviour, and identities have an impact on health outcomes. The implications of this for the youth phase are especially acute as this is a time when adult identities are fostered with implications for long-term health. The study of youth lifestyles often includes a focus on musical participation and musical identity; however, it is rare for this study to extend so explicitly to health.

To rectify this, the present study has traced and uncovered the development of musical identities in both a large sample and a small sub sample and assessed their impact on health behaviours and emotional health. In addition, the aim was to identify and track changes in musical identity over the youth-adult transition, as well as investigate how musical identities may affect transitions to adulthood.

Quantitative analysis revealed that, for some, musical preference is subject to continuous change over the youth-adult transition, and for others, tastes come and go; a minority expressed the same preferences over 13 years. This implies that any conclusions relating music preference to socio-demographic, personality, factors or health outcomes should be cognisant of the dynamic nature of taste. Similarly, tastes were shown to vary according to sex, but not social class. Therefore, caution should be exercised when assuming that certain groups in society are likely to share tastes or leisure practices.

As suggested by the quantitative findings, many participants in the qualitative study were aware of their changing tastes, as well as the factors that may have influenced them. Those with a strong musical identity pinpointed specific periods where they understood their tastes (defined as something central to their self-concept) as becoming solidified. Those with a less strong musical identity were more likely to attribute their taste trajectories to dominant influences in their lives like friends, family and the mass media. Some factors that were applicable to all participants were the understandings that tastes broadened with age, and that external structural factors limited their access to music and the potential for tastes to change. These latter observations indicate a clear synthesis with the quantitative data presented at the beginning of Chapter 4, which indicated significant changes in the preferences of the longitudinal sample over three waves.

One of the most important findings in relation to music taste was the distinction between those with a strong musical identity, and those with a less strong musical identity. The division of the qualitative sample into Musics and Non-Musics framed much of the subsequent analysis, and proved crucial in determining difference in the participants' use of, and engagement with, music. Musics understood music as central to their identities; they described their musical biographies in great detail and made links between their musical identities and many other aspects of their history and current lives. Non-Musics, on the other hand, perceived music as something external to themselves; a childhood interest, an aspect of leisure, or a novel distraction. The anticipated

differences in accounts of musical taste development based on preference (i.e. Chart, Rock, and Dance) did not materialise, the variation occurring, instead, at a higher level: strength of musical identity itself.

The quantitative analysis in Chapter 5 showed that around half the sample made some youth cultural affiliation at each wave of data collection. Factor analysis indicated distinctions between mainstream and non-mainstream scenes, and between dance and rock scenes. Rock fans and Dance fans were both more likely to affiliate with any scene than chart fans (or the rest of the sample). However, correlations between music preference and scene affiliation indicated diverse preferences *within* scenes. Subsequent analysis was therefore conducted including measures of both music preference and scene identity in order to investigate whether they had separate effects.

Both music preference and scene affiliation predicted increased engagement in a range of health behaviours. Associations were particularly strong between rock preference, any strong affiliation and increased alcohol consumption, and dance preference and strong scene affiliation and increased use of rave drugs and hard drugs.

As with the distinction between Musics and Non-Musics, a division emerged in the qualitative analysis between those who understood scene affiliations as peripheral, and those who perceived them as central to their youth identities. For those in the former group, scenes were participated in during leisure, and were not regarded as particularly influential on other behaviours or attitudes. Those in the latter group conceived of their scene involvement as an important part of their biographies, and described how these identities were central to many of their values and actions during a specified period of their youth. They described how the communities that evolved within their scenes provided them with strong and influential peer associations that normalised substance use to the point at which such behaviours became an active demonstration of scene membership. Rock scene members, in particular, described how they perceived their behaviour as comparatively justifiable, when judged against other scenes (i.e. the dance scene). However, despite the increased risk associated with

scene membership (expressed through elevated substance use), some participants also described the relative safety they felt from being associated with a scene and spoke positively of their experiences with substances.

Once again, echoing the results pertaining to taste, and a central finding of the thesis as a whole, participants described how their scene membership diminished as structural obligations and identities took precedence. An important conclusion in this regard is the temporality of associations between scene membership, particular music preferences, and substance use. Not only is this largely supported by the quantitative data, the participants themselves understood such behaviours as a feature of, and confined to, a specific period of youth. Therefore, whilst music preference and scene affiliation is often correlated with increased substance use, this study shows that the strength of these associations diminishes over time (and certainly as adult/structural identities are taken on).

Unlike the temporality of associations between musical identity and risky health behaviours, the findings in Chapter 6 suggested that a strong musical identity could provide a valuable resource for emotional wellbeing across the lifecourse and into adulthood. The lack of significance between music preference, scene identity, and measures of poor mental health (with the exception of a limited scene identity protecting against mental ill health at age 15), implies that any mental health problems associated with a taste for dance or rock, or maintaining a strong scene identity, are not supported by this analysis. Indeed, the qualitative evidence suggests that a strong musical identity provided participants with the literacy to work through problematic emotional states using music. Musics were more likely to conceive of their music and tastes as a canon of emotional tools that could be used as required, unlike Non-Musics, who described more fleeting and simplistic uses of music for emotional gratification. However, both Musics and Non-Musics described using music as a distraction from negative mental states, as an *aide memoire* to pleasurable (and sometimes disagreeable) emotional conditions, and as a valuable emotional outlet in collective musical experiences. A distinction did remain where Musics described 'listening against the grain' for emotional gratification, and Non-Musics

described only mimetic responses to music, the implication being that emotional response to music is directly related to strength of musical identity in some respects but not others.

The quantitative analysis in Chapter 7 focused on whether musical preference or scene affiliation predicted transition indicators. Findings suggested that a strong scene identity at age 30 decreased the likelihood of marriage, and a limited scene identity at age 23 decreased the likelihood of having children. These results imply that scene identity (i.e. a youth cultural identity) is in opposition to the structural variables of parenthood and marriage. The issue of causality remains in relation to these findings as it may be that scene affiliation limits marriage and parenting opportunities, or vice versa.

This was further addressed in the qualitative findings. Participants described how, as their structural obligations increased, their opportunities to engage in youth culture decreased, and their cultural identities decreased in tandem. This was most pronounced in the accounts of Musics, who mainly understood their youth cultural identities as supplementary to their dominant structural identities. Non-Musics described earlier transitions, and less concern for waning youth cultural involvement. Those participants who had 'transitioned less' described the pressures associated with ageing and not conforming to idealised concepts of adulthood. A distinction was also apparent between the mothers and fathers in the sample in how they viewed parenthood as contributing to their adult identities, highlighting gender (or gender and parent status) as a key variable in how transitions to adulthood are assessed. Crucially, transitions were described differently in relation to musical identities, those with a strong musical identity tending to mourn the loss of their youth cultural identity, unlike Non-Musics who described far more fleeting involvements in youth culture and were less concerned at its passing. This was demonstrated even further regarding adult identities and health; those who were comfortable in adult, structural, identities equating youth cultural identities with poor health and high risk, as opposed to those who retained a 'part-time' cultural identity and understood it as a positive health resource for general wellbeing. What cannot be concluded from the findings is whether those who embraced structural

identities earlier have had healthier transitions than those embracing cultural identities. It may be the case that getting married, buying a house and having children at a young age led to harmful health behaviours not investigated here (e.g. lack of exercise, over-eating, or denial of drinking levels).

Situating the Findings

These findings contribute much of value to the debates outlined in Chapter 2. The quantitative findings consistently showed that certain music preferences, and scene identities were associated with increased substance use, even when parental social class (age 15 and 23) and own social class (age 30) were controlled for. This demonstrates that cultural variables play an important role in determining health outcomes, especially in relation to substance use. As Karvonen, *et al* (2001) attested, a consideration of lifestyle, and in this case, lifestyles orientated around music, overrides structural variables in predicting substance use.

The findings presented here indicate that smoking, drinking alcohol above the weekly recommended limits and rave drug use are all predicted more strongly by music preference and scene identity at age 23. This is later in the youth phase than adolescence, although heavy alcohol consumption is more strongly predicted by a rock preference than social class at age 15. These results support the suggestion that youth cultural activity overrides the significance of social class during the youth phase (West 1997), but at a later point than has been theorised. The qualitative results imply that fostering and developing a strong musical identity may lead to an increased likelihood of risky health behaviours; further research is required to clarify when this occurs in contemporary samples (i.e. for young people today). The lack of music preference data in the 1990 questionnaire limits the observation of trends in late adolescence. In measures of mental ill health, there was little evidence of equalisation, although class effects on these measures were also lacking. Whilst the equalisation hypothesis

is neither proven nor disproven by the findings, it is clear that cultural factors have an important role in the development of adolescents as they become adults.

Miles' (2000) concept of lifestyle (i.e. that structural and youth cultural identities are 'played out' through lifestyles in a dynamic fashion) is useful in understanding the finding that for some young people youth cultural identities were the motivating factor for a range of behaviours. Those who adopted a central scene identity described their lives in a very different way from those who had a marginal scene identity. The former group made health and risk decisions based on the normative rituals and values of their scenes. The latter group did not speak about scene involvement determining their actions. This implies that for some young people conventional (and perhaps structural, though it was not explicitly described in this way) identities precluded them from the increased substance use associated with youth cultural scenes. Rather than attempting to devise and apply a universal theory of youth cultural identity, these findings indicate that the youth phase is experienced differently based on a number of factors.

For Chart fans, and those with a marginal scene identity (again, the same people in the qualitative sample), musical identity was less of a determining factor in their decisions and actions. By contrast, those with a preference for dance and rock and a strong musical identity (Musics) will have been (and continue to be) influenced by this identity in the decisions and behaviours that shape their life, especially during the youth period. This implies that a strong and active musical identity overrules a structural identity for a time during youth for those who have one. This finding elaborates the debates between Bennett (2005) and Hesmondhalgh (2005), Shildrick and Macdonald (2006), and Blackman (2005). Rather than music and youth culture being an important identity for all young people (with the resultant implications for their beliefs, actions and values), it has salience in the lives of only some. Others, presumably, have identities more attached to other leisure spheres (e.g. sport), and yet others may be based on their educational, religious, or class statuses. The conclusion offered by this study is that musical identities were conceived of as very influential in the

biographies and experiences of some of the qualitative sample, and the quantitative analysis suggests that (based on taste and scene affiliation) around half the sample may have strong musical identities.

Strength of musical identity was also an important factor in the extent to which participants perceived and described the nature of their tastes. Hennion (2007) has suggested that social actors are reflexively aware of how their tastes denote certain things about their status and biographies, and how they manipulate the presentation of these tastes as a result. The quantitative finding that tastes change over the youth-adult transition for the majority of participants provides statistical validation of some of Hennion's theory. However, the qualitative findings provide even more supportive evidence. Participants understood their tastes as being influenced by a range of external factors, including; family background, peer experience, life events, and structural changes. This indicates an awareness of taste as in some respects fluid and subject to a variety of (social) constraints. Whilst many participants described a certain level of fixity in their tastes, they also spoke of a broadening of taste as their socio-cultural conditions changed. In this way, they were aware of how their tastes interacted with and could vary according to their social status.

This reflexivity in describing taste could also be applied to how participants made sense of their musical identities (whether strong or limited). As Hargreaves, *et al* (2002) discussed, strength of musical identity will have an impact on how music is understood and used by people. This has clearly been demonstrated throughout the thesis, but an important finding in relation to Hargreaves *et al.*'s comments is that both Musics and Non-Musics were acutely aware of the strength of their musical identity and the extent to which they portrayed a musical identity. The perception of music as 'essential' or 'very important' in some people's lives, was mirrored by music being 'incidental' or tangential in others ('I wouldn't like to not have it, you know?'). Participants with a strong musical identity reflected on the myriad ways it influenced their lives; those with a limited identity often reiterating how insignificant they found music. In this way, participants were reflecting on and (re)presenting their

musical identities throughout the interviews; confirming to themselves, and to the researcher, just how salient their musical identities were.

In response to studies seeking to correlate musical preferences with other socio-demographic features (North and Hargreaves 2007, 2007a, 2007b, Rentfrow and Gosling 2003, Tarrant, *et al* 2008) the findings suggest that this would be better addressed at a 'higher level' than preference alone.   Whilst preference predicted some health behaviours, it was not significantly associated with any of the transition indicators (some of which are commonly measured socio-demographic variables), mental ill health, or with social class.   The findings relating to the dynamic nature of taste also limit conclusions based on cross-sctional studies and suggest they are potentially historical illustrations of a particular population.   During the qualitative analysis, it became clear that the differences between taste groups (Chart, Dance and Rock) were not as meaningful as the evident dichotomy in strength of musical identity.   Therefore, future work on the differences between groups of music fans should consider strength of musical identity as an essential variable and explore how best to measure it.

Regarding causality, which has been a limitation of many studies on musical identity and health (Forsyth, *et al* 1997, Mulder, *et al* 2007, Ballard and Coates 1995, Lacourse, *et al* 2001), the results are mixed.   The quantitative analysis did not extend to the types of models that could determine the direction of causality between musical identity and risky health behaviours, or poor health states.   However, the qualitative findings suggest that involvement in music scenes led to an increase in exposure to, and participation in, risky health behaviours.   Those with a strong musical identity and a central scene identity discussed how immersion in a scene (i.e. the full adoption of a scene identity) led to the normalisation of increased substance use.   These same participants described how they perceived their strong musical identity (as a result of early exposure and, in some cases a 'taste epiphany') as a contributing factor to their scene involvement.   Consequently, it could be argued that a strong musical identity can be causally related to increased substance use.   An important caveat, however, is that this only refers to a strong rock or dance identity, and

is based on the perceptions of a limited number of individuals. Nevertheless, it makes an important contribution to the problem of causality discussed in similar studies.

In contrast to the suggestion that strong musical identities are unhealthy, the findings around music and emotion highlight the significance of musical identities in maintaining emotional wellbeing. The qualitative findings revealed that Musics were better equipped to deal with certain negative emotional states because of their strong musical identity. In establishing and maintaining 'relationships' with music, Musics understood that they could use it when required to make them feel better. Although similarities were evident between Musics and Non-Musics in some uses of music for emotional wellbeing, this finding is contrary to DeNora's (2000) theory that music is used in the same way by most people for emotional gratification. Indeed, by focusing on participants' everyday musical interactions using a qualitative methodology, this thesis has contributed to the gap identified in studies on music and emotion discussed by Juslin and Laukka (2004) and Kreutz, *et al* (2008). Strength of identity and level of immersion in music may be strong predictive factors in emotional responses to music, yet they are often overlooked as key variables.

The final findings chapter illustrated the delicate balance experienced by some participants in making sense of their adult identities. Although acknowledging that structural identities affect the maintenance of musical identities, many of those with a strong musical identity also found it difficult to completely give up their youth cultural identities. This suggests that Furlong and Cartmel (2006) may be correct in their theory that structural forces (like class background) are most pressing on youth-adult transitions, but not necessarily for all young people. When discussing the establishment of adult identities, many participants perceived employment, education, marriage and parenthood as the defining features of adulthood. However, those who had engaged in youth culture to a greater extent, discussed how the period of 'emerging adulthood' gave them an opportunity to live out cultural identities, and how this affected their opinions, tastes, and trajectories (as Arnett (2000, 2001) suggests). Whilst most participants had been caught in the structural trappings of adulthood,

those with a limited musical identity described earlier transitions and the earlier adoption of structural identities. This finding was also supported by the quantitative results, which indicated a lower likelihood of marriage and children for those with a scene affiliation. Like the discussion of youth identities in relation to commodities, it seems that some young people will experience more structural transitions, and others, more cultural transitions. Those with a strong musical identity conveyed how their youth cultural involvement may have deferred their adoption of structural obligations, but again this finding is based on the perceptions of a small sample. It seems that the tension between structural and post-structural theories on transitions looks set to continue. A further study may map the place of cultural, structural and musical identities onto the social clock (Neugarten 1979) or the life structure (Levinson 1978, 1996) models presented in studies on adult development. Indeed the findings in this study suggest that musical identities play a different role in adult lives than in youth.

Limitations

Whilst every effort was made to conduct a thorough and extensive statistical analysis, the combination of lack of time and expertise meant that the longitudinal potential of the data could not be fully realised. Had the researcher conducted Structural Equation Modelling the statistical analysis may have led to further contributions to the issue of causality of individual taste and identity trajectories and the health variables measured. The requirement to move on to the qualitative study limited the potential for these analyses to take place, however, the contribution of the qualitative data is a vital and valuable aspect of the thesis.

The sub-sampling procedure and design of the qualitative study took place relatively early in the project. Had the distinction based on musical identity been apparent in the earlier stages of the study development, then the sampling could have been extended to include a wider variety of preferences. Whilst the findings and conclusions remain robust, the inclusion of people with a strong

musical identity, but a less strong scene identity may have contributed an important alternative account. Similarly, the inclusion of musical omnivores (those stating their tastes as varied), or a selection criteria based on taste change, rather than taste consistency, may have added a crucial component. Nevertheless, these issues did not arise until the analysis of qualitative data was underway; thus, highlighting the next stage of a dialectic method.

The attrition bias in the Twenty-07 Study and the longitudinal sample in particular, may limit the generalisability of the findings. 'Hard to reach' participants may have had very different music, scene, and substance use experiences and trajectories that could have affected the quantitative results. The same issue of bias applies to the qualitative sample. Only those who were contactable and willing to take part in the research were included. It may be that the lack of distinction between certain music preferences (Pop, Rock, and Dance) was the result of the qualitative sample being relatively moderate in their musical involvement and others (e.g. those who still strongly participate in these scenes) were more difficult to contact, or less willing to take part because of their identities. Nevertheless, the transparency of the methodological approach acknowledges that the perceptions presented shed light on experiences of musical identity, health and transition from a particular sample.

The fact that participants in both the quantitative and qualitative sample are the same age has many benefits. However, it may also mean that the findings are particular to a specific cohort, of a specific period in time. There have been many unique musical and stylistic movements between 1987 and 2008 (e.g. the rise of rave culture, the commercialisation of dance music, the 'madchester' scene, 'Britpop'), and socio-political changes (the fall of the Berlin wall, the rise of neo-liberal ideologies, 9/11 and the focus on religious extremism) which may limit the generalisability of the findings. Further than this, the 'narrative' of the thesis may be a historical narrative pertaining to youth cultural identities particular to a specific era. The extent to which this is the case cannot be established until further research is conducted.

Methodological Reflections

Upon completing the study a number of issues arose that questioned the rationale and methodological approach at various stages. With the benefit of hindsight, this allows for reflection on 'What could be done differently if devising the research again'.

The Twenty-07 study, whilst valuable in so many ways, was not designed to investigate musical identities specifically. Ideally, participants could have listed a series of musical tastes at each wave, allowing the researcher to analyse dimensions of preference rather than focusing on a single genre. A self-reported measure of the extent to which people think their tastes had changed from one wave to the next could be correlated with the taste data collected. Similarly, a number of questions aiming to measure musical identity (e.g. How important is music to you? To what extent do you use music to define yourself? How often do you buy/download music?) would have allowed the quantitative sample to be more usefully examined based on the findings of the qualitative analysis. The conclusions drawn on both these points may have been strengthened by more adequate measures in the survey.

Equally, much previous work in this area has investigated whether music listening can influence personality and behaviour, or if the latter predicts the former. Unfortunately, there were no explicit personality measures in the Twenty-07 survey meaning this could not be tested in the current study. However, it is recognised that personality may have a fundamental role in determining musical and health behaviour and the findings of the current study should be presented with this in mind. Strength of musical identity and level of immersion in scenes and in music itself may be strongly correlated with certain personality types and this should be a focus of future research.

Future Research

In order to establish whether the findings are applicable in a contemporary context, a comparative study with young people today would be a useful further study. The unique design of the Twenty-07 Study makes a directly comparable investigation problematic, but a mixed-method study with people in their late teens/early twenties focusing on musical identities and health would provide an opportunity to examine the salience of the results presented here.

The final wave of data collection for the Twenty-07 Study has now been completed. It would be interesting to repeat the quantitative analysis with the inclusion of measures when participants were aged 35. Likewise, a follow up qualitative study would be able to establish whether structural identities have continued to take precedence in the participants' lives, and explore the significance of musical identities in their now 'objectively established' adult statuses. The suggestion from the research that strong musical identities allow for more sophisticated emotional interactions with music in adulthood could be assessed, and there may be an opportunity to analyse, quantitatively, more appropriate measures of emotional wellbeing.

The finding that strength of musical identity is the single most important variable in how music interacts with health over the youth-adult transition is central to any potential future research. In the development of music taste, the interaction between musical identity and health behaviours, in how music is used for emotional gratification, and in the experience of transitions themselves, musical identity has been shown to direct outcomes and perceptions. A challenge for future research is therefore to establish a reliable measure of musical identity, and to continue considering its implications for studies of behaviour and perception.

Conclusions

Musical Identities are a combination of musical experiences, musical preferences and tastes, musical participation, and emotional investment in music. This study has shown that musical identities vary between people, and across the lifecourse. In relation to health, it has been shown that musical identity can be a strong predictor of substance use, even more so than sex, or class. Regarding mental health, scene identity was shown to be protective at an early age, though this did not remain at later stages of the youth-adult transition. A negative association was discovered between music scene identity and likelihood of children at age 23 and marriage at age 30, suggesting that transitions to adulthood may vary according to strength of musical identity.

Crucially, a division was discovered between those with a strong, and those with a limited musical identity. Thus, strength of musical identity was shown to influence the way that participants understood their tastes, perceived their youth cultural involvement, discussed their uses of music for emotional wellbeing, and conveyed their experiences of the transition to adulthood.

In evaluating the implications of musical identity for health, it should be acknowledged that the negative associations, particularly in relation to substance use, are temporal and largely recede when structural identities take precedence over youth cultural identities. The positive consequences of a strong musical identity, particularly in relation to emotional wellbeing, remain into adulthood.

This study has shown that the effects and influence of music in people's lives and on their health, varies in direct relation to the strength of their musical identities.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Coding Table

Original Coding	1st Level coding	2nd Level coding
VARIOUS		
NO PREF	**VARIOUS**	
HIP HOP	**ALTERNATIVE DANCE**	**DANCE**
CHART		
C & W	**CONTEMPLATIVE**	
DISCO	**ALT DANCE**	**DANCE**
SYNTH	**ALT DANCE**	**DANCE**
FOLK	**CONTEMPLATIVE**	
FUNK	**OLDIES**	**TRADITIONAL**
GOTHIC	**ALTERNATIVE**	
HARD ROCK	**ROCK**	
HEAVY METAL		**ROCK**
INDIES		**ALT ROCK**
JAZZ	**CONTEMPLATIVE**	
MOD BANDS	**PUNK**	**ALTERNATIVE**
NEW WAVE		**ALTERNATIVE**
PUNK		**ALTERNATIVE**
PSYCOBILLY	**ALTERNATIVE**	
RAP	**ALT DANCE**	**DANCE**
REGGAE		**ALTERNATIVE**
ROCK		
ROCK N ROLL	**OLDIES**	**TRADITIONAL**
SOUL		**ALTERNATIVE**
THRASH	**HEAVY METAL**	**ROCK**
50 MUSIC	**OLDIES**	**TRADITIONAL**
60 MUSIC	**OLDIES**	**TRADITIONAL**
SWING	**OLDIES**	**TRADTITIONAL**
LOVE SONGS	**CHART**	
MILITARY	**REGIONAL**	**TRADITIONAL**
ORANGE	**REGIONAL**	**TRADITIONAL**
IRISH	**REGIONAL**	**TRADITIONAL**
SCOTTISH	**REGIONAL**	**TRADITIONAL**
CLASSICAL		**CONTEMPLATIVE**
OPERA	**CLASSICAL**	**CONTEMPLATIVE**
AMERICAN	**ALTERNATIVE**	
CHRISTIAN	**ALTERNATIVE**	

HIGH ENERGY	ALT DANCE	DANCE
FILM MUSIC	ALTERNATIVE	
CELTIC SONGS	REGIONAL	TRADITIONAL
SCOT BANDS	REGIONAL	TRADITIONAL
HOUSE	ALT DANCE	DANCE
FAST MUSIC	ALT DANCE	DANCE
INDIAN	ALTERNATIVE	
CHURCH	ALTERNATIVE	
MAINSTREAM	CHART	
HIPPY MUSIC	OLDIES	TRADITIONAL
DANCE		
EASY LISTENING		
GRUNGE		ALT ROCK
R&B	ALT DANCE	DANCE
GARAGE	ALT DANCE	DANCE
RADIO	CHART	
SOFT ROCK		ALT ROCK
AMBIENT	CONTEMPLATIVE	
NEW ROMANTIC	ALTERNATIVE	
PUNJABI	ALTERNATIVE	
LATIN	ALT DANCE	DANCE
VARIOUS		
NO PREF	VARIOUS	
HIP HOP	ALTERNATIVE DANCE	DANCE
CHART		

Appendix 2 – Letter, Information Sheet and Consent Form

XX April 2006

Dear XXX

First, thank you again for taking part in the last round of interviews for the Twenty-07 Study. We are very grateful to you, and all the other participants, for giving up your time to be interviewed. The Study could not be the success it is without everyone's help.

As you know, the Twenty-07 interviews do not give people much chance to talk in detail about their experiences of health. We are conducting a small number of extra interviews which do allow this. I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to take part in one of these interviews.

This study is focusing on how music might have an impact on health throughout youth and into adulthood; how the different bands and songs that you like, or the different clubs or gigs that you go to, might have an effect on your physical and emotional health.

The interviews should be an enjoyable trip down memory lane, tracing the different kinds of music you have listened to whilst growing up. By taking part in this research you will give us a better understanding of how the leisure activities and music tastes of young people might impact upon their health. This information will help us tackle all sorts of health problems experienced by young people today, and in the future.

If you agree to take part it will involve an interview lasting around 1 hour conducted by Douglas Lonie, one of our researchers. This would take place at your home at a time chosen by you or at the research unit in the West End of Glasgow if this is more convenient (with travelling expenses paid).

Please find enclosed an information sheet with further details about the study. Douglas will phone you in the next few days and ask if you are happy to take part. In the meantime if you have any other questions please do not hesitate to contact Douglas (0141 357 3949).

Thank you again for all your help

Yours sincerely

Professor Sally Macintyre

Music, Identity and Health: From Youth to Adulthood

Information Sheet

What is this study about? This study is about the music you've been interested in since you were age 15 and the different ways it may have had a positive or negative impact on your physical and emotional well being. Sometimes people with different leisure interests have different health patterns; we are trying to find out why this is.

Why me? We have contacted you because of your continuing participation in the West of Scotland Twenty-07 Study. From your answers to the questions we asked about music and youth styles since 1987 you were identified as someone we would like to talk to in a bit more detail about this topic. If you decide not to take part in this music interview, please be aware that we would still like you to take part in the Twenty-07 Study (next contact will be early next year).

What's involved? You will be asked to take part in an interview which lasts about 1 hour. This would take place in your home, unless you would rather it was conducted elsewhere. Rather than giving answers to a series of questions it would be more like a chat guided around specific topics. These topics would cover subjects like where you used to go out (or still do), what music you were into when you were growing up, and what you're into now. It is hoped that this will allow us to make links with health and understand the different ways music might impact upon people's lives and health.

The interview would be tape recorded so that we accurately record what you say and so they could later be transcribed (i.e. written out). After the interview your name will be taken off anything that's written down. You would not have to answer a question if you didn't want to, you would be free to question the researcher or ask for the recording to stop, and you would be free to stop taking part in the study at any point.

Is the interview confidential? Yes, any information you give us is completely confidential. The Medical Research Council has strict rules on confidentiality and only the research team will be able to listen to or read your interview. Once you have been interviewed your name will be removed from the data and if anything you have said is used in any academic papers or articles rest assured that there is no way it could be traced back to you.

What happens now? Douglas Lonie will contact you in the next few days to see if you're interested in taking part. If so, you can set up a suitable time for him to come round and carry out the interview.

Who can I contact for more information? If you have any questions or would like any more information before deciding to take part please feel free to call Douglas Lonie on 0141 357 3949, or e-mail Douglas@msoc.mrc.gla.ac.uk.

MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit, 4 Lilybank Gardens, Glasgow, G12 8RZ

Music, Identity and Health: From Youth to Adulthood

Consent Form

The purpose of this agreement is to ensure that your contribution to the above research project is in strict accordance with your wishes.

Please tick as appropriate:

☐ I have read the information sheet that describes this study and agree to be interviewed.

☐ I agree that my interview may be tape recorded.

☐ I give permission for brief extracts from my interview to be used for research purposes (including publications and reports), with strict preservation of anonymity. I understand that the taped interviews will become the property of the MRC Social & Public Health Sciences Unit.

I understand that I do not need to answer all the questions if I do not wish to, and that I may stop the interview at any time.

I am aware that any information I provide will be treated in the strictest of confidence. Tapes and interview transcripts will be locked away and only available to the research team.

Signed ……………………………….. Date ……………………….

Name (Block Capitals) …………………………………………………………

Appendix 3 – Topic Guide

Interview Topic Guide

Section One: Music and Youth Styles

How important is music in your life these days?

How do you think your taste in music has changed since you were 15?
        - Why do you think that is?

At what point in time since being at school do you think you were most interested in music?

Can you tell me about times where you've associated with other people based on your taste in music?

Tell me about how you think music has impacted on your life over the past 20 years?

Section Two: Music and Mental Health

In what ways do you think music is a part of who you are?

Do you think music is good for you?

Do you remember using music for any specific purpose when you were growing up?

Can you tell me about the last time you listened to music alone?
        – Why did you do this?
        – How did it make you feel?

What about with other people? How was it different?

How do you think your relationship to music has changed as you've gotten older?

Section Three: Music and Health Behaviours

In what social situations you encounter does music play a big part? How has this changed as you've gotten older?

Can you tell me about any activities you do in which music plays a big part?

Do you think music has ever directly influenced your actions? In what ways?

Has being in a group based around music ever made you do something you wouldn't have otherwise done? What role do you think music itself had in this?

Has music itself ever made you feel like you wanted to do something? Can you tell me about it?

Appendix 4 – Excerpt from Transcribed Interview

EDDIE

Erm, so we can start off just if you could cast your mind back and recall like when you were fifteen and sort of started erm, what music was around at school erm, what you were into, what your friends were into if there was people in groups, people in groups at school into a certain music or anything like that. Can you remember?

Yeah well my friends and I all had the same sort of taste in music erm, sort of introduced each other to erm, our various tastes in first year. And that kind of sort of shared that cross pollination if you like. It was all sort of hard rock, heavy metal. Erm, er, one of my friends in first year introduced me to Kiss. Erm, I hadn't seen the band at all it was just musically I thought yeah that's, that's er, you know yanking my plank that's er, that does it for me and then I saw them as well and you know I've been into them every since. Erm,

So was that first year?

That was first year yeah.

And had you were you into rock before that or?

I didn't really know I mean sort of 12 in first year, just hadn't a clue erm, coming from primary school wasn't really a big, big thing erm, for me at the time, but secondary school it really took off. So.

So coming up to sort of 15 then after that, that's a couple of years after first year, had it changed since then or?

Erm, it was more er, a wider range of bands. Erm, anything with guitars basically. Cos I was diametrically opposite to Top of the Pops. You know I remember ABC and Flock of Seagulls you know. Er, as long as it was the opposite way from all the rest of the sheep.

Why was that er, like why was that important to you?

Er, it just, it wasn't the driving force it was the, it's just something I noticed that everyone that I didn't like happened to be into a different sort of music, my friends were all in, and I were all into sort of guitar orientated stuff erm, that just kinda cemented my, my views on that.

So did you do you think there was ever a case of you sort of, did you judge other people based on their taste in music and stuff?

Erm,

At school?

I'm ashamed to say I did in my younger years. Er, a bit close minded erm, at some points. Er, you know you, you get that pride about you know you're having a favourite band and you slag off other peoples' favourite bands as kids do.

Yeah and how did, how did you know who was into what?

Erm, t-shirts and stuff then didn't have a, a school uniform. Erm, so kind of t-shirts and the back packs and things like that and erm, it was er, U2 everyone else was into at school er, and I've since come to like U2 so.

Erm, do you think it was, like how important do you …

Er, very.

In what ways and why is it important?

Er, an outlet a sort of focus for imagination and cementing ideas and bouncing ideas off of er, off yourself and some talking point as well with people. Erm, and I was in bands all the way through erm, school and Uni and erm, you know it's, it's always been very important and trying to find new songs that we liked and you know that we all shared a like for erm,

And so to that end was it something that was, that sort of happened in school and out of school?

Uh huh yeah very much so.

And what was the differences there?

Erm,

Like how did you listen to music I know it's a kind of weird question but like how, in what circumstances or whatever did you listen to music?

Solitary erm, listening erm, headphones mostly. Erm, you know just reading, like reading a book, you can go away and you know certain songs conjure up different images and you know it takes you there, just like the book or film would.

And do you think at that age, or when you were at school erm, that was applicable to all the types of music you listened to did you use all music in the same way?

I would only, only even, even to this day only like music that does something erm, you know either a melody that you know makes you, your bottom lip tremble or you know some other rhythm that you know just can't get it out your head. Erm, you know it had to have something more than er, I don't know. What's the word? You know that, that basic popie er, bubblegum aesthetic you know er, the disposal sort of type of music it had to be more like have a sense of depth to it.

So what were the sort of pre-requisites for it to be more than that and what was, how would you divide what was, what was the value system based on?

Er, it's certainly not an intellectual process it's just a, I know if I like it erm, instantly. Er, it tended it tended with me to be er, a sort of melancholic er, but with a heavy sort of er, undertone you know like er, Tori Amos mixed with Metallica or something.

Right. Ok a perfect sort of er, quite in that direction yet.

No not quite (unclear)

Erm, cos we did ask you in 1987 what bands you were into. Erm, and you gave us quite a list, or you gave us four 'cos that's all we've based these interviews on are peoples' tastes in music and that's what we've looked at in peoples' questionnaires erm, so you gave us four, you said heavy metal as a sort of type of music and you gave us four bands and you said Kiss and that was there and can you think of the other ones? Do you know what else …it would have been, like this is 1987 itself,

87 ah that's a very good year. Er, might have said Def Leopard at the time.

Mmm. It's not there.

Guns and Roses.

No it's not there either.

Jesus er, 87 that's a good one. Iron Maiden?

No I can tell you, Ozzy Osborne you said Kiss

(overtalking)

Rat.

Rat yeah.

And the Van Halen as well

Yeah I've kind of dropped Van Halen from my repertoire, I've recently got Rat's back catalogue. Upgraded from vinyl to CD… doing without them for a decade.

It asks you about what your least favourite was as well erm, and you said George Michael and Culture Club that kind of thing.

Yes.

What you were saying about … ABC

Yeah.

Erm, I mean you said that the music was quite important to you at that age, but then those bands we've sort of mentioned, why don't you think you guessed correctly I mean is it just cos you liked so much or what was the situation then?

Erm,

Some people say, 'I was a huge Simple Minds fan those two years at school, Simple Minds, U2' and a lot of more common bands more popular at the time…

Maybe by 87 sort of fourth year I think erm, sort of trying to broaden my horizons possibly and since then I've been constantly on the, on the lookout erm, it's few and far between I find something erm, with guitars in it these days so that I constantly keep going back to old faithfuls in the, the collection and there's too many bands in my head.

No that's fair enough yeah. Erm, cos it sounds like from what you're saying that you had quite a wide interest in the type of music that you liked from sort of first year through school.   Erm, did it impact on the way you dressed or, and like while you were still at school like did it impact on where you would hang out or what concerts you went to and how did that?

Yeah definitely it was kind of er, you know the teenage you need to be in a, a clique. Erm, a sense of belonging etc so we all had long hair, well, when I had hair. Er, (overtalk) those were the days yeah er, so yeah that definitely erm, described what we did and what we went to see. Erm, the pubs like the [Pub] or somewhere that wasn't gonna play dance music constantly you know. Maybe somebody you know pubs would need to play it safe so they'd have some sort of classic rock tune like U2 so you'd have to suffer that. But er, yeah it definitely would erm, stop us going to certain places.

Uh huh erm, do you think it's kind of moving on to maybe your late teens or 17/18 when you left school em and obviously you were going to [Pub] and started going to pubs and stuff. Erm, would you describe it as a scene, did you feel like you were part of a scene?

Oops yeah I definitely think so erm,

And what made it a scene I suppose?

It's because erm, well rock music at the time was so popular erm, so 88 was sort of peak I think and all the bands were still alive basically touring more to the point. Erm, and a lot of the bands would come to Glasgow regularly and which was great, so there was, there was always things to do and you got still had the new bands coming out. And the excitement of actually going to HMV or erm, was it 23rd Precinct was a record store, and was it last week,

Yeah that's still going there.

Yep and just the excitement of having, you know having to go to see what, what's there. It was great and you know you'd regularly see people that looked sort of dressed the same way as you the long hair denim and stuff like that, it was a a definite sense of belonging , identity and all that.

And so what, to what extent I mean how did, why did you like that, why did you embrace that? Why was it important to you to sort of look a certain way or to see like minded folk?

A sense of belonging em probably I guess I probably still struggle with it erm, trying to work out who I am, what I want to do, and what I like erm, there's only one of those that I ever know the answer to and that's what I like. Erm, and it's as simple as eating bananas if you don't like them you don't like them. Erm, can't rationalise it. Erm, so to have that one thing that was clear at a time when you know it's so confusing being a teenager and stuff I mean I knew that at the time, that's just one thing you didn't need to worry about was just you know. Erm, just a good feeling. So.

And if you tie that in with the, the going to pubs and what people, sort of young people still today get accused of sort of binge drinking and risk taking behaviour and all this sort of stuff, did you associate any of that with going to Solid Rock, I mean where else did you go was it just the [Pub] or?

Sauchiehall Street, erm, we found a, a local pub, well one that everyone went to all my friends a lot of friends from school erm, it turned out to be quite a, it was like Cheers you know you'd walk in the door, ?Nam?, you know everyone knew your name unfortunately sometimes. Er, like most of Sauchiehall Street, Hope Street at central that end, became er, kind of less than, than favourite shall we say.

So do you think, were you aware at the time of any risky behaviour or do you think that you were doing anything unhealthy in terms of drinking or anything like that?

Hmm not unhealthy but erm, a definite sense of er, you know being naughty. Erm, you know drinking too much and stuff you know as everyone will do at that age but er, I was certainly not aware of any doing anything you know beyond those, those thoughts.

Uh huh. Erm, did you, like what did you do when you left school did you work or did you study or did you?

Er, I went to Uni erm, still had the long hair. Erm ,nothing much had changed really.

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