'If I don't look good, it just doesn't go up': A qualitative study of young women's drinking cultures and practices on Social Network Sites

Amanda Marie Atkinson, Harry Robin Sumnall

Abstract

Background: Young women in the UK often partake in a culture of intoxication in the pursuit of pleasure and friendship fun. Experiences of intoxication and drinking spaces remain highly gendered, and relative to men, women continue to find their behaviours in drinking spaces more constrained and scrutinised. Simultaneously, young women now express themselves via Social Network Sites (SNS), where they display drinking experiences and where they perform, negotiate and display contemporary femininities.

Methods: The research explored young women's experiences of drinking and intoxication, the use of SNS in their drinking cultures and the display of drinking practices on SNS through group interviews (n=12) with women (n=37) aged 16-21 from one city in the North-West of England, UK.

Findings: The practice of uploading drinking photographs to SNS played an important role in displaying young women's popularity, enhancing friendship fun and belonging, and in positioning the hyper-sexual feminine look as the norm in drinking spaces. Both intoxication and the hyper-sexual and feminine look challenged traditional notions of respectable femininity, whilst the highly groomed feminine look itself was threatened by drunkenness. As such, young women invested much work and effort in self-surveillance and in managing the display of their drinking behaviors on SNS.

Conclusion: The dilemmas in contemporary femininity created by the juxtaposition of hyper-sexual femininity and the culture of intoxication are reproduced on SNS. Controlling and restricting certain content on SNS with the aim of achieving the 'right' feminine self-presentation resulted in a narrowly set of body oriented and behavioural feminine attributes being presented as the norm, and an overly positive online representation of young women's drinking experiences.

Key words: young women, intoxication, alcohol, drinking, Social Network Sites, post-feminism.

Introduction

In neo-liberal societies where discourses of individualisation, self-expression, autonomy, commodification and marketing are ever present, consumption, leisure and lifestyle are important markers of self-transformation and identity performance (Giddens, 1991; McCreanor et al., 2005a,b; 2013; McRobbie, 2009; Miles, 2000). Within such neo-liberal discourse, identities are fluid and shifting based on individualism and the means to consume (Giddens, 1991; Hutton et al., 2016) and are therefore influenced by an individual's access to economic and cultural resources (e.g. consumption practices and leisure). Access to such resources are further structured and governed by the power relations and inequalities inherent in the lived experiences of gender, age, class, race and sexuality (Bourdieu, 1984; Skeggs, 1997; 2004; 2005; Miles, 2000; Warde, 2005; Wetherell, 2009). Consequently, consumer items such as alcohol products, and leisure and consumption practices such as alcohol consumption, drinking practices and intoxication in public drinking contexts, and their display on social media, act as cultural resources and sites of consumption and leisure in signalling and performing identity (Atkinson et al., 2012a; De Visser & Smith, 2007a,b; De Visser & Smith, 2009; De Visser & McDonnell, 2012; Lyons & Willott, 2008; Skeggs, 1997; 2004; Thurnell-Read, 2012; 2013; Kolind, 2011). For example, drinking culture remains highly gendered and drinking spaces, and practices and relations within them, act as important sites of performing gender (Atkinson et al., 2012a; Bailey et al, 2015; Griffin et al., 2012; Measham, 2002; Nicholls, 2016).

The gap between young men's and women's experiences of drinking and intoxication has begun to narrow as women have become more active participants in night life drinking spaces, and as a result, more women are reporting drinking and drunkenness (Atkinson et al., 2012b; Fuller, 2015; Hibell et al., 2012; Griffin et al., 2013). Such changes in women's drinking need to be understood in relation to the increased affordability, availability and strength of alcohol, the marketing of alcohol towards females and the post-industrial restructuring of the night time environment which has led to its sexualisation and feminisation (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2016; Seaman & Ikegwounu, 2011; Szmigin et al., 2008). Gender continues to pervade every aspect of drinking, and society responds differently to men's and women's drinking, usually viewing women's drinking as more problematic (Griffin et al., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2016). Accordingly, drinking practices and spaces have traditionally been viewed as masculine domains, with women's participation being labelled unfeminine (Atkinson et al., 2012a; Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013).

Whilst contributing towards various health and social problems, alcohol use can provide social and cultural pleasures and release from the stresses of modern life, and through its cultural and social significance, provides social cohesiveness and a means of forging (gendered) identity (Griffin et al., 2009; 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2016). International research suggests a culture of heavy episodic drinking and intoxication among young people in which a (controlled) loss of control is desired and pleasurable (Griffin et al., 2009; 2013; Measham & Brain, 2005). Drinking contexts (e.g. parties, nightlife) and intoxication are also important to sociability, the pursuit of fun and pleasure, group belonging and bonding (Griffin et al., 2009; 2013; Measham & Brain, 2005; Niland et al., 2013; 2014 Szmigin et al., 2008). Differences in young women's and men's experiences and communication around intoxication and associated loss of control also exist both on and offline (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2009; 2013; Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2014). For example, in Westernised societies some women have been found to self-manage and restrict their levels of intoxication and associated risks to a greater extent than men using a range of individual protective strategies, as well as factors derived from the friendship group, to moderate the adverse effects of intoxication and to avoid the social judgement associated with being labelled as lacking the feminine virtue of self-control (Atkinson et al., 2011; 2012a; 2015; Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Laverty et al., 2015; Lyons et al., 2014; Nicholls, 2016). Whilst men may glorify what may be perceived by some as negative or extreme experiences of intoxication as a way of accomplishing masculinity, for some young women, tensions exist between their recent freedom to drink to intoxication as a statement of personal choice and empowerment, and the expectation of 'respectable' femininity (Bailey et al., 2015; Brown & Gregg, 2012; Cullen et al., 2011; DeVisser & McDonnell, 2012; Griffin et al., 2013; Lyons & Willott, 2008; Measham, 2002; Nichols, 2016; Skeggs, 1997; 2004; 2005).

Drawing on the work of feminist scholars (e.g. Gill, 2008; McRobbie 2007; 2009), a number of research studies (Bailey et al., 2015; Brown & Gregg, 2012; Cullen, 2011; Dobson, 2013; 2014; Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016) provide useful insights into the tensions in contemporary femininities experienced by young women in the culture of intoxication. These authors discuss how nightlife as a commercialised space provides women, as relatively new participants in a previously male dominated sphere, the opportunity to publicly consume alcohol, enjoy and experience intoxication, and to dress up and perform highly 'girlie', glamorous and 'hyper-sexual' femininity, in ways that are framed as an expression of empowerment through sexual agency (McRobbie, 2007; 2009). By this, we refer to a form of sexually active and body-orientated femininity in which women self-objectify through consumption and dress such as short skirts, high heels, the use of fake tan and eye lashes,

and glamorous makeup (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; McRobbie, 2009; Watts et al., 2015). As a form of commoditised and 'power' femininity, this hyper-sexual feminine look is presented as an aspirational archetype by female celebrities in the traditional entertainment media (e.g. magazines, television) and on social media in which a narrow set of bodily attributes are presented as the norm, and sexiness is framed as a form of empowerment in itself in ways that disguise the entrenchment of traditional gender roles and relations (e.g. The Kadashians) (Dobson, 2013; 2014; Gill, 2007; Jackson & Vares, 2015; McRobbie, 2009; 2015; Watt et al., 2015;).

Ostensibly, female participation in public drinking spaces and the expression of hyper-sexual femininity may be interpreted as a reflection of progress on the basis of women's rising incomes and a right to choose, express and enjoy within neo-liberal discourses of individualism, choice and empowerment (Griffin et al., 2013). For some young women, such discourse is felt to provide a justification for the rejection of feminism as outdated and unneeded (Griffin et al., 2013; McRobbie, 2007; 2009). However, within this so-called 'post-feminist' and pro-capitalist order, women continue to face sexual/gender double standards as traditional notions of respectable (middle class, white and sexual passive heterosexual) femininity are unsettled and the redefining of femininities is limited by traditional conceptualisations as women self-govern their behaviours in accordance. Post-feminism has also coincided with the development of Social Network Sites (SNS) as a means of performing identity, and as a space in which social relations along the lines of gender, class, age, ethnicity and sexuality are played out (Hutton et al., 2016). As Griffin et al., (2013) states, it is against this backdrop that the culture of intoxication and the hyper-sexual feminine look produces a difficult set of dilemmas for young women, in that they are exhorted to be sexy but not slutty, 'sassy and independent' – but not feminist; to be 'up for it' and to drink and get drunk alongside young men – but not to 'drink like men' within an heteronormative and increasingly sexualised night-time economy (Griffin et al., 2013:184; Skeggs, 1997; 2004; Stepney, 2015).

Young women's experiences of drinking, drinking spaces (i.e. nightlife, parties) and SNS are therefore highly negotiated, contradictory and dilemmatic within this post-feminist order (Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016). Such post-feminist discourses are also classed, with it being more difficult for working class women to achieve the 'right' form of femininity relative to those who are middle class, and regardless of class, young women have been found to distance themselves from the practices of working class women through the process of classed Othering (Bailey et al., 2015; boyd, 2011; Griffin et al., 2013; Skeggs, 1997; 2004; 2005; Stepney, 2015). Despite the illusion of empowerment, drinking and drinking spaces thus

act as sites of control for women and as contexts in which gender and classed restrictions continue to be being placed upon them (Atkinson et al., 2012a; Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2009, 2013; Nicholls, 2016; Niland et al., 2014).

The spaces in which alcohol-related practices are managed and gendered are not only mediated (e.g. mainstream media) and physical (e.g. local public drinking environments), but have more recently became virtual and mediated (e.g. Social Network Sites, SNS) (Goodwin et al., 2016). Drinking itself takes place in public spaces (i.e. bars and clubs) and within the context of 'preloading/drinking' within the private sphere (Barton & Husk, 2014; Griffin et al., 2009; Measham & Brain, 2005). Young people's drinking cultures and the 'intoxigenic spaces' in which consumption and related practices are displayed and managed have now also entered online environments such as SNS (Griffiths & Caswell, 2010; Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; McCreanor et al., 2013; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2016). As mediated publics, environments where individuals gather publicly through mediating technology, SNS are extensions of young people's social networks and thus have social functions, providing ways of presenting the self, and gaining, maintaining and enhancing peer group social and symbolic capital through amplifying 'sociality, visibility and popularity' (boyd, 2007a,b; boyd & Ellison, 2007; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Lunnay et al., 2011).

Within these online environments, young people create, discuss and display high levels of alcohol-related content and at the same time are exposed to new forms of alcohol marketing (Atkinson et al., 2016; Carah et al., 2014; Griffiths & Caswell, 2010; McCreanor et al., 2013; Moreno et al., 2009a,b; 2010; Nicholls, 2012; Winpenny, 2014). The practice of displaying alcohol-related content such as photographs depicting drinking is pleasurable for young people, and important in the creation of drinking stories, group belonging and bonding (Hebden et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2009; Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; Moreno et al., 2010; McCreanor et al., 2013). However, these spaces and their place in drinking culture have been found to be gendered, and valued and participated in more by young women (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Lyons et al., 2014; 2015; Mendelson & Papacharsi, 2010; Tonks, 2012). SNS have thus become integral features of young people's social lives and have extended the arena in which young people create, negotiate and enact gendered identities through the display of active social lives, popularity and symbolic consumerism (boyd, 2007; Cover, 2012; Goodwin et al., 2016; Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; Pempek et al., 2009). Moreover, the central role of SNS in young people's drinking cultures means that the dilemmas in contemporary femininities created by drinking and intoxication have now entered online spaces (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2014; Tonks, 2012).

Recent research conducted with young people (18-25) in New Zealand (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2013; 2014) has highlighted the complexity of young people's discussions around alcohol in relation to the commercialised context of SNS. Hutton et al., (2016) and Niland et al., (2014) discuss how the online display of drinking involves much time and effort, particularly among young women, to limit the display of drunken photos in order to maintain an overall attractive online self-display. Expressions of caution and regret co-existed alongside expressions of fun, excitement and pleasure (Hutton et al., 2016; Lyons et al., 2014; 2015; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2016) and women's intoxication on SNS was described using a range of negative language by both young men and women (Hutton et al., 2016). Young people essentially 'airbrushed' their online display of drinking (i.e. photographs) within the structural constraints of gender, in ways that framed alcohol use as a predominantly positive experience (Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2014). Although research has begun to explore the growing role of SNS in young people's drinking cultures and the role that both SNS and alcohol play in identity formation and self-expression in a neo- liberal context (Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; McCreanor et al., 2013; Niland et al., 2016), there remains a lack of UK based research exploring young women's own uses and meaning of SNS in their drinking cultures, and the display of drinking in the performance of femininities (Hutton et al., 2016). As extensions of drinking spaces, SNS are an important area of enquiry, allowing us to explore the ways in which young women display drinking cultures and the difficulties and pressures they face in presenting the 'right' form of femininity in relation to drinking and intoxication (Bailey et al., 2015; Dobson, 2013; Hutton et al., 2016). SNS act as an additional space in which women face pressure to perform 'ideal' and narrowly defined femininity, where they experience the dilemmas in contemporary femininity created by drinking and intoxication, and the gender sexual/double standards placed upon them within contemporary drinking cultures (Hutton et al., 2016).

This paper presents findings from a qualitative study of 16-21 year olds in the UK which explored their talk around their experiences of drinking and intoxication, the role of SNS in their drinking cultures, and their display of drinking on SNS. Although group interviews were conducted with both young men and women, here we focus on young women. SNS drinking culture was participated in more by young women and the sharing of drinking photos perceived as a feminine activity by both young men and women (Atkinson et al., 2015; Niland et al., 2014). We focus on how young women talked about their experiences of drinking, and how they negotiated drinking and intoxication in their performance of their femininity on SNS as an extension of public drinking contexts and their social networks, and as an additional space in

which gender restrictions are placed upon them (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2014). Drinking spaces and displays of drinking on SNS are thus framed as sites of gender performance and alcohol-related practices on SNS as bound up with socially embedded understandings of how femininity should be performed and accomplished (Butler, 1999; Hutton et al., 2016; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Methods

Discussions were conducted with twelve peer groups of young women (N=37) aged 16-21 years in 2014 in order to explore the role of SNS in their drinking cultures and the ways in which they presented themselves in relation to alcohol on SNS. The research was advertised as a study of alcohol use and SNS and participants were recruited through educational establishments (i.e. schools, colleges, and universities), and youth groups from low-high- and mid-point Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) quintiles in one region of the North-West of England. The region in which the research was conducted is traditionally characterised as working class, with local women and celebrities being regularly derided, blamed and shamed for their post-feminist hyper-sexual appearance and behaviours in drinking environments by the mainstream media (e.g. The Daily Mail, celebrity magazines; Atkinson et al., 2011; 2012a; Jackson & Vares, 2015; McRobbie, 2009; Watt et al., 2015). Although young women were not characterised by class (see limitations section), it is important to acknowledge that class is central to their gendered experiences, with working class women's femininity and drinking practices being judged, scrutinised and stigmatised in accordance with middle class notions of respectability (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Nicholls, 2016; Skeggs, 1997). The study provides insight into women's experiences and negotiation of public drinking spaces in a working class environment.

Taking a social constructionist approach (Burr, 2003), language is regarded as a tool through which reality is locally constructed. With identity being something that people 'do' as a product of social interaction, rather than what they are or individually have (Butler, 1999; West and Zimmerman, 1987), the meaning and importance of drinking, intoxication and SNS to young people is constructed through social interaction and group talk (Demant & Jarvinen, 2010). Group interviews were therefore chosen over individual interviews to gain insight into both drinking occasions and SNS as forms of social interaction through which shared experiences and understandings are created and identities negotiated and performed (Demant & Järvinen, 2010, Eder & Ferguson, 2003; Griffiths & Caswell, 2010; Heath, et al., 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Lyons et al., 2014; 2015; Lunnay et al., 2011; Lunt & Livingstone,

1996). Previous studies have used focus groups as a useful way of facilitating young people's discussions about friendship group drinking in ways that have created detailed data (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2009; 2013; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2016). As absent contexts, talk regarding drinking spaces and SNS provided insight into the ways young women co-shaped and negotiated the performance of feminine identities in relation to drinking and intoxication on SNS (Hutton et al., 2016). They further provided insight into the dynamics through which young women construct accounts and explanations to and alongside the friendship group, and the dynamics through which shared norms and practices are created and reinforced (Hutton et al., 2016; Griffin et al., 2009; Niland et al., 2014). Conducting interviews in the friendship groups in which young women drank alcohol and experienced intoxication, and within the group in which their accounts of drinking on SNS are directed and co-created, provided the most useful and relaxed context in which accounts of their real life experiences could be captured (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016; Nicholls, 2016).

Both mixed sex (n=7) and single sex groups (n=5) were used, reflecting the makeup of young people's peer groups. The number of participants in the groups ranged from 3 to 10 and consisted of young people who were homogenous in age range (e.g. 17-18 years, 20-21 years). The mixed sex groups contained young men and women who were familiar with each other and drank together, but at the same time they also drank separately in single sex groups. In the mixed sex groups, young men sat back and rarely commented on young women's discussions around their display of drinking and intoxication on SNS, and when they did, expressed such practice as feminine and participated in more by young women, as such co-shaping the role of SNS in drinking culture as a gendered practice. Young men's presence did not appear to restrict young women's talk around their experiences of drinking, intoxication and SNS. There were no notable differences between young women's talk in mixed and single sex groups, and young women tended to dominate the conversation around SNS in mixed sex groups, even when outnumbered by young men. However, we do acknowledge that the presence of males co-shaped and influenced women's accounts and that certain aspects and perspectives of their experiences may have been omitted. Moreover, for some friendship groups, some individuals who participated in the groups social drinking were missing from the focus groups. It must be acknowledged that different versions of reality would have been created with their presence.

Of the female sample, there was almost an even split of young people under (54%, n=20) and over (46%, n=17) the UK legal alcohol purchasing age (18 years), with a mean age

of 17.8 years. The majority of the female sample were White British (89%, n=33), had consumed alcohol in their lifetime (97%, n=36), and had begun to drink with friends at parties (e.g. 18th birthday parties located in public and private drinking locations) and mainstream, nightlife drinking environments (less regularly and on special occasions for younger participants). Mean age of initiation into alcohol use was 13.8 years. Young women predominately discussed the SNS Facebook within their talk around drinking occasions (Goodwin et al., 2016). Instagram was important in the creation and display of photographs, with photos being linked to and displayed on their Facebook profiles. Twitter was discussed and used, but featured less within their drinking cultures and online display of drinking, due to the importance of photographs to young women and the lack of photos being displayed on this platform (Goodwin et al., 2016). SnapChat was also used to share photos during the drinking occasion, and WhatsApp was used to organise nights out through group messaging. Facebook also allowed them to organise nights out through messaging functions, but was predominantly used and valued for the uploading of photographs following a night out drinking (Goodwin et al., 2016). It allowed them to tag and be tagged by friends, to untag themselves from photos they did not wish to publicly display and to express their approval and appraisal of photos through 'liking' and comments.

The research predominantly focussed on young people's drinking cultures and practices rather than drinking patterns with questions covering a number of areas such as young people's friendship networks, experiences of drinking and intoxication, experiences in drinking environments, use of SNS, and use of SNS in relation to drinking and intoxication. Visual imagery such as photographs have an important social role and are valuable to the study of identity and self-presentation as they provide insight into how individuals choose to represent themselves in relation to alcohol to others on SNS and the online management of self (Bourdieu, 1990; Hutton et al., 2016; Moreno et al., 2009; Niland et al., 2014; Tonks, 2012) They were therefore asked to discuss what types of content relating to drinking they posted to SNS, and what drinking content they omitted, and the reasons why.

Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and one hour, were transcribed verbatim and analysed using NVivo (version 10). Although interviews were conducted on the basis of a pre-determined, semi-structured interview schedule, new patterns and themes emerging from the discussions were identified and coded using an inductive thematic analysis approach (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). The original research questions were regularly consulted to identify relevant themes and subthemes to guide the coding and through constant comparison we assured that the codes were adequately represented across the data set,

whilst incorporating contradictory statements. The interviews were coded by the same researchers who conducted the interviews with regular in-depth discussions concerning code application and development taking place. All researchers were White British females between the ages of 25 and 30. Ethical approval was granted by the University ethics committee.

Results

Overview of findings

A number of themes emerged in young women's talk around alcohol use, intoxication and SNS, which were overwhelmingly absent from young men's discussions (data not reported here), making the themes presented highly gendered. Among this group of young women, SNS were discussed in ways that reinforced drinking as important to the friendship group by acting as an extension of the space in which they documented the fun and pleasurable interactions bound up with their active social lives as post-feminist subjects through uploading drinking photographs to SNS (Dobson, 2013; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016). Moreover, they provided the opportunity for being seen, for expressing popularity and for peer attention and appraisal through practices such as Facebook likes and comments (Goodwin et al., 2016). They further afforded opportunities to create and prolong group memories of shared drinking experience which helped further bond the group in ways that were unique to young women (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Hutton et al., 2016).

Whilst SNS had an important role in organising nights out, enhancing friendship fun and belonging and displaying hyper-sexual and feminine identities as the norm in drinking spaces, the display of drinking on SNS was highly managed and negotiated in ways that reflected the dilemmas in contemporary femininity young women encountered in public drinking environments (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et., 2016). Young women spoke of drinking and some degree of intoxication as an expected and often inevitable aspect of a night out with friends that enhanced shared fun and pleasure (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2009; 2013; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Nicholls, 2016; Niland et al., 2013). Although such behaviour itself challenged traditional notions of femininity (Hutton et al., 2016), the display of drunkenness on SNS was highly managed within traditional notions of respectable femininity (e.g. self-control, sexual passiveness) and within a narrow set of body oriented feminine attributes (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2009; 2013; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Nicholls, 2016). The dilemmas in contemporary femininity created by the juxtaposition of hyper-sexual femininity

and the culture of intoxication were thus reproduced on SNS (Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016).

'Just all of us standing together having a nice time': the display and importance of group drinking photos as a gendered practice

Engagement with SNS and the practice of displaying drinking on SNS were gendered phenomenon and participated in and valued more by young women. Photo taking itself and the sharing of drinking photos on SNS were perceived as feminine activities by both young men and young women. Young men rarely engaged in discussion about the display of photos on SNS, and when they were photographed such photos tended to be taken by and in the company of young women. Relative to men, SNS were of huge importance to young women's friendships and in documenting their active social lives, popularity and appearance, and as a result important in their drinking cultures (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016)**.**

Not only did SNS support the organisation of nights out and parties through private messaging and event invitation functions (e.g. WhatsApp, Facebook) but the display of drinking photographs confirmed young women's affiliation to the group and captured pleasurable experiences of their active social lives and popularity for others to view ('*to show people you're having a good* time', Female, 21 years) (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016). Reflecting the emphasis placed by young women on friendship and fun (having '*fun*' and a '*good time'* with '*friends*') within their talk around nights out, drinking photos were constructed as photographs of their friends rather than photos of drinking itself (Niland et al., 2014). Extracts 1 displays a common response to questions on the topic of 'What is an ideal photo from a night out?' Young women positioned 'ideal' photos as those depicting the whole friendship group ('*all of us', 'together', 'all your mates', 'everyone'*) and rejected the inclusion of drinking itself in the photographs as the main focus. Thus, photographs, particularly group photographs, taken on a night out, held importance in representing young women's belonging to the friendship group, their active social lives and popularity in ways that were absent from young men's accounts.

Extract 1

Female 1: Just a nice photograph of _everyone._

Female 2: It doesn't matter whether there's drinking involved or not as long as the picture is nice of _us._

Female 1: Just _all of us_ standing together having a nice time, all your mates _together_

(Mixed sex group, 5 participants, 18-19 years, white)

Reflecting upon and discussing drinking photos both individually and as a group was a common and enjoyable practice that further bonded the group and prolonged pleasure (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Goodwin et al., 2016). The word '_memories_' itself was frequently used when discussing photographs of nights out uploaded to SNS. As Extract 2 highlighted, capturing pleasurable shared experiences, '_look[ing] back_' and creating '_memories_' was a common and enjoyable practice ('_I love it_') (Niland et al., 2014). Not only was much enjoyment gained from looking back over photos, but photos were discussed as _'adding'_ to the pleasure of a night out through reminders of the shared fun involved, which at times may have been forgotten due to intoxication.

Extract 2

Researcher: So, what are the main reasons why you share photos from nights out on Facebook and Twitter?

Female 3: So we can _look back_ at it.

Female 4: _Memories_ isn't it really?

All: Yeah.

Female 3: We all went on holiday last year and we _look back_ over it all the time.

Female 4: I look at my Facebook album of that holiday like every day.

Female 3: Like when I'm bored, I'll just go through them, and remember it, _I love it._

(All female group, 4 participants, 17-18 years, white)

The fun and sociability of a night out was therefore reinforced by the display of drinking photographs and friend's interactions with, and appraisal of, drinking experiences on SNS. This confirmed and prolonged the pleasurable aspects of shared drinking experiences, omitting more negative experiences, and positioning both drinking and SNS as important to friendship belonging and bonding (Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2013). As will be discussed, despite the positive, fun and social aspects of group drinking being displayed on SNS to document their active social lives, popularity and participation in public drinking spaces as post-feminist subjects (Brown and Gregg, 2012; Dobson, 2013), the overly positive online accounts of nights out drinking were the product of labour intensive self-management within the realms of traditional notions of respectability (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016).

'I want to get all dressed up': the hyper-sexual and feminine look as the norm

SNS provided an extension of drinking cultures and the arena in which young women negotiated, created and displayed contemporary femininity. They engaged in both the culture of intoxication and created and performed a hyper sexual and feminine look for their participation in drinking spaces. SNS provided an opportunity for young women to present themselves in a highly constructed manner predominantly based on bodily appearance and attractiveness, constructed as a result of self-grooming and surveillance. Online display of the highly constructed hyper-sexual and glamorous feminine self through the use of dress (i.e. the 'high heel') and the application of makeup (Bailey et al., 2015; Cullen et al., 2011; Griffin et al., 2013) reinforced this look as the normative femininity within nightlife and party environments. In a separate analysis (not published here) of the young women's drinking photographs displayed on the SNS Facebook (Atkinson et al., 2015), photographs were found to reflect the notion of the hyper-sexual and feminine 'look', in that short skirts, fake tan and eye lashes, glamorous makeup and the heel in particular, were the basis of their carefully constructed appearance required for participating in nightlife (Bailey et al., 2015; Dobson, 2013; Griffin et al., 2013; McRobbie, 2009). Photographs commonly depicted and regarded as the 'ideal

photo' showed young women posing, in a group, wearing glamorous outfits and makeup, hand on hip, whilst smiling or pouting in a sexual manner, or pulling tongues, whilst holding wine or cocktails (Atkinson et al., 2015; Dobson, 2013).

This groomed look was only created for social drinking occasions, and was more commonly performed and displayed by older females who frequented nightlife drinking spaces more regularly. However, it was also performed by younger females at parties and within public drinking spaces which they participated in less regularly. This positions the hyper-sexual and feminine look as a taken for granted performance created specifically for drinking occasions and subsequent display on SNS (Cullen et al., 2011). Some young women discussed how constructing themselves in such ways through '*makeup*' and '*heels*' had the added benefit of increasing the likelihood of them gaining entry to drinking venues by making them appear older. As highlighted by female 5 in extract 3, the display of this look ('*dressed up*', '*dolled up*') was even discussed by some as a main factor that may influence and entice younger females to participate in drinking culture ('*you'd see what people wear and be like 'Oh I want to be like that, I want to get dressed up*''), rather than alcohol use and the fun involved in group drinking itself.

Extract 3

> Female 5**:** I think it's not just that they see that it's looks like a laugh, but well when you're younger *you'd see what people wear and be like 'Oh I want to be like that, I want to get dressed up'.* So it's not just being able to go out and have fun, they'll look at how people look and like all dolled up, and they'll like it and want to get all glam like it too
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> (All female group, 18 years, 4 participants, white)

When asked, ideal drinking photos were discussed as those where participants were satisfied with their appearance and these were the photographs which they hoped to gain attention, peer recognition and appraisal through Facebook likes and comments (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016). It was photos of the hyper-sexual and feminine look that received most peer attention and appraisal through likes and comments on their Facebook profiles (Atkinson et al., 2015). In extract 4 we see how displaying bodily appearance ('*to show everyone what you look like really*') is discussed as the main reason for uploading

photographs to SNS and the framing of SNS as paramount to '*being seen'* and the perception of others (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Hutton et al., 2016).

Extract 4

Researcher: So what is the main reason for uploading photos of a night out then?

Female 6: Well if you've got a nice outfit on, you think this can't be wasted, you want people to _see_ that outfit

Participant 6: _To show everyone what you look like really._

Female 8: Just *show people*, being _seen,_ what you're wearing and how you look.

Researcher: Is that the _main and only reason?_

Female 8 and 11: yeah

(All female group, 3 participants, 20-21 years, white)

'If I don't look good, it just doesn't go up': the threat of intoxication

Creating and perfecting appearance involved much work, the sharing of skills within the friendship group and a high degree of self-surveillance. Although the hyper-sexual and feminine look was the normative femininity within public drinking spaces, parties and SNS, in participant's talk, tensions arose between their engagement in intoxication, the performance and maintenance of this highly groomed look and pressures to uphold traditional notions of respectability femininity. Photographs taken for SNS provided evidence of getting the look 'wrong' ('*not a good look', extract 5*) and created anxiety over how others may perceive them (Bailey et al., 2015; Watts et al., 2015). Although young women did experience intoxication on a regular basis, as extract 5 suggests, the possibility of being seen intoxicated on SNS and in situations which compromised their desired feminine look was anxiogenic for many ('*sometimes I shake'*). As such, young women managed and restricted the images of drinking and intoxication displayed on SNS that threatened and compromised both the hyper-sexual and feminine look and normative expectations of respectable femininity (e.g. self-control,

passive and self-controlled sexuality). They had clear peer group rules regarding what photographs were acceptable for uploading to SNS, and discussed '*a line*' of acceptability with regards uploading photographs of intoxication. Although some photographs displayed on SNS may have crossed this line, these images had the potential to create shared humor within the group. However, the possibility of being depicted in photographs that crossed this line, and being seen and judged by others, resulted in a group agreement that in the main, photographs documenting behaviours regarded as unacceptable by the group were not to be uploaded to SNS. They were therefore aware of the possible interpretations of absent audiences (Goodwin et al 2016; Hutton et al., 2016) and felt others would judge them for appearing intoxicated on SNS.

Extract 5

Researcher: How do you feel when people do post photos of you?

Female 6: Depends how *bad [*they are]

Female 7: *Sometimes I shake*. I start to get *nervous* if I've seen somebody has tagged me in something from a night out. [Participant 8 laughs] I'm like "No, get on that laptop quickly".

Female 6: if they're bad, you want to untag. If you look *fat*

Female 7: Oh, ones where *your knickers are out*, you look *fat*, you look like you've been sick, you got a *double chin*.

Female 8: You got one eye going one way than the other.

Female 6: Yeah. When your eyes go all funny, ah, one eye looking for you one eye searching for you. Yeah, they're *not a good look.*

(All female group, 3 participants, 20-21 years, white)

Intoxicated photos of themselves and other women were frequently described using a narrow range of negative language which was used unanimously across the sample to judge what was regarded as unacceptable behaviours and unsatisfactory self-presentation on SNS (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016). Young men did not engage in such discussions or

judge women in the context of the interview. It appeared impossible for young women to be satisfied with their appearance with much emphasis being placed on the impact of intoxication on theirs and other women's highly constructed physical appearance and weight ('*mug shot', 'mess', 'horrific', 'horrible, ugly', 'meffy', 'bad', 'disgusting', 'fat', 'ten tonnes', 'horrendous', 'urgh', scruff', divvy'*) (Bailey et al., 2015; Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2014; Watts et al., 2015). Extract 5 above highlighted weight and physical appearance as important in deciding whether or not to upload images of drinking and intoxication. In particular, appearing '*fat*' in photographs was regarded as unacceptable and reinforced slenderness as an ideal component of the hyper-sexual and feminine look constructed for a night out, and ideal bodily presentation on SNS. Some young women discussed that after viewing unsatisfactory appearance on SNS they reduced their alcohol intake on subsequent occasions to prevent intoxication compromising their attractiveness. Others revealed going on '*diets*' which involved reducing their drinking on weekdays to avoid '*empty calories'* with the aim of managing their bodily appearance for future presentation on SNS. Such body shaming and a lack of satisfaction with their appearance reflects wider concerns regarding a normalisation of the stress and pressures faced by young women in a media, celebrity and advertising saturated society in which they are surrounded by messages of perfecting the body and the presentation of a narrow set of unachievable standards of beauty (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Dobson, 2013; McRobbie, 2009; 2015).

Negative language further reflected the dilemmas faced by the juxtaposition between their freedom to participate in drinking culture and intoxication, whilst upholding notions of respectable femininity such as self-control ('*out of control' 'mess head', 'messed up' 'meffy' 'a show', 'bad', 'smack head'*). Extract 6 further demonstrated that although experiences of intoxication were regarded as humorous, young women were aware that their drunken behaviours might be interpreted by others as lacking self- control. They feared being labelling as not being able to '*control'* themselves and regarded the presentation of such behaviours on SNS as such shameful ('*embarrassing*'). Their belief that such women *'shouldn't be out',* reinforced the idea that women must restrain and manage their alcohol use in order to participate in public drinking.

Extract 6

Researcher: Do you think there are any negative effects of being seen in certain types of photograph if it's associated with alcohol?

Female 6: Like if I was on the floor in town they'd think '*oh, she can't control herself'*.

Female 7: Like, '*she shouldn't be out*'

Female 6: It's *embarrassing* isn't it really? *It's only for your mates to see.*

Female 8: Like, we might find it funny but other people might not. *It's like our sense of humour.*

(All female group, 3 participants, 20-21 years, white)

Decisions around uploading photographs were also based on connotations of sexual promiscuity with some photographs providing evidence of getting the hyper-sexual look wrong (Bailey al et., 2015; Hutton et al., 2016). Examples regarded as crossing the line of acceptability included images in which women's underwear were visible ('*knickers out', e*xtract 5*, 'can see her underwear',* extract 7) as a result of intoxication and presumably the wearing of short skirts, with such photographs being judged as unacceptable with reference to the 'drunken slut' ('*slutty*', extract 7) (Griffin et al., 2013). Despite feeling judged and managing their own display of drinking on SNS, as extract 7 suggests, many judged other women and distanced themselves from the behaviours and appearance of others ('*some girls, not us', 'other people')* in attempt to maintain respectability in their own online display (Hutton et al., 2016). This highlights the ways in which young women regulate their own and other women's femininities and sexual identities (Goodwin et al., 2014; Dobson, 2013). The limits within which the hyper-sexual feminine look could be performed by young women, and the social sanctions in place when performing this new way of doing gender excessively, are also highlighted (Hutton et al., 2016).

Extract 7

Researcher: Okay, what sort of drinking photos would you never post, like if you're the main poster, what would make you not post one?

Female 9: Erm, like if it makes me look really bad, like, cos like… you know if *some girls, not us, like sat there and you can see her underwear, like looking a bit maybe slutty*, like I wouldn't put it on. Like you see *other people* and they put them on and

it's like you shouldn't have been sat like that, but, I'm not gonna do that to my friends am I

Female 10: Or if someone's *passed out*

Female 9: Or, *If I don't look good, it just doesn't go up!*

(Mixed sex group, 5 participants, 18-19 years, white)

The ways in which some young women distanced themselves from forms of femininity which were regarded as subverting notions of respectability through the display of intoxication and sexuality, also appeared to be classed (Grifin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016; Nicholls, 2016; Stepney, 2015). Although they did engage in such behaviours themselves, a line was drawn at deliberately making such behaviours public on SNS. As shown in Extract 8, a certain degree of classed Othering was used to distance themselves from the behaviours displayed on SNS by other women who they saw as subverting notions of respectable femininity (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016; Nichols, 2016). The participant's awareness of the consequences of online drinking images being viewed by invisible audiences such as employers and university/college staff led to them distancing themselves from women in which they regarded as being '*on the dole all their life'* along class lines (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016). Associating such women with the Jeremy Kyle show ('*They're the ones that go on Jeremy Kyle 'innit', and then refer to Facebook'*), a British reality TV programme that has been important to the demonisation of the working class through the caricature of the 'chav' (Nicholls, 2016; Skeggs, 2015), is further used to distinguish themselves and their online display of drinking along class lines, in turn confirming their own respectability.

Extract 8

Female 4: I think if they want to go into a career and they are at Uni or doing a decent college course or A levels of something, they are quite careful as to what they post. Whereas people that you can tell they're just going to be *on the dole all their life.*

Female 4 and 5 laugh.

Female 3: bit of an over generalisation?

Female 4: _They're the ones that go on Jeremy Kyle 'innit', and then refer to Facebook._

Female 3: Oh my god you two, you can't say that!

(All female group, 3 participants, 20-21 years, white)

The above accounts highlight the hyper-sexual and feminine look as the norm in drinking spaces, and as a highly contentious and contradictory femininity displayed on SNS that is managed within traditional notions of respectability. However, it is important to note that some young women rejected both the notion of the hyper-sexual self and the display of intoxication and the hyper-sexual look on SNS (Goodwin et al., 2016). Similar to the findings of classed Othering, young black women distanced themselves from this culture, and although drinkers themselves, were the most critical of young women who displayed such images and self-presentation on SNS. In extract 9 a group of young black women discuss SNS as promoting ('_gives them a push_') intoxication and promiscuous behaviour among other young women. As expressed by female 11, they felt that SNS influenced young women to _'behave badly ' and 'negatively',_ with a combination of intoxication and the hyper-sexual look leading to the display of sexualised behaviour _('pop their boobs out')_ on SNS. Not only do they describe _('and they just look terrible, like just dead, urgh')_ and mock _('they think they look pretty'_ [laughing]) other women's appearance in drinking photos using negative language in ways that label their appearance as excessiveness _('dressed up',_ '_all done up'_), they describe other women's intoxication _('they just look pretty much an alcoholic')_ in ways that suggest the upholding of traditional notions of respectability. As female 13 suggests, they judged the intoxication and excessive alcohol use displayed in drinking photos as exemplifying a lack self-control ('_like they can't control themselves')_ and judged such behaviours in relation the women's sexual reputations _('stupid things like sleeping with people or whatever so you judge them')_ (Goodwin et al., 2016). By judging others, these young black women distance themselves from such displays and help position SNS drinking culture as supporting a narrowly defined and self-governed body-orientated and sexualised femininity as the norm in ways that are racialised (Griffin et al., 2013).

Extract 9

Female 11: Actually, *I think social networks actually influence them to behave badly like negatively. So like, they'll go drink, dress like they do and it'll be like an excuse to pop out their boobs or something.*

Female12: Yeah.

Female11: So like the alcohol just *gives them a push*, and then they're all over Facebook.

Researcher: Ok, do youse ever post stuff when you're drinking?

Female12: No.

Female13: Just like 'having a night out' but not the photos

Female 12: Even if was slightly tempted to I will keep it until the next day when I've woken to say 'Had a great day with these guys, fun, hope we do it again' then someone will comment and say 'Oh had a fun night? Can I come?' 'Sure'.

Female 11: My mates though, they do post stuff when they're drunk but it's just to be like 'Oh I'm cool'. They take pictures of alcohol just because they look cool. *And they dressed up, and they just look terrible, like just dead, urgh*

Female 13: *They think they look pretty* [laughing]

Female12: Standing like they do, *all done up*, like putting alcohol between them.

Female 13: *Then they just look pretty much an alcoholic, and like they can't control themselves,* I just think like 'go home will ya'. Like people judge them because *drinking leads them to doing stupid things like sleeping with people or whatever so you judge them.*

(Mixed sex group, 4 participants, 18-19 years, black)

'If we put a funny one on we can all laugh about it'*: strategies for managing intoxication and femininity on SNS*

Although images of drinking and intoxication had been uploaded to SNS by most young women, they employed a number of strategies to prohibit intoxicated photographs being uploaded with the aim of maintaining the display of a highly groomed feminine self that although often sexual, adhered to notions of respectable femininity (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016). In negotiating their online feminine identities, they were aware of unseen audiences and the possible judgemental readings of drinking images by various audiences such as peers, parents, and future employers (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Goodwin et al., 2016). As such they evaluated their own content and took appropriate actions to prevent social shaming and damage to their reputation (Goodwin et al, 2016; Hutton et al., 2016). Such discussions were absent from young men's talk, highlighting how online identity performance related to drinking is a much more difficult and complex terrain for young women to occupy than young men (Goodwin et al., 2016).

Many discussed not taking photographs or waiting to upload photographs until they had been filtered when sober the following day (Goodwin et al., 2016). 'Untagging' photographs (i.e. so that the photographs did not appear on the user's profile), adopting privacy options that require permission for tagging photographs, and asking friends to delete photographs were common practices. Relative to young men, almost all young women discussed the use of SnapChat to circulate drinking photos and photos of intoxication during the drinking occasion to a select number of peers. This device allowed them to privately display drunken photographs in which they were not completely satisfied with their appearance without the fear of lasting evidence (photographs sent via SnapChat are deleted quickly, with the sender placing limits on the amount of time the photo can be viewed, usually by the second). Thus, they were able to circulate real time evidence of their social lives and popularity to their peers, whilst limiting the widespread circulation of such images, and the time in which they could be viewed and judged. Extract 10 highlights the value of SnapChat for young women in documenting their nights out without encountering judgement, shame and regret over their behaviour and appearance ('*Why did I do that?', 'Why did I go out like that?*'). However, whilst this platform offered the ability to post drinking photos whilst drunk to a limited audience in ways that other SNS did not allow, as female 8 explains, at times prior intentions not to post photographs to other SNS (e.g. Facebook) whilst drunk ('*you don't mean to post when you're out*') were constrained by intoxication itself. Intoxication thus interfered with their ability to manage the display of drinking on SNS, leading to regret ('*Why did I do that?*') at the

display of drunken images in which they were unhappy with their appearance ('*you're drunk and you look so different to the start of the night*'). SnapChat was therefore valued ('*So with SnapChat it's ok*') as a safe space for the sharing of drinking photos and a mechanism for preventing the display of drunken photos and the 'wrong' feminine look on SNS. Extract 10 also suggests that despite tensions created by the culture of intoxication and the high degree of management involved in the practice of posting drinking photographs to SNS, there was also much pleasure and fun bound up with uploading and viewing drinking photos online ('*I love looking through them*') (also see section '*Just all of us standing together having a nice time*').

Extract 10

Researcher: Like, do you look forward to seeing the photos the next day?

Female 7:I do.

Female 6: I do in one way [about P3], She's like 'no'.

Female 8: No!

Female 6: I do like seeing them but when I actually look for them I think "*no, why did I do that*".

Female 7: Like, *"why did I go out like that?"*

Female 8: I think that's the good thing about SnapChat, cause after 8 seconds you never have to see it again. Unless you screen shot it. Cos like either you don't like what people have put up, *you're drunk and you look so different to the start of the night*, or *you don't mean to post when you're out*, and then you do, and you're like, 'why did I do that?' So with SnapChat it's ok

Female 6: I think they do add to a night out cause I love looking through them, I absolutely love it. Sometimes I if I'm bored I just go and look through all the pictures.

(All female group, 3 people, 20-21 years, white)

The pre-loading/drinking context was also used as a strategy for managing images of drinking and intoxication. Young women valued this pre-loading/drinking for its social function as a space in which they bonded with friends whilst perfecting a desired self-presentation

when '*getting ready*' or '*dressed up*' for the night out. It provided a context in which the hyper-sexual and feminine look required for participation in drinking environments was constructed, perfected and caught on camera for the display of 'ideal' photos on SNS before intoxication compromised the look (Bailey et al., 2015). Such talk was unique to young women's accounts, with both young men and young women defining pre-loading as a 'girlie' activity due to its role in constructing appearance. Extract 11 highlights how when asked to discuss a typical night out, emphasis was placed on constructing appearance and the creation of the right look ('*makeup, hair*') as labour intensive and involving great effort ('*getting ready for two days*'). Achieving the desired appearance became a group activity perfected by 'e*veryone*' in the pre-loading context*,* thus meeting the requirements for participation in nightlife and acceptable imagery for SNS ('*getting photos*'),* and providing additional shared fun.

Extract 11

Researcher: So just talk me through a typical night out, what would it involve?

Female 14: _Getting ready for two days_ [Laughs]

All: [Laugh]

Female 15: We normally meet up at like 9 don't we?

Others: Yeah.

Female 15: Then everyone is like doing the finishing touches, _make up, hair,_ then just standing round, _getting photos._

Female16: _Dressed up_ and have a drink, put music on and ring taxis which are always delayed.

Female15: Till like half ten.

Female 16: Always down our drink when we go.

Female 15: We go to the first place until like 2 o'clock, then maybe another place and then we go to [name of venue], [Laughs].

(Mixed sex group, 4 participants, 17-19 years, white)

Intoxication on SNS was highly managed to avoid those outside of the immediate friendship group from viewing images regarded as unacceptable, yet photographs of intoxication in which young women were unhappy with their appearance were regarded as humorous by some (Niland et al., 2013). In extract 6 above, young women labelled intoxicated photos as '*only for your mates to see'*, restricting such photographs being uploaded and bonding the group through their shared '*sense of humour'* and in-jokes. It was risky to look unattractive in drinking photographs, but shared pleasure and fun was created through the humour associated with such images and as such some young women did permit their display on SNS (Niland et al., 2014). In Extract 12, we see how uploading photographs regarded as unsatisfactory due to intoxication to SNS for others to view was permitted, and regarded as a practice for instigating humour and shared fun. As female 4 states, '*if we put a funny one on we can all laugh about it'*. This suggests a certain degree of pleasure and fun in the gender transgressions involved in intoxication (Dobson, 2014; Griffin et al., 2013) and that for some, a certain degree of unattractive physical appearance was acceptable when funny, working in a way to mitigate negative judgement. Thus, the introduction of humour provided an additional means of managing and controlling the potential negative implications of uploading photographs of unsatisfactory appearance. Such photographs may also be valued in that they provide evidence of young women's authentic involvement in the culture of intoxication and drinking cultures, which is important for peer group acceptance (Goodwin et al., 2016).

Extract 12

Researcher: If other people posted photos would you un-tag it?

Female 3: Like she [participant 18] put a photo of me and I was like 'Oh, just delete it'. [Laughs]

Female 4: I'd just delete it.

Female 5: Some people put pictures up of their friends and they're not bothered.

Female 3: Although most of the time I say 'Oh just leave it' can't be bothered.

Female 4: Yeah, i don't care as long as it looks funny.

Female 5: Yeah I don't care if it is I suppose.

Female 4: *If we put a funny one on we can all laugh about it.*

(All female group, 4 participants, 17-18 years, white)

Although peer group rules regarding what photographs were acceptable for uploading to SNS appeared to be in place and much effort was involved in abiding by them, young women discussed incidents were friends had uploaded photographs that although may be humorous, contravened such rules, leading to tension between friends (*'murder'*, '*hassle*', Extract 13) (Goodwin et al., 2016. Whilst many recounted such examples and recognised the amusing nature of such photographs, in the main they attempted to avoid tension by keeping the images within the group. As extract 13 highlights, some young women felt that in some cases uploading unattractive photographs of friends was deliberate in that it provided an opportunity to be portrayed as more attractive than their friends ('*you look even more nicer than you do in the photo, and they [friend] look even worse*'), suggesting a degree of competitive femininity regarding attractiveness within drinking cultures (McRobbie, 2009; 2015).

Extract 13

Female 13: I only put photos up if they're nice and we are all smiling. Like a nice picture of both people. Whereas some people I know put photos up that they look really good on but I know I'll look at it and go, 'She won't think that's nice of her' and there's gonna' be *murder.*

Female 14: you'd look really good but your other mate doesn't

Female 14: which like some girls think it's even more of a bonus, because *you look even more nicer than you do in the photo, and they [friend] look even worse* than they actually are

Female 13: I know, if you were to do that then they'd say something about it, so it's more *hassle*

(Mixed sex group, 6 participants, 17-18 years, white)

Thus, despite group cohesion and pleasure being an integral feature of SNS drinking culture, young women individually managed and negotiated the tensions surrounding the performance of contemporary femininities in relation to drinking and intoxication on SNS (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Hutton et al., 2016). They had clear friendship group rules as to what images were acceptable for uploading to SNS, and a number of strategies were used to manage what photographs were displayed (e.g. untagging photos, use of SnapChat, photo taking in pre-loading/pre intoxication). However, such rules were sometimes broken to allow for the introduction of humour, to provide evidence of authentic participation in the culture of intoxication and to be portrayed as attractive relative to their friends, which at times caused tension. The management of intoxicated photographs thus not only denoted the negotiation of femininity in a competitive manner, but the management of friendship relations (Niland et al., 2013; McRobbie, 2009; 2015).

Discussion

The research adds to our understanding of the changing nature of young women's drinking and experiences of intoxication in a post-feminist social media age. A number of themes are highlighted which were unique to young women and absent from young men's accounts, thus shedding light on the gendered nature of the role and use of SNS in young people's drinking cultures. Drinking experiences and intoxication had a significant role in group bonding and friendship and the display of drinking photographs on SNS enhanced shared fun and pleasure through creating lasting memories and humorous group drinking stories (Griffin et al., 2009; Niland et al., 2013, 2014). SNS also provided a way for young women to visibly display their active social lives, popularity and appearance, thus gaining peer attention, interaction, and appraisal (Goodwin et al., 2016). Fulfilling a need to be 'seen' and enhancing shared fun and group belonging suggested a powerful reason for drinking photographs being highly valued in young women's drinking practices (Goodwin et al., 2016; Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; Niland et al., 2014). As discussed by McRobbie (2015), the display of contemporary femininity based on perfection, beauty and the body on SNS as a source popularity and attention, almost positions Facebook as the new Miss World Beauty phenomenon in which young women focus on perfecting femininity with the intention of being 'looked at'.

The research confirms that the restraints and restrictions on young women's behaviour in drinking contexts have not escaped SNS. Such management has extended to their decisions around the online display of drinking photographs (Hutton et al., 2016), and as other research has shown, certain aspects of drinking experiences (i.e. intoxication) were supressed and omitted (Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2014). Although as an extension of drinking spaces, SNS provided opportunities for young women to create, negotiate and perform a hyper sexual and feminine identity as the norm (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016; Lyons & Willott, 2008), they took individual responsibility in managing their behaviour and online display of drinking and intoxication with reference to bodily appearance, attractiveness, self-control and their sexual reputations (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Stepney, 2015). The rejection of the display of both the hyper-sexual and feminine look and intoxication by young black women participating in the research also helps position these ideals as racialised (Dobson, 2013; Griffin et al., 2013; McRobbie, 2009; 2015). Of note is the way in which the hyper-sexual and feminine look adhered to by most young women resembled the contemporary constructions of femininity presented in celebrity culture, in which femininity is commoditised and a narrow set bodily attributes and sexiness are perfected in ways that lead to competitive femininity between women (Jackson & Vares, 2015; Watt et al., 2015; McRobbie, 2009; 2015).

As others have suggested (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016) women's drinking experiences and their display on SNS must be understood in relation to post-feminism, whereby women's participation in public drinking spaces is portrayed and perceived as one example of their right to actively engage, enjoy and express themselves hyper-sexually through consumerism within neo-liberal discourses of individualism, choice and empowerment (McRobbie, 2009). Despite such promises, young women remained restrained by existing notions of traditional respectable femininity and carefully negotiated their online display of drinking and intoxication in an attempt to present the 'right' feminine identity (Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; Niland et al., 2014; Tonks, 2012). Traditional notions of respectable femininity and contemporary femininities are thus at odds with each other, and as Griffin et al., (2013) suggest, the juxtaposition of hyper sexual femininity and the culture of intoxication as a new form of transgression produces a challenging set of dilemmas for young women. They have individual choice to participate in drinking and public displays of intoxication, yet in a highly constrained context, in that they appear to be offered the freedom to transgress, yet traditional codes and gendered double standards remain in force.

The research provides evidence from young women's talk around SNS that such tensions and dilemmas in contemporary femininity presented by post-feminism now extend to

SNS (Griffin et al., 2013; Watts et al., 2015). However, it is important to pay attention to how in recent years there has been an acknowledgment of feminism in popular culture, and the emergence of feminisms that rely on social media as their focal point (McRobbie, 2015). This study found a lack of feminist discourse within young women's accounts and as McRobbie (2015) notes, the re-emergence of a feminism in popular discourse is bound up with and countervailed by the idea that female success is equated to individual self-regulation and achievement through a discourse of the 'can-do must to better', 'have it all' girl. Such individualistic competitive striving to achieve ambitions of success and 'the perfect' is supported by a contemporary feminism of sorts, and is intensified in a world of social media and celebrity feminism. Such discourse works in a way to make feminism compatible with the individualising project of neo-liberalism and the idea of competition, which may work in a way to prevent collective feminist action (McRobbie et al., 2015). Such ideas as an updated extension of the post-feminist theory provide a useful tool for future explorations of young women's drinking cultures and experiences of intoxication.

An outcome of young women's negotiation and management of drinking images on SNS was that the display of drinking and intoxication was selective and overly positive. As other research has found (Hutton et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2014), although young women did participate in a culture of intoxication, they effectively 'air brushed' their experiences on SNS resulting in negative aspects of drinking being omitted. SNS provide an opportunity for young people to 'amp up' their alcohol-related social lives and popularity through self-presentation of highly managed, selective and predominantly positive drinking experiences (Goodwin et al., 2016; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2016). This has implications as the overly selective images of drinking experiences may disguise the dilemmas in femininity created by drinking, intoxication and the display of agentic sexuality, whilst reinforcing a narrowly defined femininity and standards of beauty as the norm. Moreover, drinking and intoxication may be falsely presented as markers of empowerment in ways that disguise the pressures faced by young women and the continued patriarchal heterosexual gender relations at play within drinking practices and spaces (Dobson, 2013).

In addition, the overly positive images of drinking itself may lead to the normalisation of certain drinking practices and the perception of drinking as a predominantly positive and relatively risk free behaviour for young women (Lyons et al., 2014, 2015; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2016; Niland et al., 2013, 2014). It is important that the gendered dynamics in both the uses and meaning of drinking and intoxication are considered when planning practice and policy responses to young people's drinking practise and experiences of nightlife spaces

(Niland et al., 2014; NUS, 2012). However, it is equally important that attempts at addressing young women's drinking do not incorporate the dilemmas in femininity into campaigns with the intention of scaring and shaming young women into changing their behaviours, this may prove ineffective, as well as being ethically questionable (Griffin et al., 2013; Watt et al., 2015).

This paper is unique in that it provides the first UK account of how young women negotiate femininities in relation to drinking and intoxication on SNS. However, a number of limitations must be acknowledged. The findings are not representative of all young women's drinking experiences, although our findings reflect those of other international research (e.g. Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016; Lyons et al., 2014; 2015; Tonks, 2012; Niland et al., 2014). Group interviews provide a useful means of gaining insight into young women's drinking practice and experiences of intoxication. It is important to acknowledge that they can produce different results to individual interviews when discussing such issues, with group interviews producing more positive and social desirable accounts of drinking experiences than those produced by individual interviews (Lyons et al., 2015). Comparing the results of both methods in a UK context is an important line of future enquiry. Whilst there were no notable differences in the ways in which young women talked about their drinking experiences, intoxication and SNS between mixed-sex and female only groups, it is important to acknowledge that different accounts would have been produced using female only groups.

Also, as previous work in this area has explored (Grififn et al., 2013; Bailey., 2015; Nicholls, 2016), class is central to the lives of young women and their experiences of femininity, drinking culture and intoxication. Although a theme of classed Othering emerged in discussions around uploading drinking photos to SNS (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Hutton et al., 2016; Nicholls, 2016), the study would have benefitted from exploring class more prominently in the young women's lived experiences by either asking the young women to self-define their class positions, and/or through researcher assignment based on markers of class. Moreover, whilst alcohol-related practices are gendered, it is important to note that they are also highly aged and bound up with connation's of maturity (Atkinson et al.,2016; Johnson, 2013). For example, young people may view certain drinking practices as an attempt by others to appear socially 'older' (i.e. 'cool', 'showing off'), with over-claiming beyond one's age being associated with immaturity. In other research conducted by the authors with the same sample (Atkinson et al., 2015; 2016) exploring young women's (and men's) interactions with alcohol marketing on SNS, connotations of age and maturity ran through young people's talk. Young people distanced themselves from certain alcohol brands, online practices (outwardly referring

to drinking and intoxication in Facebook status) and SNS marketing strategies (e.g. direct engagement with online marketing (i.e. Facebook likes of brand pages)) in their online identity making practices, in an attempt to distance themselves from the practices of younger people to reinforce their own maturity (Atkinson et al., 2016; Johnson, 2013).

To conclude, our findings suggest that what type of drinking experience displayed by young women on SNS was associated with a wider set of culturally embedded and often contradictory understandings of how contemporary femininities should be performed and accomplished in Western neo-liberal societies and within a post-feminist context (Atkinson et al., 2012a; Butler 1999; Skeggs, 1997, 2004, 2005). The research adds to other work in this area (Bailey et al., 2015; Griffin et al., 2013; Stepney, 2015; Nicholls, 2016; Niland et al., 2014) by highlighting the ways in which young women's experiences of drinking and intoxication are constrained relative to men's and how this is reflected, reproduced and reinforced by their management of femininities in relation to drinking and intoxication on SNS (Goodwin et al., 2016; Hutton et al., 2016).

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