

although provocative and useful in evoking some contemporary forms of temporary community and the sociality through which such belongings are established, Maffesoli's 'tribes' thesis fails to evoke the demanding practical and stylistic requirements and competencies that many of these communities demand, and through which many of them are constituted (1999, p. 26).

Reimer (1995) and Miles (2000) favour the term 'lifestyle' (originally introduced by Weber (1978[1919]) and adopted in recent work on culture and identity by theorists such as Featherstone (1991a,b) and Chaney (1996a)) over 'subculture' as a more accurate theoretical model through which to address and interpret the shifting identity politics and stylistic associations of contemporary youth. The concept of lifestyle focuses on the issue of consumer creativity, acknowledging the ways in which commodities function as cultural resources (Fiske, 1989) whose meanings are generated at the level of the everyday through the inscription of collective meanings. Similarly, lifestyle attributes the reflexivity which informs individual consumer creativity to a desire on the part of individuals to take an active part in the making and remaking of their image and identity. In the case of youth, this may lead to ongoing shifts in musical and stylistic taste, thus giving rise to more temporal forms of youth cultural affiliation than those depicted in the subcultural work of the CCCS and post-CCCS theorists.

An alternative term to lifestyle and neo-tribe that is being used increasingly in research on youth and music, is 'scene', a term that is also extensively used in the everyday discourse of young music followers and stylists. There are two poles around which uses of the term cohere (Irwin, 1997). One is to signify some kind of loose sense of the theatricality of social situations as in 'making a scene' (Goffman, 1956). The other is to signify some kind of much more located and subcultural' space. It is the latter sense that has been drawn on for many years by researchers as a descriptor for local sites of cultural, particularly musical cultural, production and consumption (see, for example, Becker, 1957; Newton, 1961; Gaines, 1990; Kruse, 1993; Bennett and Peterson, forthcoming 2004). In recent years, researchers have made a more concerted effort to theorize the term more rigorously, and Will Straw's work has been particularly influential here. According to Straw, 'scenes' 'actualize a particular State of relations between various populations and social groups, as these coalesce around specific coalitions of musical style' (Straw, 1991, p. 379). Straw argues that scenes may be both local and trans-local phenomena, a cultural space that may orientate as much around stylistic and/or musicalized association as face-to-face contact in a venue, club or other urban setting. Straw's article has sparked a plurality of sophisticated uses of scene in recent years. Drawing on Straw's work, Harris (2000) uses

scene to highlight the interconnectedness of production and consumption within musical contexts that are both global and local. In contrast, Shank (1994) uses the term to highlight the affective, bodily aspect of local contexts of music-making in a way that is reminiscent of the concept of neo-tribe. The use of scene is not, however, confined to musical practice. In a special issue of the Canadian journal *Public*, edited by Janine Marchessault and Will Straw (2001), the various contributors have used the term as a way of creating a framework that encompasses the material specificities of global place building and urban experience' (p.5). Straw argues in the same issue (*ibid.*, pp. 245–57) that scene remains a productive term through a flexible and anti-essentialist quality that allows it to encompass an exceptionally wide range of cultural practices.