Introduction

Over the past decade the writings of the German social theorist Ulrich Beck—in particular his book *The Risk Society*, which was first published in Germany in 1986 and translated into English in 1992—have played a pivotal role in shaping debates within the west over the nature of late modernity and contemporary social identity. Beck’s work has offered up nothing less than a new sociological vocabulary, one aimed at shedding light on the complex transitional processes he sees western societies currently experiencing. In *The Risk Society*, for instance, he contends that there has been a ‘break within modernity’ whereby the modernization process has turned upon itself and become what he terms ‘reflexive modernization’ (Beck 1992: 9). A key feature of reflexive modernization is the shift from a preoccupation with managing wealth and its (unequal) distribution to a preoccupation with managing risk, here ‘defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself [original emphases]’ (Beck 1992: 21).

Of central concern to this essay is Beck’s argument that the experience of external risk and reflexivity is now a generalized experience that cuts across social divides (1998) and that has been accompanied by a shift to a new, individualized form of social identity. By individualization Beck means ‘first, the disembedding and, second, the re-embedding of industrial society ways of life by new ones, in which individuals must produce, stage and
cobble together their biographies themselves’ (1994: 13). In other words, people’s personal biographies are becoming freed from their attachment to the fixed categories of social identity such as social class, family, gender, or occupation that once marked modernity. This shift towards reflexive individualization means that choice becomes central to people’s existence as their identities are increasingly formed through lifestyle-oriented decision making. Accordingly ‘class biographies, which are somehow ascribed, become transformed into reflexive biographies which depend on the decisions of the actor’ (Beck 1992: 88).

One of the key areas where Beck’s theories of risk, reflexivity and individualization are particularly relevant is in the realm of health. The past couple of decades of post-welfare, neoliberal political ‘reform’ in countries like Australia has seen a broad reconceptualization of citizens as self-managing, ‘enterprising individuals’ (Rose 1996). In the arena of health this has been accompanied by a reframing of personal health management as a lifestyle choice. Health promotion discourse thus is decreasingly concerned with government responsibility for morbidity/mortality statistics focusing instead on questions of individual responsibility (Higgs 1998) and on the body as a central site where questions of personal ethics and the social good get played out (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 140). This shift has seen population health strategies and policies increasingly shift from a more structural, macro-social approach to a model that emphasizes the need for individuals to engage directly with their own health status. The ideal enterprising citizen in this latter paradigm is one who actively monitors, regulates
and manages (with the help of appropriate expert advice and knowledge) his/her own health as part of a broader project of rationalized lifestyle management.

A number of major studies over the past couple of years have shown that a significant proportion of people in developed nations now regularly access health information online, a development that could be seen as an archetypal act of self-management and as a kind of democratization or universalization of the values of autonomy and self-care (Fox and Fallows 2003; Rideout 2001; Taylor 2002). Beck’s notion of reflexive individualization would appear to be a highly appropriate critical tool for conceptualizing the way that many lay people are now increasingly using new media technologies as a means of accessing health expertise and in turn managing their own health biographies.

The article that follows discusses the findings of a study into young people’s use of the internet for health information, focusing, in particular, on young people’s perceptions and use of medical expertise, and their degree of investment in individualistic conceptions of health. The premise of my study was that, within the broader population of health-oriented, DIY citizens, young people are likely to be particularly reflexive consumers of online health information. As a group associated both with high rates of internet use and with a tendency to avoid dealing with the ‘mainstream’ medical system, the internet would seem to offer a relatively easy way of anonymously accessing a wide range of lay and ‘expert’ health and medical information—information that could in turn be easily tailored to a young person’s specific ‘lifestyle needs’ as an active health consumer.
At the same time, given the impact and wide acceptance of Beck’s theories of risk and reflexivity within the realm of health (Bunton et al. 1995; Lupton 1995; Petersen and Bunton 1997; Scambler and Higgs 1998), the study was concerned with critically assessing the claim that the shift to reflexive modes of selfhood has been accompanied by a decline in the relevance of traditional social categories. The study asks the question: to what extent and in what ways are we now reflexive subjects? And is the call to reflexivity experienced differently by different social subjects? Beck’s analysis of contemporary identity has been criticised for failing to take into account the ways in which social inequities are not only ongoing today but are potentially intensified in a political and cultural environment that emphasises freedom of choice and enterprising modes of selfhood over social structural understandings of the social self (Skeggs 2002). As Skeggs suggests, rather than representing the dissolution of social categories, the discourse of reflexivity may in fact disguise an intensification of processes of distinction marked by a growing gap between those ‘who cannot access and utilise reflexivity as a cultural resource’ and those for whom ‘reflexivity is a tool by which the resource-ful self is produced’ (2002: 365).

Dovetailing with this critique, the findings of my study indicate that while the notion of reflexive individualization offers insights into conceptualizing the pressures on young people to be healthy self-managing citizens, reflexive identity is not necessarily experienced evenly or in the same manner across different social groups. Instead, the study suggests that the social dispositions or habitus associated with different social locations continue to play an important role in framing young people’s perceptions and
experiences of reflexive health consumption. Drawing upon an expanded conception of Bourdieu’s notion of habitus—as an embodied cultural formation that is both structuring, that is, it ‘organizes practices and perceptions of practices’ and is itself structured, ‘as a product of internalization of the division into social classes’ (1984: 170)—the paper concludes by arguing that, in conceptualizing and managing themselves as healthy and/or at risk bodies, the young people in my study bring to bear a surprising range of different cultural frames or forms of ‘health habitus’ to the task of reflexive self-care. These varied experiences, I would suggest, indicate a need to move away from a universalizing model of reflexivity, which is often reflective of a narrowly middle class model of identity and cultural value, and instead to ‘specify’ the different experiences of reflexivity associated with different social locations.

From mid 2003 to mid 2004 I conducted in depth, individual interviews with nineteen young people aged between seventeen and twenty-five. In order to explore the way in which social location and habitus might be articulated to different modes and experiences of reflexive social identity and DIY models of health, I drew roughly half of my sample from the University of Melbourne undergraduate student population and the other half from a city branch of the Melbourne Citymission, a charitable organisation that through its ‘Frontyard’ youth services provides help to young people aged between twelve and twenty-five years who are homeless or in need of support. The University of Melbourne is a prestigious ‘sandstone’ university located in inner urban Melbourne and has traditionally drawn its student base from an educated middle class elite largely based in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne. Over more recent years, this student demographic has
shifted somewhat to incorporate full fee paying international (particularly South-East Asian) students, although the majority of interviewees in my sample were from Anglo-European backgrounds. While interviewees were not specifically asked questions about their social location or identification, it was hypothesised that the Melbourne University students were likely to come from middle class backgrounds and to exhibit some shared assumptions and values in relation to questions of health and self-care.

In contrast, individuals from the Citymission hailed from relatively disadvantaged social backgrounds and were expected to bring a rather different set of social experiences and cultural values to the question of individual reflexivity around health issues. Given the issue of low internet access for the Citymission group, who were often either homeless, or living in squats or transitional housing, I specifically recruited people to the study who were using a free internet service offered daily during the working week by the Frontyard service run by the Citymission. The internet service was offered as a drop in service and was completely voluntary. Of the nine young people I recruited through the Citymission, five of the participants were male and 4 were female. All were Australian born from Anglo-European backgrounds. The Melbourne University group consisted of six females and four males. While four people in the group were born overseas (two were from Malaysia, one was Indonesian and one was born in Germany) they had all lived for significant periods in Australia. The rest were Australian born and of Anglo-European ethnicity.
All interviews were conducted individually by me. Interviews were semi-structured and focused around the following topics: health issues of concern to the participants; whether they used the internet for health information and how they critically assessed that information; their perceptions of the role and status of doctors and use of medical expertise; and whether and in what ways they conceived of themselves as reflexive, self-managing health consumers. In the process of encouraging study participants to talk about health issues, I deliberately avoided setting up a rigid definition of health or health information. Instead I was interested in what this group of young people included under these broad umbrella terms. The wide range of answers I received indicated a variety of definitions, from more narrowly medical understandings to much broader ‘lifestyle’ approaches to health that focused on diet, exercise and general ‘bodily maintenance’.

The object of the study was to capture a sense of the major discourses participants drew upon in narrativizing their approaches to health maintenance in their daily lives and whether/how questions of social location impinged upon the way in which they constructed their health biographies. Here I should note that in discussing questions of social difference in relation to the university students and the Citymission youth interviewed, the primary goal of the study was not to provide a generalizable, objectivist account of the relations between class, youth and the consumption of online health material. Rather the study was concerned with gauging at a more qualitative level the major discourses framing individual ideas about personal health and how these discourses played out against people’s actual life experiences and opportunities, their sense of
potentialities and risks, their feelings of control (or lack thereof) over their health and their own life paths.

_Online Health Consumption and the Role and Status of Medical Expertise_

A key aspect of Beck’s thesis regarding risk and reflexivity is the crucial role played by scientific expertise. To be a healthy responsible subject under reflexive modernity one has to weigh up the risks and benefits of certain actions and behaviours, that is, to exhibit a kind of calculative rationality in relation to assessing what kind of lifestyle one is going to live. Crucial to the process of making informed decisions about risk management and lifestyle choice is the mediating role of the expert. However, a central premise of Beck’s notion of the risk society is that science, technology and ‘progress’ have become objects of extreme ambivalence so that that the status of the expert is now rather fraught. An awareness of the hazards and risks produced and often actively covered up by the scientific community in the name of industrial productivity is now a pervasive part of daily life in developed nations. Links between industrial pollution and insidious forms of illness are denied along scientific grounds while ordinary people are forced to become ‘alternative experts in risks of modernization’ in order to contest such claims (Beck 1994: 61). As Anthony Giddens puts it, while science was once ‘invested with the authority of a final court of appeal’ in today’s risk society it ‘has lost a good deal of the aura of authority it once had’ (1994: 87). However, while there is a pervasive scepticism towards expertise, at the same time people are becoming increasingly reliant on the abstracted knowledge possessed by experts as life becomes defined by a growing sense of
complexity and insecurity. The contradictory position of scientific expertise as Beck characterizes it then is that while science has contributed to creating the risks that mark everyday life in reflexive modernity, it also offers itself up as the means of understanding and therefore managing these same risks.

In my study one of the themes I was interested in examining was the relationship between young people’s perceptions of and reliance on doctors and medical expertise, their use of the web for health material, and their sense of themselves as reflexive self-managing health consumers. International studies indicate that large numbers of people are taking their health management into their own hands and accessing health information directly via the internet. Two recent quantitative surveys indicate that up to half of all US adults have used the web for health information (Fox and Fallows 2003; Taylor 2002) while one of these surveys similarly found high rates of online health consumption in Japan, Germany and France (Taylor 2002). In relation to youth as a sub-group of health consumers, a large study entitled Generation Rx.com (conducted by a philanthropic group in the US) found that out of 90% of young people who had gone online more than two out of three of them had accessed some health information while one in four had sourced a lot of web-based health material (Rideout 2001). In my study all of the participants were regular internet users and most had looked up health information on the net at some point. Eight of the 19 young people accessed online health information on a reasonably regular basis suggesting a highly active and reflexive approach to health management.
Only two people out of the 19 interviewed had never used the net for health information and both of these young people were very internet savvy. In the case of Paula, a 20-year-old arts student, this was not due to a lack of interest in health but to a sense of the lack of legitimacy of the internet relative to face to face contact with a doctor. As Paula answered when asked if she looks up online health information:

"No, not really, not for stuff like that [health information] cos some times I’m a little concerned that they’re not...legitimate. [...]I think you will still need some kind of personal touch. I mean I think you can get a lot of information off it and you can use that to your advantage but personally I wouldn’t feel comfortable with just that. I’d want that and a professional opinion as well.

Indeed while most of the young people had accessed health information from the internet this activity was definitely not seen as a replacement for seeing a doctor, although it was used at times to supplement information their doctor had given them or to access information that they felt their doctor couldn’t or wouldn’t tell them. As a number of larger quantitative studies have now shown, rather than replacing contact with western medical practitioners, by and large people are using online health information to supplement their visits to the doctor (Fox and Fallows 2003). However, while online health consumers are still using the mainstream medical system, the question that needs to be asked is whether the ‘democratization’ of medical knowledge via the web is having any impact on the role and status of medical practitioners. Accordingly, in my study I asked the young people involved how they perceived their doctors compared with how
their parents might have once seen them. While the doctor was once seen as the first port of call for health issues what role did they see the doctor as having today? Were they just a provider of a service like a hairdresser or were they seen as offering something more?

The majority of study participants still perceived doctors as having relatively high status compared with other health service providers, with their authority being seen to be specifically linked to the long period of study doctors undertook and their grounding in western science. For these young people, however, the perceived high status of doctors was less about social standing and more about efficacy and the scientific legitimacy associated with a medical degree. This perception of efficacy alongside a continued faith in scientific knowledge meant that almost all of the interviewees saw doctors as the first port of call during an acute illness. As Amy, a 19 year old girl from the Citymission put it when I asked her about whether she had ever used alternative medicine:

*I probably wouldn’t go to like a naturopath or anything like that...I trust my western medicine.*

However, while western medicine was seen as possessing continued authority, a number of the young people qualified their statements about the status of doctors by noting that the growing number of different types of health experts available made doctors seem less ‘special’. Others observed that the availability of health information on the web meant that doctors no longer had sole control over medical knowledge. While both the university students and the Citymission group had access to free, on-site health services
(and also often to a family doctor), they seemed to have little investment in forming an ongoing relationship with a sole general practitioner. Instead, most of them didn’t have a regular GP and either attended whatever medical service was available at the time or talked about the need to ‘shop around’ for a decent doctor. Overall, there was a sense, particularly amongst the university students, of relying first on themselves to maintain their own health, with the doctor being seen as a back-up option. As Sarah, a 20-year-old female arts student says:

*I don’t think doctors are people you go to... for a broader sense of health, like if you’re sick you’ll go to the doctor and find out about it but to know how to maintain health I don’t think doctors are the main source.*

For the most part then study participants did display what might be described as a self-consciously calculative and strategic approach to the use of doctors. While doctors were still seen as having a privileged status as medical experts, the young people themselves often drove health decisions rather than relying solely on medical practitioners. In other words, there was a sense of doctors having a kind of technical rather than a pastoral status for many of the young people. While a couple of study participants had family GPs who they saw as central to both their own and their family’s health decision-making, for many of the young people doctors were perceived instead as useful strategic resources for managing their personal health.
While doctors tend to be their preferred source of medical information, as I have noted many of the young people I interviewed also accessed health information from the internet. For the interviewees from the Citymission, in particular, web-based health information on for instance the side effects of prescription medications was seen as a way of providing them with more information than they might have got from their doctor. Two of the girls from the Citymission also talked of using online health information as a way of empowering themselves when dealing with their medical practitioners.

While most of the young people had looked up health information on the web, however, many were wary of much of the information available because it was seen as a medium where ‘just anyone’ could put up their opinions. While a couple of the young people expressed an interest in being able to access other people’s accounts of their experiences with health and illness, most study participants expressed a preference for expert rather than lay forms of medical knowledge. The following comment was typical:

*I think you have to be careful cos anyone can write stuff and put it on the internet and it’ll come up in a search engine so we would have to be careful what we read and what we take to heart and follow.*

[Rachel, 21, media studies student]

Supporting Beck’s argument that scientific expertise has become both essential to daily life at the same time as it is being relatively demystified, most of the young people in my study were active consumers of health information who by and large exhibited a degree
of scepticism about the source and validity of this information, particularly in relation to
the internet. However, Beck’s claim that ‘the power gradient’ between ‘modernity and
tradition, experts and lay people’ is flattening out under reflexive modernity seems more
problematic (1992: 165). For the most part the study participants expressed a strong
preference for biomedical rather than alternative or lay forms of knowledge. In relation to
choice of health practitioners, for instance, surprisingly few of the study participants had
been to a ‘natural’ or ‘alternative’ therapist with many of the young people expressing
distrust in the efficacy of non-western medical approaches. And, as noted before, when
asked about the credibility of health material on the web most of the young people
expressed a strong preference for and trust in expert rather than lay forms of knowledge.

This perspective is also reflected in much of the media coverage of the issue of online
health information. Rather than embracing the web’s potential to ‘democratize’
knowledge, the newspaper coverage for instance has tended to adopt a tone of panic in
relation to lay people (or ‘cyberchondriacs’ as they were referred to in an article in the
Independent (Bee 2004)) accessing health information via the web. Concern is often
raised about the lack of regulation of the material available on the web and the idea that
people might be seeking medical information from the web rather than going straight to
their doctor.

In the context of this ongoing faith in bio-medical expertise, Beck’s claim that in
reflexive modernity ‘[s]cience becomes indispensable and at the same time devoid of its
original validity claims’ (1992: 165) suggests an over reading of the public ‘crisis’ of
science and rationality. Instead, the prevailing faith in biomedicine expressed by most of the young people in my study and their reliance on scientific modes of expertise suggests both an extension of scientific rationality into everyday life and a continued belief in its core principles. As Anthony Elliott succinctly puts it ‘[t]he idea of “risk society” is thus bound up with the development of instrumental rational control, which the process of modernization promotes in all spheres of life’ (2002: 295).

However, as I discuss in the next section, while most of the young people exhibited a concern with accessing health information and expertise as a means of managing their health, the study participants did not all access the same kinds of expertise nor did they make use of medical and health systems and sources of information in the same way. This arguably suggests that the pluralization of knowledge and expertise in the risk society involves not so much a relativization of rationality and thereby a weakening of its core claims but instead the emergence of multiple rationalities attuned to different aspects of everyday life.

As Simon Cottle points out, it is also important to recognise here the complex interchange between expert, scientific knowledge and ‘cultural and hermeneutic’ forms of knowledge or ‘social rationalities’, a dimension that as he points out is underplayed in Beck’s work (1998: 14-15). Thus, while the young people in my study generally professed a preference for ‘scientific’ forms of medical knowledge, as I will go on to discuss, the types of medical and health information they defined as fitting into the category of scientific rationality differed considerably depending on individual conceptions of what
constitutes a ‘health issue’. Furthermore, how they applied that knowledge in their daily lives, that is, what they considered to be a ‘rational’ or strategic approach to their own health care was framed by rather different sets of cultural competencies or values or forms of what I term ‘health habitus’. In other words the young people exhibited more than one mode of rationality or reflexivity in relation to perceived imperatives to self-care and these modes tended to be broadly related to socio-economic (and gendered) forms of identity.5

Specifying the Reflexive Health Consumer

Whether obtaining information from the internet or accessing it directly from a doctor, it could be said that the young people in my study for the most part exhibited a remarkably reflexive approach to medical and health expertise, drawing strategically upon those forms of knowledge and professional help that were seen as relevant to and useful for their particular personal needs. As Frank, a 22 year old man from the Citymission commented in relation to searching for the latest information on treatments for hepatitis C:

*There’s too much broad ranging information for hep C and it’s too controversial…you can read through an article on one website and then go to another website and it’ll say the entirely opposite […] I just go through and read things up and think OK this has got this and this from here and there and this ones got some references to this site […] Comparing information and trials and stuff like that…*
While Frank was one of the more enthusiastic web users in the study, the young people I interviewed generally saw themselves as capable of weighing up and critically assessing different forms of medical and health information. At first glance then there was a generalized sense that these young people felt they had a degree of agency in managing their own health and that they conceived of their bodies and themselves as ‘projects’ to be managed. A crucial aspect of conceiving one’s life in terms of a ‘reflexive biography’, however, is the production and maintenance of oneself as a responsible healthy citizen. One of the central issues I was interested in examining was the way in which the young people were aware of, and the degree to which they measured themselves against, a broader public ideal of the healthy reflexive citizen. Thus, in addition to asking study participants about their use of health information, I also asked them what it means to be healthy today, what their regimes of health and bodily maintenance and self-management entailed, and finally, whether they were aware of broader community imperatives around public and personal health maintenance and how this awareness impacted on their own approaches to health.

In my discussion with the young people across both groups, many exhibited a strong awareness of discourses of health promotion and self-management, linking their own personal health to broader community health issues such as increasing rates of obesity in Australia (a topic that had had a large amount of recent media coverage). There was a pervasive sense of measuring oneself against a healthy ideal to which many of the young people saw themselves as not matching up. When asked if she was healthy, Joanna, a 19
year old female science student who described herself as looking up information on healthy eating and exercise on the internet once a week, reading regularly about health issues in magazines and newspapers, and as a regular taker of vitamins:

*Um I don’t think I’m healthy, I’m not sure but I don’t think I’m healthy [...]*

*Maybe I may lack some nutrition...my nutrition may be not balanced.*

In assessing the degree to which they measured up to more idealised conceptions of the ‘healthy subject’, it was here that clear distinctions started to form between the two groups of young people in relation to their values and perceptions of health norms and what they considered to be ‘rational’ health behaviour. Like Joanna, most of the university students talked about health maintenance in terms of monitoring their exercise regimes and dietary intake. Keeping slim and fit was not merely seen in terms of body image—although that was a major driver—it was also seen as an investment in one’s health biography as this comment from Diane, a 20-year-old arts student illustrates:

*I think its important to eat well and exercise [...] I’ve got a friend who doesn’t do anything, doesn’t do exercise, she’s not overweight or anything so it’s not a big issue now but I was reading in a magazine or a newspaper article or something that not doing exercise can equate to the same as having cancer in terms of how bad it is for your body.*

The youth at the Citymission were also generally conscious of public discourses around health maintenance and preventative health and often talked of the problems associated
with junk food and the need to keep fit. However, when questioned more closely about what they defined as a healthy diet or what it means to be ‘fit’ their constructions of a healthy lifestyle often clashed with more normative community ideals of reflexive risk minimization. Many for instance described themselves as being ‘fit and healthy’ at the same time as they admitted to being regular smokers (one young woman for instance who was an overweight smoker described herself as a ‘health freak’).

In a discussion of risk and reflexivity, Giddens argues that people who indulge in risky behaviours despite knowing the risks are often living out the notion of ‘lifestyle’ as a package of risks (1991). For these people risky behaviour is tolerable within an overall lifestyle choice; such risk behaviour according to Giddens is underpinned by a reflexive awareness that they are refusing to adapt to the risk reduction lifestyle. Such a construction of reflexivity and risk, however, tends to assume that individuals are fully conscious and in control of their decision making processes; reflexivity here is seen as a process of considered reflection where an array of life choices are weighed up against each other. Furthermore, both Giddens’ and Beck’s model of reflexivity assumes that risks are external and objective rather than being individually or culturally defined or influenced by social context.

However, my findings suggest that while many of the young people in my study constructed their health biographies according to a language of lifestyle and self-care, for many of the Citymission youth there was often a lack of fit between these public discourses of autonomy and choice and their cultural values and life circumstances. These
narratives of responsible, healthy self-hood often sat rather uncomfortably with life narratives that were marked by a sense of unmanageable risk and lack of control over both oneself and one’s environment. A classic example came from Joe, an 18-year-old from the Citymission who had developed an eating disorder brought on by the stress of living in a very chaotic home situation. In describing his problems with eating, Joe tended to use the language of self-actualization to both narrativize and take control of his situation.

*After my 17th birthday, I mean only a year and a bit ago, I sat down and thought to myself this isn’t going to be easy but I have to do something, I’m not happy with my…emotional or physical self, I’ve got to do something so I did a chart, this is what I eat, this is what I don’t eat, this is how much I eat.*

For Joe, attempting to frame himself within the model of the self-monitoring healthy subject seemed to offer a way of managing the chaos of his life. However in reality Joe found himself increasingly losing control over his weight as he oscillated between bouts of over-eating and periods of anorexia. Rather than empowering him to deal with a rather dire social situation, the ideal of reflexive identity contributed to an internalization of his broader social and family problems; here manifested as a pathological obsession with food intake. When translated into the individualized, psychologized terms of reflexivity, Joe is cast as a failed reflexive agent. Here we see then the gap between the life experiences of the middle class educated subject—the specific form of habitus privileged in the idealized model of reflexive individualization—and those of other social groups for
whom the ‘choices’ associated with the notion of ‘reflexivity’ are framed by a rather different set of social, cultural and material contexts and constraints.

This sense of the way in which different life experiences and forms of health habitus produce distinct modes of reflexivity was particularly highlighted by the manner in which the study participants discussed their management of risk. While most study participants discussed the need to manage external health risks, a sense of risk and insecurity around personal health was particularly marked amongst the young people from the Citymission. University students at times discussed potential risks to their health. However they framed these largely in terms of preventable factors internal to their own lifestyles, e.g., diet and exercise. Thus while they went to doctors when they were sick they talked about health largely in preventive non-medical terms, that is, as something intrinsic to their broader lifestyles and therefore primarily self-managed. A good example of this was Derek, a 21-year-old education student, who described how he used the web to access the exercise regime of his favourite Australian Rules football team.

Well actually [my concept of health] ...it’s more again about fitness. I’ve looked up... I follow Essendon in the footy and I looked up their website and they actually put up, their fitness coach puts up their pre season, everything that they do, so I’ve actually printed that out to sort of look at it and try to do some of that...it was interesting to know the amount of stuff they do but also see how much I could do.
By contrast young people from the Citymission spoke of risk in more externalized terms; fear of diseases, particularly infectious diseases such as hepatitis C, of the effects of drug use, and of developing diseases that were ‘in the family’ such as diabetes featured strongly in their health narratives. This quote from Jane, a 17 year old from the Citymission, for instance, reflects a health habitus oriented towards potential disease risk:

Yeah I always use the internet cos like I’ve lost a few of my mates...like a lot of my mates did stupid things and ended up getting...unwanted things. Like one of my mates ended up with AIDS and died... so a few of my mates also have hep B so we were like curious so we hopped on the net on the library and looked up all stuff on that and found out a lot of stuff cos the doctor wouldn’t explain to us.

The largely medical focus of their health concerns means that attempts to ‘take control’ of one’s health tend to translate into a heavy reliance on doctors and other experts and support provided through state institutions. Paul, a 21-year-old man I interviewed at the Citymission, described his regime of bodily maintenance as follows:

I go for check ups every few months [...] Just make sure everything’s alright [...] I generally go to the hospital, wait for a few hours [...] Just standard blood tests, skin tests, dental checkups...should I need it...

Another example of this tendency to perceive (and experience) risk in external terms was the fact that, even though all of the Citymission young people were smokers (compared to
none of the university students), smoking was never discussed as a health risk. While they were aware of anti-smoking health promotion discourse, most of the Citymission interviewees seemed to see their own smoking as an inevitable part of life rather than as something that could or should be managed or controlled.

This mode of health self-management is certainly very different from that of the middle class university student proactively monitoring his or her own diet and exercise regime. Both of course can be described as moments of reflexive individualization but here we see a classic example of the way in which this umbrella term tends to gloss over the ongoing contribution played by social identity in framing the boundaries of any one individual’s reflexive biography. For instance, the mode of reflexivity exhibited by the Citymission youth was one marked by a strong sense of uncontrollable external threats combined with a certain degree of fatalism and/or habituation in relation to issues such as smoking and drug use. In contrast the university students by and large experienced themselves as being ‘in control’ of both their health and their broader life biographies. Seldom referring to external risks, they largely saw health reflexivity in terms of individual self-management—although it should be noted that, in some cases, this translated into an element of anxiety that they might fail to match up to broader health ideals while for others in the group self-care was seen as an issue that could be put on hold for now and managed at some later date when they were older and it became more of a concern.
All up then these findings both support and greatly complicate Beck’s claims that social life today is driven by processes of reflexive individualization where ‘the standard biography becomes a chosen biography, or “do-it-yourself biography”’ (1994: 15).

Certainly, in relation to medical and health expertise, whether accessed via a doctor or the internet, study participants tended to use expert forms of knowledge in a pragmatic and strategic manner. This strategic approach to expertise fitted in with a broader conception of health and health maintenance as an issue to be managed by the individual rather than the broader community. Whether framed in terms of exercise and nutrition or the management or prevention of particular diseases, on the surface these young people’s reflexive awareness and continual self-monitoring of potential health risks seemed to affirm Beck’s depiction of today’s society as a world of calculable risks and self-managed biographies.

Where my study’s findings begin to complicate this picture, however, is in pointing to the ways in which people’s actual material experiences of risk and reflexivity as well as their perceptions and practices of self-management are often markedly different. I want to finish this paper then with a discussion of the limitations of Beck’s conception of social identity as post-traditional and of the need to link the notion of reflexivity more strongly to questions of social position and cultural value.

**Conclusion: Habitus and Reflexivity**

It has been suggested that part of the problem with Beck’s model of reflexive individualization lies in its assumption that the social subject is an essentially rational,
calculative self (Petersen and Bunton 1997). And certainly, Beck (in a book on individualization co-written with Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim) sums up the new post-traditional social order as a place where ‘[i]ndividuals become actors, builders, jugglers, stage managers of their own biographies and identities and also of their social links and networks’ (2002: 23). In other words, in contrast to the fragmented subject of postmodernity, the reflexive self aims to map out a coherent consistent narrative of identity through constantly weighing up and assessing his/her lifestyle choices. Such a construction of the self does seem to support a rather instrumentalist and voluntarist model of social identity. However, while it is true that Beck’s work often lapses into a kind of instrumental-rationalist mode, it is important to acknowledge his consistent attempts to counter these tendencies. Thus, for example, in his essay in Reflexive Modernization Beck is at pains to point out that the process of individualization is not free-floating, cut away from its ties to the social but rather represents a new form of sociality that is not voluntarist but socially prescribed and institutionalized. As he neatly sums it up, ‘[i]ndividualization is a compulsion’ (Beck 1994: 14).

As I’ve emphasized in this paper, however, a crucial (but less examined) problem with Beck’s work is its tendency to universalize the experience of one particular mode of reflexive individualization. While reflexive modernization may be marked by a compulsion to map out one’s path as an autonomous individual surely, as my study findings would suggest, such forces are experienced unevenly and responded to in very different ways across social space. The question becomes whose kind of experience of the social world is best captured by the notion of the reflexive subject as it is played out
in Beck’s work? In one interview (published in 2001) Beck was asked to comment on the relevance of ‘cosmopolitanism’ to sociology today. Noting the rise of globalization and the need for sociology to shift its focus away from the nation-state, he rather glibly remarked that ‘[p]eople now work internationally, they love internationally, they marry internationally, they bring up children internationally’ (Boyne and Beck 2001: 47). The flexible, mobile cosmopolitan subject assumed here I would suggest is the same reflexive subject around which much of Beck’s work on risk and reflexivity tends to revolve, that is, a rather privileged one. Beck’s throwaway line here marks a broader tendency in his work to generalize the experiences of this group of bourgeois cosmopolitans.

This is not to suggest that Beck’s writings are devoid of any discussions of issues of social inequality. As he notes in relation to reflexive individualization, ‘[i]ndividualization has never meant the dissolution of social inequality, but so far always its intensification’ (Beck 1998: 35). Such statements indicate a degree of recognition by Beck that, even in what he sees as a ‘post-class’ setting, the notion of reflexive individualization does need to be grounded in an analysis of social hierarchy and power. However, Beck does not carry these insights through into the totality of his work in any systematic way. Instead, the default mode of his work is to talk about risk and reflexivity in a rather undifferentiated fashion. All of this is not to discount his useful thesis concerning the centrality of reflexive individualization but rather to suggest that his picture of social identity today is a profoundly partial one. A systematic reworking of Beck’s account to address questions of power and domination is beyond the scope of this paper. However, one way in which I have tried to suggest that Beck’s account might be
usefully supplemented and strengthened is through combining his notion of reflexive individualization with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus.

Scott Lash has already pointed to the utility of Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology for conceptualizing the relationship between class and what he terms the ‘aesthetic’ or cultural aspect of reflexivity. In his essay in *Reflexive Modernization* on ‘reflexivity and its doubles’, Lash argues that what tends to be left out of discussions of reflexive modernization is the role played by everyday or ordinary culture (1994). He contends that while class and community may no longer be ascribed in a structural sense they continue to shape social identity through shared sets of cultural values. The use of the term health habitus in this paper has thus represented an attempt at foregrounding the continuing role played by issues of cultural value and social hierarchy in shaping experiences of embodied, reflexive selfhood. This translates into internalized socio-economic differences in both health perceptions and practices as well as different levels of cultural capital or ‘competence in cultural codes’ (Frow 1995: 31) in terms of matching up to the ideal of the healthy self-managing citizen.

A model of reflexivity grounded in the notion of habitus captures the way in which individual experiences of health and illness are structured by an individual’s life biography, material circumstances, and cultural values, habits and practices as well as by broader institutional and social contexts. Where issues of power and domination enter the picture here is through the ways in which certain forms of cultural capital are valued over others in health discourse. As I have noted, in the realm of public health, for instance,
there has been a shift towards privileging middle class cultural values of individualism and rationality as a kind of normative ideal towards which we should all strive. As Skeggs has argued, the working classes face the double bind here of both being constructed as not being capable of ‘playing the game’ while their responses to their own material experiences are often dismissed or seen as pathological (2005). The young people from the Citymission in my study (most of whom could be characterized as members of a working class or underclass), however, demonstrated modes of reflexivity that both negotiated and challenged middle class norms. That is, they showed an ability to both play the game (albeit with limited resources) and they also demonstrated that there were other games with other rules. Managing health, for instance, was often as much about community support and family networks as it was about more individualized models of self-care. This is not romanticize the experiences of a group of young people who were clearly disadvantaged at a number of levels but to foreground the limitations of the narrow model of reflexivity circulating within Beck’s work and within much reflexivity discourse.

To sum up, Beck’s argument that sociology must stop holding onto ‘zombie categories’ such as class (2002) is fundamentally flawed in its failure to recognize that while social identity today is strongly marked by discourses of individualization, class and other social differences continue to structure people’s experiences within reflexive modernity in elemental ways. Indeed as individuals experience growing pressure to transform themselves into entrepreneurial, DIY subjects, the links between the possession of certain forms of socially-valued cultural capital and social hierarchy are heightened rather than
diminished. Beck’s dismissal of class as an organizing principle is not only premature then but demonstrates a failure to recognize his own role in legitimating a specific set of middle class experiences as somehow broadly representative of the community at large. In the process he fails to identify the degree to which his own account of reflexive individualization dovetails with neoliberal discourses of individual self-management and empowerment, discourses which work to efface ongoing systematic inequalities in the name of competitive individualism. While Beck’s risk paradigm is surely crucial in that it points to the growing centrality of the role of individualization today in processes of governmentality, without a fundamental analysis of power and social inequality in the global risk society, however, the reflexive modernization thesis is incomplete both as a piece of descriptive political sociology and as ‘a new and optimistic model of our times’ (1999: 152).

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Fox, Susannah, and Deborah Fallows. 2003. "Pew Internet and American Life Project: Internet Health Resources."
Beck’s account of risk has struck a chord not only with academics working across a large range of disciplines (with risk and its various social and cultural manifestations becoming a major field of research in its own right) but also with a broader public that includes policy-makers (Alexander 1996).

It should be noted here that Beck’s writings on risk and reflexivity have developed in concert with the work of other theorists of reflexive modernization, particularly Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash. While the scope of the paper does not allow me to discuss the work of either theorist in any great depth, it is important to acknowledge the significant contribution both writers have made to the broader debates on risk, reflexivity and post-traditionalism.

The concept of risk in particular has come to play an important role both in academic debates within health sociology and in the formulation of health promotion and public health policy strategies.

While there were, for the most part, clear distinctions between the socioeconomic status and education levels of the youth in the two groups, obviously it would be problematic to read these two groups as mirroring some simple middle/working class dichotomy. My use of the term social location here was less concerned with a rigid notion of ‘class belonging’ than with capturing a broader sense of social identity as relational and contested and as encompassing a range of forms of social identity. Thus, although this paper focuses largely on the way in which reflexivity was framed by questions of socioeconomic background, more broadly in the study, habitus was seen as being articulated not only to ‘class’ but also to gender and cultural background.

I found that gender played a significant role in shaping the health habitus of these young people. However, due to space limitations, the primary focus in this paper is on social position as it relates to class (while recognising as a matter of course the complex ways in which class experience is articulated to gender).