

Local Beer

The construction of masculinity through the production
and consumption of local beer



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Abstract

Ideas of masculinity in Wellington, NZ are co-constructed in the creation of 'craft' or 'local' beer. This thesis explores the production and consumption of a commodity and its cultivation of 'self' to understand why only certain kinds of people drink beer. I draw on data gathered from interviews and participant observation to explore this self-making process. Results indicate that there is a movement from mainstream beer to craft beer locally produced and consumed. In the process of creating local beer the local consumer is also made. Beer is a self-making process. Key to my argument is the emergence of a particular type of masculinity. By producing and consuming locally, people reject the type of masculinity that has historically been established by mainstream beer, the white colonial male. Attributes include, hardworking, rugged, linked to the earth, and working class. Local beer, by way of contrast, promises a celebration of a myriad of identities in its celebration of all different styles and flavours of beer. My findings indicate that this is only a perception.

In Wellington, a new kind of man is being made in craft brewpubs, the 'cultural omnivore'. The cultural omnivore is a man of middle or upper-middle class, has 'taste' and appreciation for flavourful beer, and is metropolitan. A significant implication of this research is the insight gained on how a commodity, beer, can facilitate in the making of certain kinds of people. This research contributes to anthropological scholarship on the creation of self and gender, at the level of the local consumer.

Key Words: Craft Beer, local Beer, Wellington, self-making, cultural omnivore, anthropology of gender, masculinity, taste.

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Chapter One - Introduction

I literally have weird fermentation dreams. I had a dream last night that I was setting up for a brewery in – Dallas. I don't even know. My wife, my wife gets annoyed with me sometimes because I tend to talk about beer at inappropriate times when she's not really interested in hearing about it. But I mean she loves beer, she drinks beer, but... it's definitely a full-on obsession. (Sam)

Anthropologists have long known that the 'self' is made through social processes. For example Bourdieu's (1984) theory of 'self' or 'habitus' explains people have certain cultural, social, and economic capital that are developed according to (but not limited to) race, gender, class, and education. People's habitus are not fixed or permanent and are created and reproduced unconsciously. When people enter a particular field (social space), they bring with them their habitus. Based on the set of rules in that field, members of the field will evaluate the individual and prescribe him/her a legitimate position. This thesis argues that people are made in the production and consumption of local beer.

Beer came to New Zealand (NZ) with settlers from Britain and Northern Europe (Phillips 2016a). Considered a food, due to the presence of carbohydrates, protein, and vitamins, beer was sometimes substituted for fresh food by the poor due to its cheap price (Donaldson 2012, 14; Phillips 2016). Beer seemed to be the preferred alcoholic beverage when it was introduced into NZ. Conditions in colonial NZ contributed to beer's popularity, particularly as Phillips (2016) states, "on a frontier of tents and shacks, with many unmarried males, the pub offered warmth, news and company". With the absence of other entertainment (concerts, or theatre), pubs were an attractive place for socialising (Phillips 2016a). In particular, "it was considered a mean thing to drink alone; it was considered meaner not to drink at all" (Phillips 2016). By the 1870's approximately 167 litres of beer was consumed by every man per year (Donaldson 2012, 16).

Beginning in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, most men in NZ were 'frontier men' living and working in the region of both settled and unsettled land. They were predominantly working-class labourers. They were known as independent, mostly uncivilised, and itinerant

(Phillips 1996). They would work in more rural areas before heading to pubs in the evenings or at the end of the week to spend their pay on alcohol, gambling, and/or sex. Phillips (1996) writes how it was thought that women, through marriage, or even just their presence, could help reform men and stop them from becoming 'savages' like the natives. However, the impropriety of frontier men and their drinking habits and behaviours did not change, even with the onset of the temperance movement¹ which began in the 1870's (Phillips 1996, 55).

The campaign against drinking lasted 50 years and helped to foster male comradery. With the exclusion of barmaids and dancing girls in pubs and hotels, these spaces became solely orientated around men. Additionally, pubs and hotels had a new closing time of 6 PM, four days a week (Phillips 1996, 55). The exclusion of women and the limited time allowed in these spaces meant that men "did the only thing they were allowed... 'serious drinking'" (Phillips 1996, 76-77). What used to be the "colonial spree", intense drinking sessions at the pub by the frontier men, became the "six o'clock swill" (Phillips 1996, 77). Downing huge quantities of alcohol with speed became the object of male pride. As Phillips (1996) argues, "it was as if the Kiwi male, burdened down by the repressions and restrictions of the world outside, saw this one legitimate outlet as a place where all could gather" (77). The act of drinking and how men behaved after the event, showed how much of a "hard man" one was, the marker being the ability to "hold one's liquor, to 'drink up large' but still have a clear head and even drive home" (Phillips 1996, 79). To be considered a *man*, heavy drinking was key.

Nowadays, the production and consumption beer has changed with the rise of craft beer. The craft beer revolution in New Zealand has been flourishing in the last decade, following in the

¹ The Temperance movement (a social movement protesting the consumption of alcohol) spanned over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in NZ. Alcohol consumption was claimed as the bringer of, "poverty, ill health, neglect and abuse of families, immorality, and social and economic instability" (NZ History 2018). The Temperance movement influenced the change of closing times of pubs and bars (to earlier in the day), and harder to claim liquor licences. Dominion Breweries and NZ Breweries (predecessor to Lion Nathan) were the only breweries to exist in NZ after the limitations put on Hotel licences by prohibitionist policy, which saw a distortion of economic conditions, creating a duopoly over beer in NZ (Donaldson 2012). Women were strong supporters of the temperance movement and saw alcohol as detrimental to families. Accordingly the main intent of the suffrage movement (women gaining the vote in NZ) was to "purify and improve the tone" of politics (Phillips 1996, 54). Thus, focus was on male control, not, giving women freedom. Married men (seen as more respectable), were in effect given two votes with female suffrage (Phillips 1996, 54). By giving more control to the 'gentlemen' settlers, the influence of the 'loafing' single men (who were more susceptible to 'bad habits') was counteracted (Phillips 1996, 54).

steps of the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US) (Day 2015). Wellington in particular has been deemed the 'Craft Beer Capital' due to tourists to the city and locals alike consuming one-third of NZ's craft beer output (Douglas n.d.). The expansion of craft beer aligns nicely with Wellington's image as the "coolest little capital in the world" (Wellington Absolutely Positively n.d.). Wellington has become known as NZ's arts and culture capital, celebrating the innovation and creativity of the locals (Wellington Absolutely Positively n.d.). Brewers like Sam fit well in the Wellington scene, where they can share their exciting brews with local customers in the quaint, yet comfortable brewpubs of Wellington.

Many Wellington craft breweries originated in garages, student flats, and basements where home brewing was considered a cheap and accessible way to enjoy beer ("Baylands Brewery & Brewing Supplies" n.d.; "About" 2017). Craft beer was hard to find let alone buy a decade ago, unless you were privy to the home brewer. According to Martin, a reporter for the NZ Herald (2014) since its emergence at the start of the twenty-first century, the demand for craft beer has grown in conjunction with an appreciation for taste and choice in beer.

My first exposure to craft beer was while I was with a few mates at a bar, about a year ago (a bar that stocks craft beer but does not brew it on site). We were sitting in the sun on a couple of bean bags after the day of studying was finished. I can remember sipping at the cool liquid, which started off sweet, but finished with that bitter, crisp, distinctly 'beer' taste. Looking back now, I can see why I was curious as to why people enjoyed 'craft beer'. The beer tasted, slightly better than 'normal beer', but not so much that I wanted another one, let alone could indulge in the cost of buying another one. So, I question, who drinks craft beer? Who has the passion and ideas to brew craft beer? Thus, who produces and consumes craft beer in Wellington, NZ in 2018?

These questions about who, guided the start of my research and have since informed my argument, that beer is a self-making process. Beer is not simply a beverage that anyone and everyone can pick up, take a sip off and delight in. Rather, beer is mutually constructed with its consumer. Therefore, this thesis explores the production and consumption of a commodity and the cultivation of 'self' to understand why certain kinds of people drink beer. I draw on data gathered from interviews and participant observation to explore this self-making process.

Key in the exploration of the production and consumption of beer, is the transition from mainstream and craft beer to local beer. As I will discuss in Chapter Two, beer crafted by brewers in Wellington, and consumed locally, is termed by brewers as local beer. Although local beer is craft beer, local beer differs because of the environments of its production and consumption. Craft beer transgresses boundaries: it can be distributed nationally, and in some cases globally. In contrast, local beer claims roots, by producing beer for those within the same area that it is consumed. I argue that in the making of a local beer, the local consumer is made as well.

By producing and consuming locally, people reject the type of person that mainstream beer establishes, the white colonial male. This masculinity attributes the ideal man as hardworking, rugged, linked to the earth, and working class. Local beer, in contrast, promises a celebration of a myriad of identities in its celebration of all different styles and flavours of beer. However, I argue that this is only a perception. Through the production and consumption process of local beer a new kind of masculinity is created: the 'cultural omnivore'. The cultural omnivore is a man of middle to upper class, has 'taste' and appreciation for flavourful beer, and urban living. While the intention behind local beer is for it to be enjoyed for all and by all, the self-making process of local production and consumption, in reality, creates and perpetuates this new masculinity.

This research contributes to anthropological scholarship on the creation of self through consumption and production at the level of the local consumer. It is important to point out that the negative effects of alcohol, are focused on in great detail in many disciplines (Yeomans 2014; Graham et al. 2011; Karyadi and King 2011; Zeigler-Hill, Stubbs, and Madson 2013). Additionally, while I was volunteering for the Winter Ales festival, I was close by when an inebriated man fell off the stairs and onto the floor below. While the commotion that followed was quickly controlled by the festival's workers and organisers, it was a rude awakening to the dangers of drinking what is a drug. A drug that has various effects on the body resulting in less control with higher intake. By drinking myself I was taking on this drug, by choice. But I had to consciously be aware of how much I was drinking as well as how much my informants and the people around me were, for the duration of my fieldwork. Therefore,

this thesis briefly acknowledges that alcohol can have detrimental effects on the body and persons, however it is not the focus of this thesis.

1.1 Gender

Gender has been subject to extensive exploration by social scientists, including anthropologists. Judith Butler's (1988) argument that gender is performative has been especially influential. She argues that gender is an identity created, "through a stylized repetition of acts" (519). It is in this way that gender is a socially constructed identity.

Masculinity is commonly seen as hierarchically dominant over feminism, and current literature in feminist studies aim to understand the nature of gender inequality by looking more specifically at the construction of gender in day-to-day practice (refer to: Butler 1994; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 2017; Gardiner 2002; Connell 2009).

New Zealand is considered a gendered culture by James and Saville-Smith (1999). They argue that, "the gendered culture should be challenged because it enables hierarchies of sex, race, and class to be maintained" (6). McLeod discusses duck hunting in her exploration of masculinity in NZ and gives an example of how the construction of gender is tied to identity (Cornwall, Karioris, and Lindisfarne 2016). McLeod's analysis shows how attitudes towards masculinity are constructed through relationships with animals, particularly dogs and ducks, in a certain setting or place (rural NZ). She points out that whilst, "traditional, heteronormative, and hyper-masculine performances" feature prominently in NZ duck-hunting, further masculinities are present (Cornwall, Karioris, and Lindisfarne 2016, 240). The example is given of the "child-like ritual" of "counting the sleeps to the start of duck-hunting season" and the relationships men have with ducks and dogs (Cornwall, Karioris, and Lindisfarne 2016, 240). In some ways these masculinities contradict one another. The displays of emotion, family social relations and stewardship of nature counter those of competition and market profit as well as misogynistic displays of sexual control.

Key to understanding my argument is that the masculinity being constructed nowadays is not, completely 'new'. There are still displays of more traditional ideologies of masculinity, such as heteronormativity, with the addition of less traditional attributes such as, 'taste' and emotive displays. Additionally, McLeod's work tells us that masculinity is dynamic and societal expectations or ideologies of masculinity can change.

Gender is a key theme running through my thesis. I discuss how historically, beer has created gendered spaces in NZ. A type of masculinity has been constructed alongside the production of beer in the last two centuries. However, the type of masculinity produced in the past, the white colonial male, differs from the masculinity constructed through the production and consumption of local beer at present day. Therefore, I argue similarly to McLeod (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 2017) that ideologies and constructions of masculinity are subject to change.

1.2 Access

Reflecting on my recruitment process, which was frustrating to begin with, tells a lot about the divide between what is *real* craft(local) beer and what is not. Recruiting within a range of brewpubs that are considered *small* and producers of *real* craft beer, provided a lot of insight on the difference between the bigger companies of breweries like Garage Project.

The control that Garage Project and ParrotDog (two craft beer companies I wanted to work with) have as bigger companies and their focus on expansion, encourages us to acknowledge the difference between those considered mainstream and craft, and those considered local. Throughout my research I have been considering where Garage Project stands, as they teeter on the edge of 'big', potentially to the point of becoming mainstream.

Approaching my research field – craft breweries

Garage Project, NZ's "leading brewery" (Home Magazine 2018) was founded in Wellington's Aro Valley. I initially set my sights on Garage Project because of the general excitement and enthusiasm for their beer that they make and the "cult-like" following they have amassed since opening (The Brewers Guild 2017). From observation, I knew that Garage Project was

the biggest name in craft beer, in Wellington. They sponsor the local soccer team, “Wellington Phoenix” (Wellington Phoenix n.d.), and the Fringe Festival which is one of Wellington’s largest creative, arts-based events. However, recruiting within a company that has grown in size exponentially and is continuing to do so proved impossible. I started with their cellar door, where I was given the head brewer’s details. Many calls later and after following a trail of other staff members I finally got through to the founders. The three men who started their company in a garage (as their company is aptly named). Their decision was made, and it was a no.

I had been rejected as a researcher, for the first time and I felt a bit dismayed. Craft beer was supposed to be open and inviting. It was supposed to be accessible and transparent. The excuses were that huge expansions were being planned and it was too large of a company to be able to facilitate my research. This rejection did not align with the narrative of openness I had been led to believe through public discourse.

I searched for another Wellington brewery that would cater to my research and allow me to interview, participate (through voluntary work), and observe. ParrotDog was Wellington born and bred, and with a desire for it to remain so. I found it particularly interesting that they had crowdfunded their brewery (ParrotDog 2016), utilising Wellington’s passion for their company and craft beer as the building blocks for the expansion of their company. At the time, this brewery, pub, and restaurant had not opened so I called head office to start initial contact. I was forwarded to the marketing manager who seemed incredibly supportive and interested in my project. After emailing her a few times, without response, I called again. The technicalities and time invested in opening up the bar was their priority. With my second rejection I made the decision to physically approach breweries. I printed out a handful of recruitment emails (with a brief summary of my research) and headed to Cuba Street in Wellington central.

Making headway

My first stop was Husk, where the brewery Choice Bros resides. I headed in towards the bar. I saw that only three groups of people were sitting down, eating and drinking. I immediately

felt relaxed and introduced myself to the woman standing at the counter. She asked me what the research was for and I gave her a brief overview. She explained that everyone who works in the bar/restaurant helps out in the brewery. She suggested that if I wanted to do some work I could also do a brew day. I passed her a handout and told her that I would be in touch, when the head brewer was available. I left feeling slightly more reassured that I would be able to find people to interview.

I headed to another brewpub². It too, was relatively new but part of a bigger company. Immediately I was taken in, given a tour and a tasting session. I was handed a map with all the breweries in the vicinity of Cuba. I was told the names of everyone that I should talk to, and who would be most welcoming. It was a drastically different experience than what I had been through with Garage Project and ParrotDog. Additionally, I was given titles of books to read and a poster with all the brewing terms on it. Finding out the member of staff is a homebrewer I instinctively asked if he would be open to an interview. A yes was given in reply and we exchanged details.

The last place I walked to was Heyday, again new to the scene, but contrastingly spacious and airy. It was relatively empty, like Husk was, but a few people were chatting at the bar. I headed over and for the third time explained my project and how they could help. I was directed to a guy who gave me the names and emails of the people to talk to and his own name to refer to in the email. I thanked him before heading out the door.

I was extremely pleased with myself, having recruited at least one person for an interview and the potential for more. Albeit I was left slightly confused as to how my research would pan out using a varied number of brewpubs rather than just the one that I had envisioned. But I felt slightly more reassured knowing the possibility of welcoming brewpubs like I had initially thought.

² The name is omitted in accordance with my ethics protocol. I received Ethics consent on 11/06/2018. Ethics number: 0000026381

From my walk along the central part of the city, I was able to recruit five participants from three different brewpubs. Although it was not my initial intention to do research across a range of breweries, the circumstances with Garage Project and ParrotDog proved that research is not smooth sailing. Furthermore, we can see how the smaller breweries were much more accessible and open to my research, linking more to my ideas of *real* craft beer, as being *local* and small.

1.3 Positionality

I have had varying reactions in response to the disclosure of my Master's topic. While they ranged from "a great excuse to have a good time" to, "you must like beer then", I was intrigued to see that there was an underlying assumption that I would be drinking as part of my research. While not outrageous to assume, it was not something that I considered vitally important to my research.

I originally set out to explore how craft breweries construct 'Wellington' as a creative space through work, branding and community involvement. However, I assumed that this would mean fieldwork within the working environments of the breweries. I thought I would see how brewery workers construct meaning around their notion of work, how they market their brand and how they get involved in the community through events and sponsorships.

I naïvely assumed that the concept of 'work' immediately shied away any ideas of drinking while on the job (even if they are producing an alcohol beverage). I could not have been more wrong, drinking alcohol socially is a significant part of work in the beer industry. Additionally, a brewer must *know* their product. This requires taste testing their own beers and the beers of others to develop an understanding of styles, flavours, and processes. As I argue in this thesis, to cultivate a *taste* for beer, one must *learn* about beer.

Towards the end of my brew day with Sam (my first initial fieldwork), I let him know that I was not overly fond of beer. He told me that I should maybe reconsider my project, indicating that to him, having a taste for beer was vitally important understanding craft (local) beer. This

is a 'gatekeeping' moment. Gatekeepers are, "key people who let us in, give us permission, or grant access" (O'Reilly n.d., 32). In addition to providing access to a group, gatekeepers have power over fieldwork, which requires navigation by the researcher (Chaudhuri 2017). Gatekeeping can become crucial to a project, "as it can have an effect on the project's success" (Chaudhuri 2017, 132). Sam, here, was expressing his own opinion on what he believed to be important to my research. I felt obliged to enjoy the taste of beer, as Sam believed drinking to be the way towards understanding beer itself. The passion that Sam felt for not only beer, but also the beer community in Wellington explained his protective attitude. Allowing a 'non-drinker' within the community to observe and participate had the potential for uncertainty. By not understanding beer, how could I write about it in a way that would support and explain the work of brewers and their communities?

It was not until later when members of the beer community surrounded me in a pub called Fork and Brewer that I really understood why Sam thought drinking beer was important. If I had not been drinking, I would have felt out of place. At bars and brewpubs, people talk about what beer they are having, why they like it, and then move on to other topics of conversation. Beer becomes not only an object for consumption but also the object of discussion. To be part of the community, you must become friends with beer.

I felt disheartened by Sam's acknowledgement of my lack of knowledge and palette and retorted that I would get a taste for beer and that I was still learning. My response seemed to satisfy Sam as he suggested that I try a tasting tray, with the aim of finding a *style* of beer that I liked. At the bar, an assortment of surprises in four tasting glasses passed to my hands, as per my request. I took them outside, past the high and low wooden tables and the flamingos that adorned them. I had a Pale Ale, Blonde Ale, American style larger, and Indian Pale Ale. All of these were considered entry points for beer drinkers who have little experience with craft beer. They are towards the lighter end of the beer spectrum and not overly strong, like a porter or stout. They convinced me that beer could have more personality. It was a definite step up from drinking sips of Corona in the summer, and 30 cent *bia ho'i* ('fresh beer') in Vietnam when I was on holiday at the beginning of the year. Additionally, it reassured me that that craft beer was created for a certain consumer, one (more qualified than me) who could enjoy and appreciate the flavours that Sam had carefully crafted in his beers.

Having very little experience in knowing how to 'taste' a beer, I sipped and swirled the liquid around a little. I had a range of amber coloured liquid in front of me in four tasting glasses. All of them had a distinct hoppy smell and were cold to touch. I felt a significant absence of social interactions while I was drinking with a lack of people around me on the wooden benches and turf rectangle in the parking lot. Although the string of light bulbs and wooden frames bordering the area made for a welcoming enclosure, it was bitterly cold with grey skies. The threat of rain had people heading straight indoors. While quiet inside, with few people gathered, I had made the choice to sit outside by myself to mull over the day's events and write down some field notes. Still smelling like wet barley from the brew earlier, tired from being on my feet for seven hours, and cold from sitting outside, I tried to get through the beers quickly. I wanted to wrap up this 'fieldwork' and head home to a hot shower and food. Unsurprisingly by drinking four tasting glasses of beer, on an empty stomach, I was a little 'buzzed' by the time I left the brewpub. I was feeling pretty pleased with myself for completing my first full day of fieldwork, although that happiness could also be attributed to the alcoholic content of the beers. A craft beer is generally higher in alcohol content than your average brew.

The flavours from the extra ingredients in my tasting beers added a hint of difference, while remaining distinctly 'beer flavoured'. What I had gathered from my participants was that craft beer was almost 'crazy' different, with talk of ingredients like peanut butter and white bread (Choice Bros "On the Brain"). However, by tasting a few it was not so much as what ingredients were going into the brews, but the flavours that could be tasted with the addition of different ingredients. I discuss this 'taste' and education needed to appreciate craft beer in Chapter Five. However, key to my experience tasting beers, was that I was alone in my beer tasting and I felt out of place.

On reflection there were two things that contributed to this feeling of being out of place. Firstly, drinking is a social activity. By sitting outside (in the cold) I was choosing to be alone and to drink alone which felt wrong in the setting of the brewpub. According to Mandelbaum (1965):

When a man lifts a cup it is not only the drink that is in it, the amount he is likely to take, and the circumstances under which he will do the drinking that are specified in advance for him, but also whether the contents of the cup will cheer or stupefy, whether they will induce affection or aggression, guilt or unalloyed pleasure (282).

There are cultural expectations that are attached to drinking alcohol in Wellington. This includes how and where one drinks. Drinking alcohol in a brewpub is a social event, rather than an individual one. Even if you arrive at a brewpub by yourself you are likely to find yourself chatting with others. Isolating myself, was contrary to the cultural expectations of drinking in a brewpub on Cuba, in the afternoon.

Secondly, I was acutely aware of my gender throughout the process of brewing and drinking. This was something that I recognised throughout my fieldwork. The brewery was a predominantly masculine space which made me feel out of place brewing with Sam. Although Sam made every effort to include me and help me learn, my lack of knowledge and limited experience drinking craft beer defined my gender in this space. If men do not know enough about craft beer, they are somehow less 'masculine' or ignorant, however my lack of knowledge was ascribed to my femininity. I did not meet any female brewers, and the females (who drank or helped produce beer) that I did meet seemed to take on certain characteristics, assertiveness and strength (both by showing confidence and physical strength). By taking on more traditional 'masculine' traits they could deal with both the gendered nature of craft beer and more easily 'fit in'.

1.4 Methods

Informants

I had five key informants who helped me to understand how gender is constructed in Wellington craft brewpubs.

Sam

Up and down the stairs he strides, pouring in grain and passing down empty buckets. He grabs a paddle to swirl around the mash, careful not to knock a button or switch. His movements

look easy but doing them myself prove that they require strength in the arms. He looks comfortable and moves naturally, instinctively knowing where he can place his feet and where he should avoid, what he can move or adjust, and what he should leave be.

He greets his friends with a loudly voiced exclaim and grin. When he heads their way there is a lightness to his face and step. As he speaks a different accent hits my ears, with a slight twang and lilt.

Sam is a serious but smiley figure, adorned with the required industry standard boots and overalls. The last straggly bits of his dark, bushy beard flow onto the top of his tucked in t-shirt. Two large stretchers peek out from his face and a tattoo features prominently on his neck.

Sam was the first participant who offered to take me through a brew day, and whom I interviewed later on in my research. Sam is a part-owner of HeyDay where he is the head brewer. Originally trained in the culinary arts in Vermont in the US, Sam found a passion for brewing in his mid-20's. The initial step down the rabbit hole of brewing was managing the kitchen of a brewpub where the brewer was making "amazing beer". After moving to NZ, Sam transitioned from being a chef to a fulltime employee behind a local bar. The aim was to taste and sell beer. From there Sam began to homebrew. His first professional brewing gig was working at Panhead Custom Ales in Upper Hutt.

Hannah and Lewis

Two other participants I interviewed at HeyDay Beer Co were Lewis and Hannah, the branding and marketing team. I was introduced to Lewis during my brew day with Sam. I frequently found Lewis in the same spot: sitting at the corner of the bar, tapping away at his computer with headphones plugged in. Hannah and I met online initially through messenger after I attempted to contact Lewis through HeyDay's social media. Lewis was away so I received a reply from Hannah as she offered her help instead. She suggested the possibility of interviewing them both. Hannah, trained in design from Massey University, is one of the founders of HeyDay with her partner Hamish (who I did not speak with).

Mike

I meet him first at the bar. He is seemingly in the middle of things, but hugely welcoming. He takes an hour of his time to show me around, chat and offer recommendations. I am given an assortment of tasting beers to try, both brewed in house and from guest taps. The styles and brewing processes are explained to me, before he hands me a poster full of beer terminology that I should know.

He leans against the bar pen twirling in hand. Mike, I gauge, is roughly a little younger than the others I have met, somewhere in the middle-to-end of his twenties verging on thirties. His wayward hair, chill demeanour and affiliation with homebrewing, place him quite nicely into the brewing scene I am starting to piece together.

Mike, is the bar manager of a brewpub in Wellington. He has an academic background with an honours in science and an interest in IT. With the intention to continue with a Masters but no funding, he opted to go travelling instead. He moved down South when he returned, before taking on this role. Since starting up the new brewpub at the beginning of 2018, Mike has been taking on an on-site/general manager role as well. With Mike's acceptance of an interview, but without permission to disclose the brewery where he worked, I have used a pseudonym in lieu of his real name. He is the only participant I use a pseudonym for.

Kerry

Looking at the website you can find a cheery face, framed by hair, and a rather cool set of overalls in tie dye. Kerry is much the same in person: approachable and incredibly friendly. He grabs a pint for himself and picks out a tasting tray for me, before setting us down in a corner of Husk with a full view of the gleaming brewery. We chat back and forth easily. He is relaxed yet attentive to the questions I ask, taking time to answer some and jumping straight in on others. I note his comfort at the brewpub, and the passion he has for his job.

Kerry is the head brewer of Choice Bros, which is situated in the brewpub Husk. Kerry discovered new interesting beer while travelling and found it hugely contrasting to the draughts that were standard in NZ at the time. With no money when he returned from overseas to buy the new beers that had recently emerged in NZ, Kerry started to make his own. He got a job and with a supermarket voucher from the government (given to people

before they received their first pay check) Kerry went and bought a home-brew kit which was just under a hundred dollars. Fast-forward six years, Kerry now brews professionally as a part-owner/founder of Choice Bros.

Interviews

10:30am, drinks ordered, table found, and seat occupied. It's relatively quiet, a few customers and the above average sound level from music. It's a beautiful place, I tell him once he arrives. Fairy lights are strung up in the alley guiding your way to the door, the end destination. Big wooden tables and brick make for a homely, warm feel, especially on a day when the wind is nippy, and the cold lingers. Being sunny with blue skies, it's the classic, 'you can't beat Welly on a good day'. Once the interview starts and time moves by, Husk gets busier. The sounds of grinding coffee beans are more frequent, the music seems to disappear into the general ambience and cold filters through as people move in and out.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with all my participants.³ Semi-structured interviews use guided questions to facilitate a conversation between researcher and informants (Bryman 2012). The interviews were approximately one hour in length, apart from Kerry's, which was two hours long. All the interviews were conducted in either Heyday or Husk, during the daytime. Husk was an ideal setting, as I discuss in the vignette. It was warm and comfortable, with some general chatter, but not so much so that it impeded my hearing of whoever I was interviewing at the time.

Hannah and Lewis had a group interview at Heyday. This was suggested by Hannah, as she and Lewis have similar roles at Heyday. Throughout the interview, Lewis would hop up out of his seat and help to serve someone or carry food to tables. Hannah would continue to answer my questions without Lewis. When Lewis would return to the table, he would sit quietly and then join in the conversation once he had gathered what we were talking about. Sam, Mike and Kerry all had individual interviews.

³ A full list of interview dates with participants can be found in the Appendix.

During most interviews I did with my participants I declined beer for the duration of the interview, as consequence, my participants also did not drink either. However, during an interview with my last participant, Kerry, I decided to accept his offer of a tasting tray to drink while we chatted. He also grabbed a pint. The interview was longer than any other and even went beyond the recorded time. I found it useful to have the tasting tray there because the brewer used it to emphasise his points or it became an aid, something which helped him to form answers to my questions. The added atmosphere of the brewpub which has mood lighting and snug seats, contributed to my comfort. As well as the general ambience of the bar at work moving around cups and saucers, serving new customers, and the murmur of others chatting in booths or at tables.

Participant Observation

I conducted participant observation at different brewpubs, bars and events. Participant observation required me to not only observe and note what is happening, but also take part in the event or circumstance that I was observing (O'Reilly 2012). I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible, however, I found that in certain moments my presence was always noted, especially when I was participating or helping out. I found this particularly the case with my first instance of participant observation, brewing with Sam. I helped Sam as an assistant for one brew day at HeyDay to learn the brewing process and was the spare hand when needed.

The other events that I worked at and attended were the Winter Ales Festival (WAF) and Beervana. Additionally, I attended a WAF volunteer meetup at Fork & Brewer and the WAF 'afterparty' at The Little Beer Quarter. I talk about various people from all these settings, but I do not name them (apart from my participants) as they are based on casual conversations and interactions. Most of the ethnographic writing in this thesis is based on these interactions.

I found it interesting to talk to people and observe in settings where drinking alcohol was the main aim, or act. As I mentioned before, I had to be particularly careful and aware of intoxication. However, I found that most of my participants and the people I worked and meet

up with did not ‘abuse’⁴ alcohol in the same way that I had seen previously at flat parties or in town gearing towards midnight on Wellington’s pub/bar/dance street – Courtney Place. While I cannot state that I did not see anyone drunk or did not interact with drunk people, their behaviour was mitigated by friends or family, and so did not become an issue. This perhaps indicates that there was a social expectation to perform a certain way at these events, which did not allow for the cruder behaviour that is familiar to Courtney Place (I discuss this further in chapter five). Additionally, I did not record or use any of the information from people who were clearly intoxicated or verging on the edge of intoxication.

1.5 Thesis Overview

To provide clarity on this distinction between mainstream, craft, and local beer and show the movement from one to another, I look firstly at how the beer produced and consumed in Wellington is established as ‘authentic’. The argument follows that *craft* beer is not authentic enough for brewers and consumers in Wellington, they prefer to use the term *local* beer instead. Analysing the need and value of an authentic commodity is necessary to provide understanding on what it means to be a local consumer and producer.

To explore the self-making process of beer, I look secondly at how beer and identity was constructed pre-craft beer in NZ. Chapter Three recounts NZ beer history through beer advertisements. I use masculinity as a lens with which to view these beer advertisements. My analysis helps to understand how, through beer, the ideal kiwi man is constructed as the white colonial male. This chapter makes clear that historically the authenticity of beer was tied to masculinity.

The Fourth Chapter examines the producers and production of local beer in Wellington. I explore how the local brewing community work together to ensure their existence in a capitalist market. Through understanding local brewing practices through a community of practice, we are shown how local beer originates from a desire to produce something

⁴ I use the term *abuse* here as this is how over-consumption of alcohol, beyond the recommended intake has been framed by news outlets.

different, regularly. The production process provides insight on the selectivity and the boundaries of local beer. By producing beer that is creative and innovative, brewers are establishing who has access and the capabilities to enjoy local beer.

Chapter Five analyses the consumers and the consumption of local beer. With a focus on who drinks local beer, where they drink and why, this chapter looks at local beer drinkers, the performance of beer, and the marketing and branding of beer. I argue that the cultural omnivore is produced through the production and consumption of local beer. Thus, a masculinity emerges, one that attempts to reject past constructions of a white colonial male, opting instead for a metropolitan, urban, taste maker who is of the middle and upper-middle classes. It is in this way that I form my argument that beer is a self-making process.

Chapter Two – Searching for Authenticity

You can see the line of sun just touch the edge of the Garage door. You can almost feel the warmth. Almost. My eyes skim over the door to the huge white interior. Flashes of pastel pink, blue, and green fill up the empty space in the forms of chairs, doors, and decorations. Huge rectangles of green foliage float above benches and tables, with light bulbs hanging intermittently in between. Shadows linger around the bar with no artificial light to shoo them away.

A low wall separates brewery from bar. I turn back to the brewing station. The immense silver vessels do not overwhelm the space. They stand tall and proud, neatly lined up on one side of the room. Stairs rise to a platform with coloured buttons. I follow the pipes that trail under the platform to the far end of the room where other vessels stand. The gleaming brewing pipes look not unlike the soft brass curves of a tuba's pipes as they wiggle and zigzag across the room. I am impressed at the sheer scale of it all.

A soft buzz resonates through the room, a mechanical sound. The absence of human noise is noticeable, as is the cold. The concrete floor offers no warmth, nor does the sun that loiters temptingly at the door. The hollow feel of the space, does not help. With my black hoodie and jeans, I feel woefully underdressed for the autumn morning.

I am not left alone for long. He meanders back in, beard and tats on show, overalls on and tucked into his gummies. A mixture of excitement, anticipation and nerves are streaming through my body. After we exchange a few words, I begin to trail behind him. He chats casually, pointing out things as we go. We head out back where a huge commercial freezer hums away. We move closer to the shelves to our left, our destination. Sam grabs a bucket and drops it down on a set of scales on the floor. He proceeds to measure out what looks like fine sandy grains. As it gently lows into the bucket below, Sam comments on safety. I take particular notice of the seemingly innocuous tub of liquid resting on the floor behind me. Learning that it is a flesh-eating substance, I consciously prepare to avoid it. Sam points out an eye and hand washing station.

Finishing up in the back, now carrying a few ingredients, we walk back into the brewery. We make a brief stop at Sam's 'office' - an old home brewing station that has been relocated across from the keg filling station. Continuing, we end up where I first walked in, at the vat quite appropriately named the kettle, and the one beside it, the mash tun. The mash tun is ready to set about squashing and crushing the heavy white buckets of finely milled grain patiently waiting in lines. If the brewing station did not look intimidating at first, it does now. If anything, I am grateful that there is heat starting to radiate off the kettle in preparation for the brewing session to come. I am less enthused about heaving buckets up the stairs and tipping their contents into a silver enclosure, but I do my bit, being careful not to slip in my gumboots. I am pleasantly surprised when it starts to churn away and the discarded buckets increase in size. It has begun.

Sam invited me to a brew day at Heyday early on in my fieldwork. Although I had ventured into Heyday before as a customer, brewing was an entirely new experience. I was there for roughly seven hours helping and observing Sam. While the first half of the brew day consisted of helping move the milled grain and cleaning up after it, the second half was largely spent watching and standing to the side. I attempted to record the intricacies of brewing but found it hard to keep up with what was being said. Through watching I could see the movement of liquid from one vat to another. However, the jargon used, balances needed (in temperature, time and pH levels), and the specificities of the brew, left me slightly confused about what brewing *craft* beer *should* look like.

The assumptions that I had before I had even started my fieldwork were largely based on notions of craft brewing being precisely that: 'crafty'. I had imagined that craft brewing resulted in a completely handmade product, thus I assumed hands-on labour would supersede machinery. After the initial grain had formed the mash and the liquid was transferred to the kettle, the rest of the brewing process seemed to be a tribute to time, patience, and cleaning. I had envisioned steam, wooden ladders and multiple big paddles, ingredients being thrown around - a far more romantic notion than reality. My naivety in assuming craft brewing processes were reminiscent of a time before brewing technology showed. I was surprised at how mechanical brewing was and was forced to reconsider how I

perceived the production of craft beer. I was under the illusion that craft beer was produced at a small scale and by hand. What I was shown, was not my idea of *craft*, but rather a technical, mechanical production (like mainstream breweries). This prompted me to redefine my ideas about craft and consider what makes an ‘authentic’ craft beer in Wellington, NZ.

Consumers and producers of craft beer seek authenticity (as I will discuss further on) in craft beer. However, big brands – mainstream breweries – have begun to join in the craft beer trend by capitalising on independent breweries through mergers and acquisitions⁵ (Fague and Arthur 2015; GlobalData Consumer 2018; E. Jones and Harvey 2018; Hutching 2018). In NZ especially, where there is no industry regulation around the term craft, there seems to be no clear, distinction between *craft* and *mainstream* beer. From the blurring of lines between craft and mainstream with mainstream companies capitalizing on the terminology, the authenticity of craft is jeopardized. Therefore, in the pursuit of authenticity by consumers and producers of beer, craft beer has become *localised*. Local beer is craft beer that has been ‘authentically’ constructed as Wellington beer. By localising beer, brewers emphasise and construct local beer as *authentically* Wellington beer.

This chapter firstly looks at authenticity to see what makes an authentic commodity. Through exploring authenticity, we begin to understand why ‘craft’ is not authentic enough for producers and consumers of craft beer in Wellington. In addition, work on the anthropology of craft, shows us there is an important relationship between the value of a craft commodity and its authenticity. Lastly, to clarify how craft is perceived in Wellington, I look at the various influences that have been used to define craft beer so far. Looking at the contrast mainstream beer offers to craft beer we can see how independence, location, and batch brewing differentiates local beer from mainstream beer. Secondly, international influence, specifically from Ireland and the US, prove useful in determining the parameters of craft beer. The parameters consist of things like brewing quantities, ingredients, and financial backing. In Ireland and the US these parameters are regulated. In NZ with no regulations, and only ‘ideas’

⁵ I discuss how this has happened in NZ, in the following chapter, with regards to Dominion Breweries and Lion Nathan.

or feelings of what craft is, brewers have started to prefer 'local' over 'craft'. Local is deemed more authentic.

Centralising the 'local' in this chapter is significant for understanding following chapters on the production and consumption of local beer. It is only through the localisation of craft beer, that we can see how this beer is a self-making process in Wellington.

2.1 Authenticity

In Wellington, brewers and consumers of craft beer seek authenticity. For my participants authenticity defines what they do, it attributes the beer that they produce as the 'real' or 'genuine' thing.

Authenticity comes with knowledge of the inauthentic and requires "collective work to discover, recognize and authorize the 'real thing'", it also includes the shared effort to push away its "opposite" (Fillitz, Saris, and Streissler 2013, 2). The authentic commodity is seen as somewhat of a strange twentieth-century phenomenon, influenced by the "explosion" of copied and fake products, which were once accessible only to the elite, wealthy classes (Lindholm 2008, 52). Authenticity is usually bound to a particular "socio-cultural context" whereas a commodity is considered predominantly as a thing of exchange-value (Fillitz, Saris, and Streissler 2013, 11). Therefore the authenticity of a commodity is determined by, "its region of origin, the material used for its production, the production process and the local actors involved in it", while it also serves a purpose as a source of social and cultural meaning (Fillitz, Saris, and Streissler 2013, 11). For my participants, establishing their product as authentic required looking at what makes an authentic commodity and how it is valued.

Authenticity is an important generator of value (for example, social and economic capital) in capitalism today. Authenticity is able to produce "economic value for particular objects" (Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014, 53). For local beer, authenticity is socially constructed linguistically. Cavanaugh and Shankar (2014) reference small and medium-scale Bergamasco food processors in Italy as an example of production differentiation through linguistic

authenticity. Through looking at how language (written and verbal) and discourse contribute to the production of commodities, they argue that “to construct authenticity linguistically, then, is not simply to label or describe something as authentic; instead...it involves precisely defining the features that make something authentic, contesting other’s definitions in favour of one’s own, and arguing over such definitions” for the purpose of profitability (Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014, 53).

Local beer contests New Zealand’s notions of craft and mainstream beer and what it means for the consumer. Through both the terminology of ‘local’ and the localisation process, which occurs through the production and consumption of beer, local beer is perceived and constructed as an authentic commodity. According to Sam the authentic commodity is, “local”, “fresh”, and “personal.” I discuss this next by looking at the anthropology of craft.

2.2 Anthropology of craft

Current anthropological work on craft guides us towards looking more closely at the ‘making’ of craft work or material culture (Cant 2018). Cant (2018) argues that “close descriptions” which illustrate and analyse the collaborative “creative processes” of craft work have become an important practice (62). Part of this approach can be attributed to Ingold’s (2013) ‘knowing from the inside’. Ingold (2013) likens participant observation to knowledge-making, as both encouraging people to be enmeshed in the world under investigation, prompting one to learn from the inside. As artisans think “through making”, to “allow knowledge to grow from the crucible of our practical and observational engagements with the beings and things around us”, so must we focus on ‘making’ rather than ‘production’ (Ingold 2013, 6). Ingold’s (2013) theoretical undertaking of knowledge-making pursues a multi-disciplinary approach.

As Cant (2018) argues, among the things made in craft work are “hierarchies of labour” (62). Analysis on the production and marketing of craftwork explores how class, gender, and ethnicity is reproduced and transformed through these processes (Cant 2018). For example, Terrio (1999) discusses how chocolatiers in France are hierarchically placed, according to skill and experience, with men working in the back crafting the chocolates and women selling

them front of house (126). With the application of ‘close description’ to processes of labour, Cant (2018) is able to see the “intricate and mediated conditions of localised labour experiences” arise in her ethnography (71). In particular Cant’s (2018) anthropological undertaking of the labour of Oaxacan woodcarvings in Mexico, tells us how labour there is “inseparable from other sorts of relationships”, specifically relations of kinship (71). The connection artisans in San Martín Tilcajete share in wage-labour are also “emotional experiences of kinship” (71). I find this discussion on labour and the relationships that are made along with craft production key to understanding the value of a craft commodity and its authenticity.

During my participant observation at the brew day, WAF, WAF meetup, and Beervana I attempted to write “close descriptions” of what I was seeing and learning (Ingold 2013). It is through these close descriptions, and subsequent interviews that I could see how local beer is made by brewers through experimentation, information sharing with others, and through practical experience. It is additionally in this way that I can see how the ‘making’ of craft, is dependent on the relationships formed in the local brewing community (which I discuss in Chapter Four).

The community of practice that is produced and drawn upon through local beer producers work and relationships with others can be explained using Cant’s (2018) example of the connection woodcarvers in Mexico have with labour and kinship. Through the craft production of beer, producers in Wellington establish networks and social relationships that add value to craft beer as authentically ‘Wellington’ beer. Sam recognised that the beer he produces was more about people wanting to connect with others through the product, “and where they are made and know the people that make them and drink something made locally and fresh without like a massive carbon footprint”. What Sam’s discussion touches upon is the “new politics of consumption” (Osbaldiston 2013, 20), where people seem to be rejecting the global exchange of goods, and instead opting for local, regional markets. Wellington beer is thus made ‘personal’ and ‘local’ through a community of practice which forms links between the labour of crafting and the social relationships that can be drawn upon and are constructed for emotional or physical support. We can see here how the ‘realness’ or ‘authenticity’ of beer is determined through work and relationships. The community of

practice determines who belongs, and who is left out of the community. Certain companies that use certain work practices that do not contribute towards making beer that is authentic (i.e. beer companies who do continuous fermentation or have financial support from larger companies) are deemed unauthentic makers of craft/local beer.

I now turn to how craft is constructed in Wellington, to further explore the preference brewers seem to have for local over 'craft'.

2.3 The turn to 'local'

Mainstream versus small breweries

Pre-2000 craft beer was not well known, but since 2012 craft beer has been on the rise, both in output and consumption (Fague and Arthur 2015; GlobalData Consumer 2018; Hutching 2018; Jones and Harvey 2018). In 2017, the ANZ report on craft beer calculated that there were 194 'craft' breweries in NZ (ANZ 2017, 1), 37 percent of which had been operating from a maximum of three years. Two out of the three breweries I conducted research in are in their first two years of operation.

Most of ANZ's figures and calculations come from clumping craft and small into the same category. This is significant in understanding the problems of the term craft in NZ. In NZ the term 'craft' does not have an established meaning or definition. The annual report of ANZ outlines how the term craft is ambiguous, used by anyone, mainstream or otherwise. As the report explains, "we understand that the term 'Craft' is not a guarantee of beer quality and in the absence of an agreed industry standard or definition, craft beer remains a subjective term, often used by retailers to categorise beer of a particular flavour profile" (ANZ 2017, 18).

ANZ's interest in craft beer stems from craft beer's rapid economic growth over the last decade. In NZ where craft beer is still relatively new in the beer market and rising exponentially, anyone who fancies himself or herself a home-brewer can make craft beer. The result is, "... a lot of different people making things at different skill levels and there's inconsistencies" (Sam).

Not only can this prompt negative associations from craft beer that is not up to industry standards, but it can also impact customer choice. Without a clear definition that provides a consistent categorisation of beer type, consumer confusion can arise, as indicated in one conversation with Kerry, on craft versus mainstream:

... what's happened is a lot of the, the major, corporate breweries - massive international brands have just started using the term themselves, um, because they can. It doesn't mean anything, so the consumers... It becomes very blurry what they think craft is. They will see something on the shelf and they might think. Initially crafts they were small independent brewery, and they see a bottle that looks like craft and has craft in the label and they buy it. And actually they are supporting Heineken, a multi-billion dollar corporation. Instead of supporting the small guy.

According to Kerry, with no clear indicators that the beer people are picking up is the 'craft' beer that they think it is, there is the potential for smaller companies in Wellington to lose out on customers and the financial return that comes with it.

Mainstream beer companies seem eager to jump in the craft beer segment of the alcohol market. With rise in popularity, craft beer seems to be an economic avenue worth exploring. An example is Guinness, the largest Irish global beer company, who released beers in 2014 to compete in the craft beer market. These beers showcased different styles, a Dublin Porter and a West Indies Porter (Kedmeý 2014). In NZ, as I discuss in Chapter Three, Lion Nathan and Dominion Breweries have both bought out other craft beer companies to diversify their outreach. Part of this can be attributed to the profitability of craft beer, as well as the growing global trend of craft beer (Chapman, Lellock, and Lippard 2017; Tuttle 2013).

A brewery in NZ that claims to be craft beer, but has international financial backing is Mac's (Mac's n.d.). Mac's started off as an individual business venture, with an emphasis on flavour, providing a difference in the beer market in the 1980's (Donaldson 2012, 95). However, in 1999, Mac's was bought by Lion, a company that manages breweries across NZ and Australia⁶, one of the 'big guys' (Donaldson 2012, 102). While Mac's website still proclaims to be the producers of craft beer, the presence of Lion creates confusion over whether craft breweries

⁶ Refer to Chapter Three for more details

must be small and/or independently owned. Accordingly does international financial support, result in the loss of craft beers', 'craft-ness'? Mike and Kerry's argument follows that with international companies' interest in profit, craft beer can no longer be brewed in small batches and with the care and attention needed to make a 'good' beer. To them the push for profitability overrides ideas of quality.

Many ideas about what craft beer should be for my informants comes from this dichotomy between craft and mainstream beer. By positioning it in opposition to mainstream beer, craft adopts everything they are not, i.e. small, independently owned, locally placed, and the product of batch brewing (as opposed to continuous fermentation). Even though mainstream companies, like Mac's claim to make craft beer, Mike and Kerry sees this as "inauthentic", because it does not touch upon other factors like making beer 'personal' or brewing in small quantities using batch brewing. From my data I saw how producers and consumers of local beer would argue that authentic craft beer wasn't mainstream beer, in fact it was much better and brewed with more thought. However, this is only one way of defining craft beer in NZ, the mainstream comparison.

International Influence

Another way to define craft beer is to look at international influences. Although New Zealand has no official definition, Ireland and the United States (US) have gone further to clarify what craft beer is and who may use the term.

Ireland differentiates between mainstream beer brands and craft beer by independence and size. In 2016 the Independent craft brewers of Ireland launched a symbol to use on 'real Irish craft beer'. The initial aim was to help consumers find beer that is brewed by an independent (brewer has complete ownership over the brand), "small scale, registered microbrewery" (Independent Craft Brewers of Ireland n.d.). The definitions of craft and microbrewery are similar (if not the same). The definition of a microbrewery is, "a brewery on the island of Ireland that's independent of another brewery and produces no more than 30,000HL [roughly 3 million litres] of beer per year" (Gray 2015, 5). To be a craft brewery in Ireland, the brewery

must be independently owned and produce smaller quantities of beer compared to larger, more mainstream companies.

In the US, before the introduction of craft, microbreweries used to be the most common term used to describe the smaller breweries in the beer market. Accordingly, by law, in order to call a brewery a microbrewery any beer produced has to be under the threshold of 60,000 barrels per year (Duffy 2009). Additionally, the law determines who can sell microbrewery beer, wholesalers, retailers or both (Duffy 2009). Nowadays there is preference for 'craft' instead (Eddings 2018). The Brewers Association (BA) is authoritative on the definition of craft, "small, independent, and traditional" (Brewers Association 2018). The BA focuses on annual production quantities, percentage of ownership, and use of traditional ingredients. The policing of the US definition in US borders is more extensive than the Irish equivalent. The US is seen as one of the main worldwide influencer's in the boom of craft brewing, since it was legalized in 1978-1979 (Murphy n.d.).

Both the definitions posed by mainstream contrasts and international influences are similar, both relying on size, brewing quantities, ownership, and 'traditional' methods and ingredients. I turn lastly to the definition given by my participants, which alludes to more of a feeling or value which they place on beer they brew. Through analysing craft and local, we can see the preference for local as a more 'authentic' definer of the beer produced in Wellington.

Craft versus local

Sam's answer to my question, 'what does craft mean to you?', was based on his ideas of a craftsman:

like a real high-end carpenter making a beautiful armoire is a craftsman you know. It's like aesthetically beautiful and there is a lot of creativity that goes into it. But then there is also the underlying skills of being a carpenter and knowing how to like cut wood... it's a combination of technique and art I guess, and science and technique and art all kind of combined into something.

This definition links more to my understanding of craft, as something that is made by hand, with a certain skill or from knowledge that is shared from 'master' to 'apprentice'. Sam explains the transition of raw materials into an aesthetically pleasing, finished commodity

which obtains its value through both technique and artistic temperament. I draw on the anthropological work on craft by Cathy Costin (1998) who argues similarly, that there is more to craft than its transformation. Rather craft goods gain value, “from the materials and techniques of their manufacture”, or, “extrinsically from qualities of their producers, patrons, and/or users” (Costin 1998, 9). This approach looks at how value is placed on a craft good either through consumption or production. This approach helps towards understanding craft beer as it is perceived internationally, akin to the US definition of craft beer as beer made by certain people and with certain ingredients. However, this approach does not explain why ‘craft’ beer in Wellington, takes on a uniquely local flavour. Rather, authenticity explains this. Craft is not authentic enough in Wellington, NZ. To claim their product as ‘authentic’ brewers have begun to prefer the term local beer instead.

Two of my other participants dismissed the word craft because, as Kerry stated above, it was too complicated to market accurately. Mike pointed out that some beer businesses in Wellington would not promote the beer of some other companies. This was with the interest of supporting only those people who had invested the capital into brewing themselves, rather than relying on financial support from international companies or ‘the big guys’. This attitude towards producing locally and supporting local businesses, is this local flavour that I mention. This localisation is important for understanding how brewers in Wellington not only perceive beer but how they construct and enforce their sense of self.

By labelling their beer as local, brewers are in the process of defining ‘authentic’ beer. By transitioning from *craft* with the replacement of *local*, beer is deemed more authentic precisely because it is local. While craft serves more meaning overseas, in Wellington to those who ‘know’ ‘good’ beer, craft serves only to provide ideas about what the beer *could* be or *might* be. Local beer provides the certainty that what people are drinking is made by small, local breweries and by default with ingredients and processes that align more favourably with ‘craft’. The distinction between mainstream and local beer is made more explicit and less hazy. The move from craft to local happens when breweries claim the label and make it their own. For example, Husk’s social media favours the hashtag ‘drink local beer’. However, there is a more indirect and subtle process happening in the actions and conversations of others. Heyday’s refusal to work with or have kegs of beer from breweries that are not independently

owned is one such example. While this shift to local in the pursuit of authentic beer was noticeable to me throughout my fieldwork, it is still relatively new. Small breweries are working to understand where they are positioned in a market dominated by larger mainstream beer brands.

It is in this way that language and materiality “work together to generate cultural and economic value” (Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014, 52). It is this change in language to ‘local’ that establishes a change in local beer’s value, both economically and materially. However, it is not enough to simply label a beer as ‘local’ to become the real thing. Terminology only fights part of the battle. To be *real* Wellington beer, there is a process that happens from the start of production to consumption. This process is localisation, and is it imbued with meaning, for both the consumer and the producer. From now on I will be using the term, local beer as opposed to craft beer.

This chapter looks at what craft is, in NZ. The point is made that craft beer does not satisfy the needs of consumers and producers in Wellington, as being authentic enough. Instead with the adoption of the term *local* and the localisation process (that I will discuss in following chapters) beer is more clearly understood as ‘Wellington’ beer and thus, authentic. This authenticity generates value for the commodity, both in terms of social and economic capital which seems to be key in capitalism today. The desire for consumers to consume local products seems to come from a desire for authenticity in a market dominated by ordinary, commonplace products that are not tied to place or person. Therefore, local beer establishes the authenticity desired by consumers and producers.

The next chapter discusses the history of NZ beer, to not only look at how a type of consumer has been constructed in the past but also to provide context to the emergence of craft beer in NZ and the desire for choice. Additionally, we can see in Chapter Three that authenticity is heavily linked to masculinity.

Chapter Three – Beer and the Kiwi Man

‘City Girl’

Where two hills meet a body of still water lies. Surrounding grasses and bushes vary between shades of yellow and green. Clouds are gathered overhead. The sun is setting. A lone harmonica provides a soft undertone, adding to the feel of an isolated, rural, landscape. Two men are settling down around a campfire. One sits by the river and passes over a can of Speights to the other, older man who is unsaddling a horse. The seated man takes out a picture of a girl, as his mate says, “I hear you’ve been seeing a city girl?”. His response is, “Yeah she wants me to move up to Auckland with her”. (Meares 1990)

As this television advertisement from the 1990’s continues we find out that Auckland is an attractive destination, because of the potential of a “place in the harbour, 500 SL Mercedes, 80-foot yacht” and the father of the girl’s box at Eden Park (where sports games are played). There is, however, a problem. The girl does not drink Speights. The advertisement concludes with the seated man stating, “Still...no hurry eh?”. The now classic statement “Good on ya mate” is the last words we hear from these men before a voiceover finishes with, “Speight’s. Pride of the South for over 100 years”.

While the advertisement shows ‘pride’ and loyalty for Speight’s there is also an exchange taking place in the discussion of the girl. The material goods of her family equate to a certain kind of capital, which helps position her as a ‘city girl’. Additionally, from the advertisement we can see she is beautiful, adding an allure of glamour. Akin to the idea of a dowry (Wenner 2009), the girl is valued in terms of what she can indirectly and directly bring to the relationship. However, the chance of giving up Speights beer for her is low, as what is on offer does not satisfy his loyalty to place and brand, prompting the younger man to state that he is in “no hurry” to move. This advertisement links man and beer, as well as man and location with both characters’ loyalty to the South Island.

The ‘Southern Man’, the advertisement described above, was a campaign that lasted for roughly a decade, from the 1990’s to the early 2000’s (Wenner 2009). To be a proper Southern Man you had to be hardworking, keen on the outdoors, a little rough around the edges and most importantly, you should drink Speight’s beer. The Southern reference refers to NZ’s

South Island, known for its farming communities. While the Southern Man resonated well with men in the South Island for a time, its relevance to the beer market changed as more people moved to urban areas in the early twenty-first century (Stats NZ n.d.). The rural character of the Southern Man was discarded in favour of a more inclusive identity. An example of this inclusivity was the change of the slogan, 'pride of the south' to 'knowing what matters'. The intention of the second catch phrase was to include both people from the North and South Island (NBR 2012).

'City Girl', is indicative of television beer advertisements in the late twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century, as well as poster and newspaper advertisements throughout the twentieth century. Advertisements present men as rough and hardworking, who spend time outdoors either for leisure or work. These same men are drinkers of beer, who consumers can become too, if they drink the beer that the men in these advertisements do. Consumers can become 'real' men. This links to my discussions on authenticity. The authenticity of beer during this time was constructed based on who should drink it: a certain kind of man. By providing this construction of 'real' men, 'real' beer is thus also made. While the Southern Man may not have lasted further into the twentieth century, the transitions that occurred with Lion Nathan (who manufactures Speights beer) branding and marketing are indicative of wider market trends. An example of this change is 'The Dance' advertisement which I discuss in this chapter. Alongside these marketing trends, is the desire for broader beer selection by consumers in NZ.

In this chapter I recount NZ beer history through beer advertisements. The advertisements I will be looking at are: a painted dart board of Lion Beer (1970'S), 'Red Blooded' (1993), 'DB in Heaven' (2002), and 'The Dance' (2018). Through analysing advertisements that cover approximately fifty years of NZ beer history, we are given a contextual understanding of how, who and where beer was consumed. This chapter also provides a historical backdrop to discuss significant social, economic, and political moments ranging from the late nineteenth century to early twenty-first century, which influenced beer consumption and production. In my analysis I use masculinity as a lens to view the four advertisements.

Male identities and beer are heavily linked in NZ. So much so that on screen and off-screen ideas about masculinity are brought into focus with how much beer a male can consume and how well he can 'hold' his liquor. Advertising provides these representations that are not necessarily realistic but contribute towards ideologies of men. One masculinity arises in my analysis, white colonial masculinity, which is: heterosexual, linked to NZ land or earth, working class, rough, and strong in temperament and behaviour, and showing little emotion (even amongst his brotherhood of other male drinkers). This construction of masculinity is additionally tied into beliefs about authenticity. As I mention before, this authenticity was male and thus the beer they drank was the 'genuine' thing. This analysis will offer insight into how masculinity is constructed in NZ and informed by beer.

I will be drawing on scholarship on the anthropology of advertising to decode and analyse the four beer advertisements to understand how they "foreground culturally accepted social relations, define sexual norms and provide 'common-sense' understanding about male identity" (Feasey 2008, 4). Additionally, by looking at New Zealand history through beer advertisements, we can see how "this industry [marketing and advertising] does not simply reflect existing values but actively formulates and creates them" (Shankar 2012, 580). Therefore, not only are existing regional (NZ) ideologies, values and norms reinforced through advertisements, but advertisements contribute towards making new categories of, in this case, 'kiwi' masculinity through identification with beer. It is in this way that these advertisements become a useful medium to analyse NZ attitudes and ideas surrounding men, beer and, as I argue, choice in alcohol. Additionally, through the examination of the four advertisements, we will be able to see how craft beer came to be. This chapter will situate the market of craft beer at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Williamson (2002) argues that advertisements go beyond their initial purpose of selling, to also create structures of meaning" (Williamson 2002, 12). Meaning, however, is only amassed in the "transaction where it is passed from one thing to another" (Najafian and Dabaghi 2011). Therefore, as Saren et al. (2007) assert, advertisements have no meaning by themselves, rather advertisements invite us to look at ourselves and our lives in relation to the images and signifiers being presented in the advertisements. Williamson (2002) notes that

advertisements “are selling us ourselves” (13). I argue that the NZ man is made and realised through the advertising of beer.

My analysis will rely on Williamson’s (2002) work on decoding advertisements. It provides a framework with which to look at advertisements in their totality as well as how they can be ‘decoded’. Additionally, the concept of advertising as a ‘magic system’ (Williams 1980; Moeran 2014; Gupta 2009) is helpful, especially when looking at how the imagery and representations of men on screen are not reliably realistic but provide a source of desire or aspiration. The ritualistic approach to advertisements contributes to understandings of beer as an unfulfilling source of satisfaction. Therefore, through ‘magic’, advertisements tie consumption practices to human aspirations such as beauty and respect. In doing so, the “real sources of general satisfaction” are concealed through ‘magic’ (Gupta 2009, 133). This approach excludes others in our social and cultural worlds (for example in the gender division often apparent in spaces where beer is consumed).

To begin this chapter, I explain and analyse the first Lion beer advertisement, to reflect on male experiences with beer since NZ colonial beginnings to the late twentieth century. After this I will explore the two television advertisements of the 1990-2000’s, ‘Red Blooded’ and ‘That man deserves a DB’, to see how colonial ideas permeated through time, lasting over a hundred years in beer advertising. Lastly, I will look at “The Dance”, which contributes towards understandings of re-branding and new identifications with ‘craft’.

Throughout this chapter I discuss moments of NZ history to provide context, which contributes towards explaining certain behaviours and characteristics of both the beer and the beer drinker. Therefore, as I move in time with each advertisement, I additionally move between different moments in history.

3.1 The twentieth century

3.1.1 Painted dart board

In the introduction I discuss how beer was historically masculine. Intense drinking and colonial masculinity were closely tied to beer. Therefore, this advertisement explores how these ideas

of what a man ought to be were perpetuated and continually constructed through an advertisement in the middle of the twentieth century.

An advertisement from the second half of the twentieth century that displays this intense drinking and the duopoly of Lion Breweries and Dominion Breweries is a painted dart board that was in a Lion Breweries pub in Otaki (Phillips 2016b). It features a line-drawn lion drinking out of a large mug of beer that sits on a tree stump, labelled 'Lion Beer'. The Lion is urinating into a bucket that is on the ground labelled 'DB'. The urination plays on the idea of beer as 'piss', or 'getting on the piss', insinuating that one will drink large amounts of alcohol quickly. The 'piss' is clearly DB beer. This places Lion at the top of the hierarchy of NZ beer, as it seen here as better tasting. Additionally, the advertisement is arguably meant for NZ men because of its phallic display. This again arguably explains its position inside a pub that was for the majority of the six o'clock swill, the domain of men. The phrase that floats above the image is, "Lion kills the meanest thirst". The addition of 'meanest', a thirst cannot be quenched, can be linked to drinking large amounts of alcohol, which was essentially what the six o'clock swill effectively put in place: binge drinking during a specific time frame.

This advertisement, crude in its display, and indicative of heavy drinking, helps the creation of a masculine space in the pub (in Otaki). It also encourages men to choose Lion beer over Dominion Breweries. In fact, the pub itself was a Lion Brewery pub, therefore to drink DB in this pub would be the drinker of piss and subject of ridicule. The Lion has a full mane and penis, leaving no illusions about its gender. With the gendered lion, and connections to heavy drinking, the advertisement also constructs an ideology of masculinity, in which to be a man, to be an acceptable presence within the masculine pub, drinking lots is key, as is being a bit 'rough' or crude. The painted dart board seems to imply that this space is meant for male banter, jokes and a bit of rugged behaviour, in fact it is almost required if you want to be a man who drinks Lion beer. With roots as a working-class sport (especially in the twentieth century) the use of the dart board even more closely links working-class men to drinkers of beer.

The presence of only Lion and DB, suggests "the intensity of the competition" between the two companies (Phillips 2016b). Additionally, it highlights the lack of choice available during

this time for consumers, despite the downing of such large quantities of beer during the six o'clock swill. It is important to point out that the poor quality of beer, being attributed as 'piss' in advertisement, is only seen as DB beer. However, Phillips (1996) discusses how during the six o'clock swill beer needed to be consumed quickly and efficiently to cater to the limited time available for drinking (77). The effect was beer that was, "flat and watery" (Phillips 1996, 77). Additionally the only beers that had really been drunk in NZ since colonisation were English ales: lighter beer styles that are easier to drink and cheap to produce (Donaldson 2012). Therefore, with the duopoly over beer in NZ, choice was only a decision to make between two companies and quantity presided over quality.

Post-1950, masculine ideals were much the same, despite the removal of six o'clock closing times⁷. There was more public acceptance for crude behaviour that had been kept, previously, within the confines of male culture, such as making jokes about women, fist fights, and overall drunken behaviour (Phillips 2016a). This was because society was more ordered, settled and men had more job security. Thus, "the itinerant frontier male was no longer any threat at all and his habits could be winked at" (Phillips 1996, 267). Economic stability and a more 'civilised' society helped to take pressure off men to be what the initial British colony considered as gentlemen. Therefore the ideology persisted that the NZ male was, "strong, resilient and modest, a man who could hold his own drink and enjoyed yarning with his mates" (Phillips 1996, 267). Beer was no longer the only drink that males could consume but it was still chiefly a male pursuit. Quality over quantity started to creep in to drink choices in the 1980-1990's, with more exported product coming onto the market (Phillips 1996).

3.2 Late twentieth century

In New Zealand, with the arrival of television on the 1st of June 1960 came the arrival of television advertising (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2016). In the late 1960's television advertising was only a limited part of the overall advertising business (with newspaper advertising dominating), but with the arrival of colour television in 1973, television's

⁷ In 1967 a referendum voted to overturn the six o'clock swill. The tourism and restaurant industries provided reason for change as their growth coincided with difficulties in selling alcohol with meals. Members of sports clubs and the Returned Services' Association also provided their support (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2017).

popularity increased (Phillips 2010). By 2007 television produced 28 percent of the total advertising turnover (Phillips 2010). It took until February 1992 for alcohol advertising to be broadcast due to NZ's prohibition policy. However, once it became legal, gender associations with beer were able to be defended and reconstituted through a "new avenue of social and commercial communication", which can be seen in this following television advertisement 'red blooded' (Wenner 2009, 193).

3.2.1 'Red Blooded'

I hear the clinking of glasses and subdued chatter, and see a smoky, hazy room filled with men and the odd female here and there. A man at the bar grabs a large pint of amber beer, while his mate eggs him on. "Come on mate, get yourself on the tele." He takes his beer through the packed room and comes to a stop at a girl holding a cocktail, who gives him a toothy smile. There are more statements of encouragement before he takes the mic with an "alright", sticks out his tongue and laughs into the camera. Cheers mingle with the clashing of tambourines as the music starts up. (Dixon 1993)

The television advertisement that is described here, pokes fun at the men drinking Irish stouts and Mexican beer, as well as to the non-beer drinks of women - predominantly cocktails like margaritas, and the "cherries on a stick" that accompany them. The advertised product become known as the highlight when the actor, Michael Hurst, jumps on to the stage with a band and sings, "We are red blooded. Blood brothers. Red blooded and we've all got different mothers". The 'diss' of other big beer brands, Heineken, and Dominion Breweries, which follows, features a can of Lion Red. The can is advertised on pool tables, outside a fire station, tattooed on men, and under a magnifying glass. The beer being advertised in this commercial is Lion Red⁸, a European pale lager (Dixon 1993).

Gender and ethnic distinctions

⁸ Lion Red was brewed by the formally known, Lion Breweries, and now Lion Nathan. In 1988 Lion Breweries merged with LD Nathan with the result being Lion Nathan (Donaldson 2012, 48).

Although 'Red Blooded' seems to incorporate both men and women, albeit a lot less of the former, and has one or two Māori/Pacific Islanders present (represented as tough and 'gang-like'), this advertisement caters towards the mid-20's to middle-aged men who are white and a bit rough. Women and non-white males are mostly excluded and noticeably not the target audience of this advertisement.

Advertisements actively create lack. The desire to be what the advertisements present, to make ourselves through the advertisement, comes from an absence of something that the advertisement declares it has. According to Cook (2003, 2) "advertising can be seen as urging people to consume more by making them feel dissatisfied or inadequate, by appealing to greed, work and ambition". 'Red Blooded' plays on the symbolism of the words; strength, masculinity and a voraciously heterosexual appetite. This advertisement creates lack, by undermining the masculinity of 'normal' men and playing on their desire to be a 'real' kiwi man, which embodies all those things.

While women are present at this pub in the advertisement, their paucity indicates that drinking beer is still predominately a male activity. The significance of beer as a male endeavour is seen in the alternative, 'fruity' and 'sweet' drinks (margaritas and blue on blues) that women drink in this advertisement. Additionally, the boring-ness of the women at the bar drinking their cocktails and being made fun off, seems to be linking the idea of women as 'killjoys' and respectable to a fault. Contrastingly the other women are sexualised, wearing tight clothing and dancing seductively. One woman angles her head to the side to put lipstick on in half darkness. The sexualised representations of women add glamour to the beer advertisement and heighten the presence of masculinity as more rough and rugged in comparison. The depiction of women as sexual is a running theme among other beer advertisements during this time (Wade 2012). Arguably, 'sex sells' and here it correlates the desire for women with the presence of Lion Beer.

Accordingly, the stereotype follows that 'respectable' women are unable to handle the bitterness of beer. Therefore, women drink alcohol that is sweeter and not 'beer-flavoured'. In turn, as Helena points out, "flavours that are easy to appreciate, such as fruit, become constructed as culturally inferior while those that require cultivation and practice, such as IPA

[Indian Pale Ale], become constructed as superior” (Chapman, Lellock, and Lippard 2017, 226). The taste of beer is thus not for women and can only be handled by those ‘manly’ enough. The same goes for the masculinity of beer, you are not deemed a ‘real man’ if you cannot drink and, subsequently hold, your beer.

The presence of few Māori/Pacific Islanders looking tough, adds an underlying assumption that multi-cultural attitudes are still heavily in favour of ‘whitism’ during the 1990’s. The Pākehā (New Zealander with European descent) representation heavily outweighs any other ethnic categories. This reflects the role the pub has played in Pākehā identities “since colonisation” (Willott and Lyons 2012, 331). The places where Māori and Pacific Islanders drink are not worth showing, suggesting these spaces are undesirable places to drink. The scope of my thesis limits me towards discussing and analysing just what is shown on the advertisements, but it is necessary to point the ethnicity (white/Pākehā) of men being displayed here.

According to Willott and Lyons (2012) in the 19th century, “British Settlers replicated the British post Industrial Revolution patterns of male socialising, namely, meeting and drinking in the pub” (331). With the exclusion of women in the spaces during the six o’clock swill the pub became even more of a masculine space, where men could exhibit more ‘unrefined’ behaviour, “crude jokes” and the song:

“The – [name of team, school etc.] boys are on the piss again,

On the piss again, on the piss again.

The – boys are on the piss again

And we all want to wee-wee now” (Phillips 1996, 78).

This links to past drinking activities where “it was an old custom for men to stand on the table and ‘down trou’ – drop their trousers”. As with speed of drinking, speed with ‘down trou’ were treated with the same male pride (Phillips 1996, 78). The same coarse behaviour continued in the pubs into the late twentieth century (Phillips 1996), and as shown through the sheer quantity of Pākehā men in the advertisement, it was still evidently a male space for male comradery.

Establishing the 'Kiwi' Man

In the 1990's there were still prevailing ideas about what a man is or meant to be, that originated from the frontier men (the predominantly single, settler men who worked on the land) and the six o'clock swill. The advertisement produces this brotherhood, where men are strong, a little rough (not gentlemen), and quite solidly beer drinkers.

The actor Michael Hurst, dressed in a flannel shirt with rolled up sleeves and a black singlet underneath, differs greatly with the smartly dressed young professionals in their suits. Lion caters well to their audience by putting on a performance of a white male, not too neat, but not too rugged either. Hurst epitomizes the rougher, farming 'type' that is known in NZ, generally stereotyped by their swandries, check flannel shirts, stubbies and gummies. The contrast is made even clearer with the shouting and less orderly behaviour of the men in the pub, the more casually dressed ones. They dance and sing as Hurst jumps from scene to scene with various expressions, at times mocking people or objects. The added disapproval of the "yuppies" (young professionals) drinking their exported beer contributes to the idea of masculinity as being strong and roguish, and kiwi.

To men in the 1990s, the brotherhood - the banding together of men - could be the absence that men desire, the 'lack' (Williamson 2002) that helps people buy what advertisements sell. In this case it is the desire to be 'one of the guys', but not just any guy: a good *kiwi* bloke. Playing on the desire of men to be the 'real deal', not only helps to sell beer, but also helps to contribute to the creation of nationalism. There is a focus on linking drinking beer to being a male New Zealander. More specifically, the advertisement showcases the national sport of NZ - rugby - to enforce this brotherhood.

The banding together of 'blood brothers' which the anthem claims with the use of symbolism, seems to be both a resistance to other beer brands but also a nation building project. Symbols of teamwork and unity are visualised with the three framed photos of rugby teams. Rugby was a game exclusive to males because of the games physicality, prone to "long mauls and vicious kicking" (Phillips 1996, 92-93). Accordingly, "in colonial language, teamwork was a

reflection of mateship” (Phillips 1996, 115), which is reproduced in the framed photos of rugby teams where they chant the song, “red blooded”. This can be arguably known correlatives working together to help create meaning (Williamson 2002, 33). In NZ where beer represents masculinity and rugby is comradeship or teamwork the idea is thus produced that the product can be rugby and vice versa. Therefore, the men who drink the Lion Red beer, can be part of the brotherhood of rugby players, and in doing so they will be *the* ideal NZ man; strong, tough, and part of the community of men.

Additionally, it is this showcasing of rugby and teamwork that contributes towards nation building. Anderson (2006) argues that nations are ‘imagined communities’. Imagined precisely because, “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 2006, 6). It is in this way that nations are constructed, neither materially or naturally, but through shared beliefs, values and ideas. The identification of beer with rugby and consequently, comradeship of men contributes to nation building. The idea is presented that NZ men will share (in this instance) a Lion beer and watch, play or *become* (through shared ‘manly’ attributes) the rugby players, who are constructed already in the imaginations of many New Zealanders as the heroic and tough *kiwi* man. With the introduction of rugby into NZ in the late 1800’s, New Zealanders have shown a proud loyalty to their teams (Phillips 2013). For a small nation who lived mostly in isolation to the rest of the world (before globalisation), sport became a force for national unity. Oversea success with rugby gave NZ recognition and admiration as a nation (Phillips 2013). Thus, these visual correlations of rugby and beer not only associate beer with NZ, but additionally reinforce and construct the notion that people who drink beer can become the heroic ‘manly’ men they idolise and in turn become true *kiwis*. The rugby playing men are an embodiment of the national imaginary.

Quantity over quality

Ideas surrounding what beer, and how much beer, men must drink to become ‘manly’ kiwi men (as opposed just normal men) is constructed additionally through the setting of the pub in the advertisement. The environment of the pub alludes to a basic interior with a few tables and seats, wooden, with a bar, barman and barmaid (no longer are barmaids illegal in pubs).

This contrasts to the descriptions of the hotels and pubs during the six o'clock swill where there was little, if any furniture to ensure full capacity of men and maybe a rug to soak up spilt beer. With the establishment of new closing hours post-1967, hotels and pubs were fitted out more attractively, no longer having to cater towards "pigs at a trough" (Phillips 1996, 77). However, it was still a masculine space, noticeably with the sheer quantity of men versus women. This is not to say that drinking behaviours all changed, quantity over quality was still revered as Willott and Lyons (2012) point out, the "excessive and public consumption of alcohol with other men has been a traditional indication of manliness in Western cultures for many years" (331). The pints of beer placed in hands around the room as well as empty glasses, and the quantity of red cans of Lion showcased throughout (in different areas of the room) indicates ideas of quantity rather than quality.

As with the first advertisement, the painted dart board, there was limited choice in beer. It was not until locally brewed Heineken came to NZ in 1994 that the beer market started to shift, and new microbreweries started to appear (Donaldson 2012, 25). DB breweries took over the NZ distribution of imported Heineken by investing twelve million dollars into new technology to brew Heineken in NZ (DB n.d.). Accordingly, beer consumption fell in NZ from the 70's to the 90's because arguably the beer on offer, "wasn't bloody interesting enough" (Donaldson 2012, 25). From this period (pre-1990's) of drinking beer that was "bland" and "weaker", there was little "care for the drinker", and less aptitude for taste (Donaldson 2012, 25). However, the following advertisement, which aired nine years later, continued to cultivate the white, colonial male drinker.

3.2.2 'DB in Heaven'

A yellow hotel is glowing while floating on an array of clouds. The doors are opened as we are taken into the pub, over the heads of masses of men before a closeup shot of a barmaid handing over two pints of beer. The bearded man carries his pints to a TV and two mates. One is already drinking from a beer, dressed as a soldier, the next man in black and white t-shirt and shorts (presumably a rugby player) takes one of the pints, and finally the bearded man takes a seat wearing a white long-sleeved top and a brown corduroy vest. The television is switched on and we see a similar setting, a bar with a man grabbing a pint of beer. The 'program' is reversed, and a truck enters the screen being driven with the same man as before.

Along the road he sees a fire in a field and takes the truck over to dump its contents (dirt), putting the fire out. The three men watching excitedly look at one another, nod their heads and as the bearded one reaches over to the tv he states, “that man deserves a DB”. (Burger 2002)

‘DB in Heaven’, is a television advertisement from 2002. It received backlash for suggesting that beer was a reward for good behaviour, which is argued to have breached broadcasting standards (Macleod 2005; ASA n.d.). This is not the first time that complaints have been made against DB for one of their television advertisements. ‘Black Budget’ depicted an inaccurate account of economic circumstances and politics in the 1950’s regarding a “budget boosting tax on imported beer”, which DB claims to have introduced DB Export as reactionary to this tax (NZPA 2011). While ‘DB in Heaven’, may indeed allude that alcohol is a reward for comedic or heroic acts, it does tell a lot about who is rewarded with beer (DB draught) and what that ‘type’ of drinker may be.

Male spaces

The lack of women in the bar as we enter, continues this ideology that the pub or bar is a place for men (Gefou-Madianou 1992, 10), even after death. It is precisely this lack of women that helps to create an appeal. The mass of men in the pub points to it being a popular attraction and the golden glow and the overall lively ambience makes it an attractive place for those watching (men) the advertisement. While the focus might be on the men on the television, that the three ‘patrons’ watch, it is important to acknowledge the setting that we are shown.

There is very little communication between the three main characters, the man dressed in uniform says one word throughout, “yep”. While the others confirm when a man on the television deserves a DB, most of the interactions are nodding and laughs. This ‘stoic’ approach could be argued as kiwi men’s reluctance or “internal repression” not to talk about difficult or emotional matters (Dickson 2017). Chris Brickell (2012) in his description of life in NZ over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries states,

I do not wish for a moment to deny that stoicism was a feature of life for many men, that some were atomised and lonely, that drunkenness was common, that poverty hit hard and

that many men fought...The world of colonial masculinity was highly complex, and colonial men's lives could be richly textured (28).

The colonial man in NZ has been more commonly associated with laborious jobs (bush-fellers, farmers and gold miners), and bachelor living, with very few women around, and scarcity of money and instability of jobs that hindered the appropriate means to 'settle down' (Brickell 2012; Fairburn 1982). The perception that NZ colonial men are good at hiding emotions and affirm their masculinity through physical work or activities like rugby, continues in this advertisement. However, we see that the men look comfortable and at ease in the presence of their fellow man, and in the environment of the pub. I argue that this comfort aligns with a sense of "social solidarity – or at least amity – among those who 'share a drink'" (Mandelbaum 1965, 282). Therefore, this advertisement shows that it is ok to relax in a pub with a beer in hand, so long as emotive behaviour is minimised. Notions of masculinity persist and are reconstructed in the behaviour of the men.

Gefou-Madianou (1992) points out that in many different cultures "in the closed and bounded space of the coffee house, bar or tavern, and through the exchange and consumption of alcoholic drinks men cross socioeconomic boundaries which in mundane situations separate them" (12). It is precisely the effect of the alcohol that "breaks down internal restraints" and allows for these borders to be crossed (Gefou-Madianou 1992, 12). In other words, in the male dominated spaces of pubs and bars, men are simply men and will not only behave as such but will also form a sense of unity between themselves.

I think it is important to point out that literature and discussions of these spaces only seem to discuss heterosexual males. Any other romantic or other types of relationships between males are noticeably absent, looking at these advertisements in 2018. The three men seated watching the television, together they make up what the 'ideal' man should be and that does not seem to be open to the inclusion of anything but male comradery. This relates back to the 'Red Blooded' advertisement, where the words alone proclaim heterosexuality.

The construction of value

The NZ bloke is made clear with the identification of an ANZAC veteran, the quiet but strong type, who fought for his country and is hailed as heroic. Additionally a man in a rugby jersey connects to representations of the All Blacks as good kiwi men, "big, rugged, tough" (Walker

2018). Both characters link back to the nation building project that I explore in the last advertisement. The addition of a soldier contributes even more strongly to nationalism. The patriotism associated with fighting for one's country, can be explained using Anderson's (2006) concept of imagined communities. The deep-rooted comradeship that exists in the sharing of an imagined community, a nation, can drive people to die for their country. By visualising not only the rugby player, but also the soldier in this beer advertisement even stronger links are made to the idea of a proper New Zealander, or a *kiwi* man. Both are deemed heroic, strong, and the epitome of manly, and having these patrons decide who deserves a beer tells who too is worthy and a real kiwi.

The displays of men as they do different tasks on the television that the three patrons watch, tells who is worthy. The first show is of a man putting out a fire, the second plays a round of rugby and is tackled into a pile of mud. The last display shows something a little different, a suited man sitting in the toilet reading the newspaper. Accordingly, the patrons find him 'dishonest' and as the man takes his drink from the barman, it falls to the ground leaving him with only the handle of the glass.

The negative association with 'suits' in both of the advertisements reinforces the idea that the *real* kiwi man is one who works hard, in physical labour and is at ease with the earth. What is valued is displays of masculinity that are 'heroic', putting out a fire in a field and running while being tackled in a game of rugby. These are very specific displays of heroism, creating an image of a male as part of the working class, working on the land or playing the national sport. Additionally, the mud of the rugby field and the farmer figure shows the connection to and symbolism of NZ soil. Therefore, the men 'on earth', must perform adequate acts of 'heroism' to be considered worthy of drinking the same beverages of the men who are the embodiment of real male New Zealanders.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these two television advertisements in the 1990 and 2000's is that drinking beer (or particular brands of beer) denotes men as 'manly' and the ideal kiwi bloke. However, as in the last advertisement there is a certain amount of proof needed to be deemed the real deal, such as exerting physical energy playing rugby, drinking beer and/or doing heroic deeds. The worthiness of the last advertisement attributes beer as

somewhat exclusive, only available to the best of men, the ‘type’ of man that is not wimpy or lazy. In effect, both advertisements claim the real kiwi man as a little rough, hardworking, and a man of strength. These attributes are not dissimilar to the ideas of masculinity that were discussed in the very first advertisement - the painted dart board, indicating that the ideas of masculinity changed very little during the twentieth century.

The ‘Red Blooded’ advertisement displays the attitudes towards quantity over quality that are a repercussion of the six o’clock swill. The showcasing of cans hints to this. Flavour, ingredients, and the overall quality of lion beer is not discussed, rather, there seems to be a frenzy over what brand to drink and how much to drink. From ‘DB in Heaven’ the mere idea of ‘deserving’ a DB implies that it is ‘good’ beer, but the literature, and contrasting imagery of the Lion pissing into a DB bucket, argue otherwise.

Additionally, while on the surface these representations of men and beer may seem desirable, or supposedly fill the absence that men in NZ feel, by 2002 attitudes towards drinking were changing. While this advertisement might have been more successful in the 1900s, it was becoming less and less successful to brand a beer based on these notions of masculinity.

3.3 Early twenty-first century

In 2002, Saatchi & Saatchi (the producers of the first advertisement) lost Lion Nathan as a client because the male identity of the “red-blooded man”, which they relied heavily on to advertise their beer, no longer resonated with kiwi men (Panckhurst 2002). With new breweries opening and the start of craft beers rise in popularity, choice become the more desirable product over brand loyalty (Panckhurst 2002). Mainstream brands like Lion Nathan and DB lost some of their customers to this new beer segment, after dominating the market for years with the same ‘boring’ beer. This resulted in a need for new ideas about how to present men in beer advertisements, as we see next with ‘The Dance’.

3.3.1 ‘The Dance’

Speights’ (owned by Lion Nathan) advertisement, ‘The Dance’, tells a new narrative, with a different focus on masculinity. Two men are dancing after a day’s work. One is teaching the

other stating things like “don’t stand on me” and “can you ride a bike?”. The advertisement shows another day’s practice with an added, “stop tripping on me”. We next see the same two men show their dance to other work mates gathered around. One of the mates chips in with, “is that it?” and “I wouldn’t do the dip”. In following scenes, we see more of their mates get involved, offering more dance moves and tips. Soon after the song (they have been dancing to) begins again and gets louder as the scene changes to a wedding and the man learning to dance, puts his hand out for his new wife on the dance floor. We see glimpses of his mates singing the song and looking nervous as he dances while the rest of the crowd cheers.

‘The Dance’, explores the relationship between friends, with the idea that “mates will do anything for each other” (Long 2018). The tagline ‘good on ya mate’ (also mentioned in the first advertisement) persists through the support of the dancer’s mates. However, there is a stark contrast in what is shown. In ‘The Dance,’ Speights beer takes a backseat for the idea of helping a friend to effectively ‘impress the girl,’ whereas in the first advertisement, the girl takes a backseat for Speights beer. The company shows a transition from reproducing instances of the rugged, strong and proud man, to one where male vulnerabilities are shown. While the first advertisement might have induced pride in the beer, ‘The Dance’ is heart-warming. Our emotions are caught up in the man trying to learn how to dance, to ensure that his first dance with his wife is a success. Seeing his mates helping him is even more heartening and encouraging. Male vulnerabilities on screen proclaim a new message about masculinity, one that champions friendship, love, and the one continuous attribute (through all advertisements) of being hard working. Accordingly, the men on screen are not drastically different to the men in the Southern Man, all are in physical work and still seem reserved (stoic) and tough. What is different is the focus on dance (not normally attributed as a masculine activity), their willingness to help one another, and the showcasing of not being able to dance. The expressive nature of the advertisement reinforces that men are still men, but there are new ideas about what being a man *is*. These new ideas don’t deviate too far from heteronormativity, explained with the concept of needing help due to awkward dancing abilities, for a girl.

To stay in the game with the craft market rising, not only have the advertising messages of mainstream beers changed, but Dominion Breweries and Lion Nathan have both bought and produced their own 'craft beer'. Dominion Breweries bought Tuatara, a boutique brewery in Kapiti, in 2017 (BusinessDesk 2017). Dominion Breweries already had other beer companies such as, Tui, Monteiths and Redwood Cider. Dominion Breweries was more pre-emptive with the new growing trend of *choice*, releasing in 2002 a range of fruit beers (DB Group Ltd 2002). Lion Nathan has a portfolio of Speights, Steinlager, Waikato Draught, Black Ice, and Rheineck. Additionally, Lion Nathan proclaims their beer, 'Red Lion' to be "Northland's Original Craft Beer" according to a post on their Facebook page. What distinguishes craft beer from mainstream beer, will be discussed in the next chapter. However, this transition to variety, both within their own production and through the buying of smaller breweries, shows how craft beer is becoming part of the market in a large way. Additionally, the contrast in advertising methods used by mainstream breweries in the last two centuries and the advertising methods used now show the distinctiveness given to each individual beer, contributing to ideas of choice.

In conclusion, this chapter has explored New Zealand's history with beer, by analysing four beer advertisements. By taking time to look at how the beer advertisements produced a type of masculinity in the past (which still exists for some mainstream beer drinkers today), we can see how this continues to be done today, in the production and consumption of local beer. The white colonial male sets a comparison for this emerging urban, cultural omnivore that I discuss in the next two chapters. The social, economic, and political context that I explore in this chapter establishes the terrain that local brewers and drinkers inhabit in 2018, particularly the binge drinking culture. Therefore, this chapter has both been contextual and analytical in its approach of recounting NZ history through beer advertisements.

In the following chapters I focus primarily on the production and consumption of local beer to continue my argument that people are made through beer. I begin with the production and the producers of local beer, as they are envisioned through a community of practice.

Chapter Four – The Production of Local Beer

We kept finding ourselves talking about work, and I was like right guys you've each got two minutes to talk about your work, have a rant. And then, we'd all of a sudden find that we are talking about it and I was like shit that's my two minutes done, I'm not allowed to talk about work for the rest of the day. Yeah, trying to make those rules, cause yeah it can be quite consuming when it's all your own money and love. And, yeah nah you've put everything on the line. And we sold our house for this. (Hannah)

The passion and enthusiasm for brewing extends to all the members of the *brewing community* that I talked to. Members of the *local brewing community* that I refer to includes brewers, business owners and managers, and employees within locally brewed beer companies. This can also include home brewers that are regular attendees to local breweries.

For both Sam and Kerry, despite being part owners of their respective brewpubs, money was not the driving force behind their work. However, Kerry pointed out that the romanticism of brewing could distract from reality, "you need that drive, um. Otherwise you could get a little blasé, and there's a lot of money investment at risk". Therefore, Kerry made sure to be explicit about the amount of effort, time and money involved in brewing, whilst pointing out the positives. For Kerry, one of the best parts of the job is being able to sit down in the afternoon with a pint of his own beer and discuss all things beer related with others. For people within in the local brewing community, their 'work' goes beyond making and selling a product. Socialising and interacting within the local beer community plays a large role in their day-to-day lives.

For Hannah, Lewis, and Mike, although they did not directly contribute to the recipes, their enthusiasm for local beer was noticeable on their faces as they spoke about their work and in their knowledge and awareness of what was happening in their community. As Hannah mentions above, talking about beer was something that naturally took place during work and outside of work hours. As I noticed with all my participants, local beer can be all consuming, in both their work and personal lives.

In this chapter I will be exploring how the local brewing community produce local beer. By looking specifically at the local brewing community, the exclusiveness of local beer is explored. Looking firstly at the producers – the brewers – we will see how they work within a community of practice to share knowledge. Using community of practice, I explain the importance of location, both to the making of the consumer and the making of *local* beer. The community of practice fits well into this brewing community, due to their proximity to one another, having no institutional brewing education or ‘how to’ guides, and their sheer passion for local beer. With the collaborative work of brewing, we can see how the local consumer must be urban based and the brewer must be entrepreneurial and sociable.

The second discussion in this chapter looks at the ingredients and ‘creativity’ of local beer. Local beer is defined as innovative and creative with ingredients, but still traditional in brewing practices. The analysis of this will provide insight on local beer’s limitations in terms of price and customer expectation. Finally, this chapter will argue that the type of consumer who drinks local beer must be open to trying new and often strange flavour combinations. Therefore, through analysing the production and producers of local beer we can see how the local consumer is made.

4.1 The brewing community

Situating a community of practice

Situated learning is a theoretical exploration of the relationship between the everyday and learning. Learning is perceived here as a “process grounded in participation”, conducted in the activity of the everyday (Roddick and Stahl 2016, 6). It is in the everyday that, “identities, knowing and communities are produced and reproduced” (Arnseth 2008, 291). Key to this theory is the presence of group learning. Situated learning occurs within a community of practice. The community refers to a group of people who share a passion for a topic and want to learn more about it. In doing so the group is prepared to support one another in the pursuit of this learning and knowledge. “Overtime, [the people within the community] develop a unique perspective of their topic as well as a body of common knowledge, practices and approaches. They also develop personal relationships and established ways of interacting”

(Gowlland 2012, 360). Moreover, the knowledge cultivated by the community of practice is continuous, not fixed. As people drop in and out of the community, new ideas and approaches are utilised.

The local brewing community is an example of a community of practice. Here I use a community of practice to discuss a group of people with a shared passion for beer who develop their skills and processes with regular interactions and communication. Additionally, as a community of practice the brewing community establish and create boundaries of who belongs and who does not in this space.

The boundaries of this community, such as location and personnel, defines what I consider 'local'. I centralise my argument that the local beer produced and consumed in Wellington is specific to Wellington. The local brewing community consists of those who contribute towards the production of local beer whether that be marketing, branding, brewing or managing its production. The processes to establish this local brewing community, are rooted in information sharing (knowledge being dispersed amongst brewers), and as I will discuss, through a community of practice.

4.2 The community of practice in action

Walking into a brewpub at any given time of the day, you are likely to see one or even two members of the local brewing community heading to staff for a chat or a favour. Members of the local brewing community are constantly exchanging information, from the most mundane of conversations (small talk) to testing out each other's brews. I first noticed this during my brew day with Sam, who had many visitors throughout the day.

Sam and I had been in the brewery for an hour or so, going through the preparation for the day's brew. One of the founders (who I met a few times afterwards) strolled in and headed directly to Sam. He was on his way to the airport for a trip to America where he would be visiting many other brewpubs. After a chat and a nip in the back, he was off. Sometime later,

when we had heaved grain into the Mash Tun⁹, Sam had two other visitors. The sun was out in full now, and the pub had a few customers milling about. Two guys swung up in their van, to help Sam, who needed to find a new component for one of the handles of his fermenter. Helping Sam out was out of their way. They were in the business of installing brewing systems, rather than helping maintain them. While Sam was looking in the back, I got chatting to one of the guys. He told me that he considered Sam a friend, and since Sam was still in the beginning stages of a start-up brewpub, he was going to help Sam out where he could. They were gone for less than half an hour before returning with the piece that Sam needed, after which Sam could seal the fermenter and put it to use.

It was about midday, and I was hosing down the floor when I heard a happy shout from Sam who was walking my way. Turning around I could see two other men standing by the door grinning. Sam was excited to see them, hugging them warmly before sitting them at a table for some lunch and a pint. They were both in the brewing industry and one of the guys was a trained judge for beer tasting. After we had finished most of the cleaning and shifted the brew to its final stage in the fixed fermenter, Sam got a few glasses, headed towards the back and returned with a stout that was in its final stage. Passing a glass to me and over to his mates we all tasted and commented on the brew. Sam updated us all on the temperature it was currently being kept at, and the three of them discussed how much longer it would need before it could be kegged.

Sharing knowledge

On more than one occasion I noticed or was told of situations where people within the local brewing community would help each other out and share knowledge, for example by inviting and welcoming each other into their breweries to discuss industry chat, or upcoming brews, or helping each other out like the men who helped Sam to find the part for his fermenter. It is in this way that Sam both showed me the existence of the community of practice and his presence as a member.

⁹ The Mash Tun (as I mention in Chapter Two) is a vessel used in the brewing process to create wort.

Knowledge was not held exclusively by one brewer and their brewery but was rather dispersed among the community according to those who were interested or in need of it.

I was never told about or saw an instance where a member of the local brewing community was excluded from the sharing of knowledge and help among the community. That is not to say that there are no inequalities in access or understanding of information. Rather, I propose that from what I observed, business and financial issues seemed to be hidden beneath the production of local beer. This leaves guidance and knowledge to be freely dispersed.

Experimentation and autonomy follow through in local beer breweries, where the brewer is mostly left to his/her own devices, despite being part of a private enterprise. This is especially the case if the brewers are investors in the business or have been sought after. I was told Sam and Kerry had pretty much full freedom in choosing what to brew, according to their contracts. In particular, Sam insisted that if he was going to be the brewer of the brewpub he was investing in, he had to have full reign over what would be brewed. When asked what the best part of his job was, Sam responded by saying:

you know being able to ah, being able to do whatever I want and not have an accountant tell me oh no that's too expensive or. Oh that's crazy you shouldn't put forty litres of fresh squeezed orange juice and zest into that beer. Why would you do that? It's no, I wanna do that and I'm going to do it and as long as it's not horrible then I can. So long as, you know, that we can be a successful business I can do whatever I want.

Despite having to work within a business model, the brewers I talked to were entirely left to themselves in terms of creative input and output. However, the knowledge that arose through experience and experimenting has not become coveted business secrets. There is no exclusive hold on forms of knowledge, rather it is made available for all to utilise, or as Gowlland argues, for the "common good" (Gowlland 2012, 362). Just as Sam tested out a batch of beer he had brewed with his friends, Mike told me that he pops into Fortune and Whistling Sisters to sample and chat about all the new beers they're making.

With Sam I was able to see how valuable something as simple as having someone help him find a piece of his brewing equipment was. Not only was time diverted to someone who was experienced in brewing systems (time that Sam did not necessarily have to look for a piece of

equipment), but also a reliable social relationship was drawn on as consequence. What I experienced on this day, makes clear the constant interactions that occur within the brewing community. It was through establishing these connections with others, that Sam could then draw on them when he needed to, whether that was for knowledge or practical help. It was also through these interactions that I could see knowledge was shared, rather than held back.

One way that local brewers in Wellington keep in touch is through a Facebook group called 'Brew Street'. Sam gave me the example of a Saison yeast that he harvested from one brew and as he did, he flicked a message to the group asking if anyone wanted it for their own brew. In this instance, nobody did, however for Sam it was about, "putting it out there" giving everyone the option. Generally helping each other out was the vibe of the chat, whether for equipment or information.

Sam was not the only member of the brewing community that I talked to who indicated that information sharing was a common and regular occurrence. Having members interact with each other that went beyond one brewing company was discussed in my interview with Mike, "every time I come in for kegs, I end up having a yarn to Kerry". Coincidentally I had chosen to meet Mike at Husk, where Kerry worked as the head brewer. This part of our conversation prompted Mike to look around at the staff, as he mentioned that he needed some kegs and had been meaning to come in to Husk for them. On our way out of Husk and to the brewpub where he worked, Mike continued our discussion and mentioned how, "we get staff from everywhere coming in and chatting". It is these discussions and assistance taking place between members of the local brewing community that hint towards a type of learning being initiated within the community, situated learning (Lave and Wenger 1991).

The local brewing community consists of professional brewers and people like Mike, who homebrew. The homebrewers have some insight and knowledge on the brewing processes and how different ingredients worked, and thus can contribute to the sharing and learning process that occur within the community. Additionally, the production of beer is dependent on more than just the brewers who craft beer. Other members of the community, such as Hannah and Lewis (marketers and branders) provide support and ideas about how the beer should look, in response to flavours and ingredients. Moreover, while I focus predominantly

on brewers in this section, many of the people who drop in for casual chats or help out with equipment and/or information have varied job roles. They all contribute to this common body of knowledge that is accumulated within this community of practice.

“Regular informal visits between colleagues” was argued by Gowlland (2012) as the “essential context in which exchanges of knowledge and information took place” when he was studying the ceramics workshops in the Jiangsu province (365). Additionally, the result of information sharing was an end to the “economic and political power of individual households” (Gowlland 2012, 362). In doing so, information was available to others and collectivization in ceramic workshops became more important. The local brewing community provide help and support to each other through regular interaction with members of the community, who have their own understanding of local beer making through every day lived experience. It is the sociality of the local brewing community that makes possible the spread of information and knowledge.

Discussing who and how the local brewing community share knowledge and expertise leads us to the next section on collaboration. By building this network and sense of belonging in a community, brewers can turn to each other for support and support. Additionally, through understanding how labour or work and work practices are intermingled with brewing relationships we can identify that the beer being produced here as that of the work of ‘craft’, as discussed in chapter two in the section on the anthropology of craft. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that the labour of brewing is closely associated and linked to the support networks of friends and colleagues who, as Kerry explains, can be relied on in times of stress.

Brewing as a collaborative process

The discussions on financial issues seemed to always come secondary to the community feel of brewpubs in Wellington. This is despite the capitalist context that they all work within as individual businesses, required to make money to survive as a company. I found this especially salient when I was told about collaborative brewing. Collaborations are the combination of more than one brewer and brewery in the creation of a local beer. Often brewers are invited into other breweries to collaborate on beer. While this may not be the

main method of brewing (most of the time brewers brew independently or with an assistant), it is an effective strategy to share knowledge, build social capital, and help inadvertently advertise another brewery in the process. This especially important when you take into consideration the saturation of local breweries in Wellington.

Both Kerry and Sam advocated for collaboration. According to Kerry, “as soon as you collaborate you learn something from those other brewers and they’re learning something from you. Um, and you create this thing together which is a fusion of both your creative processes and, yeah its super fun.” Sam argued that it’s a good way to go hang out in other brewery and, “see how they do things”. Collaborating on different brews, encourages ideas to be shared, such as how ingredients should be paired, what kind of ingredients can be used for different styles of beers, and how beer can be brewed. Collaborative brewing is another way for brewers to directly inform each other on different techniques and styles of brewing.

Brewing with another person allows for not only knowledge to be exchanged but also for social networks to be established and strengthened. It is these networks that are relied on when brewers need help or support. With no formal guidebooks on how to brew a particular beer, help comes in the form of other brewers in Wellington. As Kerry pointed out being a brewer is, “the sort of job where, who do you call? Like there’s no one. It’s me or I need to ask someone else. Yeah there’s no other support. There’s no helpline I can ring, other than our peers.” Sam discussed how he would go to another brewer, send him messages and ask questions. This (Wellington) brewer is so well versed in different beer styles and brewing them that he has a skill set “well beyond anything” Sam has. But with his help Sam learns and works on his own skills as consequence. It is these moments of need that brewers realise the true extent of their relationships with other brewers.

When financial stresses are brought into the brewer’s field of view after the crafting of beer, the risks involved can contribute towards unhappy days and/or weeks. As Kerry stated, working within the local beer industry is particularly hard for small businesses in Wellington because of heavy tax cuts and no small business breaks. Combined financial stress and risk within an industry that is focused around a drug can have negative effects on people in the local brewing community. Mental health in particular is not openly discussed in

Wellington/New Zealand (Mccool 2016; NZ Herald 2016) but has become a pointed discussion in the local brewing community over the last year. Kerry has had instances where he has had bad weeks, “I’ll send something on a thing [one example is the Facebook messenger group], I’ll get one or two phone calls or brewers popping in and going are you all good man? Do you need help with anything? These people who have no free time, because they are doing the same thing as me.” The social networks created through constant interactions and exchanging of knowledge, allows for types of support that extend beyond traditional learning or educational opportunities.

As mentioned above, help comes not only in the form of brewing knowledge but also in the form of people, equipment, and beer. When a brewpub is low on staff and/or needs a duty manager, staff will volunteer from other brewpubs nearby. Kerry explained that this happened every now and then, and ensured the business could remain open. As mentioned before Mike needed kegs for his respective brewpub and would borrow from Kerry if he had any to spare. Additionally, most brewpubs have ‘guest taps’ that are hooked up to kegs of beer that are not brewed in that brewpub. To each support other and have something to sell when stocks might be running low, managers and brewers of brewpubs will seek out other kegs to sell, even if the place where it was brewed is only a short walk away from the brewpub who has it on a guest tap.

The community of practice that the local brewing community embodies arises out of the lack of an educational institution in Wellington that teaches people ‘how to brew local beer’. In Wellington there is no formal ‘craft’ or local beer making education. While there are a few courses held in Wellington (Society Of Beer Advocates 2013; “Brewing Short Course” 2018) that go some way to providing some insight into the chemistry and science behind brewing, brewing local beer requires a hands-on practical approach. Additionally, the information taught at these courses has been developed and in some cases is taught by brewers in the industry, who are drawing on their own practical experience and knowledge shared by other brewers.

Brewing as an apprenticeship

Many brewers like Mike were and are introduced to brewing with homebrew kits. These ultimately leave it up to the brewer to decide what to brew and how to brew. In a conversation with a member of SOBA (Society of Beer Advocates) I was told that if I was pursuing a study on local beer that I should begin with home brewers because home brewing was the starting point for most local brewers. According to Sam, home brewing is an addictive enterprise: “the first time you make a beer at home and you drink it and it’s actually good and you’re like oh wow I made this. This is incredible, and you know you get, you obviously get a buzz off it cause it’s you know alcohol”. As Sam said, home brewing is the “way you catch the bug”, but it is also the best way to experiment with the crafting of beer.

Kerry told me that home brewing is an autonomous endeavour:

you can do whatever you want whenever you want, um the beer, yeah can be fresher. You can go crazy with ingredients, you can make it super hoppy you can get hard to get ingredients or expensive ingredients... if it all goes to shit, you can just tip it out and do it again. It’s only a 20L, it may have cost you 30 bucks or 100 bucks max.

With the financial risk being extremely low after the initial cost of a homebrew kit and having complete control over the choices made from the beginning of brewing to the end, home brewers can learn a lot through experimentation. It is the knowledge gained through these homebrewing sessions that get shared amongst others, to help the growth of the group.

When Sam moved to Wellington from the US, he started to focus more on brewing by quitting his chef job and working full time behind a beer bar on Taranaki street. The general manager at the time was “really into beer” so gave Sam lots of advice as he homebrewed. Additionally, Mike told me about the homebrew Facebook group, which gets together to discuss recipes, what worked, what didn’t, as well as to taste each other’s beers. The beer judge certification program in Wellington does meetups too, where people go to “try to work out the faults, and the styles” of beer. With meetups like these and the regular interactions at brewpubs knowledge is circulated, added to and changed. Brewing commercially was no different, with brewers starting out by themselves (unless they are collaborating) and then sharing and testing out what they have brewed to add to this circulation of knowledge.

The brewing of local beer is more of a work of craft, in that it requires a type of apprenticeship and some collaborative hands on learning in lieu of an institutionalised education on local beer. When I was chatting to Kerry about his staff, he told me about this apprenticeship type of work happening. One of Kerry's front of house workers helps Kerry brew and Kerry is in turn teaching him how to brew by giving him 'homework', a brew that he has to make first at home by himself with only an ingredient (chocolate) chosen for him. Additionally, most of Husk's (the brewpub of Choice Bros) staff gets a chance to brew with Kerry, so they know the process and have "hands on experience". According to Kerry, "it gives [the staff] an extra boost of confidence being like, well cool, you know about beer but I've been brewing beer here. Try this one, what do you think of that? Yeah it's pretty hoppy, it's like yeah I brewed that one." While this discussion heads more into the realm of consumption, it does tell us that brewing is a practical, applied endeavour, which benefits from the local beer community's guidance. Thus, brewing becomes a collective enterprise. Although most local brewers work in independent breweries, they rely on the community in so many ways, big and small, which enables them to coexist in a highly constrained and competitive market.

Local brewers learn through participation in the local beer community, which in turn allows them to "master the semiotic and technological tools of the community" (Arnseth 2008, 295). To some extent the local brewing community seem satisfied with their ways of learning about local beer, and the community and support networks that have been nurtured as consequence. The problems that did seem to appear were more about frustrations with government policies and a lack of support from the council regarding their status and opportunities for business. Through a community of practice people within the local brewing community have been able to rely and support each other on industry related matters, things they might not have been able to learn independently otherwise. Additionally, it is with a community of practice that the relationships that brewers rely on when they need help (not always available from outside the community), are formed and developed.

Brewers must be comfortable socialising with others and sharing the information that they gain through their own brewing production. In a way most brewers (if not all) are entrepreneurs. Most local brewers start off as homebrewers and gradually work their way towards becoming a professional brewer. Moreover, the community of practice encourages

them to be social and active in their practical application of knowledge to expand the common body of knowledge. Thus, the consumers must reflect the local brewer that is made in the production of beer. Consumers must be open to trying new things, they must be open to the idea of beer that doesn't taste one certain way but rather, many ways. Additionally, the location and ingredients used in the production process is formative of both brewers and consumer identities.

4.3 Locating place

Key to establishing an effective community of practice that shares both knowledge and support is the location of the community. Through engaging with each other and working collaboratively, we can see how the local brewing community, as a community of practice, not only exists, but also requires practical and frequent interactions. I found that the 'smallness' of Wellington made it easier for members of the local brewing community to interact more frequently and 'drop in' without having to travel vast distances.

Part of the ease with which knowledge and help was shared, was because of the geographic location of the brewpubs where my participants all worked. Around Cuba street (central Wellington) there are many brewpubs, and small breweries that people can walk to. While, there are a few breweries in the Hutt Valley (lower and upper) and ParrotDog (the brewery I initially tried to research) was a bus ride away in Lyall Bay, I found that with my participants Cuba street and Aro Valley is deemed the hub of locally brewed beer. This is evident in the map of the Craft Beer Capital Trail (Craft Beer Capital n.d.). Most breweries or brewpubs are within walking distance around central Wellington and the most congested area is Cuba street.

The locality of brewing, the importance of place in the cultivation of this community of practice, is linked to central Wellington. The iconic Cuba Street that embodies most of Wellington's creativity and character, is exemplified in many different ways. The shops and art¹⁰ that adorn its walkways and streets, and the people that venture up, down, and around,

¹⁰ I refer to the 1969 Bucket Fountain sculpture on Cuba Street (Wellington Sculptures n.d.), which is an iconic Wellington landmark and features on the Craft Beer Capital Trail Map as an illustration.

all contribute towards making this street the iconic street of Wellington. Most importantly, for this thesis, it is the presence of brewers on Cuba and surrounding it that help contribute to the making of Cuba street as a destination for local beer. Not only do the many brewpubs contribute towards making Wellington's Cuba street a destination, but the brewpubs are identifiably 'Wellington' brewpubs by their proximity to Cuba. This helps to localise the beer made in these brewpubs as local beer and authentically Wellington beer. Brewers are tied to their place of production, which works well in Wellington – Cuba street. Brewers can reinforce, draw on, and establish social networks by stepping out of their front doors and heading into another brewpub, all within a few hundred meters or so of each other.

By producing and consuming beer in central Wellington, production quantities and space for production are limited. It is in this way that brewpubs tend to have the incentive to only produce for a local market. One aspect of the local brewing process is batch brewing. This means that beer is brewed in smaller quantities and 'batches' as opposed to the continuous fermentation process of mainstream beer. Continuous fermentation was invented in 1953 by Morton Coutts, whose family started up Waitemata Brewery – later to become DB Breweries (Brooks 2008). The key to continuous fermentation is the brewing of one style and type of beer, which is brewed continuously (Brooks 2008). Batch brewing allows brewers to beer a range of different beers over a longer period. Continuous fermentation, ensures the same beer can be product constantly and quickly (Brooks 2008).

Traditional practices

By attributing local beer to batch brewing, brewers are claiming their production process as 'traditional', when really despite brewing in batches they still use more 'modern' and 'innovative' machinery and technology that stabilises and maintains certain discrepancies in the process. This is what confused me the most when I entered the brewpub for my brew day with Sam. How can brewing claim to be both traditional and creative? My answer is that these are ideas related to certain production processes. They allude to certain expectations of what the beer will be, but do not necessarily determine that the beer produced uses wooden paddles, and barrels as I had personally imagined. Rather by maintaining 'traditional' batch brewing, brewers can be creative in their styles of beer and vary what they produce, which

they would not be able to do with continuous fermentation. By claiming a traditional process, they can be creative.

However, in doing so the beers being brewed are more expensive than those produced by mainstream beer companies. Part of this can be explained by the location of brewpubs, which do not have the space around or on Cuba street to brew beer in large quantities. Batch brewing also has a degree of risk attached. This makes it even more important for brewers to ask questions, share knowledge on ingredients, and provides hands on support (when needed). As Kerry explained to me, this is because most of the time a full batch is brewed without testing it first. This can become an expensive endeavour when the brew does not turn out well, as the batch is sized for commercial consumption. Additionally, as previously stated, there is very little information available for educational or commercial craft/local brewing guidance.

This in turn determines a locality to the beer produced in Wellington central, because the place of production determines the beer being produced. Additionally, the place of brewing contributes to the development of a community of practice, while batch brewing ensures the need for one. Therefore, by being more expensive than your average mainstream beer (with a certain degree of risk), local beer and the production process determines *who* can consume it. I argue the same with regards to the ingredients and recipes of local beer.

4.4 Learning ingredients

Combining flavours

Locally brewed beer is perceived and presented in opposition to the lacklustre of mainstream beer's taste and appearance. You only have to start reading local beer labels to get a feel for what's on offer, an intriguing and sometimes bizarre taste sensation. 'On the Brain' (by Choice Bros), is a beer that still tastes like beer but gives you the distinct feel that you are biting into a peanut-butter and jelly sandwich. A beer that really caught my attention was 'Apricity 2017 Vintage', a beer that tasted to me, like Christmas and *speculaas* (a favourite Dutch biscuit of mine) in a glass. I was extremely excited by this last beer, because it delivered a warming,

nostalgic taste and feeling that I had not yet experienced in any of my other beer tasting tests. While it might be considered unusual to pair such flavours in a mainstream beer, it is these eccentric and often strange combinations that distinguishes local and mainstream beer.

The push to create new and more exciting flavour combinations often starts with finding fresh and often local ingredients. The 2018 July-August ingredient that kept popping up in Wellington is cocoa beans and nibs. Black Dog had a collaboration with Wellington Chocolate Factory, while Garage Project released a collaboration with Whitakers, a creamy milk chocolate beer. Part of favouring ingredients like chocolate during Wellington's winter is to do with the styles that are also favoured during this time, such as stouts. Darker, heavier beers are more commonly brewed in the colder months, with IPA's (Indian Pale Ales), APA's (American Pale Ales) and Pilsners, which are lighter both in colour and taste, brewed in warmer weather. The seasonality of the ingredients and styles of beers are something which seems to be expected in brewpubs. Both Hannah and Sam pointed out that they take the season into consideration when they are coming up with a new brew at Heyday.

During my interview Kerry gave me a tasting tray, which had a beer called Sun Machine, an absinthe inspired Saison. Using ingredients "foraged from the Wellington hillsides" (Rate Beer n.d.), the beer was an interesting twist with the addition of anise, fennel seeds, coriander and wormwood. As Kerry pointed out, the aim is to generate some enthusiasm for something new and exciting, "... it sounds fun, like everyone sees it and smiles like what? What is this about and are intrigued by it and want to try it." Sun Machine definitely made me curious, enough to motivate me to try and finish the beer. This is what consumers are attracted to, and expect, beer that has more spark or interest than their normal Tui or Heineken brew. It is the ingredients and their flavour combinations that proclaim a beer as 'real' local beer.

Sourcing inspiration and guides

There is no "text book" to explain how to balance ingredients for a palatable beer, particularly with ingredients that are extremely bitter and strong like Wormwood. This leaves brewers to do their research online and in cook books. Additionally, through discussing, testing out other brews, and collaborating brewers contribute to establishing a shared body of knowledge, with

which they can draw from when they don't know how a certain ingredient might 'work' (react in a particular brew), or the technicalities of brewing (such as what stage to put the ingredient in, or how to brew it for).

Kerry explained how he reads culinary books in order to see how certain ingredients are used in food to get certain flavours. Further practical experimentation follows to get a tasty result. Sam talked about getting inspiration from other brewers, overseas and in New Zealand:

Hammer hand which is the beer we are releasing tomorrow, so that's an oat's scotch ale. And I got that inspiration when I was in Hong Kong a couple of months ago, went to Hong Kong and went to a brewery called Young Master in Hong Kong and they had a beer called um, Rye On Wood that was a rye ale that had been aged on wood and I just felt, just loved that beer and loved it. And so I took that idea and then I brewed a scotch ale and aged it on wood.

Although many would consider this 'copying', Sam didn't use the same recipe but was inspired by the beer in Hong Kong and brewed a beer that is creative (in its own right). It was through tasting out another brewery's beer that Sam has enough shared knowledge to try brewing his own version.

As Sam said, "it's very hard to do something completely new". According to Liep (2001), "creativity concerns the novel combinations of old ideas" (7). Therefore, creativity is the bringing together of known elements in a new way, just as Sam took what was known but produced a beer that was different. The nature of the ingredients, and the particularities of the brewing process ensure that each brew can be different from the last, especially if there is a certain amount of human error. Sam told me many times, while brewing and in his interview, that the number of mistakes a brewer makes determines whether the beer will end up good or horrible.

Furthermore, "the effects of creativity depends on the social environment it occurs in and on the inner motivations of its audience" (Liep 2001, 1). With the association of local beer as 'different' and 'innovative', there is a whole community that not only expects new beers to be developed, but for them to be frequent in production; thereby, helping to cultivate the very notion that local beer is, creative and varied. Through testing out the boundaries of what ingredients to brew with or what styles of beer to brew, brewers are constantly working

towards this shared body of knowledge that is created out of a community of practice. Even individual brewing experimentation will contribute towards this knowledge, such as the example I give before of homebrewers coming together to share and get advice on what they have brewed or tried.

Without brewing books to inform on flavour, and relying on inspiration from others in the industry, crafting local beer is about changing things up. Brewers must brew constantly and come up with novel ideas, and consumers are expected to drink or try these beers. This limits the consumer in what they can drink, as a person with little or lots of disposable income. The brewers must also be consistent in their production, to ensure their beers caters to the demands of the consumer.

Moreover, locally brewed beer is more personal than mass produced, mainstream beer. For Sam, the beer is linked to himself:

I take raw ingredients and I, you know, I combine them in a certain way, and then see them through. And every decision that I make personally for the beers that I decide I want to brew that's like a piece of myself in that, you know.

Sam feels that his beer is almost an extension of himself, having put in “100 percent from start to finish”. Producing a beer that was “crap” affects Sam personally, perhaps more so than within the company. The local brewer is linked to the beer, not only by association with the brand (as the brewer), but also through creative input and technique. As we saw in chapter two, Sam defined craft as the bringing together of art, science, and technique. The same can be said of the production of local beer. Sam must bring together his ideas, the nature and temperament of ingredients, with his brewing skills. However, as I mention in my section on collaborative brewing Sam constantly hones his skills and ideas through collaborating and learning from others. Through all that brewers must produce something that they are happy with and the consumer will be to.

Thus, local beer is to some extent, risky; the ingredients and styles brewed in small batches can succeed or flop according to the ideas around the initial flavour combination, the brewing process, and the tastes of the end consumer. The beer inside the bottle is not only creative in the bringing together of ideas, but also the ingredients, the brewing process and the attention

to detail of brewers. One could argue that this is the same ‘creativity’ of craft beer. I argue, additionally, that it is the combination of what is in the bottle, what is on the exterior of the bottle, how it is brewed and by who, and lastly, how and who consumes it, that makes a beer a real Wellington brew. As I discuss, the intrigue, the seasonality of brewing and ingredients, the influences, and the technique and skill of the brewers, all come together to make a beer local, and in turn provide boundaries on *who* can consume this beer, thus making the local consumer in the process.

This chapter discussed the production of local beer by the local brewing community who work within a community of practice in Wellington, or more specifically, central Wellington. While the variety or choice and creativity in beer that is available to local consumers gives the impression that local beer celebrates many different identities, the production of beer limits who this consumer can be, through establishing cost, place, and the entrepreneurial, creative brewer. It is additionally through the establishment of these boundaries that craft beer is made local, and thus so is the consumer.

With the identification of local beer as creative and innovative, as something constructed in central Wellington, within a community of practice and using ideas that extend beyond the ‘ordinary’ or ‘commonplace’ brew, local beer is found to be *authentic*. It is only through localising a beer, that a beer can additionally be constructed as authentic, as being the ‘real’ Wellington beer. This chapter has argued that the local consumer is cultivated through the production of local beer. The next chapter looks at how the consumer is further made through the consumption of local beer, one that is defined in terms of class, gender, education or knowledge, and consumption practices.

Chapter Five – The Consumption of Local Beer

I smile, grab their token, confirm how much, and click. Glass passed over, filled and handed back. Again, again, and again. As monotonous as it may sound I am having an absolute blast. All retail and hospo experience is back with full force but without the boredom. A smile here, the exchange of glasses there. Having never poured before, it takes me a wee bit to figure out how to get the foam¹¹ right. The more I pour the more I get to know how the two beers differ, one needs more time on the side, the other not so much. It hits the glass in a steady stream of amber and cool to the touch, thanks to the ice in the chiller.

The general enjoyment and excitement radiating off people transmits to me. It's warm and cosy up on the landing. Chatter is heard along with the thud of glasses being set down on table tops. The rustling of movement and footsteps contribute to the overall ambient sound. I listen to the voices nearest me as they ask for another pour. I begin to recognise faces and beards as they return to the bar more regularly. Most people don't want to leave their coveted spots on sofas and stools. With four beers on offer it's not a bad set up. There is no need to venture into the room below.

I chat with the volunteer next to me. It's easy to keep the conversation flowing with the short pauses in between serving people. A queue of men stacks up in front of me. B teases me, arguing that they are all just wanting to have their beer poured by a pretty girl. I laugh in good humour and tell him I have the tastier beers. He grins back. I quicken my pace to clear the line.

I want to stay up there longer, the Pale Ales bar. I have a territorial feel over it. But, too soon, I am sub-d out and sent on my way away down the stairs, away from the cheerful laughter, conversation, and glow. The landing has a warmer feel than the dark beckoning from below. I must have been up there for an hour or so. It felt like ten minutes.

A mass of people, mostly men, stand varying distances apart. They are socialising and drinking. The room extends further than a school hall. A string of naked lightbulbs float from the ceiling,

¹¹ Head on the beer.

intertwined with spots of fairy lights providing a moody feel. The music is not too upbeat, it's just enough to seamlessly merge with voices.

I walk down the stairs and towards the centre of the room heading to my next allocation, outside at the entrance. I pause to take a photo. I want to capture the sheer quantity of people that have chosen to all gather in one place to drink local beer. I see to my side a group of guys who think that I am taking a photo of them. We gesture and before I know it my phone is pointing directly at them. I yell out thanks and continue my way. Weaving through the crowd my feet are not so eager to leave as the sticky floor tries to catch my soles.

The 'mass of people' described in the above vignette, were 650 of Wellington's local beer drinkers and enthusiasts (including members of the local brewing community) crammed in to the Hunter Lounge (a café lounge at Victoria University of Wellington) for the Winter Ales Festival (WAF).

It still astounds me that all the helpers at WAF were there voluntarily, for roughly nine to ten hours of the day. Their passion for beer transgressed any ideas of monetary payment and 'work' (traditional hospitality or retail roles). To many of these volunteers, working the WAF was not 'work', but rather a great way to enter an event full of people with similar attitudes towards locally brewed beer. Additionally, it was an ideal way to taste the array of beers on offer, without having to pay.

It was not uncommon, perhaps even the expectation, that WAF volunteers would go around each bar to taste what was there. They would walk up to the bar and pour a glass for themselves, just lingering for enough time for a chat before moving on. Other volunteers that I was paired with would grab a few different tasters and bring them back for everyone to try. One of the times this happened was while a group of us were on door duty, admitting the last few people after the initial rush. For an event that was on the more expensive side, with tickets costing sixty dollars, being a volunteer was an easy way to be involved.

This chapter looks at the people who drink local beer, how they drink local beer, and where they drink. While the last chapter explored how the production of local beer contributed

towards making the consumer and producer, this chapter examines how the consumer is made through the consumption of local beer. This became evident to me during this event, and in my other interactions with local beer drinkers at the various brewpubs and pubs around Wellington. It is these consumers that I will consider in this chapter. Through looking at 'taste', education, place of consumption, performance of brewing and drinking, and the branding and marketing of local beer, we can see how a type of masculinity emerges.

The type of masculinity made through the production and consumption of local beer poses an alternative to the white colonial male which presided in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The image of the white colonial male beer drinker is reproduced with the production of mainstream beer brands. However, it has become standardized with the perception of mainstream beer as, boring, flavourless, and unoriginal. I do not draw on other identities produced here with mainstream beer, such as other ethnicities, as this is not the focus of this thesis (and the scope is limited). I instead suggest that the white colonial male still exists in the advertising of mainstream beer brands. The new masculinity I now talk about does not replace it; it arises alongside it. With local beer, there has been the cultivation of a 'new' consumer – a kind of 'cultural omnivore' to use the term Peterson (1992) created to define consumers who have a diversified (low-brow and high-brow) taste profile.

Beer is still a predominantly a male beverage, with few women involved. One of the three main organisers of WAF is female, and including myself, around ten women volunteered for the event. Nevertheless, the men seem to be the most vocal on what tastes good, what styles are what, and how the beers are brewed. Therefore, in the Wellington local beer scene, the cultural omnivore is mostly male. Additionally, there are certain consumption practices that contribute towards the creation of a certain masculinity, the cultural omnivore.

To drink a beer in the place it has been produced and with the brewer, contributes towards making beer – local, but also establishes what is 'good' and 'bad' beer. By imbuing meaning into their beer, people within the local brewing community are not only teaching consumers that their beer 'tastes' better than more mainstream brews, but they are also determining that 'good' beer must be: locally brewed in a small-scale brewery, with 'quality' ingredients,

and with an element of difference or intrigue. This is particularly the case in brewpubs, where the beer is brewed on site and often the brewer is around to chat with customers while they brew. Seeing the brewing station while you down a pint or two helps towards the creation of an authentic product. Moreover, consumers have to perform in these spaces in order to accumulate social capital. They have to show their 'taste', their education and appreciation of local beer in order to both 'fit in' the space and work towards constructing and be constructed by both the space and the beer. By drinking and socialising in brewpubs and bars (where local beer is sold), consumers can build their social capital, while also ensuring the authenticity of the beer they are drinking.

Furthermore, consumption practices in the marketing and branding of local beer contributes to the making of the local consumer. Through looking at the marketing and branding of local beer, we can begin to understand how advertising has a large part to play in consumption practices, particularly, with regards to the identity of local consumers, who are imagined as varied and inclusive as the art work that adorns beer cans. Although this chapter will continue to discuss the way that local beer is exclusive to a particular masculine identity, it is important to point out the attempts of the local beer consumers and the brewing community to include others that do not solely fit the image of the past colonial, white male. Rather they seek an inclusivity that extends to all genders, ethnicities, and classes.

There has been an increased awareness of consumption practices and education on local beer styles and flavours. It is these subtle, underlying changes that are helping to chip away at social behaviours that have historically been grounded in the six o'clock swill and Temperance Movement. For example, attitudes towards binge drinking have become more discouraging, particularly with this 'new' way of drinking, for taste and flavour. Local beer is the alternative to downing as many standards as possible in a short amount of time. This chapter will look at this shift in terms of who is drinking local beer, how and why. In doing so, we are witnessing new modes of cultural consumption and the creation of a new beer-drinking masculinity in Wellington.

5.1 Taste and Class distinctions

What was once considered the working man's beverage, beer has been adopted by Wellington's middle classes. While most of my participants are very clear on how they are attempting to educate everyone (any class, age (above the legal drinking age in NZ), gender, and ethnicity) on 'good' [local] beer, the reality is quite different. This became apparent to me after an intense week of drinking, where I was conducting fieldwork every other night. Had I to pay for every beer I drank during that week I would have been out, in the very least, my weeks' worth in rent. As a student, with a part time job, I would have been unable to keep up with other members of the local beer community, had I wanted to outside of my fieldwork. Additionally, I could not talk about beer in the eloquent and knowledgeable way that they could, nor was I a professional worker in the middle-class. Due to this I was particularly aware that I did not have the same disposable income as the local beer drinkers did, nor did I 'fit in' comfortably with them. I propose that there is a type of consumer being created in the consumption of local beer, the cultural omnivore. Thus, local beer is a variation of a low-brow cultural form (beer) for both the middle and upper-middle class.

In contrast, mainstream beer has historically been claimed as the "working man's drink" (Kharmouch 1996, 25). Beer has traditionally been imbued with meaning as the beverage for lower social and economic classes. When I talked to my family about my research, my mother told me of her memories of my grandfather returning from work as a car painter at the end of the week with a case of DB beer. He would drink beer throughout the weekend before returning to work the following week. This occurred every Friday evening; my mother vividly remembered the clinking sounds of the bottles hitting one another as they were jostled on his way up the path and into their home. My grandfather's beer consumption was not only evidence of his working-class status, but also a performative display of his position in society as a working-class man.

Compared to local beer, mainstream beer is considered a drink for high rates of consumption, with little or bad flavour, and brewed using cheap substitutes for ingredients resulting in lesser quality. Mainstream beer has a strong presence within groups of 'poor' university students who cannot afford to splurge and have the intention of getting as *wasted* as possible.

This is where I see mainstream beer consumed. During a house party in Wellington a few years ago, a friend turned up with a box of Double Brown Beer, by DB Breweries. The general uproar and masculine displays of “aye!”, “yeah boi!”, and knuckle pumps were signifiers that he was not playing around, but there to drink as much as possible. While the beer tasted more accurately like ‘piss’¹², the box was empty by the end of the night. ‘Taste’ is not an important factor in determining alcoholic beverages for the younger drinkers of New Zealand, who do not have much disposable income to ‘splash out’ on pricier drinks. A study on New Zealand student hardship was conducted by the NZUSA (New Zealand Union of Student’s Associations) (2017). Taking into consideration their findings, students do not have the extra income that is needed to drink local beer, regularly or often. At the time of writing, as a university student with very little income (I have one part-time job), I legally qualify as in financial hardship. Therefore, I can be considered as part of a lower class.

However, I can also be considered part of the middle class, having grown up in a privileged home. My experiences of beer are subjective to my own parents’ tastes, our family’s social class, as well as my position as a university student living in Wellington. At home I can indulge in a local beer, while around people my own age I am limited to what I can personally spend. In both spaces I can drink beer. However, the *quality* and *taste* of beer becomes salient when I am with members of the middle and upper-middle classes.

My father prefers to drink beer that has a certain taste profile, and as a consequence has a certain degree of cultural capital attached to it. This differs to what my mother grew up with, with her father and what I now see my father drink. Part of this ‘taste’ is attributed to what one can afford, in this case my father fits within the spending category for local beer drinkers (middle-class). Local beer has, therefore, been adopted, altered and re-marketed towards people of the higher classes as a ‘tasty’ beverage.

The Cultural Omnivore

¹² ‘Piss’: alcoholic beverages in New Zealand slang (“P - Kiwi Slang - New Zealand Colloquialisms - English Language Help” n.d.)

Taste distinctions determined by class hierarchies are important to understand when discussing locally brewed beer. Karl Marx's (1876) work looks at class as the social stratification of society based on economic capital. Marx argues that class is determined by the type of productive labour done to make money to live, thus classifying only two classes – the bourgeoisie (who own the means of production) and the proletariat (the workers). Bourdieu (1984) goes further by stating that class is also determined through taste. Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital considers how social status informs taste. Taste is not simply arbitrary, rather certain cultural forms, such as food and beverages, are distinguishers of one's social class. Richard A. Peterson (1992), with his concept of the cultural omnivore, makes a case against Bourdieu's set forms of cultural consumption by certain classes to emphasize how people mixed different kinds of consumption practices.

Peterson introduced the term 'cultural omnivore' to the social sciences in 1992 (Peterson 1992; van Eijck and Lievens 2008). The argument is that "members from higher-status groups do not limit their cultural behaviour to more prestigious or highbrow cultural items, such as classical music or opera, but also engage in non-elite or lowbrow culture" (van Eijck and Lievens 2008, 217). Whilst there has been debate over whether this concept has "ushered in a novel 'post-Bourdieu' era of cultural sociology" there has been little doubt that the omnivore is present everywhere (Atkinson 2011, 169). Peterson focused his analysis on media consumption (Peterson 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996), arguing against Bourdieu's (1984) theory that music is the most clear distinguisher of class.

According to Bourdieu (1984) highbrow music tastes align with classical music and/or opera (18-19). People in this category attend many performances that are labelled as highbrow (ballet, art galleries, and plays) (Peterson and Kern 1996, 901). There are particular music genres that are classified as lowbrow, "country music, bluegrass, gospel, rock, and blues" (Peterson and Kern 1996, 901). The distinguisher between these two is based on economic wealth and access to education: Bourdieu (1984) argued that those of the higher classes were better equipped to appreciate, and have a taste for more difficult, and more cryptic music forms, while the middle-classes consumed popular music, and the lower-classes consumed music that has "simple, repetitive structures" (386), which allow for passive participation as the dominated group within society.

Peterson (1992) poses an alternative, the possibility of ‘omnivorous’ people and the production of a new class through the consumption of low-brow cultural forms. However, Peterson (1992) suggests that cultural omnivores tend to be people of higher classes. The cultural omnivore is still capable of reproducing inequality, despite the possibility to remove difference from people’s taste. As Ocejó (2017) points out, “they simply do so along new lines” (7). I argue that beer, more specifically local beer, as a traditionally lower-class beverage has become a preferred beverage by the middle and middle-upper classes. The permeation of cultural consumption into the social world of local brewpubs and local breweries, indicates that the workers in these places are selling beer embedded with “complex meanings that make them unique, “authentic,” and special” to their consumers (Ocejó 2017, 9). Their consumption practices show them to be a type of cultural omnivore. It is this middle-class masculinity, the male cultural omnivore, that I propose are the consumers of local beer.

While men seem to be the dominant drinkers of local beer there are certain displays of masculinity that are ‘appropriate’ in spaces where beer is consumed. For example, men cannot behave as too upper-class because it could be too pretentious or indulgent. Therefore, the type of masculinity in these brewpubs has to retain some of its ‘lower-classness’. An example given by Scott (2017), a sociologist lecturer at Flinders university, is the ‘hipster’. The hipster, while difficult to define, is mostly perceived as the “iconic millennial figure blending historical subcultural styles – from bohemians to hippies to emos – and who hold counter-mainstream tastes” (Scott 2017, 63). The hipster is an example of the new ‘cool’, of not trying too-hard and on trend and “in the know” (Scott 2017, 63). Accordingly, Scott likens hipsters to Bourgeois new petite bourgeois who tend to be, “young and credentialed, emerging as a meeting point of the bohemian middle class, the upwardly mobile working class, and the children of elites who have not secured professional credentials” (Scott 2017, 64). By taking into account Scott’s (2017) take on the hipster who embodies a specific aesthetic of middle-classness, we can see how men have to display their middle and upper-middle classness in local brewpubs.

By taking Jessica Paddock’s (2015) work on taste distinctions by the classes into consideration, we can see how the middle and upper-middle classes take lower class foods for their

consumption. Additionally, we can see how taste-makers, someone who influences, manipulates, or forms taste (Maguire 2013; Bourdieu 1984), can shape the tastes of certain people. Taste-makers are omnivorous people and can be anyone. Paddock (2015) draws upon Nigel Slater, a food-writer and journalist. Slater compels readers to make the “frightfully common chip butty”, which is takeaway hot chips in a white bread slice covered in butter with malt vinegar drizzled on top. I found it ironic when I saw the advertisement of these exact chip butties at Beervana, where the price for them equalled almost that of a glass of beer at the event. While Paddock’s work is on food, it is important to consider how taste is shaped not only by certain cultural forms, but also by people who have certain cultural and social capital. Through their influence as brewers in brewpubs, brewers have the ability to shape taste, just as people who visit their brewpubs contribute towards defining what is ‘good’ and ‘bad’ beer. We can see evidence of this in the next section on education.

5.2 Educating the consumer

The glasses are amassed in boxes, scattered around chairs and tables. Some have been filled while others are waiting their turn. I grab a handful of programmes and tokens. On by one I guide them into the glasses, trying not to pick them up by their rims. It’s never nice to see the smudge of a fingerprint where you sip. Or maybe that’s just the clean freak part of me.

I finish a box and move onto the next. Placing the glasses on the table tops until we run out of space. Soon I am taking glasses out, placing paper into them and putting them back, into their individual, little, square cardboard homes. We decide to leave most of them empty, as many of the boxes are stacked on top of each other. So, we fill the programmes with the tokens, preparing for when empty glasses appear on the surface.

People are amassing already. Bundled up in coats and scarfs, they are a testament to stormy weather outside. At least it’s not raining. The natural light softens the harsh lobby. It’s that blinding white, that hurts to look at but makes objects and features look smoother.

We are reassured that there is still time left before the doors open. We make a start on getting to know the QR system on our smartphones. One of the volunteer's phones doesn't have the right capabilities so I dashes up the stairs to find another phone, person, or both.

I am starting to feel nervous. My hands are cold in anticipation. It does not take long to understand the ticketing process and time seems reluctant to tick to two. To distract idle hands, we start tearing apart the yellow wristbands. They flutter into piles. Soon the room is full and the stairs outside the door are filled. We wait a bit longer for the go ahead, the confirmation that we can send these eager people in.

A full-time worker in a technology business. A trainer in outdoor sports and swimming. A businessman. A member of SOBA and a full-time worker in a brewing equipment company. A brewer. A traveller and part-time hospitality worker. A bar manager. These were all volunteers for WAF and all local beer enthusiasts and drinkers. The passion for local beer that all these people share is evident through the time they gave to voluntarily work an event, pulling beer, serving, cleaning, and checking in ticket holders. Working from 12pm to 9:30pm in the evening is no joke, especially when given one or two fifteen-minute breaks.

Working the event was, in many ways, a strategy. Volunteers could enter the event and try the beers on offer without paying for them. But for most of the volunteers it was one of their big social events, an excuse to hang out with other likeminded people, with the same interest in local beer. Some of the volunteers were helping friends who were leaders and managers of the event, while others, less well-known in the community were able to become more involved and meet some new people.

What struck me the most, was that all the volunteers were full-time workers, older than me. I was the only student volunteering, and one of the youngest at 22 years. As the event was run at Victoria University in Wellington, I had imagined that there would be more students giving a helping hand. But what I was quick to find out, was that the group of volunteers were part of a larger group of people who had the time and money to spend evenings hanging out at bars and brewpubs, drinking and socialising. Many of the volunteers seemed highly knowledgeable on local beer (styles, ingredients, and brewing processes), so much so that

they could chat to the ticket holders about the beer they were pouring and its tasting notes, as well as answering any questions they might have had. While I found myself more clueless than informative, I enjoyed spending time with these volunteers who had a distinct appreciation for local beer. But this appreciation came with an understanding of how local beer is made, produced, and its potential.

The desire to educate consumers on local beer methods, ingredients, styles and flavours is linked to New Zealand's history with beer. Despite being one of the highest consumers of beer in the world from the 1870's to roughly the 1970's, the beer that was available was fundamentally lacking in variety (Donaldson 2012, 16). The two brewing companies in New Zealand (the duopoly) held the limited number of hotel licences (where beer could be sold), leading to little choice in the beer market (Donaldson 2012, 47). With the rise in 'craft' (or in Wellington local) breweries there are many more options, which have saturated the beer market. However, people with a history of only drinking the likes of DB (Dominion Breweries) Draught, Speights and Steinlager, can be left somewhat bewildered by the reams of choice not only in brewery, but also in styles of beer.

Appreciating local beer

Therefore, education is needed to guide consumers. As Mike made clear to me one afternoon:

I was never into sours and stuff like that until we started brewing in house and I saw like all the ingredients and started getting into different styles and for myself learning all, all the variation which I'm exposed to a lot more than your, most people. And part of my job is trying to train other staff and for the most part most customers about styles and flavours and, what they like if you will.

As a general manager of a brewpub, part of Mike's job is to understand the beer market, who's brewing what, and explain the brews of his own brewpub to his customers. Most of the time, Mike said that it is the bitterness of hops that are brewed in some local beers that deter people for good. However, to create understandings of local beer is to learn the different styles and tasting notes. Mike, Kerry, and Sam all indicated that this was important. It is this coaching that helps customers to branch out, try a few styles and find one that they enjoy.

With regards to my own preference for local beer, I prefer the lighter ranges like IPA's (Indian Pale Ales) and APA's (American Pale Ales), but I can now *understand* a "good" sour and stout. It is only through multiple tasters with my participants and tasting trays I have really understood the value in discussing and informing people on local beer. I could have even said that I might have cultivated a 'taste' for local beer, had I continued to drink it past my time spent in the field. When I started this research, I was completely ignorant and ambivalent about beer and its taste. On reflection, I could easily have categorised myself into the section of people who thought that all craft beer was bitter and too 'beer-like'. I preferred sweeter drinks so would more easily grab a cider before a craft beer. Although I still do prefer a cider over a local beer, I can understand why local beer requires such an informative approach. To truly 'taste' local beer, you need to be able to first understand it and appreciate it.

The desire to learn is also needed, which points more to the exclusivity of local beer drinkers than its inclusiveness. Accordingly, class comes into play. As Bourdieu (1984) argued, understanding and having the ability to understand cultural forms comes from both the accessibility of that form, materially and economically, but also through a particular education. The education and cultivation of 'taste' is mostly determined by the local brewing community, who make it their job to teach customers, the cultural omnivore, about local beer.

Defining these boundaries comes with education on 'good' and 'bad'. After working at WAF a group of us went down to the Little Beer Quarter (LBQ) - a small bar that stocks local beer and export beer - for a drink. One of the volunteers, took it upon himself to start teaching me and sharing his knowledge on local beer by buying a handful of different styles and having me taste them. A group of travellers were also sitting at the table and the two men in that group were immediately encouraged to join in. Suddenly, the four of us were tasting and discussing each beer. Before we were given a taste, the volunteer would describe the style of beer, the alcohol content, the tasting notes, and what we should expect to taste when we eventually took a sip. While I was included within this impromptu taster, I did wonder why none of the other girls at the table were included. I question now if I would have been included had the volunteer not known I was researching local beer. Part of this performance was for the volunteer to exert his expertise on 'good' and 'bad' beer. Even if he did not intend to, the

volunteer was distancing himself from the rest of us tasters, with his display of knowledge on the cultural product he liked.

The spaces where this 'education' is conducted are the places where local beer is consumed. For example, LBQ, an iconic Wellington pub, is proudly stacked full of local beer but is not a brewery. Most of the time it is also the place of local beers production, this is where we see local beer being defined and constructed as authentic.

5.3 Place of consumption

The cultural omnivore indicates that there are new methods of cultural consumption. Beers were enjoyed at home or the local pub. Nowadays it is more 'social' to go to the quintessential Wellington brewpub or bar that houses local beer and the assortment of wines and spirits (to cater to all desires). People can build up their social capital by physically being in brewpubs and choosing (and discussing) local beer.

The accessibility of these places is predetermined by your disposable income. Additionally, to be present in a brewpub or bar, regularly, requires spare time and low commitments to other time-consuming matters. I assumed that drinking local beer at a bar was a 'mature' activity, while I was not wrong, I can more specifically argue that it is young professionals and mature men and women that predominantly dominate these spaces.

Heyday

At first glance Heyday is obviously a brewery. We see this from the large silver vessels taking up half of the space of the renovated garage. However, it is the other half, the seated area, which is more confusing as it resembles more of a restaurant than a pub. One of my friends told me of the time when she first walked into Heyday. Her and her partner thought that they had walked into a baby shower because of the pink and blue theme. I attributed my friend's first impression to Heyday's '*Instagrammable*' interior, which showcases green forage, light stylistic posters, and pink and blue seats. However, there is more to be said about this space. Heyday is almost too overt in its pursuit of being inclusive to everyone. So much so, that they almost exclude their main consumer, men who are cultural omnivores.

Heyday produces a space that is airy, light, and consists of pinks, blues, and greens. Therefore, we can see how not only the 'taste' of beer is important but also the place where local beer is consumed. It must cater to the middle and upper-middle classes. Local brewpubs must cultivate the prestige of wine (which is traditionally an upper-class beverage) while ensuring these spaces are still palatable for masculinity. Heyday, in their attempt to do just this, instead cultivated the atmosphere almost too much that they created a space catered more for influencers (i.e. social media influencers), the 'tastemakers' than for middle-class masculinity. As I mentioned earlier, men must portray certain behaviour and acts of masculinity that fit in with their surroundings. Additionally, the space of consumption must cater to this masculinity just as it also helps to construct the consumer.

Being in these spaces, where local beer is consumed, and socialising with others is almost always expected, the cultural omnivore plays yet another role. By determining what is 'good' and 'bad' to drink, the cultural omnivore not only questions *authenticity* and *quality* but determines the symbolic boundaries (Ocejo 2017, 7) of what is 'good' and 'bad'. The limitations of beer are defined by symbolic boundaries, which are symbolic because they are not purely physical, and more value or moral based. For example, beer that was 'good' was beer that held intrigue and was valued precisely because it was 'innovative' or 'unique'. Additionally, they create inequalities between groups of people (Lamont and Fournier 1992, 3). 'Good' beer, usually referred to by brewers as beer made using traditional styles and methods, are not accessible to everyone due to cost and the meaning behind what makes it 'good'. Ocejo (2017) argues that cultural omnivores "still seek out and obtain greater cultural status through consumption, but by different means from the traditional model" (7). Choosing which local beer to drink in a brewpub or bar/pub, thus becomes a performance that engages with the staff of the bar or brewpub who help cultivate these taste distinctions.

5.4 Establishing authenticity through performance

According to Sam the brewpub culture is all about "people wanting to have a connection with the products and where they are made". Flack (1997) argues similarly in his discussion on

American microbreweries and neolocalism. The term neolocalism describes the current phenomenon of wanting to shop in local places, at local markets, and “seek out unique places” (Flack 1997, 38). The idea follows that neolocalism is this shift against “America’s rootlessness”; the ‘sameness’ of large stores that are anonymous (Flack 1997, 38). Neolocalism furthers my argument that local beer is seen as authentic precisely because it is attributed to a place and person(s). Therefore, as I argue in Chapter Two, brewpub culture desires authenticity from their products and it is in the production and consumption of establishing local beer, that the authenticity of the product is established also. In this section I discuss how authenticity is achieved through the performance of brewing and drinking.

The set up was similar in all three brewpubs where I interviewed my participants. Brew station on display and seating, tables, and bar arranged next to it or around it. Although you cannot always see the full station if you are sitting further away or around a corner, the brewing station always makes itself known if it is in use. The explosion of water from hoses and taps, and steam and heat radiating off the kettle fill the atmosphere with noise and creates a visual sensation. Like the constant sound of a barrister making coffee, the grinding of coffee beans and tapping, the rushing sound of pressurized steam from the milk wand, the brewing station puts on a sensory performance for those in the brewpub.

Drysdale (2016), in his work on Sydney’s drag scene, looks at how places need to be actively engaged with during ethnographic research. Through this we can understand how sensory engagement can both recall participants recollections, and show how “sensory expression is intimately related to participants’ experience of space, and how they construct a sense of place” (Drysdale 2016, 213). It is in this way that places are, “constructed through social and cultural processes” (Drysdale 2016, 214). I found this in my own ethnographic research, where brewpubs are experienced through all the senses and constructed accordingly.

From putting on clothes appropriate for brewing, to working in, on, and around the brewing station, brewing is performative and helps to construct notions of authenticity. Local beer can be consumed while watching the act of its production, establishing consumer expectations of beer that is ‘genuine’ and local. To consumers, observing the process of brewing or the place of brewing, gives credibility to the product.

To discuss the performance of brewers in the construction of authenticity further, I will use Kapchan's (1995) definition of performance. Kapchan (1995) defines performance as "aesthetic practices - patterns of behaviour, ways of speaking, manners of bodily comportment – whose repetitions situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities" (Kapchan 1995, 479). While we all routinely perform in our day-to-day lives, performance in anthropology is a useful way to look at how, "human beings expressively and aesthetically create their cultural worlds through interaction with others" (Korom 2013, 1). Kapchan (1995) argues that despite performance being referred to as repetition, mimicry, and reproduction in the formation of "ethnic, linguistic, and national traditions", performances vary (2). The ability for variations, even among the same performances, is argued as being the "emergent" nature of performance which allows for interaction and is shaped by interactions between the audience and the performers (Kapchan 1995, 2). An example of this in the performance of brewing local beer was when Sam interacted with his 'audience' during our brew day.

Two women, seated with lunch, started up a conversation with Sam about the type of beer they were drinking and queried what made it that particular style. The women were bubbly and cheerful, eager to instigate a conversation with Sam. While Sam happily chatted back to the women, he continued the brew by pressing buttons, turning handles and generally ensuring everything was running smoothly and as it should. The interaction happening across the wall separating the brewing station and the bar/restaurant helped to initiate boundaries of production versus consumption. Additionally, it is within these boundaries that performance takes place. The brewing station forms a clear 'stage' where the act of brewing is constructed, not only by what is happening on the brewing side but also by the consumers (audience) observing, eating and drinking, and forming a dialogue between the brewer(s) and themselves.

Brewing and consuming in the same space allows for a performance where the brewer and consumer can effectively promote and construct notions of authenticity. Therefore, the local product is made 'real', 'genuine', and 'authentic', through local beer's performance. With Sam's discussion on the type and style of beer the two women were drinking, Sam and the

women were helping to build on existing understandings of beer. During this time Sam indicated through his performative brewing (the back and forth between his brewing station and the women), that the women's beer was made by a 'genuine', small-scale brewery, and with equipment that allowed the beer to be 'authentic' (i.e. not produced in mass amounts). The performance of brewing, particularly the romanticised, hands-on 'crafting' of beer, achieves recognition by its audience as being the authentic or the 'real' thing.

By encouraging notions of authenticity through performative displays within brewpubs, consumers are also encouraged to enjoy their beer in these same spaces. This binds local beer consumption mostly to their places of production. I note, that it is specifically local brewpubs that do not generally produce beer for supermarkets or retail stores, but rather those that only have the capabilities to sell on site or in other brewpubs. Therefore, consumers must have time to visit these spaces, as well as the money to enjoy beer that is more expensive than your general, mainstream brew. This leads me back to my point that local beer produces a consumer who has an income bracket to consume local beer. Additionally, the cultural omnivore must have the social capital needed to engage in these spaces. It is only through interacting and performing that both the consumer and brewer contribute towards authenticating local beer and making 'self'.

5.5 Branding and Marketing

What's inside the bottle counts for a decent proportion of why people choose local beer. However, some of the attraction comes from the quirky labels that adorn most of these bottles and the brand behind the beer's creation. Wellington beer is well known for its works of art that cover bottles and beer cans, tap labels and posters. While Garage Project is particularly known for its collaboration with artists for the designs of their beer, many local breweries have the same artistic flair, using either illustrators or graphic designers to produce their beer labels.

Each beer label has a distinct feel that can be attributed to the overall branding of the company it is for. Heyday's beer labels correspond with the interior of their brewpub, which

is light and airy. Accordingly, their beer labels have many muted colours, with an easy-going feel, nothing too intense or crazy to look at. In comparison Choice Bro's labels are visually full-on with a use of contrasting light, loud, and dark colours. They fit in nicely with the sci-fi feel of the brewpub which has colourful lights that shine on the brewing equipment and more mood lighting, giving way to a darker interior. In many ways the branding of a beer is mutually dependent on the branding of the company it is from.

With an influx of small breweries opening in Wellington since the early twenty-first century, breweries are constantly in competition with each other. The success of a brand may come down to the taste, feel, look and sound of a product, but the marketing of a product is extremely important as well, particularly to help customers settle when confronted with an array of choice (Lindstrom 2005). Accordingly, "whatever the product or service, most people will always want to experience touch, smell, sound and taste, as well as visual appeal, before they buy" (Lindstrom 2005, 222). Hence, brewpubs and beer labels can be vital to the marketing of a beer. Having beer made locally, and selling mainly within brewpubs, encourages people to experience the brand, not just through the taste of the beer, but the event of going into a pub. Having a pint or a taster poured, choosing from a display of beer taps with beer labels, enables all the sensory sensations that come with it (smell, seeing, tasting).

Local beer labels go some way to provide new methods of advertising that do not always include television, but also changes up the content of beer advertisements. Posters and social media pages seem to be the most common methods of advertisement, as well as the beer label itself. For example, Reet Petite (beer label), a brew by Choice Bros features a young girl opening a bright red box which has blue feathers floating out of it. Her hair, a mass of orange and ginger, billows around her making up the background. The image itself is striking and it is unusual to see a female figure, young but not sexualised, on a beer label. The innocence of the image is an interesting contrast to the conflict surrounding Moa's (a craft beer company in NZ) "misogynistic" advertising, such as a 2012 public offering prospectus, which has images of short-skirted, attractive females who were in some pictures, suggestively positioned (NZ

Herald 2012; Anthony 2016).¹³ While the pictures are meant to be for “men who want moments of manhood” (*NZ Herald* 2012), they only serve to isolate women from drinking Moa craft beer. While the idea that ‘sex sells’ continues in advertisements with beer (as indicated in the 2012 advert), in Wellington and with Choice Bros’ own female label, there is a bigger push towards marketing that can be more than the same old beer marketing. Beer labels can be more than a woman who is an object of desire. Rather, beer labels can have flair and creativity, which draws more on artistic temperaments than idealised recreations.

The illustrations discussed here explain the attempts made by the local brewing community (in Wellington) to move away from standardized ideological representations of sexualised females. However, Moa proves that there is still motive to produce beer labels that cater more towards ‘manliness’, or the heteronormative man. Additionally, beer labels are part of the *experience* of drinking local beer, therefore they must not only appeal to consumer (predominantly men) but also, they must follow in the trend of craft beer, which is to be as visually stimulating.

Illustrations are the main designs that are used on local beer, with the designs being more attuned to celebrating the “distinctive personality of the beer” (Bagge 2016). Accordingly, in an interview with Holly Bagge (2016), Morris pointed out that using illustrations makes sense, “the whole idea of the craft thing is about returning to the hand made and small scale, to show a bit more human side of a product like beer”. Garage Project is known for being one of the main influencers of illustrations on beer labelling, with their tendency to use many different artists for their designs.

Key to Garage Project’s marketing is the celebration of the beer itself. By creating beer that is different and physically portrayed as such, gives the impression that beer is made for more than one type of consumer. However, what seems to be happening instead is that the production and consumption of local beer points towards an elitism of beer, contradicting the idea that there is a *local beer available* for everyone. As I discuss with regards to Scott’s (2017)

¹³ For reference, the Moa General Manager Gareth Hughes’ ashtray photo on page 68 of the 2012 Moa Group Limited Initial Public Offering Investors Statement document.

work on the 'hipster', the artistic and stylistic flair of local beer labels and cans tend to speak to the 'cool-ness' of middle-class hipsters, leaving certain people excluded from local beers consumption. People who do not understand local beer, may be more comfortable choosing a beer that is less overwhelming to look at and more traditional in approach (like mainstream beer brands). Therefore, the trendiness of crazy and interesting beer labels is more understandable to consumers like the 'hipster' who are 'cool' and already engaging in the spaces where local beer is consumed.

Scott (2017) suggests that we should view the hipster as "the neoliberalised entrepreneurial figure at the forefront of urban cultural production promoting the art of living well: from micro-brewing to fashion, tattooing to holistic wellness practices" (72). The cultural omnivore that I discuss as part of this masculinity that is being produced through local beer, can be explained through this hipster-esque figure. The hipster not only produce a certain aesthetic in the "making of livelihoods", but also paints an identifiably, middle-class figure of 'taste' and urban living.

To conclude, the intentions of my participants have been the opposite of reality, to create beer that could be enjoyed by all. However, these brewers, managers and marketers work within a capitalist society that rewards rational self-interest. This has created a tension between my participants' moral and economic values and the need to support oneself. Similarly, Paxson (2013) in her ethnography, *The Life of Cheese: Crafting food and value in America*, discusses how artisanal cheesemakers struggle to produce cheese that aligns more favourably with social standards of nutrition, taste, and environmental awareness. They are having to compete with the politics and commercial interests of industry dominating companies (Paxson 2013, 12). All my participants expressed a desire to educate consumers on beer that was of better quality, taste, and locally brewed. In addition, they also argued that it was a combination of these factors that allowed for everyone to be included and partake in the consumption of local beer. Due to the cost of beer that is brewed with fresh ingredients and in smaller batch sizes, alongside a need for appreciation (for the variety of local beer available), 'equality' among drinkers has not eventuated.

By considering the people who attended Beervana I could see that local beer was restrictive economically. It was accessible to those with enough disposable income to buy entry into the event (\$45NZD) and spend the same amount, if not more, trying the local beers. I struggled to see anyone who was my age or younger, minus the three children under five being pushed in strollers. Additionally, from what I observed, the male to female ratio was weighted more in favour of men who ranged from their late twenties onwards. The quantity of beards on these men was substantial, so much so, that there was a stand dedicated to glittering those beards up. While beer is marketed as a beverage 'for everyone', there is still a masculine identity around the consumption of beer. There is also an income bracket, specific social capital, and education that goes along with those who can participate in the spaces where local beer is drunk.

While local beer is marketed for the middle and upper-middle classes, masculinity in NZ has not completely undergone a transformation from that which I discussed in chapter one. Rather, the way of drinking (tasting for flavour as opposed to binge drinking), the place of drinking, and the class who drink local beer are all part of a self-making practice of masculinity - one that allows for more choice, not only in beer, but also in masculinity. Men do not have to identify with the masculinity of chapter one, but rather are in the process of making another, one that can allow for a different 'taste' in beer and can discuss the features and characteristics of beer in detail, like wine. Therefore, through this production and consumption of local beer, the type of masculinity created is one of a man who is metropolitan, educated on 'good' beer, appreciative of it, and middle or upper-middle class. It is through only through producing beer as local, through its production and consumption, that the local consumer is thus also made.

Conclusion

This thesis explored the production and consumption of a commodity, local beer, and its cultivation of 'self' to understand why only certain kinds of people drink beer. I argue that my participants more closely associate local beer to authenticity, as craft is not perceived as authentic enough. I focus on the locality of beer because my participants suggested to me that it was a more accurate term for the beer they produce. Thus, through the establishment of a locally produced and consumed product the beer becomes more authentic, precisely because it is localised. Consumer desire for more authentic beer, one that differs from the beer produced in the last two centuries, mainstream (unoriginal, cheap, and impersonal by comparison), has in part resulted in the emergence of craft beer and the localising of it in Wellington. The desire for authenticity, the 'real' and 'genuine' thing by consumers, indicates that there is also a new consumer being created in the process. This centralises the focus of this thesis, of beer as a self-making process. Through the consumption and production of local beer a local consumer is made.

As I briefly touched upon, consumer consciousness is having a large impact on what goods are purchased, particularly in the food economy. The turn to local farmers markets and locally grown produce is part of a wider societal value, of looking for traditional and 'authentic' processes and products. I argue that local beer is authentic because of its localisation process, which increases its value as a product to consumers. What is important to understand is that the consumers are willing to pay more for a product that is 'authentic' and 'real' because of their consumer consciousness. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the scholarship on authenticity and 'self-making'.

My advertisement analysis of Chapter Three recounts the history of NZ beer, through the lens of white masculinity. I look at how beer was drunk in large quantities (characteristic of binge-drinking behaviour) in hotels and pubs that catered only for men and 'serious drinking'. I explored how masculinity was constructed through beer advertisements, which presented an image of beer drinking Kiwi men. These men were constructed as authentically kiwi and linked to the nation and land. By linking beer to this man, ideas of the 'real' genuine product were

also created. This masculinity presented men as white, heterosexual, working class, linked to the NZ land or earth, rugged, rough, strong, stoic, and a hard worker (usually a rural worker, or rugby player).

NZ advertising of beer contributed to nation-building ideologies of the 'real' NZ male. This consumer 'type' provides insight on how masculinity was constructed in NZ through advertising and marketing practices. Additionally, the social, economic, and political moments of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries were discussed, to give a historical backdrop to the creation of masculinity and beer in NZ. These moments impacted the consumption and production processes of beer in NZ. This chapter was key in establishing the movement away from mainstream beer to craft in the start of the twenty-first century. We can see in this chapter how authenticity is found in the construction of the masculine. The following two chapters explored this 'local beer' and how through its production and consumption a type of masculinity was created and reinforced.

Chapter Four focused on the production of local beer, through examining both the producers and parts of local beers production. An analysis of the local brewing community provided insight on brewing practices, through the creation of a community of practice where information could be dispersed to other members of the community. Through working within a community of practice, brewers in Wellington were established as being entrepreneurial and social. This is then reflected in the consumers of local beer. By drinking beer that is creative, innovative and fundamentally different to mainstream beer, consumers too have to be open to tasting and appreciating this creativity and innovation.

With consideration given to traditional batch brewing practices and brewing locally, we can see brewers establishing their beer as authentically Wellington beer. However, consumers must have the disposable income to be able to afford these local beers, which are regularly produced. My discussion of ingredients contributed to the discussion on cost. This chapter explored my observations of the production process of local beer in Wellington, whilst adding to my argument that the local consumer is made through the production of beer. The economic, social, and cultural limitations of local beer are suggested here as contributing to this self-making process.

Chapter Five furthers my argument of self-making through an exploration of the consumption of local beer. I examine how 'taste' is determined by class hierarchies and social status. I refer to Bourdieu's (2002) concept of cultural capital and Marx's (1876) work on class in this discussion. I make the argument that beer, which was (as indicated in Chapter Three) a working-class beverage has been adopted and altered for the middle and upper-middle classes. The term I use here is 'cultural omnivore', which was introduced to the social sciences by Richard A. Peterson (1992). The culture omnivore refers to a person who claims a low-brow cultural form as a higher-status person. Local beer in the production and consumption of local beer produces this cultural omnivore. Furthermore, I discuss how education contributes to the making of the consumer. Staff at brewpubs educate consumers on what is 'good' beer – local beer. This process requires appreciation and a desire to know or learn about local beer. This makes clear local beers exclusivity rather than its inclusivity.

I mention how the places of consumption are accessible according to both economic and social capital. To be present in a brewpub, one must (again) have disposable income to spend on testing and drinking local beer. Additionally, to be in brewpubs, consumers must socialise (according to social and cultural norms) and can build their cultural capital by being in these spaces. By drinking in local brewpubs, there is a performance that takes place between the brewer and the consumer. Through watching a local beer being brewed in the place of consumption, ideas of authenticity and locality are constructed. The making of a local beer, the consuming of the beer all contribute towards making the local consumer and teaching them that the local beer they are drinking is authentically Wellington beer. The construction of the beer as local through the performance of brewing and drinking, also help to provide insight on how ideologies surrounding 'good' beer are co-constructed by both members of the local brewing community and the beer drinkers and enthusiasts of Wellington.

Lastly, I examined the branding and marketing of local beer. I looked at how the branding and marketing of a beer can be a sensory experience, particularly when consumers drink within the brewpub. This aides in the making of a creative and innovative space. Key to the branding and marketing of local beer is its creative and artistic beer labels which attempt to celebrate the diversity and character of local beer. I argued that this creative branding tends to appeal

to a certain consumer, the 'hipster' who can appreciate the creativity of both the beer and the label.

Throughout Chapter Four and Five we can see how the consumer, constructed through the production and consumption of local beer, shows the emergence of a certain masculinity. This masculinity is characteristic of a male who is of the middle or upper-middle class, white, metropolitan, a professional worker, has a certain 'taste' distinction, and can appreciate the flavourful and diverse range of local beer. This masculinity contrasts to the white colonial male who continues to exist in part through mainstream production and consumption. We can see how men who drink local beer drink for 'taste' and cultural capital, rather than for drunken endeavours or bravado. It is in this way that beer is a self-making process.

I conclude from my data that the intentions of those I spoke to was to ensure that anyone and everyone could enjoy beer made locally. However, there are certain cultural and social factors that limit and provide boundaries on who can consume beer as I have shown in this thesis. To say a space is gendered does not imply that this same space is sexist. Spaces are gendered, and, in this space, masculinity presides. As my discussion on NZ beer history explains, beer has historically been catered towards men, and it continues to be despite efforts by the brewing community for it not to be so. That said, I would like to point out that the realm of beer in NZ is predominantly masculine this is not to say that this is permanent. The field is dynamic, and the demographic of beer drinkers is changing, and has the potential to be more inclusive.

As a woman in this space, there were times where I felt my gender shaped my ability to move through the field. As I discuss in Chapter Five my tasting session with a WAF volunteer at The Little Beer Quarter occurred with three men. I note that had I not been a researcher I could very possibly have not been invited to test the beers out accordingly - none of the other women I was with were invited to test them with us. Additionally, while I felt welcomed into the local beer community, it seemed to me that the women had to 'stick together'. The knowledge and brewing capabilities of the men were sometimes more closely presented as a masculine trait or contrastingly, not knowing how to brew or what the beer was, was somehow less masculine. The women that I talked with and met also had to be quite 'sassy'

or defensive to be able to hold their own in a community that is so traditionally associated with being a male space. As Kerry pointed out to me, he ensures that all the female staff do a brew with him, so they can have a “boost of confidence” when talking to men who talk down to them. I would like to acknowledge that the local brewing community are actively attempting to change the gendered nature of this space.

A limitation to my research is its predominantly white-lens. While Chapter Two’s advertisement analysis has set up the tone of this thesis, in terms of white masculinity, it is also the reason why I have been so limited in my approach. Advertisements in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries were solely focused on marketing beer to working-to-middle-class white men. The exclusion of Māori and Pacific Islanders in these advertisements only showed that they were not the desired consumer, nor the types of people wanted in the pubs shown onscreen. As for current day discussion on craft beer, an article written by Dave Infante (2015), discusses why there are no ‘Black People Brewing Craft Beer’. Infante (2015) claims that in the US, statistics show that African American’s are not the primary consumers of craft beer, which tells why there are very few brewers. Part of this is due to underlying historical racism, and the material and economic costs of craft beer. The exclusionary tactics of advertisers show that this underlying institutional racism was very present in twentieth century NZ, as well as the present day. None of my participants were of a different ethnicity. This requires more research and discussion, in further scholarship.

Furthermore, the limited presence of women both in the advertisements and in my analysis, tells a similar story, with gender divisions. However, there are already discussions happening around women’s presence in the beer scene, both in brewing and as consumers with research conducted by Kathleen Kuehu and Sophie Parker in NZ (2018). Both gender and cultural diversity in craft/local beer would be an interesting and highly important avenue for future research. However, given the limited scope of a Master’s thesis I was not able to explore this facet of local beer in Wellington.

Nevertheless, I would like to point out that the twentieth century attitudes and behaviours towards beer are slowly being changed due to people like Sam, Hannah, Lewis, Mike, and Kerry. While they may not have been able to produce beer that is accessible for everyone,

class, gender, or ethnicity aside, they have aided in the adoption of new drinking attitudes and behaviours (even if for a select few). I acknowledge that this thesis only draws on a small sample size of Wellington's brewer's, producers, and consumers. However, I hope that this thesis has provided some insight into both the local brewing community and local drinkers and enthusiasts of Wellington.

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Appendix: Interview List

Sam: 10th of June 2018, recorded, 40mins

Mike: 20th June 2018, recorded, 1hr

Kerry: 5th July 2018, recorded, 2hrs

Hannah and Lewis: 4th July, recorded, 1hr