

University of Nevada, Reno

**Looking at Femininity Through the Bottom of a Pint Glass:
Women in the Always-Already Masculine Space of Craft Brewing**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Anthropology

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the enduring presence of gender inequality in the modern craft brewing industry through an analysis of linguistic practices on beer labels, in craft beer documentaries, and through ethnographic inquiry at craft beer spaces, including independent breweries and bottle shops. This project tracks the subtle presence of linguistic and discursive boundary markers that index the preeminence of masculinity as a prerequisite for belonging in the craft industry, while simultaneously subordinating women as accessories to male achievements across multiple sites and in varied contexts. Through textual and qualitative analysis alongside participant observation at several craft brewing environments, I contend that women working in this industry are confronted with narrow stereotypes that limit their potential to be authoritative leaders or experts in their craft. Faced with the classic “trap question,” women who work in the craft brewing industry have little ability to influence the future of craft beer as leaders because they are diminished and distracted by enduring inequality that undermines and frustrates their contributions. This thesis seeks to demonstrate the multiple mechanisms that women encounter while interacting in the craft brewing context to expose and weaken the hegemonic structures that prevail across these various sites.

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Chapter 1

Fieldwork, October 2018

I perch on a stool at one end of a long bar of polished wood and study a green chalkboard mounted next to gleaming glassware on floating hardwood shelves against the rustic backdrop of an old, red brick wall. The tasting room is quiet; a condition of that transition time just after the workday ends on this late Friday afternoon and before the conviviality of nightlife has begun. The air has a feeling of anticipation as the bartenders attend to minor activities like towel drying pint glasses and chatting about the newest releases from boutique distilleries with the few other customers at the bar. There are two bartenders preparing for the heavy traffic expected later this evening, both of them experts in their field. One of them, a woman in her late twenties named Pam¹, conveys a sense of offbeat yet sophisticated style. She commands the tasting room and is ever ready with an easy evaluation of her customer, adept at recommending just the right beverage for everyone who walks through the door. She is aware of my studying the green chalkboard menu and observes without appearing to observe me, intuitively sensing the moment that I am ready to order. She glances at me with a side-eye while wiping a tulip glass with a white bar towel and asks, “what are you having?” It’s October, so I opt for a seasonal pumpkin ale on tap from an Oregon craft brewery. She nods as if she expected this response and barely a moment passes before I taste the creamy sweet and spicy copper-colored ale.

¹ All names used in this thesis are pseudonyms.

As the night advances, several men enter individually and join me at the bar. They are still dressed in work clothes that hint at their professions. There are men in steel-toed work boots and dusty Carhartts; men in tailored dark blue suits with their jackets resting on the backs of the stools, and older men in sweaters and chinos. I notice, as is so often the case during my fieldwork, that I am the only woman in the bar alone and the only one who drinks my beer at the long counter. Many other women come and go as the night grows busier; they are usually in pairs when they approach the bar and they often take their drinks to a table with others or purchase closed containers to go. Pam offers them drinks like a locally produced marionberry cider or a tart Midwestern apricot sour. My fieldwork involves observing behaviors of both consumers and the professionals at the bar of this local specialty bottle shop and I easily identify gendered associations in both beverage selection and social behavior. What mechanisms are present in these types of settings that produce or maintain gendered patterns of consumption? How are the women experts cooperating with or challenging these mechanisms?

Introduction

This thesis research reports the results of a multi-sited and multi-media study of linguistic and material elements in the craft beer landscape that represent women in ways that render them simultaneously visible and invisible as consumers, entrepreneurs, and brewers. The analysis is informed by interviews with and observations of women who work in positions of authority in a variety of craft beer-related venues in Northern Nevada and Eastern California, including specialty bottle shops, breweries, and a homebrewing supply store. The research was conducted over two years and included

participant observation at craft beer events, tastings, and festivals. An analysis of documentary films about the industry and product labels provide evidence of the textual backdrop and linguistic landscape within which women perform their occupational identities as brewers, beer experts, and entrepreneurs. By tracing the evolution of this construction throughout the history of brewing and the correlated hops industry, I argue that this background is fundamentally constructed as a hetero-masculine space.

My research explores how women contend with their own identity-making in the midst of static representations of female bodies and preferences. I also address how these static representations conflict with the meaningful contributions of women to the brewing profession. The results of this research reveal the hegemonic norms present in craft brewing, such as problematic representations of women on product packaging, the relative absence of women in positions of power and influence, and the stereotyping of women's preferences for—and appreciation of—beer. I discuss a tendency for women to ignore or avoid challenging these norms, especially at the most intimate scales among their co-workers or business partners, even while they may recognize large-scale patterns that systematically disadvantage women in brewing. My arguments include that evidence of gender bias in craft brewing culture is easily demonstrable though women who work in the industry do not readily acknowledge this as a salient issue. I also argue that while women who work in positions of authority in craft brewing occupations are best positioned to become change agents in the industry, they may resist taking up this challenge because they might also have the most to lose by troubling the status quo.

Born of the Flowing Water; the Origin of Women's Entanglement with Beer

"The beer world, much like the wider world, can be unfriendly towards women"

(Haidari 2019)

I have long been fascinated by the societal pressures and structures that produce enduring gendered stereotypes and inform our identities. The cultural influences that motivate us to adhere to implicit guidelines regarding our choices about how to dress, what to drink, what to be when we grow up- can only be made explicit through the processes of examination supported by anthropological inquiry, a.k.a. "making the familiar strange." Women and men often work in environments that are traditionally reserved for the opposite sex: women who are auto mechanics or surgeons; men who are pre-school teachers and nurses. Their existence demonstrates that individual agency co-exists alongside, and occasionally subverts, powerful and enduring structural forces that dictate how to be and whom we may become. This intersection of agency and structure is a fruitful site for uncovering the interconnected ways that identity is negotiated between the individual and the group. This thesis aims to answer the following questions: how are women (re)presented in craft beer settings, and how does this affect their day-to-day experiences at work? How do women demonstrate (or not) agency in order to subvert, resist, or reorder the hegemonic norms of craft brewing in order to be fulfilled as craft brewing professionals? And finally, what insights can we draw from this analysis of gender within the craft brewing setting that might be useful in other male-dominated occupational settings?

Feminist scholars have long been fascinated by the societal processes and mechanisms that (re)construct and (re)enforce the gender norms that inform and

constitute our identities. My thesis examines the processes and mechanisms that construct the craft brewer as male, thus presenting challenges and even barriers to women who pursue the craft brewing profession. As these processes and mechanisms are multi-faceted, multi-modal, and occur across multiple sites, this research and analysis are also multi-sited and employs multiple methodologies. This research draws from a multitude of sources including: women at work as craft brewers or in craft brewing venues; product labeling that produces the majority of the linguistic landscape of craft brewing; and popular media about the industry, including documentary films, blogs, and online magazine content. This research explores the motivations and strategies that women engage in while pursuing occupations in craft brewing, despite being outnumbered by men and despite facing ubiquitous encounters with hegemonic structures that bar legitimacy and legibility to women as brewing professionals or craft beer experts. This research is part of a growing body of literature in anthropology and other social-scientific fields that examines women as leaders and subject matter experts in areas that have been dominated by men (for example, Baxter and Wallace 2012 examine gender inequality in the British construction industry; see an analysis of women in scientific fields from Bevan and Learmonth 2012; Milkman's 2016 scholarship on women and organized labor; or Roth 2006 examining women stockbrokers).

Chapter One of this thesis presents the methodologies used, along with the theoretical and historical background that provides the foundation of this research. The methodology section describes the varied approaches that I took to explore the topic of gender and introduces the close network of women in Northern Nevada that participated in my research; I also relay the challenges I faced in studying gender locally. In this

section, I also situate my research in the tradition of linguistic ethnography and food studies. The condensed history of beer presented here highlights the role gender has played in brewing's past and explores how vital beer has been to humanity around the world. This chapter ends with a review of the relevant literature, including anthropology, linguistics, and feminist scholarship, which provide the three legs of my theoretical approach. There has recently been an abundance of published material exploring the rise of craft beer in general, and a review of this research appears in Chapter One as well.

To set the stage for the research and provide context, I begin with a brief review of the history of beer production and the cultivation of hops, which have become the star ingredient in American craft beers. Brewing and farming are each gendered occupations in the American imagination and comprise a layered territory wherein male experts dominate the production of craft beer across multiple domains. However, the documented history of beer production reminds us that women appear to be the earliest and first brewers. Beer production exists in some form in numerous locations around the globe and was relied upon as a food-stuff and source of nutrition in ancient times. The rise of male brewers began 1,000 years ago—relatively recently in beer's long history—and accelerated as modes of production shifted toward commercialization during the Industrial Revolution when bottled beer production and distribution were on the rise. This shift away from domestic homebrewing further separated women from the preparation of beer. Today, over 60,000 people work in the U.S. brewing industry (Delaney and Haines 2017). While as a whole, women and men work in the industry in near equal numbers, men make up the vast majority of owners and head brewers at breweries both big and small (Watson 2019). Men also outnumber women as consumers of craft beer (Watson

2018). Societal attitudes about beer and drinking that disadvantage and even endanger women persist in the United States. For example, researchers have demonstrated that beer is evaluated as inferior when the consumer believes that the beer was brewed by a woman (Tak et al. 2019), and women who drink beer are seen as less human and more sexually available than women who abstain (Riemer et al. 2018). In this thesis, I consider the history of beer production alongside the prevailing stereotypes about women and beer as experienced by women who work in the craft brewing industry.

This thesis draws on theory from anthropological studies of food, language, and language about food. While there is some literature focused on language use about beverages (for example, Manning 2012), beer is treated here as a food item entangled with notions of local food production, artisanship, and authenticity similar to other categories of food products such as farmstead cheese or local salamis (Paxson 2012; Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014). The anthropology of food broadly explores the processes that construct some foods and modes of food production as more valued and even more edible than others; it also considers the social meanings that contextualize and index particular foods with rituals and other practices. My research adds another dimension to food studies by examining the gendered access to power in the production and alignment of food and values.

Foods can signify moral positionality and embodied characteristics that transfer from the food itself to the person consuming or imbibing (see for example, Tak et al. 2019, Thurnell-Read 2018, Karrebæk 2012). These processes are created and supported by linguistic practices that may constitute a form of labor when produced by those with a stake in the value production of certain foods over others (Cavanaugh 2016, Paxson

2012). Craft beer is linguistically constructed through an evolving definition articulated and maintained in the U.S. by a variety of stakeholders such as the trade organization the Brewers Association, product packaging designed by brewery personnel, industry commentators in popular media, as well as by individual consumers who take up or reconfigure beliefs and perceptions about beer and fellow beer consumers. Craft beer exists in a domain constructed as an originally masculine space through discursive practices that index hetero-masculine behaviors and norms. These same processes simultaneously invoke femininity in service to male interests to sell beer via sexualized imagery of the female body, and texts that associate beer and beer ingredients with masculine characteristics. My analysis makes these connections explicit through a careful examination of craft beer product labels, documentary films about craft brewing, and observations made during fieldwork.

Aside from drawing on food and anthropology theory, this thesis employs feminist theory to examine the ways that gender is constructed and (re)produced across settings and contexts to frame a response to the implicitly masculine space that is the world of craft beer. Women are in the minority of beer consumers and make up less than 10% of the primary decision-makers in the craft brewing industry (Watson 2019). Women are similarly positioned among the big beer companies (Anheuser-Busch InBev, MillerCoors, and Constellation Brands). This research is not alone in calling attention to the pervasiveness of gender bias in the brewing profession. The Brewers Association has recently launched initiatives aimed at embracing diversity, both in gender and ethnicity, as have major beer industry leaders such as Anheuser-Busch InBev (AB InBev), which alone accounts for almost half of the beer produced and consumed in the United States. In

2019, AB InBev launched a Diversity and Inclusion campaign that sought in part to highlight and support women working at its breweries and beyond (Anheuser-Busch Newsroom 2019)². Despite purposeful efforts to include women as equals in the production and consumption of beer, underrepresentation and sexism persist in the industry itself as well as among consumer attitudes. This thesis will rely on the previous works of feminist scholars to explore how societal structures support gender bias in craft brewing and to frame an analysis of interactions and environments that women professionals encounter during their work.

Chapter Two focuses on how women are purposefully made visible in the craft brewing industry. This chapter is grounded on an analysis of craft beer product packaging that features intentionally gendered visual and/or linguistic elements. Women are presented in one of two ways on product packaging and more broadly in other genres, including blogs and news articles. Generally, on product packaging, imagery and metaphor that uses feminine personas and bodies are uniformly presented in a heterosexualized context. Women's bodies are objectified in animated portrayals that emphasize the breasts, for example. Sometimes, the beer itself is feminized and linguistically constructed for heterosexual consumption, something like an all-white version of “eating the other,” wherein the male consumer can actually ingest the other sex in a manner entangled with sexual desire, voyeurism, and the subversion of consent (hooks 1992). Rarely is any race other than white invoked through craft beer product labeling. The other way that women are made visible in the industry is through blogs and

² Interestingly, in January 2018, AB InBev also launched the promotional campaign, #BeAKing, featuring ads with skimpily clad young women dancing with open bottles of Budweiser at parties.

other articles that linger on women's marked status in the industry. These articles focus on the relative scarcity of women in authoritative positions in breweries and construct themes of women resisting or ignoring their marginalized status as a means of "just focusing on the quality of the beer." This chapter demonstrates that my research found the gendered-constructed space of craft breweries perpetuates a notion of women as sexually available when they are visible and associated with beer, either as consumers or as professionals.

Chapter Three is an examination of how women are made *invisible* in the craft brewing domain through an analysis of documentary films about the industry. Craft breweries are popular subjects in discussions about pop culture and in recent local revitalization efforts in the wake of the Great Recession, during which breweries proved to be surprisingly resilient. In Reno, where this research was primarily conducted, as well as in countless cities across the nation, city planners look to brewery districts to revitalize abandoned or under-used city buildings that were formerly manufacturing and warehousing districts. Craft brewing is an economic success story, continuing to deliver double-digit growth in a highly competitive environment. Craft brewing entrepreneurship also appears accessible as a small-business venture that stimulates local economies. These characteristics of the business environment mixed with the broad appeal of beer and drinking in the United States have inspired dozens of books, T.V. and streaming shows, and feature-length documentary films that compliment the direct sales of beer to produce a number of material artifacts that contribute to collectively articulate the culture, values, and lifestyle of craft beer. My analysis shows that women are left out of these ancillary representations almost completely. Men are unquestionably the main

characters in the story of craft beer's rise and beer culture more generally; however, this was not always the case.

10,000 Years of Beer History in Five Pages

Beer is a beverage produced from the yeast-fermentation of cereal grains and is often flavored with herbs such as hops (*Humulus lupulus*). During fermentation, yeast consumes the available sugars in the grain and releases ethyl alcohol and carbon dioxide. The key ingredient in beer is the alcohol, which produces pleasant physiological and psychological effects on the human body, colloquially known as a "buzz." Virtually any combination of cereal grains and herbs can be transformed into beer when exposed to wild yeasts, and many ancient cultures around the world developed some sort of traditional fermented beverage that can be called a beer. For instance, archaeologists found evidence that indigenous peoples in South America were drinking a version of beer brewed from corn an estimated 3,100 years ago (Daley 2019). The earliest tangible evidence of recognizable beer dates back over 5,000 years to ancient Sumeria, but scientists believe that it is likely people were drinking a similar version of this beer in the Near East as early as 18,000 years ago (Tucker 2011). The chemical fingerprint of a blended alcoholic beverage—something between a beer and a wine fermented with both rice and fruit—was discovered on pottery vessels at the Jiahu site in North-Central China. This ancient brew, dated back to 9,000 years, was recreated by a U.S. brewery in 2005 (McGovern 2009)³. Even before this, humans, like many other species, likely enjoyed

³ A Delaware brewery, Dogfish Head, has been collaborating with Dr. Patrick McGovern to recreate ancient beers for the last two decades. Together, they have reproduced a handful of recipes inspired by ingredients discovered as trace compounds on pottery recovered from archaeological sites around the world (Tucker 2011).

the occasional and accidental effects of consuming naturally fermented rotting fruits or grains. McGovern (2009) hypothesizes that our prehistoric ancestors may have begun intentionally supporting fermentation processes for the purpose of consuming alcohol as early as the Paleolithic period⁴.

Beer, based as it is on cereal grains, is trickier to make than wine, which produces itself in a very rudimentary way as fruit ripens on the vine (DeSalle et al. 2019). In order for yeast to effectively consume the sugar in grain and thus produce beer, the grains must first be partially germinated, a process known as malting. Germination is initiated by soaking the grain in water and is then interrupted soon after it has begun by draining the grain and applying heat. Archaeologists imagine that early malting methods were performed through mastication, or chewing the grain, and then spitting it into a container to ferment. Enzymes found in human saliva certainly aid in breaking down the grains to expose the sugars to yeast⁵. The earliest versions of beer were likely relied upon as a means of slowing the spoilage of grains and provided early sedentary populations with a reliable, safe, and nutritious drinking source.

Archaeologists surmise that original versions of beer were soupy with the unfiltered cereal grains still mixed with the liquid. Herbs were added to improve the smell, enhance flavor, and aid in preventing bad bacteria from proliferating in the brew. Gruit (or grut) is any combination of herbs used in beer brewing and varied from region to region depending on the availability of herbs, but might include botanicals such as wormwood, yarrow, oregano, or bog myrtle (Moir 2000). Modern beers are mostly

⁴ McGovern details this, dubbed the “Palaeolithic Hypothesis,” in his 2009 book *Uncorking the Past*.

⁵ Some beers are still made with this centuries-old method, including chicha, a corn beer consumed in the Americas, and ceremonial rice ales produced in Asia.

inspired by European recipes that center hops as the herbal element. For more than 1,000 years, the cultivation of hops has been almost exclusively for the production of beer.

Though the exact details surrounding the adoption of hops as the main ingredient in beer brewing is undocumented, hops historians speculate that German monks were the first to begin brewing with hops instead of the varied traditional gruits used in beer brewing previously (Barth 1926). Sometime during the Middle Ages, brewers began regularly including wild hops in their gruit and realized that these flowers created a superior brew that lasted longer before spoiling. The first record of hops cultivation is in the eighth century (Moir 2000). By the fifteenth century, beer ingredients were becoming encoded in law. These so-called “purity laws,” restricted herbs in brewing exclusively to hops. Despite that there is no precise evidence regarding how or exactly when hops became a staple, often obligatory, ingredient in European style beers, there is no doubt that their presence is fundamental in beer production and has been for many centuries, to the exclusion of all other herbs formerly used in brewing. Indeed, the only commercial use for hops is in brewing and hops today are a major agricultural commodity valued at over \$200 million.

This long history of direct evidence of beer brewing and consumption is accompanied by an equally long history of gendered associations about the production of beer. Ancient Sumerians, who left behind some of the earliest direct evidence of beer consumption, worshipped the goddess Ninkasi, who was “given birth by the flowing water” to “hold with both hands the great sweet wort.” Codified in the “Hymn to Ninkasi” is the earliest known recipe for making beer. The close association of beer and brewing to a goddess is used as evidence by anthropologists that beer production was the sole

enterprise of women, although consumed as an important centerpiece to daily life by both sexes (Damerow 2012, McGovern 2009). Ancient Egypt is also known for beer consumption, and two goddesses (and therefore, women) are associated with beer production: Tenenit and Hathor (DeSalle et al. 2019). The production of masticated beers, such as chicha mentioned earlier, is also traditionally the work of women. The written record shows that beer production in Europe shifted from female to male labor around 1,000 CE when monasteries began brewing beer with surplus grains collected as tithes for the church (DeSalle et al. 2019). This shift in gendered labor intensified during the industrial revolution when many former domestic activities were gradually replaced by outside businesses in the rise of capitalist economies which persists today; despite the overwhelming industrialization of beer production, homebrewing has been somewhat revived and is described by scholars as a distinctly male hobby (Maciel 2017).

In the United States, breweries and beer were an important part of colonial life. Colonists brought the critical hops plant as rhizome cuttings from Europe to the New World in order to brew beer locally and keep up with demand. Breweries and saloons were an indispensable element in frontier life and continued to populate the continent everywhere that pioneers settled. By the turn of the twentieth century, there were nearly 1,300 breweries operating in the United States (Eschner 2017). New England, and later the West Coast, developed thriving hops-based agricultural industries to support American brewers. All of this commercial activity came to a screeching halt in 1920 when the federal government caved to the pressures of the temperance movement and issued a national ban on the "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors," known as Prohibition.

Very few breweries were able to diversify their business practices enough to survive Prohibition, which ended in 1933 with the passage of the 21st Amendment⁶. Among those that did weather the dry-spell were Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, Yuengling, Coors, and a few others. The environment for these breweries after Prohibition was a clear field. The breweries that survived Prohibition were poised for phenomenal growth and to literally become the "kings" of beer. Though hundreds of breweries came and went in the post-Prohibition U.S., by the 1980s consolidations and business failures resulted in fewer than 50 operating breweries (Tremblay et al. 2005). This is when craft beer enters the scene. Rejecting the most popular beer style at the time (American lagers) and motivated by non-capitalist ideals, craft breweries quietly began popping up in California and on the New England Coast. A half-century later, over 7,000 craft breweries are in operation (Brewers Association n.d.). Later in this thesis, I will more closely chronicle the ways that gender intersects with this history in such a way as to construct brewing as a heterosexual and male activity.

Methodology: Imbibing with a Purpose

Little is accomplished among humans that isn't invented, reinforced, or repurposed through language. In other words, language is embedded in all social practices (Blommaert and Jie 2010). Indeed, the existence of "craft beer" as a field for study is dependent on the co-(re)creation of the field by its participants *via language*. Though the work of linguistic studies often focuses on childhood language socialization, ultimately "language socialization is... a lifelong process, and takes place among many different

⁶ 21st Amendment is also the name of a well-known West Coast brewery in San Francisco, CA, whose male founders are featured in more than one of the documentaries analyzed in this research.

kinds of experts and novices” (Cavanaugh, Riley, et al. 2014, 92). In similar ways, craft beer experts socialize their audiences to appreciate and speak about craft beer styles, brewing methods and tasting profiles- a process of socialization that isn’t expected to begin until adulthood.

The overall methodology of my project is inspired by the work of linguistic anthropologists and ethnographers who have grappled with the study of language socialization practices engaged in occupational settings and/or around food. Linguistic ethnography is an epistemological paradigm with “the potential and the capacity of challenging established views, not only of language but of symbolic capital in societies in general” (Blommaert and Jie 2010, 10). The methodology consists of closely analyzing naturally occurring language in context, as well as conducting intentional qualitative and reflexive interviews with those participants engaging in the processes under study. Anthropologists studying in the field face numerous challenges, from producing detailed and coherent field notes to managing the frustration of unfruitful interviews or unresponsive leads. In this section, I will review some of the methods present in the relevant literature and describe the methods that I used to inform my research and this thesis.

As a white woman in my early forties who enthusiastically participates in craft beer culture, I am closely situated to the women who participated in my study. This proximity to my research population aided my research, but is not without its own challenges. The anthropologist Lanita Jacobs-Huey writes about her experience as an insider-ethnographer in her book, *From the Kitchen to the Parlor*. Her work examines the varied linguistic practices that African American women use to negotiate their

positionality and identities in professional and cultural contexts. She “purposely moves beyond the conventional single-site location of most ethnography to multiple sites of observation and participation” (Jacobs-Huey 2006, 6). Jacobs-Huey refers to the linguistic work of her research participants as a process of “being and becoming” referring to “Black women’s self-perceptions as individuals and members of a collective (*being*), as well as their transition into different dispositions, ideological stances, professional statuses, and phases of life (*becoming*)” (Jacobs-Huey 2006, 5). Jacobs-Huey describes that a challenge while doing her fieldwork was mastering “communicative competence,” or the ability to build rapport with informants based on mutual linguistic resources, which can be tricky even for researchers working in familiar environments (Jacobs-Huey 2006, 135). She explores several examples of ethnographic “failure.” These failures often consist of linguistic mistakes that reveal her outsider status as a researcher.

Like Jacobs-Huey, my fieldwork was also multi-sited in order to gain a more comprehensive view of the craft brewing landscape. My field sites included brewhouses, taprooms⁷, a homebrew store, outdoor festivals, and specialty craft bottle shops. Following Wertheim’s (2006) advice to “take into account both the fieldworker’s participant role in a speech event and her... position as a socially located being” I was aware of my outsider status as someone positioned apart from the professional brewing sphere; as a consumer of craft beer rather than a producer, I am inherently oppositional

⁷ A taproom is a space attached to a brewhouse where beer produced on-site can be poured for consumers. Taprooms are indispensable to Nevada breweries, where state laws mandate a “three-tiered system.” Beer sold in retail stores can not be transported by the breweries themselves but must go through an independent alcohol distributor. This has the effect of reducing brewery revenue and poses a challenge to becoming profitable for very small breweries, which is mitigated by selling beer on-premises in the taproom model.

to—and dependent on—the professional brewer. My presence and activities (observing, interviewing, and note-taking) as a researcher at these field sites compounded my out-group positionality. During her fieldwork studying language use among urban Tatar-speaking intellectuals in Tatarstan, Wertheim (2006) noted that speakers often performed a purer version of speech for her benefit as a researcher. I may have encountered a similar “cleaning up” of language use among the women I observed and interviewed (Wertheim 2006). I encountered a reluctance to identify challenges faced by women in the industry as well as a hesitancy to make connections between broader patterns of sexism in the industry overall with my participants’ individual experiences.

I initiated my research with a brief introductory interview and ideally met the participants two more times, once for a longer interview and once to observe their linguistic interactions while working. These additional activities lasted from 1 to 4 hours each. This ideal scenario did not work with all the participants, however. For instance, in one case, I was never able to find an agreeable time to come back to interview two women who worked for the same brewery because of repeated delays due to winter weather, followed by both women becoming very busy with the launch of a new location and full-service restaurant.

In addition to her work on gendered discourse described later in this thesis, feminist and sociolinguist Judith Baxter offers her own original methodology, feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis (FPDA). In the book *Positioning Gender in Discourse*, Baxter developed this methodology to reveal underlying or uncovered mechanisms related to gendered performance in discourse that might be overlooked by other discourse analysis methods. The methodology was developed on the premise that

women “adopt multiple subject positions” and are not always already subordinate or powerless; “females may be simultaneously powerful within certain subject positions yet distinctly powerless within other subject positions” (Baxter 2003, 10). While I did not explicitly practice the FPDA methodology, I did find its insights informative, including Baxter’s remark that “even when gender seems a salient category to the researcher, it might not necessarily seem so to the participants” (Baxter 2003, 11). Though women craft brewers comprise a category worthy of study from my perspective, I did not often encounter the shared view that women who work in craft brewing are remarkable among my research participants.

At the heart of this research is the enjoyment of beer, an alcoholic beverage consumed around the world for millennia. Food and beverages are inherent and fundamental to human life and often the centerpiece of social behavior and cultural rituals. Much of human interaction is spoken around a table over a shared meal or drink and these settings provide rich avenues for cultural and linguistic scholarship. Cavanaugh, et al. (2014) speculate about why food and talk make such a compelling combination. Each of six contributors to this article started out as researchers concerned with language use and came to food studies after observing the natural and abundant linkages between linguistic practice and the production or consumption of food. Like Jacobs-Huey, they also remark on doing ethnography in “home” environments, “when working within our own backyards, we must work to pierce the veil of the normal and not assume too much about how other individuals are using what seem to be familiar works or negotiating the value of what seem to be typical foods” (Cavanaugh, Riley, et al. 2014, 88). Riley proposes a Hymes-like mnemonic for conducting food and language

ethnography, “SPEAKING and EATING” by which the researcher is called on to attend to “Setting, Participants, Ends, Acts, Keys, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genres” (from Hymes 1974) as well as “Etiquette, Actions, Tools, Ingredients, Notions, and Gender” (Cavanaugh, Riley et al. 2014, 89). The researchers noted that “food may become both topic and context for the [ethnographic] interview” illustrating the commensurability of food and language (Cavanaugh, Riley et al. 2014, 90). Indeed, craft beer consumption is associated with a general sense of conviviality, or “social information such as friendship, leisure, relaxation, social interaction, and family” that “evokes an imaginary universe of meanings that go beyond the act of consuming a drink... to satisfy physiological, psychological and social needs” (Carvalho et al. 2018, 386). I have found at times that this can be a challenging environment in which to conduct rigorous, scientifically sound research.

My research was often conducted among many settings: on the brewery floor among towering lauter tuns⁸ and interweaving hoses, in crowded taprooms, and at sunny outdoor festivals. Generally, the participants were consistent with my research interest and the dominant demographics of craft beer consumers—they were white women, mostly in their late 20s and 30s. Beer often soothed the social awkwardness of the interview format and facilitated more open speech. At any rate, it provided a ready topic to begin the discussion and illustrated our active co-participation in the resistance to dominant gender norms. We were also participating in constructing the craft genre through our imbibing and through the talk, which supported and furthered the craft

⁸ In commercial brewing, a lauter tun is a giant vessel with a sieve for separating soaked grain from the wort (beer before it is fermented) during the brewing process.

lifestyle as one in which women may freely participate *among* other women rather than *along* with men.

This participation among women craft beer drinkers, professionals and academics alike, is conducted through language. The linguistic practice often occurs in the presence and for the purpose of enjoying beer through a close study of the actors and their setting that produce it. Riley and Cavanaugh (2017) delve into the “semiotics of food-and-language” in their 2017 introduction to a special edition of the *Semiotic Review*. They propose “four analytic heuristics” to guide examinations of food and language (terms defined by Cavanaugh and Riley in the broadest terms): “language-*through*-food, language-*about*-food, language-*around*-food, and language-*as*-food” (Riley and Cavanaugh 2017). Though each of these is defined separately, the authors also offer that “these connections are mutually informing and connected to one another in a form of nested semiosis” (Riley and Cavanaugh 2017). In my study, I replace “food” with “craft beer.” These considerations support thinking about the linguistic practices of the craft beer genre from multiple and interrelated perspectives that better inform conclusions about how meanings are created and circulated among and within craft beer enthusiasts. My research then applies these dimensions of examination in several ways. Firstly, I think about language-through-beer as the facilitation and easing of my interviews through sharing a pint. Secondly, much of my research discusses language-about-beer, including language appearing in online articles and in film. Thirdly, product packaging is language-around-beer (literally), but other examples might include the language posted on advertisements and industrial workplace postings in a brewery (not covered in this analysis). Finally, I understand language-as-beer by examining what craft beer articulates

about gender and our cultural norms, contributing to related research about class and taste.

I began my field research in the summer of 2018. Originally, I intended to focus my fieldwork on women who worked or were interested in the ancillary field of hops farming and sales, which produces the star ingredient of many American craft beers. I was invited by a friend to take over operations and management of a joint project between the University of Nevada, Reno and a private non-profit called the Polygrarian Institute. The project was a five-acre experimental hops farm aimed at determining whether or not hops could be a viable agricultural commodity in Northern Nevada. In addition to cultivating the hops in their third season, I hoped to speak to other women who might be growing hops on their own small farms or participating in the sale of hops to small craft breweries to learn about the dual challenges of being female farmers and trying to sell their hops crop to the male-dominated craft industry. Would women encounter difficulty engaging a predominantly male audience and establishing legitimacy as experts on hops cultivation? These questions proved to be unanswerable because there is only one other commercial hop field in Nevada: Bentley Ranch in Minden. This highly successful and diversified operation produces all its ingredients for a line of specialty distilled liquors, including a hopped gin. Though Bentley Ranch has become a more diverse workforce since I first contacted the ranch about cooperating with my fieldwork, at the time there were just two men managing the hops operations for use at the Ranch's sister company, Bentley Heritage Estate Distillery.

Though an analysis of the role that gender plays among female hops farmers turned out to be unfeasible, I still had a hop farm to manage and presumably would have

a harvest of hops to sell at the end of the summer. I decided to shift toward women craft beer brewers who I anticipated encountering as the hops came to harvest. There are nearly 40 craft breweries in Nevada, about half of which are in the Northern part of the State, within a day's drive from where I live. By researching these breweries online, I identified only three women at three different breweries who were directly employed as brewers. Due to this small number, I expanded my research to include women who have a significant impact on the management of craft beer-related businesses including women in roles such as owner or manager, at sites such as homebrew stores, bottle shops, and taprooms that emphasize craft beer.

Ultimately, this process identified approximately 12 women to potentially include in the research population. I leveraged my position with the hop yard to attempt to broker a meeting with many of these women. I contacted them through email and phone calls to their workplace. I wasn't able to arrange interviews with all the women brewers in my area and therefore expanded my research to include women who worked in other authoritative roles at businesses that focused on craft beer as their main product (specialty bottle shops and tap rooms were added). In the end, I conducted semi-formal interviews lasting one to two hours each with ten women from seven different sites. The sites included a homebrew store, four independent breweries, and two specialty bottle shops that sell and serve local craft beer. The women occupied a variety of roles including three brewers, two business owners, a marketing professional, three managers, and a bartender. Most of the women were in their late twenties to early forties and had college degrees. All of the women were white. Though some of them had worked in the hospitality or food and beverage industry for many years, none of the craft beer businesses had been

open for more than five years when I started this research with the exception of the home-brewing supply store opened during the 1980s. The women I spoke to were educated, capable, and embarking on or adjusting to new careers in craft brewing.

I used scripted interview questions as the foundation of the interview while encouraging the informants to organically influence the topics discussed. Not all of these interviews could be recorded. The interviews were conducted in a range of environments not always conducive to using recording equipment. For example, one interview unexpectedly occurred while my interlocutor was unpacking inventory on the sales floor of an independent craft beer specialty store because her co-worker had called out just before we were scheduled to speak. It was impossible to position my recorder to capture her speech among other ambient conversations as she maneuvered the unpacking of crates and placement of items on shelves in a space crowded with inventory, customers, and furnishings. Many of the participants were interviewed in crowded taproom environments while we enjoyed a few pints and the resultant recordings are of poor quality. In all, I ended up with approximately five hours of recorded interviews which were roughly transcribed to document the primary themes conveyed.

In addition to the interviews, I conducted five observations of women while they worked either brewing beer or serving customers; these periods ranged in length from two to four hours each, during which time I took field notes. I also attended five public craft beer events or festivals and participated in one International Women's Collaborative Brew Day during which I was invited to actually brew a commercial batch of beer with several other women at a local brewery. Finally, I informally observed and participated in craft beer consumption at public venues on many, many occasions throughout my

fieldwork period, both alone and with variable additional participants like my husband, other grad students, and friends.

This fieldwork is the inspiration of my research, though I also utilized two additional minor methodologies described later in this thesis to collect and analyze artifacts and textual linguistic material related to the experience of consuming and constructing the craft beer space. Because brewing work is often solitary (especially in the small breweries and other businesses where I conducted my research) there is little opportunity to observe women engaged in discourse with others. The production environment is noisy and conducted in tight spaces, two conditions that inhibit conversation. To augment the linguistic material available for this project, I turned to language about craft beer in other genres including product labels and films. In Chapter 2, I describe an analysis of gender and its associated meanings on craft beer bottle or can labels, a primary way that craft brewers “speak to” their audience. In Chapter 3, I explain that I developed a modified version of the Bechdel-Wallace test⁹ as a lens to analyze gender representation in documentary films about the craft beer industry. These additional ways of approaching gender in conjunction with the occupational context described by women who work in the industry, combine to inform my analysis of the effect of gender inequality in perpetuating stereotypes about women that limit their possibilities for participation in the craft brewing space.

⁹ This “test” is a non-academic tool used by feminists to informally critique gender inequality in popular media, primarily films. It first appeared in the comic strip, *Dykes to Watch Out For*, by Alison Bechdel (1985) wherein two women discuss feminist criteria for selecting a film to see at the movies and darkly conclude that there aren’t many options.

Theoretical Review

This review of the relevant literature draws on a range of sociocultural and linguistic anthropological sources to explore the ways that paying attention to linguistic and discursive practices informed the multiple facets of my thesis research among women involved in local craft beer. I will discuss examples of the ways that others in academia have examined linguistic discourses and rhetorical strategies surrounding the production of craft beer within these recurring themes: locality, geography, place, and authenticity. As my research is meant to more closely attend to the role that women play in the production and consumption of craft beer, I will also discuss how feminist philosophies and gendered linguistic practices inform my research on women in the craft beer industry. Finally, I will describe the key concepts used by researchers of food and drink topics broadly, and in research on craft beer specifically. This thesis brings together these various theoretical considerations to provide a rich linguistic examination of the production of gender through craft brewing.

‘It’s the bottle talking¹⁰’: Constructing linguistic discourses in craft beer

Craft beer is a social field within which anthropologists can uncover the mechanisms of creating and maintaining social meanings. This field includes visual, textual, and spoken discourses in a variety of settings from the brewhouse to the bottle shop. The varied narratives composed on craft beer labels, on brewery websites, in printed media, or spoken over a pint comprise a sort of “communicative practice” whereby common strategies are used by participants to construct shared meanings of subjective norms like

¹⁰ This is the title of a popular country song (Wills 1956)

local, authenticity and masculinity (Hanks 2006, 15). One of the aims of my thesis is to discover “how meaning happens” (Hanks 2006, 5) and this section will discuss the discursive structure for creating shared meaning between various participants, including brewers, consumers, and critics in the craft brewing scene.

Though brewers seldom engage in discourse directly with consumers, other forms of talk centered around the product or ingredients are conducted through bottle (or can) labels, reviews, advertising, and books about craft beer, contributing to a rich linguistic field for study from among craft beer artifacts in addition to the conversational discourse observed during my fieldwork. Silverstein noted that there is a specialized linguistic register associated with talk about wine, which he termed *oinglossia*. Elements of this register include vocabulary words with meanings specific to wine and index expert knowledge about wines, wine production, and connoisseurship:

That it is this vocabulary and these phrases that those who live socially distant from oenological pursuits actually identify as the shibboleths, the salient contributory elements, of the verbal register of wine talk, and about which there is the usual kind of class-associated anxiety peaking in the lower-to-mid-bourgeoisie—as is the case for many realms of connoisseurship (Silverstein 192 in Lempert and Summerson Carr 2016)

Similarly, there is specialized talk around beer that indexes class and expert knowledge, what we might call *biraglossia*, explored more in Chapter 3. Craft beer labels particularly can be thought of as diminutive linguistic practices and are among the most prolific textual artifacts produced in craft brewing. The actual words and images on a beer label comprise the form of linguistic practice, creating a mini-narrative that connects a person drinking the beer to the qualities and attitudes expressed linguistically on the label. This connection is what Hanks calls “relationality,” that language has a meaning related to its

context (Hanks 2006, 7). A label is more than a sticker on a bottle; the strategically chosen imagery and words combine to form a tangible linguistic fact, which has “consequences, corollaries, and motivating factors across the span of social life” (Hanks 2006, 9). By reading this ordinary social practice we discover that “how you describe an object may have profound consequences for its social definition” (Hanks 2006, 14).

Additionally, we may apply Briggs’ and Bauman’s (1992) notion of “genre,” in the sense of “constellations of co-occurrent formal elements and structures that define or characterize particular classes of utterances,” to construct a typology consisting of the visual and textual elements present in craft beer related social settings, whether on a label or during talk in the brewhouse (Briggs and Bauman 1992, 141). These structural considerations are helpful when considering an analysis of how intertextual and intersectional meanings flow between and among brewers and consumers.

The brief introduction above to the structural considerations of linguistic discourse among craft brewers and their audience highlights that many of the communicated meanings circulated within the craft beer industry are mediated through the vessels of product distribution, bottles and cans. Ancillary to conversational discourses (for example, at brewhouses and beer festivals) and product labeling are films, websites, books, blogs, and other media about craft beer that further create and circulate rhetorical strategies used to define craft beer and consumer identities without having the product, craft beer, at hand. These rhetorical strategies include refined taste distinction related to authenticity as constructed by consumers and producers of craft beer and often in conjunction with broader food and lifestyle categories.

“Beer speaks; people mumble”¹¹: Rhetorical strategies circulated in craft beer

This section will provide an overview of the rhetorical strategies that are relevant to the analysis in this thesis. I will draw from across multiple disciplines and influential academics including Pierre Bourdieu, Hannah Arendt, and Michael Silverstein to broadly describe the social theory that my research is grounded in before turning to contemporary scholarship that explores the intersections of food, drink, and language which my thesis is situated among.

As stated earlier, craft beer as a product category is linguistically constructed through talk and texts that emphasize particular elements of the production process as well as the producers. These elements index class and cultural awareness positioned on the basis of accumulated capital to define the craft beer category and to identify which beers/breweries are excluded from the category. Bourdieu posits that the ability to discern what is “in taste” relies on the accumulation of capital (cultural and economic) in order to enforce preferences that become hegemonic and are reliant on limited access (Bourdieu 1984, 2). Class associations of taste become so embedded in society as to seem natural, then develop into habitus¹², while the limited access and hegemony of taste distinctions are a form of symbolic violence against the lower classes (for our purposes, read “drinkers of Miller Lite”) whose value perception, aesthetic or otherwise, is viewed as inferior or uncultivated. For Bourdieu, the “pure gaze,” or taste refinement, is a historical

¹¹ The slogan of Lagunitas, an iconic West Coast craft brewery located in Petaluma, California

¹² Bourdieu’s theory of habitus can be explained as a blend of social conditioning and habit. It is the unquestioned and underlying force that informs our tastes, our preferences, and our motivations. Habitus impacts our behavior in social settings by masquerading as our instinctual manner of performance. For example, habitus explains why, during my fieldwork, I was the lone woman sitting at the bar. Visitors to craft brewing environments know that women don’t drink alone though men do.

invention linked to the emergence of an autonomous field of artistic production, that is, “capable of imposing its own norms on both the production and the consumption of its products” (Bourdieu 1984, 3). The field, therefore, is any subjective arena wherein actors abide by evaluative norms that both create and legitimize the objects of discernment; in other words, the *field* in craft brewing encompasses craft breweries, craft beer festivals, specialty bottle shops, brewing classrooms and online forums—all of the many spaces where craft beer is both linguistically and actually produced, regulated, and consumed. The *gaze* is the mechanism that validates the opinion of craft beer aficionados while delegitimizing beer consumers who have not developed an appreciation for craft beer. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the boundary keepers of the craft brewing field are predominantly male and it is through the male gaze that women in the industry are evaluated and policed.

Thurnell-Read (2018) expands Bourdieu’s project by describing the opportunity for product status to change over time. He proposes that some consumer goods will evolve from low status/low distinction toward high status/high distinction. He suggests that beer is a consumer product that was until recently a working-class, everyman’s drink with little to offer a connoisseur. Through what he refers to as a process of “embourgeoisement,” *craft* beer has become relatively expensive, subject to expert knowledge, and inaccessible, a drink of the middle-class or upper-middle-class that indexes high class, status, and taste refinement (Thurnell-Read 2018)¹³. He makes an interesting comparison between craft beer and vinyl records:

¹³ Thurnell-Read is discussing the Real Ale movement in the UK in this article. “Real ale” is the British counterpart to what “craft beer” is in the United States and Australia.

The near-total replacement of vinyl records with the advent of digital media platforms... has, almost counter-logically, led to vinyl records *gaining* value and status by being recast as a niche practice infused with a sense of authenticity and nostalgia (Thurnell-Read 2018, 545)

This transformation of a devalued item is much like the emergence of craft beer after the overwhelming rise of industrial beer, which was made possible by increased efficiencies and economies of scale (Thurnell-Read 2018, 545). The inefficient and old-fashioned methods of producing craft beer as opposed to modern industrial modes of production adopted by national beer brands contribute to a sense of craft beer authenticity by invoking nostalgia that extends to many artisanal foods (for instance, see discussion below about Paxson's analysis of small-scale cheese production). Thurnell-Read's brief examination of what makes a "good beer"¹⁴ is reminiscent of Martha Sif Karrebæk's (2012) work on food and morality. Indeed, the same forces are at work, whether judging the moral suitability of the contents of a child's lunch box or the contents of a pint glass. In each of these cases, the 'right choice' is decided upon by homogenous experts of the dominant class, i.e., white, middle class, men who are relying on long-established and taken-for-granted cultural norms. People align food and food ingredients with particular values that index quality. These quality assessments are treated as if they reflect the character of the person doing the consuming. Silverstein refers to this as a form of enregisterment, or the process of connecting particular consumer goods with status through discursive practice. For Silverstein, scale plays into the development of distinction and taste in that the indexing of wine with elevated class status, for example,

¹⁴ A good beer is defined as much by what it is not, as by what it is. A good beer (craft beer) is not mass-produced, does not contain adjuncts, is not produced by a multi-national conglomerate, and is not produced in large quantities (more than 15,000 U.S. barrels (Brewers Association 2018))

often functions at a very bird's eye view while in day-to-day interactions among our peers, it may be received as snobbery.

In her book, *The Life of Cheese*, Heather Paxson investigates the beliefs and attitudes behind why some consumers and producers prefer artisanal cheese over commodity cheese. Her question, “*why* human actors believe in the moral rightness of a particular assemblage,” applies equally as well to fans of craft beer as to fans of aged farmstead Vermont cheddar (Paxson 2012, 33). She identifies a motivating attitude that values non-industrial production, which she calls an “ecology of production” described as “an assemblage of organic, social, and symbolic forces put into productive play... that seeks to work with the agencies in the natural world in a way that revitalizes rather than depletes those forces” (Paxson 2012, 31-32). She describes at length the value schema that makes some milk “good,” and the tensions associated with defining terms such as “small” and “artisanal.” These concerns resonate with the sentiments of craft brewers who likewise confront questions of belonging in the craft designation and qualitative assessments of technique and ingredients. The U.S. and the U.K. each have national regulating bodies that police the boundaries of craft beer (in the U.K., “real ale”) by deciding the criteria craft brewers must meet in order to qualify as genuine producers of craft beer.

Craft industries also draw on rhetorical strategies that index authenticity by referring to pre-industrial modes of production, often referred to as “traditional brewing methods” among craft beer brewers and drinkers. Hannah Arendt’s theoretical arguments are helpful in describing the value proposition of “craft” labor over other more modern and efficient production methods. Arendt argues for a distinction between the public life

associated with *work*: humanity (man), human artifacts, and durability; and the private life associated with *labor*: nature, repetition, consumption, and futility. “The mark of all laboring,” in Arendt’s view, is “that it leaves nothing behind, that the result of its effort is almost as quickly consumed as the effort is spent” (Arendt 1998, 87). She neatly sums up the difference between labor and work as “the distinction between a bread [labor], whose “life expectancy” in the world is hardly more than a day, and a table [work], which may easily survive generations of men” (Arendt 1998, 94). Brewers, then, are certainly “laborers” in Arendt’s vocabulary, whom we can expect are people “whose chief interest is their craft and not the market place” (Arendt 1998, 81). Arendt associates laborers with intimacy (the private sphere), nature, and futility (in that labor is never “finished”) as well as a disdain for capitalist pursuits. In craft beer, the laborer (brewer) is valorized and the products of labor are seen as meaningful rather than futile, at times more valued than the products of work.

Silverstein refers to this process of “value-emanation” as, “those things that through artisanal labor represent nature turned into culture” (2016, 204). The premium placed on labor-produced goods is characteristic of craft goods generally and is related to the “embourgeoisement” that Thurnell-Read applies to craft beer. Paxson might use the phrase “economies of sentiment” which she describes as “projects of multiple value-making” wherein “embodied human capacities—knowledge, skills, dispositions—that are harnessed to produce commodities are simultaneously cultural forces that are shaped by and give meaning to people’s self-identity” (Paxson 2012, 65). She suggests that there is a non-capitalist economy that laborers engage in; one which has moral implications instead of fiscal ones. People are motivated by numerous and often competing histories,

priorities, challenges, and opportunities, which is why craft beer or artisanal cheese often share the aisle with Budweiser and block cheddar.

Morais Sato et al. (2016) also recognize and breakdown the “three key concepts” from Bourdieu that are useful in food studies: “habitus, capital, and field” (Morais Sato, et al. 2016, 175). They explain, “habitus can be understood as an embodied arrangement of social structures that predisposes an individual to certain actions, in accordance with the social context in which it is produced” (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979] in Morais Sato, et al. 2016, 175). The field is “a structured social space with a symbolic system... [in which people] compete for specific types of interchangeable capitals” (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979] in (Morais Sato, et al. 2016, 175). Drakopoulou Dodd, et al. (2018) apply these theoretical concepts in the context of the Irish craft beer sector in order to “understand how *new* local industrial sectors come together to form a field and how they co-develop a set of norms and modes of behavior which shapes their practice” (Drakopoulou Dodd, et al. 2018, 638). They conclude that the Irish craft beer sector owes a large debt to home brewing where the gaze is practiced and constructed as an “oppositional stance to big brewing” (Drakopoulou Dodd, et al. 2018, 640). Irish craft brewers adopt and adapt norms from craft brewers in other spatial contexts (such as the U.S.). This cosmopolitanism aids the legitimacy of Irish craft brewers, but they also depend on “local embeddedness” to craft authenticity and “for the development of branding, belonging and reputation” (Drakopoulou Dodd, et al. 2018, 656)¹⁵. This emphasis on local

¹⁵ See Pennycook 2007 or Pennycook 2010 for more on the fluid mixture of global and local signifiers in other contexts such as the global spread of English language use through the mechanism of hip-hop and rap music. Pennycook’s works focus on the meaning-making of language in use as an embodied practice.

embeddedness will be returned to later in this thesis as it is one of the primary ideologies apparent in craft beer settings broadly.

Many recent studies have examined the rhetorical strategies presented on craft beer labels or on brewery websites (for example, Cincotta 2014; Gatrell, Reid and Steiger 2017; Kappele 2015; Kuehn and Parker 2018; Maguire, et al. 2017; Nuessel 2018). Saunders and Holland (2018) argue that words and images from among mass media contexts and national discourses are frequently recirculated and recontextualized in the smaller genre of craft beer labels. They identify geopolitical discourses in a case study of two international brews that parody larger-than-life national leaders¹⁶ and argue that beer consumption can be an “affective, effigial, and corporeal discursive intervention” that presents an opportunity for resistance to dominant political discourses (Saunders and Holland 2018, 119). Their work hints at the potential for craft beer labels to become a sight of resistance or subversion of stereotypical and limiting gendered representations. Articles such as Rice (2016) characterize the U.S. consumer market as preferring craft beer because of the political and intellectual qualities associated with it. For example, craft enthusiasts prefer small and independent (craft) breweries because they are imagined as being in defiance of commercial-scale industrial brands. Rice claims that craft beer as a sector is “closely aligned with local food movements, indie attitudes, or artisan production” (Rice 2016, 237). He traces the motivations behind craft beer consumption to two narratives of the late nineteenth century Arts & Crafts movement: revolution and authenticity. Rice explains that “craft brewers align themselves with the

¹⁶ Some of the leaders invoked here include United States President Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin; there are a number of beers inspired by Donald Trump (see Miller 2017). This is yet another example of how beer tends to focus on and enable the representation of men.

spirit of revolution by foregrounding their adversarial relationship with brewing conglomerates” and by rejecting “capitalist practices and the market” (Rice 2016, 242-243). This characterization of brewers as rebels and risk-takers mirrors Maciel’s (2017) conclusions that craft brewers are actively performing masculinity by adopting stereotypically masculine behaviors such as adventure-orientation (Maciel 2017). The gendered dimension of craft beer rhetoric will be more closely examined later in this thesis.

For craft enthusiasts, craft beer is a higher quality beverage than non-craft beers due to a perception of better overall quality and more selective raw ingredients (Carvalho, et al. 2018; Acitelli 2013; Elliot 2017; Maciel 2017; Thurnell-Read 2014). These raw ingredients are simple: hops, barley, water, and yeast. Indeed, until 2014, the U.S. Brewers’ Association restricted craft beer from including “non-traditional” ingredients other than the four listed above.¹⁷ While the ingredients of craft beer are limited in number, the ability of brewers to add value to their beer in ways accessed by other producers of artisanal goods is wholly unavailable. Professional brewers as a rule do not also engage in the agricultural processes that provide hops and barley, which is unlike artisanal cheese producers, for example. Paxson describes how farmstead cheese producers, the cheese industry’s equivalent of a craft brewer, relies on “a revised pastoral that critiques industrial capitalism’s wholesale exploitation of nature and culture yet retains, while modifying, an opposition between city and country” (Paxson 2012, 17). Paxson often encountered in cheese production the attitude that artisanal cheese is a

¹⁷ This part of the definition of craft brewer was changed in 2014 by a decision of the Brewers’ Association board which voted to allow ingredients such as rice or corn to be used in place of barley in the brewing of craft beer (Herz 2018).

means for maintaining a living *within a working landscape* that primarily focuses on farming. This is in stark contrast to craft brewers who have no connection to the working landscape that produces the raw ingredients hops and barley for their brews. The value derived in the craft brewing process is cultivated in the brewery, which is often located in urban centers far isolated from the mega-farms that produce the raw commodity materials that eventually become beer. Ultimately the motivations behind craft beer consumption and production are bound up in notions of authenticity produced whole cloth from rhetorical strategy, which makes this an especially significant area for linguistic analysis. Brewers emphasize the political, intellectual, and discernment motivations that speak to craft beer's reputation as an artisanal, high-quality, and authentic product in the absence of maintaining a more tangible connection to the ingredients that are often center stage in other local and artisanal food value systems. Instead, brewers infuse their product messaging with local meaning through associations embedded in beer and brewery names that often emphasize geographical features near the physical brewhouse.

Gatrell, Reid and Steiger (2017) researched craft breweries using an Applied Geography framework and examined how spatial and place-based branding is used to successfully construct authenticity (Gatrell, Reid and Steiger 2017). The authors promote the existence of two separate categories of authenticity that are salient to their discussion, "nominal authenticity" referring to a "historical link to a person, event, time, or place of some significance" and is a verifiable fact (Frazier, Gelman, Wilson, and Hood 2009 cited in Gatrell, Reid and Steiger 2017, 362). The other type of authenticity is "socially constructed" or "not ultimately about facts but consumers' interpretations of them" (Gatrell, Reid and Steiger 2017, 362). The authors note that authenticity is often

produced in craft beer discourse in the form of brewery and beer names that are inspired by nearby place names, similar to Drakopoulou Dodd, et al.'s claim that Irish brewers gain legitimacy when embedding a sense of local in the linguistic practices on package labels. Gatrell, Reid and Steiger argue that these place names are vetted for authenticity by consumers¹⁸. Mathews and Patton (2016) agree, noting trends in the U.S. that parallel mythical associations with regions in the American imaginary, such as the use of more industrial place names among East Coast breweries and more natural setting place names on the West Coast.¹⁹

The question of authenticity among food items is a concern among researchers in many food studies. Cavanaugh and Shankar (2014) propose a theoretical model that they call “linguistic materiality” to address this question. They propose “that constructing authenticity is a project shared across very different ethnographic contexts requiring the alignment of material and linguistic labor” (Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014, 52). They argue that the constructive processes that produce authenticity are a combination of linguistic, material, and *linguistic material* (texts, brochures, licenses, checklists, labels, etc.) resources. They conclude that “place and history, evidenced via linguistic practices

¹⁸ The authors were also interested in how breweries might be related to urban renewal patterns, noting that “craft beer and breweries have increasingly become markers for urban renewal and neighborhood revitalization” (Gatrell, Reid and Steiger 2017, 361). In the context of craft beer also attracting a relatively homogenous group of participants, there are concerns both in the popular media and in emerging academic research that craft beer is a harbinger of gentrification (Barajas, Boeing and Wartell 2017; Hobson 2016; Bieker 2018). Indeed, in my research, a brewer confirmed that her brewery was built in a dilapidated and abandoned warehouse in a low-income neighborhood. “It was scary” before the brewery opened its doors but now apartments on the same block are renting for over \$1,200/month—a sign of prosperity from the brewer’s point of view.

¹⁹ In my research, I noticed a similar spatial distribution between Northern Nevada (Reno area) and Southern Nevada (Las Vegas area) breweries. In the North, beer names are more likely to reference the outdoors, natural features, and geographic destinations in beer names like Tahoe Beer or Ruby Mountain’s Angel Creek. In Southern Nevada, beer names more often refer to man-made monuments and activities for example the aptly named Las Vegas and Atomic Duck named after the only animal alleged to survive atomic bomb testing near Las Vegas, NV in the 1950s.

such as labeling and talk at tasting events, are essential ingredients in producing authenticity” (Cavanaugh and Shankar 2014, 59). Beer itself is the material of the craft beer sector. Bottle and can labeling, brewery websites, and beer blogs are the linguistic material that (re)produces and supports the construction of authenticity while brewers and consumers participate in linguistic labor toward these efforts.

In Cavanaugh (2016), she examines how talk becomes a type of labor that imbues products with added value. Who does the talking and what discursive topics they emphasize become salient indicators of food status and authenticity. Cavanaugh refers to this as “linguistic labor” (Cavanaugh 2016, 42). She also introduces the idea of “economic sociability” or “interaction that... is at once social and economic, creating meaning and value simultaneously, both for the speakers involved, as well as for the goods in question” (Cavanaugh 2016, 42-43). Cavanaugh identifies several linguistic strategies that add value to “locally” produced goods such as offering demonstrations that the foods were “made in the right way... by the right type of person” as well as discursive techniques to show that the producer and the consumer are “like” each other—they eat the same types of high-quality food and endeavor to lead similar lifestyles (Cavanaugh 2016, 43, 45-46). These strategies enable producers to transform linguistic capital into economic capital (Cavanaugh 2016, 49). This rhetorical strategy is accessed by producers and consumers of craft beer and other foods to leverage various capitals into added economic and social value based on narratives regarding labor, local embeddedness, authenticity and resistance to industrial capitalism. Craft producers engage in linguistic labor to build shared associations with their audience (consumers) which appeal to particular consumers by emphasizing resonant positions, values,

attitudes, or beliefs intended to both represent and articulate with their audience. This effort tends to also create boundaries and index belonging with a group identity that tends to be white, affluent, and masculine in the context of craft beer.

This Bud's for you (and Only You)²⁰: Crafting legitimacy in beer culture

Though the typical demographic profile of a participant in craft beer culture, either as a consumer or a producer, is slowly becoming more diverse, craft beer participants remain predictably white, male, educated, and middle class (Watson 2018). This trend tracks craft beer around the world: whether in Brazil (Carvalho, et al. 2018), Australia (Kuehn and Parker 2018), or the United Kingdom (Drakopoulou Dodd, et al. 2018; Thurnell-Read 2014). Women remain a minority of craft beer drinkers and producers, but over the last decade “have also become a representative [consumer] class for breweries” (Carvalho, et al. 2018, 382). In the U.S., women now compose about a third of overall craft beer consumers, but are represented equally among millennials; this suggests that within a few generations, gendered differences in the consumption of craft beer may be entirely absent (Watson 2018). As producers of craft beer, women make up a much smaller minority: in 2014 only 4% of all head brewers in the U.S. were women (Heil 2016). Non-white people have even less of a presence in craft beer. Mathews and Patton (2016) conducted a comprehensive survey of U.S. craft brewery websites and concluded that brewery marketing practices “reinforce the commonly held belief that the craft brewing industry is one dominated by young, white males” (Mathews and Patton 2016, 303). Unfortunately, communicative practices found in craft beer discourses often

²⁰ This is the title of a recent Wall Street Journal article and play on one of the marketing slogans of Budweiser, an iconic American lager (Back 2019).

construct a hegemonic and gender-based identity to characterize the craft beer consumer/producer.

Hops historians such as Kopp (2016), Tomlan (1992), and Barth, Klinke and Schmidt (1994) suggest that the origins of the connections between quality, authenticity and location (described in the previous section) stretch back to at least the 1850s when European beer producers snubbed North American grown hops. Hops are required in the production of beer for their antimicrobial properties and are also largely responsible for flavor and bitterness. The valuable hops trade has historically been dominated by wealthy, white, male landowners who have traditionally relied on the labor of marginalized populations of seasonal workers such as women, children, immigrants, and indigenous populations for the quick harvest of hops at summer's end for at least the last two centuries (Kopp 2016; Tomlan 1992). Kopp explains that gender also played a role during the American struggle toward Prohibition. In Oregon, women won the right to vote earlier than elsewhere in the nation and swiftly supported legislation that imposed state prohibition in 1914, five years before the nationwide constitutional ban. Kopp argues that because of women's suffrage, Oregon endured a nearly 20 year-long alcohol prohibition. Prohibition, in turn, is responsible for the introduction of bland, low-alcohol beer that would eventually become characteristic of "big beer." Finally, in the last part of the twentieth century, the male "pioneers" of the American craft beer industry encouraged innovative new beer recipes made with increasingly novel hops varieties that featured bold flavors and aromas, such as West Coast IPA (Acitelli 2013; Kopp 2016). This historical narrative casts male brewers as artisanal mavericks working against a

feminine paranoia that sought to protect society from alcohol and perceived associated behaviors, ultimately helping to construct craft beer as an originally masculine space.

Do women have to “do” masculinity to be accepted in craft beer culture? The literature available thus far and my own research seems to suggest that the answer is yes. Maciel (2017) examines how men construct taste refinement as masculine in the context of craft beer. Maciel explores “middle-class men’s boundary work to distinguish their pursuit of taste refinement from meanings of femininity and elitism” (Maciel 2017, 207). Men do this work, Maciel observes, by equating the physical strength required while producing beer with masculinity, conducting beer related activities in masculinized spaces such as the garage instead of the kitchen, and emphasizing the machinery that is required in the brewing process (Maciel 2017, 208-210). Personal characteristics such as risk-taking and adventurousness are invoked as masculine qualities accessed by aficionados who must, for example, brave unknown beers to cultivate their palate and develop an expert stance (Maciel 2017, 210). The male craft beer aficionados in Maciel’s study work to create and maintain boundaries that construct the craft beer space as a means of affirming masculine interpretations of what craft beer should taste and be like. Later in this thesis, I will describe how women are implicitly discouraged from deviating from the masculine/craft beer alignment and may even be punished for doing so through economic loss. Because men are already the majority of craft beer consumers, they set the rules for how craft beer should be produced and appreciated, thereby excluding alternative ways of knowing and experiencing craft beer.

Chapman, et al. (2018) demonstrate a similar exercise of boundary marking in the domain of online discussions. These authors examine the discourse of one popular online

beer forum to discover instances of gender performance or boundary marking within the craft beer context. They conclude that within this setting, “women [enact] non-traditional feminine traits in an attempt to legitimize their own presence and qualifications” while men perform a masculinity that, “includes patterns of exhibiting power and control over women and femininity, which... includes beer drinking and knowledge of beer” (Chapman, et al. 2018, 307). The authors observed that women seemed to gain legitimacy by rejecting feminine beers (described in this article as light American lagers, for example), displaying expert knowledge about brewing techniques and beer styles, and by distancing themselves from other women who dislike beer. Essentially, to participate in the discourses around craft beer, one must perform *as if* an already typical representative of the craft beer sector, in other words white, male, heterosexual, and middle class.

Maciel also mentions discursive strategies among craft beer aficionados that suggest women are perceived as disliking the taste of craft beer. For example, the men in his study “often tell one another their specific efforts to help their wives appreciate craft beer, such as brewing beer that pleases these women’s palates, but not their own” (Maciel 2017, 211). Darwin (2017) examined the assumption that some types of actual craft beer are perceived as feminine or preferred by women and are therefore illegitimate forms. She tested these assumptions by asking bar patrons at multiple New York area craft beer venues what they thought a “feminine” or a “masculine” beer was like and what they thought of people who transgressed gender boundaries when choosing a drink. Her results “confirm the existence of gendered stereotypes that denigrate women’s palates and ability to appreciate “complex” beers, while simultaneously feminizing men who

prefer simple or fruity beers” (Darwin 2017, 232). Further, Darwin noticed that cultural legitimacy is reserved for stronger, more traditional beers that are simultaneously associated with masculinity. She argues that “this assumption that women do not and cannot appreciate beer the same way that men can reinforces male dominance and women’s marginalization and subordination” (Darwin 2017, 233). Perhaps optimistically, Carvalho et al. remark that in their survey data among beer drinkers in Brazil, men revealed a preference for pale ale while women reported preferring pilsner, two similar beer types with equal status in the U.S. (Carvalho, et al. 2018, 387). These taste preferences defy stereotypically gendered preferences in the U.S. that associate women with fruity, sour, or low alcohol beers.

When women do have access to power in craft beer venues, do they, in fact, combat masculine narratives? Kuehn and Parker (2018) published a study focused on the discursive strategies of women brewery owners who have “a direct influence over market-facing activities” in Wellington, NZ (Kuehn and Parker 2018, 7). The authors conducted an analysis of the bottle labels, social media, and websites of a small sample²¹ of women-owned craft breweries. They also conducted interviews with female head brewers or brewery decision-makers. These researchers tried to answer the question, “do women—when presented with the opportunity to brand their own beer—adopt strategies that can potentially enhance the visibility and legitimacy of women in beer culture” (Kuehn and Parker 2018, 2). What they find is ‘not necessarily.’ Mostly, the authors posit that women brewers largely adopt and support a hegemonic beer cultural ideal that

²¹ The sample size of 7 reflected the total number of women-owned or operated breweries in the geographic bounds of the study.

promotes heterosexual, white, male middle-class values and positionality. Particularly, cultural markers expected in the vast majority of craft beer marketing such as tokens of authenticity, colonial histories, pioneerism, and sexist, misogynistic, or dismissive displays of femininity against a backdrop of unmarked maleness are present in the labels and other marketing material available from the woman-owned breweries just as they are in the abundance of male-owned breweries.

The research discussed above contributes to an emerging understanding that the dominant collective identity of those engaged with craft beer is monolithic. In the next section of this review, I will examine feminist philosophies and linguistic research focused on gendered linguistic practice that can inform opportunities for disruption to the homogeneity of those who participate, or how they choose to participate, in craft beer space.

The Women's Libation Movement²²: Feminist Philosophy and Gendered Discourse in Craft Beer

Judith Butler is the architect behind the theory that gender is merely a performance. As in the analysis above that suggests certain behaviors around craft beer can be read as either feminine or masculine, Butler argues that contemporary Western gender identities are constituted through repetitive performativity. Her theory reveals gender (and biological sex) to be constructed *by the acts performed* rather than as some essential antecedent that informs performance. Butler's work offers the means of reading beyond the "norms of cultural intelligibility" (Butler 1990, 24) toward a multiplicity of gendered expressions

²² This is the name of a press release from Full Sail Brewing in Mt. Hood, Oregon to support the 2013 release of its feminist dark ale, Duffy's Counterpunch (Heil 2013)

that has purchase in male-monopolized environments, such as craft breweries. Similar to Bourdieu's habitus, Butler explains that the repeated acts and behaviors that constitute a particular gender become naturalized, without consciousness or intention but nevertheless compelling.

Gender performativities are embodied as well as embedded enactments that produce actual societal implications and repercussions, reinforcing the hegemonic status of a gender binary. The "critical task" of feminists according to Butler is "to locate strategies of subversive repetition" (Butler 1990, 201). Her work implies that historical gender norms are unfixed and susceptible to change which presents opportunities for recreating gendered norms; this can be seen in examples such as the brewer/brewer's wife binary mentioned by Maciel (2017) and may serve to empower women to become more broadly legible as autonomous and able-bodied brewers. Individuals have the option to either engage with the existing hegemony of dominant gender and sexuality stereotypes or to resist these conventional expressions and re-signify practices as non-binary gender performance. The exclusion of women from occupational sectors is one way of "doing" gender—but we need not consider this a way that is above reinterpretation.

Feminist scholar Sara Ahmed describes the discomfort that subversive performativities might cause to either those engaging in such acts or those who are witness to them, but she also remarks on the effort it takes to orient oneself toward fitting in. She refers to "the effort not to stand out or stand apart" as "institutional passing," or "what you end up doing when or even because you cannot pass for what you are not (because of the body you have, your history, or for whatever reason)" (Ahmed 2017,

127). Women who participate in craft beer may frequently resort to institutional passing or performing masculinity to literally “gain a seat at the bar” (Chapman, et al. 2018, 307). Additionally, women in craft beer may experience negative connotations associated with what Ahmed calls the “feminist killjoy” or literally one who kills joy by insisting on gender equality, especially in intimate situations and among those who are closest to us (Ahmed 2017, 10). Ahmed argues that feminist action needs to be everywhere, particularly in those spaces that are most familiar, “we can think of feminism as happening in the very places that have historically been bracketed as not political” (2017, 3-4). For Ahmed, feminist theory must be applied in our everyday lived experience and within our most frequently traveled terrains; this includes in our homes among our loved ones and in our workplaces among our colleagues. I argue that Ahmed’s work is useful for highlighting the tensions that women in the brewing profession face while trying to navigate their intersectionality in the field of craft beer. Similarly, other scholars have noted how these scales intersect with feminism, often problematically:

In gender studies, the division of the “private” and “personal” versus the “public” and “political” has been addressed as a problem of scale, with scholars working to add empirical and theoretical weight to the feminist adage that the personal is political (e.g., Berlant 1997, 2008; Gal 2002; Steedman 1987) (Lempert and Summerson Carr 2016).

In Chapter Two, I will reveal how reluctant women are to acknowledge gender bias as a pressure within their daily lives. At the most intimate scales, women have little interest in examining or contesting how their gender may inform or delimit their career paths, professional relationships, and success even when they can easily point to and recognize broader structures that subordinate and objectify women, their abilities and their bodies.

Inoue (2006) describes a linguistic strategy that is related to institutional passing. Her fieldwork was conducted among Japanese female professionals who she noticed had developed a strategy of “staying in the middle”—performing a language style that is not too polite and not too rude which serves to help women keep a low profile (Inoue 2006). Whereas Inoue noted that women may feel comfortable performing an unguarded or unconscious linguistic style among familiar male peers, this comfort level vanished when navigating broader professional environments where women were even more outnumbered and unlikely to interact with known interlocutors. Women brewers are similarly insulated from the strangeness of being a woman in a male-dominated space until encountering a wider professional venue.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) address the combined disciplines of “linguistics, social theory, and gender studies” and urge researchers to avoid overly abstract theorizing and instead pay attention to the “concrete links between language and gender in the social practices of communities” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 2). The authors explain that “language is never encountered without other symbol systems, and gender is always joined with real people’s complex forms of participation in the communities to which they belong (or have belonged or expect to join)” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 4). Like Butler and Ahmed, these authors conclude that gender is constructed in real communities, by real people. With close attention to the areas where women might behave in unexpected ways, there can begin to be a troubling of the taken for granted gender binary in craft beer or beyond.

The work of Judith Baxter has set out to explore what, if any, differences exist between men’s and women’s speech in occupational contexts. In male-dominated

occupational environments, such as the craft brewing profession, implicit boundary marking is likely unnecessary according to Baxter. In a 2009 study that looked for evidence of gender exclusionary linguistic practices among British construction workers, Baxter found instead that language that spoke of women at all was conspicuously absent.

Baxter concludes:

the choices for women wishing to enter this profession are stark: they can *opt out*, by choosing to remain outside this white, British, male working-class profession as they currently do...; they can join but *assimilate* via the unpromising route of the out-group..., or they can *resist*, by exposing the discriminatory linguistic and cultural practices that sustain such all-male professions, and propose alternative ways of engagement (Baxter and Wallace 2009, 424)

In environments where men and women work together, Baxter warns that women may be unintentionally pressured to overperform in order to earn expert status, perhaps especially in occupational contexts that ignore gender difference. Like Ahmed, she comments on the efforts that women make to avoid being singled out and explains that women must often out-perform their male counterparts for relatively similar rewards. She remarks on the reluctance of female professionals to acknowledge their experience as women outnumbered by men:

In a context where senior women are still firmly in the minority and have to forge their own way in an often hostile corporate world, why do successful women fail to acknowledge the distinctiveness of their position? Whether senior women are in a male-dominated company or a gender-multiple one, they are always going to be the ‘marked’ sex, linguistically and professionally, until such time as there are equal numbers of males and females in company boardrooms. As the marked sex, they continue to remain ‘visible’ in terms of their very presence and therefore available for comparison with their male peers (Baxter 2010, 41).

Women in leadership positions within the craft brewing industry contend with this “marked” status and are indeed “available for comparison with their male peers.” In the best of circumstances, women can use this to stand out in a positive way within a sea of

competing but highly similar craft breweries. At worst, women struggle with having to produce a higher standard of experience and performance to gain the same level of prestige and esteem as men in their field simply due to being female-identified.

This review has engaged recent research on the cultural dimensions of craft beer including linguistic discourses and rhetorical strategies engaged within the craft beer social field and beyond to other food and language studies that find the themes of local and authenticity salient. Additionally, I have briefly explored how feminist philosophies and gendered discourse analysis may inform the experience and representation of women in craft beer settings. Situating my research project in the field of linguistic ethnography by examining the methodologies of other researchers exploring occupational, linguistic, and food-related topics, I have identified challenges inherent in-home/native ethnography and around conducting fieldwork in general. The next chapter will closely attend to the limited, one-dimensional ways that women are made visible in the context of craft brewing. I will explore the linguistic practices that utilize gendered representations to sell beer on product packaging and examine an episode during my field research that demonstrates one way that hetero-masculine hegemony manifests in the daily experiences of women professionals in the craft brewing industry.

Fieldwork, September 2018

I join a girlfriend at a local bottle shop at noon for a guided beer tasting and food pairing designed especially for women, a “Ladies Beer Tasting Event.” Three women who are connected to the craft brewing industry introduce a flight of beers to the event’s attendees, about two-dozen, mostly white women in their 30s to 40s who arrive in groups of two to four at a time. Our three guides include the co-owner (and wife of the owner) of the bottle shop hosting the event, a female bartender who works at the venue, and the taproom manager of a local brewery. The organizers of the event describe their intentions to create a safe space for women to taste different beer styles and explore their personal tastes in a non-threatening environment. The implicit premise for this “ladies” only event is that women feel intimidated trying new beer styles in the presence of men. It’s a warm day and we sit near a large roll-up door that is open to a patio shared with neighboring eateries. As each beer style is introduced, one of the event guides describes the style: “scientific notes” about the production method and what to expect in the flavor profile. We obediently sip from our tiny tasting glasses when she tells us to and then nibble from one of the food items that she suggests trying with each beer to discover new flavors that are highlighted. The women around me and my friend talk to each other and there is little cross-talk between the groups. They gossip about husbands and children and also about work. Comments about the beer were occasional and the tasting activities seem secondary to the social talk between friends. There is a “dump bucket” at each table to dispose of unwanted beer, but these stay almost unused throughout the event. Most of the women finish all of their beer samples.

About one hour into the event, two young women (appearing to be in their early twenties or late teens) enter the venue from the patio seating area and sidled up to the bar to order drinks. They were apparently intoxicated, one of them especially so. The male bartender denied the two women service and the more inebriated one laid down on the cool concrete floor for relief. This drew the attention of the many women seated at tables across from the bar at the tasting event and all audible talk turned to comments about the young women. The event bartender approached the young women and asked them to leave. After some prodding, they finally went out onto the patio and one of them began throwing up on the stone patio, bracing herself against a slender tree while her friend looked on and spoke in soothing tones while scanning the patio audience embarrassedly. The women at the tasting event became riveted with the patio scene. The woman throwing up was facing away from us and the people seated on the patio and her underwear were revealed from under very short shorts whenever she bent to be sick which happened multiple times. Two of the women hosting our event made an effort to ignore the patio scene and return our attention to the beer tasting while the third woman brought a mop and mop bucket to clean the patio. The group of women sitting at the table with me and my friend shouted to make the sick woman do the cleaning up herself and repeatedly commented that her friend should be covering her backside, “take off your sweater and wrap it around her waist!” They made these remarks loudly enough to be heard throughout our indoor seating area but not outside on the patio and the women outside almost certainly could not hear them. After the scene was mostly under control and the young women shuffled away from our view, talk amongst the women turned to a mixture of recounted stories about women they had known who had been drunk and sick

in public and assurances that they themselves would never act in such a way. The women I could hear telling these stories professed scorn and contempt for those who had. Elements of the afternoon that seemed especially objectionable included the early time of day (“in the middle of the afternoon!”), the place (“at a restaurant”), and the sick woman’s bodily exposure (“somebody cover up her bum!”). This one young woman’s very visible display of unpleasant public drunkenness was open to critical evaluation from two-dozen older women who were performing a sanctioned form of drinking intended to create a safe space for women. Instead, it became a clinic which clearly articulated how unacceptable, unsanctioned drinking performances can leave women vulnerable to disgust and social rejection.

Chapter 2

Visibility

As mentioned previously, all beer begins with the same four basic ingredients: barley, hops, yeast, and water. For many, the best beer doesn't stray too far from this basic recipe. Yet, countless variations on this simple theme have proliferated in the United States in the form of the craft beer "revolution": a recent, unprecedented rapid expansion of the number of independent breweries across the nation, many of them serving only one city, and some just one neighborhood. Entrepreneurial brewers often differentiate their products within this niche industry by including clever references in the imagery and language chosen to represent breweries and beers. These constructions—which carry a heavy indexical weight—are best represented in bottle or can labeling which provide the brewer²³ a bounded domain within which he can create a meaningful display for consumers.

As one of the aforementioned aims of my thesis is to discover "how meaning happens" (Hanks 2006, 5), here I investigate questions surrounding how the products we consume may reinforce a notion of self, a stereotype, or a sense of belonging. The communicative practices of several Nevada/Eastern California craft beer labels are analyzed in this chapter to reveal some common strategies used to construct shared meanings of the female gender within the broader societal context, and to create space

²³ Throughout my thesis, I repeatedly refer to "brewers" as the agents behind product labeling though often there are any number of people/job titles who might have a hand in developing the messaging on beer labels. When speaking generally of brewers, I refer to them as male; as of 2019, only about 8% of head brewers (in the U.S.? or in the world?) were women (Watson 2019).

that reinforces dominant American norms around gender roles through textual and visual references (cf. Hanks 2006, 15). I will examine instances of gender representation from among several small craft breweries in order to partially illuminate the broader societal mechanisms in place that produce hegemonic stereotypes regarding who craft beer is for. I argue that references to the female body in the craft beer setting reflect and contribute to societal expectations of a particular feminine gendered performance whereby it is impossible to read women as legible and legitimate consumers or producers of craft beer. I will also describe an encounter during my fieldwork that illuminates one of the worst possible outcomes of maintaining negative female stereotypes in craft beer settings, revealing how these messages that transfer from the bottle label to the actual women and their lived experiences in their occupational settings.

Labels as Linguistic Practice

Craft beer labels can be thought of as linguistic practices, in miniature, here referring to the definition from Hanks where practice is the convergence of form, activity (or function), and ideology (2006, 11). The actual words and images in a referential sense comprise the form, but this is combined with the label's greater societal context(s) to create a mini-narrative that identifies a person drinking the beer as possessing the qualities and attitudes expressed linguistically on the label. This connection, which Hanks theorizes as "relationality," refers to how the meaning of language is related to its context: who is speaking, where, when, what, and how (Hanks 2006, 7). Earlier in this thesis, I described how we might apply linguistic analysis generally to an analysis of craft beer product labels, which compose individual "linguistic facts" (Hanks 2006) with broad

ranging implications for social construction and belonging. I will present some additional linguistic elements useful while analyzing beer labels and then apply these concepts in an analysis of gender representation on craft beer packaging, each example presented as a brief case study.

The linguistic case studies analyzed in this section are comprised of selected craft beer labels on bottled or canned products from seven Nevada and Eastern California craft breweries, comprising in part, what I refer to as the linguistic landscape of craft brewing (Landry and Bourhis 1997). I also apply the notion of “genre” described earlier in this thesis (Briggs and Bauman 1992). We can avoid what Briggs and Bauman (1992, 135) refer to as categorical ambiguity, or “fuzzy boundaries,” of which generic classifications are prone, by relying on industry definitions to circumscribe the genre. Following this, “craft beer” is a phrase used to describe the products of independent, small, and traditional brewers (Brewers’ Association a) while “microbreweries” refers to craft brewers who sell greater than 75% of their products off-site, presumably in single-serve bottles or cans (Brewers Association b). Brewers, by way of product labels, produce generic discourses that may be analyzed as a linguistic category.

Two recent studies have examined some of the discursive meanings presented on craft beer labels. Mathews and Patton (2016) published a broad and comprehensive analysis of this genre within the United States that specifically investigated the existence of references to race or ethnicity. While they found little of either, they concluded that brewery marketing practices can “reinforce the commonly held belief that the craft brewing industry is one dominated by young, white males” (2016, 303). The authors argued that the lack of diverse racial or gender representation in the online content they

reviewed reinforced the cultural expectation that craft beer is primarily a space for and among white men. Generally, references to race or ethnicity in craft brewing linguistic material serve to differentiate breweries as small and traditional rather than associated with any demographic diversity:

[C]raft brewers latch onto local and distant traditions, cultures, and ethnicities in attempts to create an environment or image that feels real, local, and non-corporate. In doing so, brewers have overwhelmingly (intentionally or unintentionally) established a certain expectation of craft brewing culture: one that is predominantly white with ties to European traditions (Mathews and Patton 2016).

The labels chosen for analysis in this thesis are not meant to represent the total range of discursive practices that can be found in this genre; rather, this brief analysis focuses on communicative practice that constructs a gender-based identity that relies on intertextual constructions to engage consumers. Through an analysis of both the imagery and the text of labels for their communicative meaning, I argue that microbreweries compete with each other to present a product label that appeals to particular consumers by engaging in strategic discourses that emphasize resonant positions, values, attitudes, or beliefs intended to both represent and articulate with their audience.

This analysis draws on several linguistic concepts that are helpful in understanding the discursive strategies of craft brewery labels. Breweries compose craft beer labels that differentiate their products from among others by drawing on discursive techniques that offer the consumer an opportunity to voice particular stances within a speech community. Following Spitulnik (1996), the composition of a speech community can be formed across “common linguistic reference points” rather than proximity and frequency of interactions, as is the more traditional definition of speech community

(1996, 163). Spitulnik's work offers a framework for viewing "frequent acts of consumption" across large scale communities as a factor in the formation of "shared collectivity" that is useful in considering the dialog between consumers and brewers (1996, 164). As we will see in the analysis below, words and images from within mass media and national discourses are recirculated and recontextualized in the "smaller genre" of beer labels; thus, the consumer and brewer are engaged in a speech community of sorts that is created through both the creation and reception of these intertextual references, as well as through the act of imbibing (cf. Spitulnik 1996, 166). I argue that the smaller genre conveys fluency in a particular group identity and signals specific boundaries, even as it draws on broader contexts to create its indexical references.

Breweries and bottle shops that specialize in craft beer are among the most common public spaces to consume craft beer and are environments that support the construction of the craft beer genre in the American imagination. Here I intend to expand on the concept of the linguistic landscape to include these individual sites as a discontinuous "linguistic frontier" (Landry and Bourhis 1997) wherein a uniform representation of women's bodies and gendered discursive strategies constructs a gender identity and maintains boundaries within which women have limited options. Though originally the linguistic landscape was proposed as a "marker of the geographical territory occupied by distinctive language communities within multilingual states" (Landry and Bourhis 1997), here I expand the concept to describe the presence of language visually portrayed in the craft beer environment.

Theorists describe two basic functions of the linguistic landscape: informational and symbolic. I argue the many sites of craft beer consumption comprise a mosaic of

domains that together make up a linguistic landscape of sorts within which printed material including bottle or can labels, menu boards, or beer advertisements perform those two functions as described by Landry and Bourhis (1997, 24-25). The concept of linguistic landscape has been used to describe how the presence or absence of languages in public domains signals in-group and out-group status of specific language users. I argue that the availability of gender pluralities presented in the communicative elements available in a craft brewery or bottle shop perform a similar boundary-keeping function. Further, this availability or its absence amounts to the symbolic disempowerment of women in these settings because the uniformity of gender representation implies a certain hostility toward women. The effect of the linguistic landscape of craft beer, though encountered in multiple sites and across various media, is to signal homogenous symbolic and informational meanings that indicate the subordination of women to men in the contexts of these case studies.

The structural analysis of these labels relies on Goffman's "delineation of participation framework and production format" (Goffman 1981, 146). Microbrewery bottle and can labeling can be analyzed as a form of talk, defined by Goffman as "a naturally bounded stretch of interaction comprising all that relevantly goes on" between two or more individuals (Goffman 1981, 130). Indeed, Goffman argues that "coordinated task activity- not conversation- is what lots of words are part of" (Goffman 1981, 143). This section will expand Goffman's (1981, 144) project to "decompose the global notion of hearer and recipient" by arguing that brewers and consumers partner in coordinated task activities associated with production and consumption of craft beer, though they rarely or never engage in speech events together. In this case, the textual and visual

messaging on the label mediates a single-voiced interaction between the brewer and the consumer; the natural bounds of the interaction are comprised of the limited space on a label as well as the limited geographic reach of many small breweries due to local distribution. Consumers engage in this communicative practice by reading labels and choosing among them; consumers take on a discursive stance represented by the messaging on the label. Given that men are the overwhelming majority of decision-makers in the craft brewing industry, it is not surprising that the varied voices of feminine perspectives remain muted within craft beer territory.

We can further define the “participation framework” of this type of discourse by identifying the “status” of various participants and their relationships to each other (Goffman 1981, 137). Consumers comprise what Goffman refers to as the “audience;” these participants become “ratified” through self-selection by choosing to read a beer label (Goffman 1981, 132, 138). Further, because the brewer will likely rarely or never interact with the consumer in person, consumers can further be classified as “imagined recipients” of the label’s messaging (Goffman 1981, 138). Brewers, or other brewery personnel who participate in the creation of labels, invoke “broadcast talk,” or a simulated conversational style addressed as if to an individual recipient while in fact there is no one “in the flesh” to interact with (Goffman 1981, 138). The “speaker” in this context takes multiple forms (Goffman 1981, 144). The beer label acts as the “animator,” or the “functional node in a communicative system” that embodies the actual words of the message (Goffman 1981, 144). The brewer (or other marketing employees) is both the “author”—someone “who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed in words,” and the “principal”—“someone whose position is established by the words...

Someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say” (Goffman 1981, 144). When a member of the audience selects a beer for consumption, they are aligning themselves with the principal, creating a “reciprocal basis of identification” (Goffman 1981, 145). These structural considerations are used to analyze the specific cases presented later in this chapter. Also helpful in creating the context for this analysis is a brief look at specifically gendered dimensions related to the production of beer’s raw ingredients and the brewing and consumption of beer through U.S. history.

The Hops Industry and Gendered Divisions of Labor

The image of a hop cone is now ubiquitous on craft beer labeling, particularly on IPA²⁴ packaging. The delicate, shingled flower of the hops plant, *Humulus lupulus*, grows at the end of slender bines that cling tenaciously to whatever vertical element is available—often a tree in wild settings or a pole and cable trellis in commercial ones. Hops need extensive pruning while growing, followed by careful sifting after harvest to ensure product quality. Women and children (who were often immigrants or indigenous peoples, see Kopp 2016; Tomlan 1992) comprised the highest numbers of a mobile workforce that harvested hops in the U.S. and Europe for centuries before the mid-1900s when their labor was replaced by heavy machinery. Women and children were chosen to do this work because they were perceived to have greater dexterity for plucking the fragile cones from the bine because of their “small hands;” perhaps more revealing (and accurate) is the likelihood that men were often engaged in higher-paying work during the late

²⁴ IPA, or India Pale Ale, is a highly hopped beer developed by British brewers to survive long sea voyages to distant British colonies, as far away as India, during the Age of Imperialism.

summer when hops are harvested (Tomlan 1992). In the mid-twentieth century, hops harvesting shifted to mechanical techniques and the tradition of hiring temporary marginal workers during harvest was ended. Hops are now a valuable commodity crop grown around the globe and continue to be primarily controlled by male farmers now aided by heavy and expensive machinery.

As discussed briefly in the first chapter, Kopp (2016) explains that gender can also be implicated in the American struggle toward Prohibition. Historians identify a close link between women's suffrage and the successful passing of state legislation that banned the sale of alcoholic beverages. After a critical mass of individual states adopted prohibition, the federal government passed the Volstead Act in 1919 which formalized national prohibition. During prohibition, beer was more difficult to come by and hops farmers struggled to survive, although they could still export hops to Europe. Many breweries survived by switching from beer production to bottling soda or sparkling water, including in Nevada where Carson Brewing Company and Reno Brewing Company remained in business throughout prohibition (Evans 2018). The end of prohibition, in turn, is blamed for the introduction of bland, low-alcohol beer that would eventually become characteristic of "big beer." Kopp explains that breweries were cautious when reintroducing beer after prohibition and set out to attract consumers with a palatable product. Breweries sought to avoid provoking teetotalers and sparking more temperance activism by producing beer that was low alcohol by volume (ABV). Beer was cleverly marketed by advertisers as something more akin to a health tonic that could be served daily by dutiful wives to their hard-working husbands after a long day out of the house.

Due to this effort, beer began enjoying a shift from associations with lower-class consumption among unmarried men toward an alignment with white middle-class family values. The beer industry became increasingly consolidated and the beer itself became increasingly homogenous in the post-war era. Though the brewing industry began to rebound after prohibition, many breweries did not survive the rationing of barley and sugar during World War II, hastening the industry's move toward consolidation (Evans 2018). Industrialism and the rise of capitalism following the war pressured breweries to mass-produce cheap beer made with adjuncts like corn and rice instead of adhering to the standard barley. These conditions supported the dominance of American-style pale lagers in the beer market that continues today despite the rapid success of craft breweries. Over the last several decades, craft brewing has increasingly introduced innovative and experimental recipes, re-popularized many other forgotten beer styles, and also invented new ones, expanding the limits of craft beer in search of product differentiation.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, male “pioneers” of the American craft beer industry began experimenting with innovative new beer recipes made with increasingly novel hops varieties that featured bold flavors and aromas as well as beers with higher ABV, such as West Coast IPAs or Double IPAs (DIPAs) (Acitelli 2013; Kopp 2016). The cultural icons of American craft beer include names familiar to craft brewers such as Jack McAuliffe of New Albion Brewing, Fritz Maytag of Anchor Steam Brewing, and Ken Grossman of Sierra Nevada Brewing; nearly all famous craft brewers are male.²⁵ This historical narrative is a familiar shared history well-known to

²⁵ There are many examples of compiled lists of “best beers of all time,” “most influential breweries,” “beer tasters to watch” etc. that acknowledge the individual contributions of brewers to craft beer over

professionals and many consumers alike. The origin stories of the most successful and long-established craft breweries cast passionate men as lonely visionaries, experimenting with DIY equipment in their garages to produce bold and original beers unavailable from commercial breweries. These origin stories form a prerequisite undercurrent for the definition and authenticity of craft brewing. The women brewers that I spoke with during my research adhered to this familiar pattern; they began their brewing careers with home-brewing experimentation inspired by innovative beer recipes.

A Brief Sidetrack into Hops Horticulture

Originally, I had designed my thesis to study women hops farmers and how they might be perceived as anomalies at the intersection of two majority-male occupational contexts—the brewing and agricultural industries. As mentioned in the first chapter, I participated in a grant-funded experimental hop yard project at the University of Nevada, Reno’s Agricultural Experiment Station for one season, hoping to leverage my experience as a female hops producer to observe the craft beer industry from a novel perspective. Though hops can be grown in Nevada’s high desert climate, they have never been grown in the state commercially; unfortunately, the experimental hop yard demonstrated that commercial hops production in the Great Basin is likely not a cost-effective endeavor, even though the most prolific hops-producing region in the world is in the not-too-distant arid regions of the Pacific Northwest (Central Oregon and Washington). Additionally, there are virtually no farmers of hops in Nevada at any scale, let alone women hops

time. These lists rarely include women unless they are specifically targeted, such as “15 Craft Breweries Run and Operated by Women” (Kennedy 2018).

farmers.²⁶ Although this early vision of my project was not possible to pursue, the preliminary research I conducted on hops horticulture does inform my analysis of language in the craft brewing field.

Hops (*Humulus lupulus*²⁷) are closely related to the genus *Cannabis*, and, like cannabis, they are valued by humans for the unique phytochemical properties of the plant's flower. Hops are dioecious, meaning that there are male and female plants. Hops plants are cultivated from rhizome cuttings that produce daughter plants identical to the mother plant. Hop cones (the flowering part of the plants) grow on female plants while male plants produce smaller mock cones that don't have the critical lupulin granules. Lupulin is the source of phytochemicals useful in beer brewing and resembles small, yellow grains of pollen found nestled among the shingled petals of a hop cone. Lupulin contains alpha and beta acids that impart bittering, aroma, and flavor attributes to beer as well as preserving beer from spoilage and contributing to unique characteristics of modern beer such as foam stabilization and lacing.²⁸ Male plants, though unusual because producers purchase lab-verified female rhizomes, are culled from commercial hop yards because they may pollinate the female plants resulting in the production of seeds. Generally, seedy plants are considered inferior in chemical profile and are believed to produce "off" flavors in beer (Almaguer et al., 2014).

²⁶ There is one farm in Northern Nevada, Bentley Ranch, that produces hops on a large scale for use in the production of their brand's estate gin. All of the farmers at Bentley Ranch are male.

²⁷ The meaning of this scientific name is "wolf of the willow." Pliny the Elder, a Roman historian and naturalist, is credited as the first person to write about hops in his book *Naturalis Historia*. He referred to the hops as the willow wolf or wolf of the willow because of their aggressive climbing into willow trees. Hops are one of the fastest-growing plants and may grow up to 20 inches in a day, certainly able to rapidly engulf whatever they are growing on as they climb (Ten Eyck and Gehring 2015).

²⁸ Lacing refers to beer foam transforming from a liquid to a solid state, leaving a visible trail along the inside of a pint glass, for example (Almaguer et. al. 2014).

All of this is to say that in the world of hops, the female plant is supreme. It is therefore interesting that when hops are portrayed in craft beer marketing they are almost always associated with masculinity and masculine power. In my experience, I have encountered no examples of hops in association with femininity on a beer label. Both textual and visual elements of craft beer labels that portray hops make explicitly gendered associations between hops and masculinity. The gendered messaging on bottle labels serves to articulate belonging in the craft beer domain and indexes a clear alignment of male with dominance and female with subordination. These associations are accomplished with visual imagery and linguistic features. Researchers Gaucher, Friesen, and Kay (2011) published a series of studies that implicated “gendered wording” as a mechanism for producing or maintaining a biased influence on the self-selection of careers that are often dominated by one gender, for example, nursing which tends to employ more women than men. The studies both reinforced earlier research indicating that individual words can be gendered or associated with stereotypically gendered performance and expanded this theory to demonstrate that gendered language poses a barrier to belonging. They concluded that,

What may appear, at least at first glance, as gender differences in self-selection of occupations is actually influenced, at least in part, by systematic factors outside the self. It is not only that women are socialized to like occupations that are thought to require highly feminine traits, such as nursing, though this is certainly part of the puzzle of women’s underrepresentation... To understand why women continue to be underrepresented in traditionally male-dominated fields, it is essential to understand precisely how institutional-level factors, such as gendered wording, affect the appeal of certain jobs (Gaucher et al. 2011:13).

The authors were careful to point out that the use of gendered language need not be intentional or conscious in order to cue women to the idea that “certain environments are

more hostile toward women than others” (Gaucher et al. 2011:13). While some of the communicative elements presented here may carry unintended meanings or remain relatively obscure among thousands of beer labels, I argue that the presence of gendered language coupled with imagery that consistently presents masculinity with power and dominance and femininity with sexual objectification is nevertheless persuasive; it constitutes a form of institutionalized sexism that can discourage women from considering occupations in the craft beer industry.

Considering the importance of the female hops plant in beer production, it is especially ironic that hoppy beers make up the category that most frequently employs this discursive strategy. For instance, Reno’s Revision Brewing Company produces an IPA called Lord Lupulin (Image 1). The label features a Viking-like image of a bearded warrior whose beard, crown, and armor resemble the shaggy petals of ripe, female, hop cones. The text on the bottle reads in part, “Introducing the high priest of hops, the hero of *Humulus lupulus*, the sultan of strig, the brahma of bracteole... Here comes Lord Lupulin!”²⁹ Another example from Sierra Nevada Brewing Company based in Chico, CA is Hoptimum, a triple IPA with an alcohol-by-volume (ABV) of 9.6% (Image 2). This beer carries the tagline, “distinguished, yet devilishly hoppy;” the image is of a male figure in eighteenth-century style cravat and coat with a large hop cone in place of a head. The bitter taste profile of this hoppy beer is described by Sierra Nevada as “aggressive” and “ultra-intense.” These two examples deliberately construct hops in

²⁹ Strig and bracteole are technical names for the stem and petal of a hop cone. This specialized vocabulary would seem to index that the author of this text is knowledgeable about hops horticulture and also aware that hops are always female when used in brewing; it thus indexes an “expert stance” (Jacobs-Huey 2006) even though the author makes the choice to ignore the sex of the hops when creating their masculine character for the label.

personified male forms and invoke gendered wording that explicitly aligns the characteristics of hops with descriptive language that indexes masculinity and masculine power.

By contrast, when women are portrayed on craft beer bottles, they are almost always portrayed in a sexualized and vulnerable manner. There is abundant popular commentary critiquing some of the worst offenders (for example, Gordon 2015). The practice is so troublesome that in 2017 the Brewers' Association, a trade organization for craft brewers, updated their marketing and advertising code to discourage beer branding that contains "sexually explicit, lewd, or demeaning brand names, language, text, graphics, photos, video, or other images that reasonable adult consumers would find inappropriate for consumer products offered to the public" in an attempt to rid the craft beer industry of growing concerns around misogynistic and racist undertones present in some craft beer marketing (Brewers Association 2017). Notably, this language doesn't mention gender, but as noted earlier, it is unlikely (and perhaps unprecedented) that a beer would have language or text that referenced male bodies in a way that was "sexually explicit, lewd, or demeaning." This subject positionality is only oriented toward women. Despite the recent efforts by the Brewers' Association, it is not difficult to find examples of bottle labels that objectify women's bodies in order to sell beer. In this section, I will analyze four different examples of gender representation, each from a different brewery.

As previously mentioned, my research focuses on independent craft breweries in Nevada and Eastern California, and the breweries selected for the following analysis are all from this defined geographic area. While the textual and visual elements chosen for this analysis do not represent the most overtly sexist beer labels that exist (see Kappel

2015 for a more thorough analysis of sexism on beer labels), they conform with the general trend of representing women's bodies as sexual objects for the male gaze (with one exception). The female body as represented on these labels is white, smiling, and hyper-sexualized. These images, combined with the implicit invitation to consume and enjoy beer, can also be read as inviting the male consumer to consume and enjoy sexualized feminine stereotypes.

Kappele (2015) produced a fairly comprehensive analysis of gender images on beer labels in her thesis which critiques the differences between representations of men and women. Kappele found that men are represented as powerful figures, often armed with weapons such as swords or axes, and fully-clothed. Male representations tend to appear most frequently on high- alcohol beers such as imperial or double IPAs (*ibid.*). Female imagery, on the other hand, relies on exposed female bodies often in submissive or compromising positions paired with sexual innuendo and double entendre (*ibid.*). While Kappele notes that gender imagery is rare on bottle labels overall, it is significant that there are few exceptions to the general pattern of representing women's bodies as sexual objects and male bodies as standing in for favorable qualities of the beer. Kappele's analysis informs an argument that women are not taken seriously in the craft beer industry; rather they are portrayed as accessories to male enjoyment. Her thesis is supported by her personal experience as a server for several years in a large, popular tap house in the Midwestern United States. Kappele's analysis contributes to a still marginal, but growing, critique of the craft beer industry for harboring sexist and racist underpinnings which contribute to the exclusivity of the craft beer workplace and lifestyle (see, for example, Mathews and Patton 2016 for a critique of racial and ethnic

portrayals in craft beer marketing). Her work offers a refreshing perspective from the front lines of consumer interactions in craft beer settings. My research confirmed that women working in the industry are sometimes sidelined, ignored, or otherwise not taken seriously as knowledgeable experts on a wide range of beer considerations. Further, my research adds to Kappele's critique of gendered representation on beer labels by adding a critique of the discursive strategies on beer labels and contrasting the inherent femininity of hops cones with the pervasive practice of masculinizing this essential beer ingredient.

Beer that features women on the label is not necessarily being marketed to women. Other authors have investigated the popular and enduring stereotype that women prefer alcoholic drinks that are fruity, low-calorie, and sweet. In the realm of craft beer, the assumption is that women prefer fruity, sour, or champagne-like beers while men prefer high-alcohol, hoppy beers such as double IPAs. Certain product packaging seems to reinforce this myth. The former beers are often presented in packaging with elegant fonts and floral elements while the latter are most likely to feature male figures and masculine linguistic elements, explored more below. Researchers have shown that consumers generally adhere to the association of feminine with fruity and masculine with hoppy and further recognize a "gendered hierarchy" in which so-called masculine beers "are regarded as more culturally legitimate" while feminine beers are "regarded as inferior" (Darwin p. 232 in Chapman et al. 2017). These associations between beer styles and gender are changing though professionals in the industry may be slow or reluctant to recognize the shift. In my research, Annie, a marketing director at a brewery that opened in 2017, mentioned that she observed a male bartender practicing a sort of confirmation bias wherein he would suggest gendered beer styles to bar patrons or discursively affirm

gendered product selections that aligned with these established stereotypes. For example, he would make remarks about the peculiarity of a man ordering a feminine beer style. Darwin (2017) noted that men are generally judged more negatively when they select a feminine beer style than a woman is when she chooses a masculine beer style. This section engages the question of how material artifacts participate in the construction of the parameters of gender performance by creating single-voiced discursive acts with consumers of craft beer through product labels.

What's in a Label? Analysis of Gendered Representations on the Bottle

Sin City Brewing Company is located in Las Vegas, Nevada. The company's brand and logo make liberal use of references to sin and sex, two activities highly promoted in the city of Las Vegas brand (Image 3). The brewery is male-owned and operates multiple microbrewery locations in downtown Las Vegas. In addition to claiming its beers "accentuate the indulgent nature of Las Vegas," Sin City brewing also prides itself on offering a "popular retail line" that includes women's tank tops, underwear, and short shorts emblazoned with phrases like "I have sinned" or "sinner" (SinCityBeer.com). The company's logo is central to the brewery's visual messaging and is noticeably displayed on all brewery glassware, retail merchandise, and other prominent locations within the brewery environment. Featured on the logo is the silhouette of a devilish female figure. Her femininity is constructed through exaggerated stereotypical physical features such as long hair, long eyelashes, and the outline of her breast; "sin" is evoked through the addition of a barbed tail. Beers brewed at Sin City are marketed with suggestive phrases that describe each beer type such as "never pass up a blonde," "say hello to amber," or

“the dark side of sin” (SinCityBeer.com). Promotional images feature smiling, white “promo girls,” including Playboy Playmate Laura Croft, with their hands around tap handles (Johnson 2014, Vegasnews.com 2009). Finally, the company’s website makes use of the slogan “Temptations abound... So does the beer.” This phrase suggests there is another implicit appeal to visiting Sin City Brewing that is not the beer. The imagery of women mixed with suggestive sexual innuendo makes clear an invitation to heterosexual men to indulge in the sexual objectification of the women at the brewery.

This combination of sex and sin works to exclude women from legibility as beer producers or consumers. In Sin City’s framing of gender, women are deviant sexual objects that serve men beer. The owner of the brewery, Richard Johnson, is the only person on the brewery’s website who is named and is pictured professionally dressed alongside a biographical profile that emphasizes his experience and prestige as an expert brewer, drawing a distinction between the apparent roles of men and women in supporting the brewery’s brand. Johnson produces respected and award-winning beer while women, including a professional nude model, personify the company’s logo acting as stand-ins for seduction, temptation, sin, and a heteronormative sexuality centered around the male gaze. These elements combine to produce a type of gender performance whereby the staged photographs and carefully selected texts combine to produce a fantasy version of women as aberrant sexual objects whose only contribution to the brewery’s success is providing salacious imagery.

This mix of sexual innuendo and beer production is problematic in part because alcohol consumption and sexual assault are highly correlated. Women are more likely to be the victims of sexual assault when either she, the perpetrator, or both have been

consuming alcohol (Abbey et al. 2001). Highly sexualized images of women on beer promotional materials contribute to the production of associations between drinking beer and engaging in the objectification of women's bodies (Kappele 2015, Sugar 2016). Sin City's logo and website messaging, therefore, appears especially troubling, and potentially dangerous, as it indexes a mentality that positions women as voiceless sexual spectacles whose positionality in craft brewing is wholly situated around male pleasure.

The next two labels portray similar images of women and typify the most common elements of female representation on craft beer labels: cartoonish and sexualized female bodies. Cherry Berry Bang! Bang! is brewed at Able Baker Brewing Company in Henderson, Nevada (Image 4) and Blondibock is brewed by Mammoth Brewing Company in Mammoth Lakes, California (Image 5). Both of these breweries have male head brewers and owners. Able Baker Brewing Company was founded by two men who are also the brewers while Mammoth Brewing is owned by a husband and wife team who employ a male head brewer. Though the primary reference to women on these labels is visual, there are also subtle linguistic references that invoke a reading of female sexuality. Cherry Berry Bang! Bang! features a 1950s style pin-up girl in a bra top, short shorts, and platform heels sitting atop two oversized, lit, cherry bombs that resemble breasts. The textual accompaniment on the label is mostly a straightforward description of the beer; however, the last sentence, "easy to drink and amusing to say, with a mischievous taste that is truly scrumptious" seems to work equally well as an ambiguous description of the beer or the illustrated woman in the image. Further, the image of the woman's body is paired with a tongue-in-cheek double entendre signified by the bomb.

The animated woman is juxtaposed with danger—the imminent explosion of the two bombs she is sitting on.

The text of the Blondibock label refers to the beer in the bottle exclusively with feminine pronouns, “Brewed as a German-style Blonde Bock, she was racked into Heaven Hill Bourbon Barrels... picking up much of her color and flavor from the oak barrels.” These linguistic choices directly conflate the sexualized female body portrayed in the visual elements of the bottle label with the characteristics and qualities of the beer. The label’s image is of a buxom blonde-haired woman in a low-cut, mini dress cheerfully toting bottles of beer through a forest scene. Dark, lurking bears ogle her from the shadows. Similar to Sin City’s disturbing focus on women as sexual objects, the feminine gender as constructed through this label depicts women as vulnerable, sexual objects unwittingly available to the lecherous male gaze for consumption. This combination of objectified female bodies with subtly referential or unrelated textual descriptions of the beer are the most common use of female gender constructions on craft beer labels. Perhaps not overtly sexist, these labels support a visual and textual landscape that prescribes a narrow, one-dimensional role for women that precludes the inclusion of women as competent brewers, savvy entrepreneurs, or knowledgeable consumers.

During my interviews, I asked a pair of brewery professionals about their opinion of the Blondibock label specifically. They were unfamiliar with this particular label but generally seemed neutral about labels that depicted women in this way. Instead, the women were very vocal about the lengthy and strict label approval process in the U.S. which is regulated by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau, or TTB. The TTB regulates the labeling of all alcohol-containing beverages through their certificate of label

approval (COLA) process. All beer labels must adhere to strict guidelines regarding everything from label content to font size. Every label is submitted to the TTB for COLA before the product can be available to the public. According to the brewery professionals I spoke with, this process is both time-consuming and unpredictable. Each label is evaluated by a human agent and apparently this causes significant variation in how the TTB rules are interpreted. For example, offensive language is not allowed on alcohol product packaging yet a Nevada brewery received a COLA for the beer Reno as Fuck, which inspired a small and brief pop-culture movement in 2016³⁰. The primary concern of the women brewery professionals that I spoke with was navigating the label approval process for the distribution of their brewery's products. Though they acknowledged that beer marketed with sexualized images of the female body were unappealing to them personally, they did not recall encountering these types of labels. Sexual objectification of women's bodies on beer packaging does not seem to be a salient issue for women professionals in craft brewing. These women may be avoiding confrontation with elements of the craft brewing industry that function to stigmatize and limit their visibility into narrow stereotypes that conform with heterosexual male sexual fantasy to avoid

³⁰ Reno as Fuck (RAF) is a hazy double IPA by Revision Brewing Company in Sparks, NV. Reno, NV, has a reputation and an economy founded on dubious activities such as gambling and quick divorce. The authors of the RAF label project a motley, rebel persona that is comprised of tensions, "embracing the no-holds-barred, pure, dirty, clean, crass culture of the greatest place in the world, this beer is a reflection of the city it was born in." The authors behind this label are constructing Reno-ness as conflicted but also pride worthy, "It's real, down-to-earth and unfiltered. You don't buy this beer, you earn this beer. This beer is Reno as Fuck." The "as fuck" in this phrase functions as an adverb meaning extremely or totally. The beer, RAF, is totally representative of the place, Reno. The beer is *as Reno* as anything can be. The principal voice in this messaging conveys pride in place-making and an insistence on authenticity. A particular lived experience associated with the city is suggested as a requirement for enjoying RAF, "you earn this beer." In this case, the beer itself participates in the linguistic practice; double IPAs are high alcohol beers (RAF is 8.4% ABV) which speaks to the edgy persona projected by the other communicative elements of the label.

making one of Baxter's three choices: opting out, assimilation, and resistance. Instead, these women forge a fourth choice: to avoid giving attention to the discourses that discount their legitimacy. They choose not to engage with the mechanisms of their oppression even if at a very small and intimate scale. This avoidance is similar to the fitting in strategy that Ahmed described as well as "staying in the middle" observed by Inoue. Women brewery professionals may adopt a strategy of focusing on what they can control, such as navigating the complex COLA process, rather than what they can not, the sexist choices of label designers at other breweries. The effectiveness of this approach is debatable, but it emerged as a commonly-adopted strategy during my fieldwork.

The last label analyzed in this chapter is a departure from the pattern exhibited by the examples above. Tough As Your Mom is brewed by Tahoe Mountain Brewing Company in Truckee, California. While Tahoe Mountain Brewing is owned by two male partners, the head brewer was a woman at the time that this beer was released (Laney 2016). This beer's label clearly references a particular female gender role but not a sexualized one. There is no image of the female body. Instead, this label relies on traditional tropes of motherhood involving the ritualized sacrifice expected of women after becoming mothers and ostensibly surrendering claims of sexual appeal. Tough As Your Mom is indeed a strong beer at 10.7% alcohol by volume. As noted by Kappel (2015), high alcohol beers are often associated with strength and masculinity. This beer serves then as a counter-point to the dominant narrative. The label is stylized like an embroidery sampler (itself a reference to femininity through association with a 'delicate' craft). The text is worth quoting in its entirety for its construction of the martyrdom expected of mothering:

This is not a replacement for your mama, it can't lift a car that's crushing your foot, it can't nurse you back to health while silently suffering through the flu itself, but it sure isn't afraid to slap you in the face. A beer to help keep you almost as warm, loved, and honest as your mama can.

In contrast to the sexy images of women in the previous labels, Tough As Your Mom constructs a distinctly un-sexy version of womanhood. The label aligns motherhood with defending morality. The mother is disembodied and her femininity is portrayed instead through the activities associated with traditional Euro-American motherhood—embroidery³¹, care-taking, and suffering—while juxtaposing this with the idea of “toughness.” Nevertheless, this different take still leaves little choice for women’s legibility in the world of craft beer. Women are usually portrayed as passive objects of sexual fantasy or, as this last example shows, are associated with ‘toughness’ only insofar as they can present themselves as subservient martyrs and moral guides to their offspring. Neither of these performances or conceptions of gender construction is as complex as representations of men on craft beer labels (Kappele 2015) nor do they signal any type of space for women to participate as professionals in the industry.

This is especially significant because, despite the reputation of craft brewing as a man’s world, young women especially are drinking more craft beer and increasingly seeking careers as brewers (Watson 2019; Watermark Design 2016). While in the academic literature women are critiquing what they describe as sexism and harmful gender stereotypes in the industry, women brewing professionals are steering clear of positioning themselves as feminists, or even of admitting to encountering sexist behavior.

³¹ Some contemporary feminists are using this traditionally feminine art form to protest oppressive stereotypes and tropes about femininity. Along the lines of the irony present in this beer label are artists whose work seeks to reclaim embroidery as tough and a vehicle for activism; see for example <http://subversivecrossstitch.com> or <http://www.badasscrossstitch.com>.

In a recent article for the blog HopCulture, Caroline Southern muses about whether or not “craft beer has a gender problem” (2017). She considers an article in the magazine Men’s Health as a “possible” example of sexism. The article, written by a male staff writer, is quite brief: just two paragraphs (Daniels 2017). The author describes the increasing market competition among craft brewers, lamenting that the array of new choices is “overwhelming;” he then introduces a group of 30 women beer experts noting they represent “brewers, bloggers, photographers, and hop aficionados with impeccable taste” (Daniels 2017). He concludes by declaring, “we’d pull up a stool and pour a pint with these women any night of the week.” The rest of the article is a stream of pictures of each of the women, many of the photos focusing on the women’s breasts. Southern draws critical attention to this article but can’t seem to decide or articulate whether or not she feels it is sexist. She quotes two of the featured bloggers who both welcome the increased traffic to their Instagram accounts due to Daniels’ article. Southern concludes, “despite any sexist implications from the article, it nevertheless strengthens a small community of women in craft beer” and “women and minorities must continue to show up as positive and welcoming faces within the industry.” Southern seems to contend that leveraging feminine sex appeal in exchange for increased legitimacy is a worthwhile exchange.

Feminists have long critiqued this type of cost-benefit equation. For instance, feminist scholar Sarah Ahmed might consider Southern’s arguments a type of “institutional passing,” or a means to gain any type of participation in hegemonically constructed settings where one is otherwise considered marginal. She explains that “survival within an institution, let alone career progression, might depend on not challenging norms or might even depend upon the extent to which we can increase our

proximity to them” (2017, 128). In other words, women attempting to gain legitimacy as craft brewing professionals may depend on a strategy akin to “if you can’t beat ‘em, join ‘em.” This is what Baxter described as “assimilation,” one of the few strategies to women working in male-dominated contexts (Baxter and Wallace 2012). Ahmed explains that gender and racial minorities are often served by smiling, as “smiling becomes a strategy; to smile is to appear willing not willful, happy not unhappy, as friend not foe, familiar not strange” (2017, 101). The women beer experts consulted by Southern are practicing the smile strategy by focusing on the positive increase in attention to their blogs and ignoring the sexist basis for their recognition from Daniels. This combination of avoiding confrontation with oppressive forces and emphasis on the positive is similar to the response women I spoke with had to sexist beer labels.

During my fieldwork, I did not encounter any women who could recall having ever been validated because of their sexual appeal to heterosexual men. However, I did encounter the belief that women in other jobs in the industry had. For example, one head brewer remarked to me that she felt bartenders are often hired, “just because they are pretty,” emphasizing, “that *is* a bartender thing.” In this instance, women who serve beer are associated with objectification by women who produce beer, clearly indicating a distinction whereby women who are performing an identity more akin to the standard male brewer gain access to legitimacy that is inaccessible to women who merely pour another’s beer. This is an example of what Baxter referred to as assimilation, even if always with the asterisk of “for a woman” qualifications; as in, the female bloggers mentioned by Daniels were worthy of “drinking a beer with” despite being women/inferior drinking partners.

In Southern's analysis, the women bloggers embrace the positive advantage they gain by being attractive as a means of introducing the standard-bearers (male craft beer drinkers) to their depth of knowledge and legitimacy. By utilizing this strategy, the women are passing as competent members of the craft beer industry and avoiding the negative consequences of being what Ahmed calls a feminist killjoy and what Baxter refers to as the third option for women working in all-male occupations, resisting. A killjoy might refuse, or resist, to pose for pictures that emphasize physical sex appeal or might point out that relying on sex appeal to legitimize women's expert knowledge in craft brewing is an unequivocally sexist endeavor when there is an absolute absence of this framing when male expert knowledge is invoked. There is a cost for performing the killjoy positionality and resisting the dominant practices, however oppressive and discriminatory they may be. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Ahmed explains that the discomfort and unease that the killjoy calls out about marginalizing mechanisms such as sexist content is shifted to discomfort and unease with the person doing the calling out. For women trying to accumulate prestige this shift has profound consequences for their professional status, the costs associated with being the killjoy may often be too high. In an excerpt from my fieldwork below, Cheryl, a brewery owner, resigns herself to objectifying treatment, which she later described to me as harmless banter. During my observation of the brewery and in subsequent discussion with Cheryl, I realized that this brewery, which is off the beaten path and struggling with distribution, may not be able to afford challenging male customers' sexist banter directly at the potential risk of alienating them.

In an article for Slate magazine, food journalist Will Gordon (2015) calls attention to the “astonishingly sexist” marketing of some craft breweries. Gordon argues that the “new wave brewers” of the craft beer industry have in many ways sought to differentiate themselves from traditional, corporate “Big Beer” breweries that have a long and sordid history of sexism, if not outright misogyny (see examples from Duke University Libraries 2011). Unfortunately, the craft brewing industry has failed to adequately expel sexism from beer advertising (or from the industry more generally; see White (2015) for a report on a recent Wisconsin Craft Beer Week event held at a strip club). Gordon selects some of the worst examples of sexism on craft labels for his analysis, such as Flying Dog Brewery’s Pearl Necklace Oyster Stout (“pearl necklace” is a reference to an arguably female-degrading sex act), Sweet Water Brewing Company’s Happy Ending Imperial Stout (another sexual reference), and Pig Minds Brewing Company’s PD California Ale label which features an image of a woman’s legs in a mini skirt with underwear (panties) around her ankles (PD is widely believed to stand for “panty dropper”). Gordon explains that the problem with these beer labels isn’t merely the references to sex, but the absence of referring to “mutually respectful sex” (and to which I would add, consensual sex) which promotes the objectification of the female body. He claims these labels are juvenile and potentially alienating to women, who he is careful to point out comprise half of the population and may represent the most promising new market for craft beer. Gordon warns craft brewers: “a nascent industry heavily reliant on reputation can’t expect half of its potential customer base to overlook rampant objectification.” The most interesting thing about Gordon’s article isn’t that he points to very obviously problematic, immature, and probably irresponsible sexist messaging on craft beer labels. As the

analysis above shows, stereotyping and objectification of women when they are included on craft beer labels is commonplace. Instead, it is the responses to Gordon's article that prove to be the most troubling.

Ahmed notes "to expose a problem is to pose a problem... if to expose a problem is to pose a problem, then the problem you expose is not revealed. The exposure becomes the problem" (2017:141). This claim is remarkably supported by the online responses to Gordon's article, which garnered 492 mostly critical comments at the time of writing of this thesis. Below are two examples:

When you brew the beer you can call it what you want. This is why modern armchair feminism is so annoying. Basically you're wagging your finger at others who have already put in the work brewing the beer and telling them what to do. Feminists don't make their own movies they just want to complain about the ones that do exist. They don't make their own video games, just complain about GTA [Grand Theft Auto], and in this instance they don't brew the beer but want to control what it's called anyway. Back in the day feminists actually had to work to advance their agendas. Now feminists and pathetic white knights like the author just want to complain and feel morally superior while contributing nothing to society. (response to Gordon 2015 by username Pwnstar57)

Hey Will... grow a pair. Men invented it like everything else in this world and we can call it WTF we want. (response to Gordon 2015 by username Ted Mabry)

These two responses are representative of the backlash that can occur when sexist practices within the craft beer industry are critiqued. The consequences of resisting the performative gender stereotypes prevalent in craft beer marketing relocate the problem of sexism away from the images and text to the individuals (often feminists) that level critique. Women in the craft beer environment may understandably be resistant to standing out in this negative way. While Gordon presumably has little to lose by pointing out sexism that he is not a target of in an industry that he is not a professional in, women

brewers at a high level are still struggling to gain legitimacy in the industry and would risk bringing negative attention to themselves or decentering the conversation from being about their beer and brewing skills to being about their stance regarding sexism and their complaints about an uneven playing field. They may wish to avoid becoming targets of the type of critical backlash that Gordon received in the comments section of his online article.

Diminishing the Role of Women in Craft Beer

Cheryl is one of four co-owners of a small Reno craft brewery that opened in 2013. She and her business partners started the brewery after retiring from other careers. Cheryl had worked in the gaming industry as a marketing professional for decades before being laid off after her employer was acquired by another firm. Cheryl does not describe herself as a craft beer expert and explains that she became interested in craft brewing because her romantic partner is an avid home brewer who was encouraged by friends to open his own brewery. Her primary role at their business is to conduct all of the administrative duties and act as sales person but she also works as bartender once a week. I observed her working during one of her regular shifts behind the bar on a Monday night. The brewery is tucked away in an industrial park and Cheryl describes the clientele as consisting of local workers getting off shift from the surrounding businesses and nearby residents who appreciate having a local craft brewery near their neighborhood. The brewery is off the beaten path and not visible to street traffic.

On the night of my visit, there were not many customers in the small tasting room. I could usually overhear dialogue between Cheryl and her patrons quite clearly. A

group of three men were clearly regular visitors to the brewery and were present during most of the three-hour observation period; they produced most of the linguistic interactions during the evening. In a follow-up interview with Cheryl, she explained that the three men were former employees of hers; she was their supervisor at her previous employer. During the observation, Cheryl was subjected to multiple brief instances of what I would describe as sexual harassment, though Cheryl dismissed the behavior as “friendly banter.” The brewery is in a small warehouse with a garage door that opens on to a little patio area. On the night of the observation, the weather was pleasant and the three regular male customers came prepared to barbecue their dinner. The garage door was open and created a seamless transition between the bar and the patio. While one of the men prepared the gas grill, the other two remained at their bar stools and critiqued his progress. At one point, the grill operator was having trouble and one of his companions suggested Cheryl might be helpful:

Bar Patron 1: “How’s that bar broad? Is she any good at cookin’?”

Grill Operator: “That bar what?”

Bar Patron 1: “Bar broad! Or is she only good as candy?”

[All three men laugh.]

This confusing exchange occurred loud enough for everyone in the brewery, including Cheryl, to easily hear. She showed no reaction and continued with small cleaning tasks behind the bar. Later that evening, she fetched a 5-gallon keg from a back area and brought it to the bar to change a tap. She was visibly struggling with connecting the hose to the keg and explained to me that she has trouble with the fittings because of a slight

arthritis in her hands. As she's bent over the keg, one of the three regular bar patrons, the grill operator from above, offered to assist:

Grill Operator: "Cheryl, do you need help with that?"

Cheryl: "No."

Grill Operator: "No, seriously, we woulda got that for you."

Bar Patron 1: "I just like watching her work."

After this last remark, Cheryl looked directly at me as if to confirm that I was hearing the talk. As she continued to bend over the keg to attach the fittings the men discuss wanting to go home but not until Cheryl finishes installing the keg so they can "get a hug" before they leave.

Only Cheryl and her other business partners work at the brewery, meaning that she is the only woman who works there. The linguistic exchanges above, though brief, appeared to dominate the setting and set a tone for the evening. Cheryl acted in a server capacity and made multiple conciliatory gestures toward her three regular customers (for example, offering to store the unused barbeque ingredients in the bar refrigerator, asking the men which sports channel they preferred, asking them if the television volume was sufficient, and others) consistent with a hospitality orientation. However, as an owner of the company and former authoritarian figure in relationship to these men, I was surprised that the interactions took on a demeaning tone that referenced heterosexual tropes, which served to marginalize Cheryl's status behind the bar in ways inescapably obvious to the other brewery customers. The "banter" worked to make Cheryl an objectified spectacle and the men's speech dominated the brewery environment unchallenged.

Though other conversations among customers could be overheard, the three regulars talked loudly and even checked with me to ensure that I could hear them, at one point asking me if I was going to “do a MeToo?” (I assume in reference to the social movement emerging at the time of this research that seeks to expose and end sexual abuse). Clearly, the men were aware that their remarks could be read as offensive though they seemed almost proud to be engaging in this type of talk. They frequently looked at me to confirm that I was attending to their talk. This confirmation emboldened their overt performance of a particular heterosexual masculine identity that blends an environment for alcohol consumption such as the brewery with the objectification of women’s bodies and a cheapening of women’s labor. It is worth pointing out that Cheryl did not have trouble lifting the 40 plus pound keg. She had trouble with the fine motor work of attaching lines to the keg coupler, though the men were clearly offering to help with the heavy lifting. This was evident from a joke that one of the men who was wearing a knee brace (and explained that he was healing from knee surgery) should help with the keg, and the absence of any effort to actually help during her several-minutes-long struggle with the lines. It begged the question: would a man performing the same work be subjected to similar overtures? Overall, this observation period illustrated the ways that women can be explicitly targeted as sexual objects who are actively disempowered by male patrons in brewery environments. Though I have not encountered any other instances in my research of talk that is this blatantly uncomfortable, it is important to keep in mind that it does continue to occur, even if rarely, and it presents one form of legibility that femininity takes in craft beer settings.

This chapter has explored some of the pervasive and commonplace ways that craft brewing continues to reinforce sexist stereotypes, binary gender roles, and male dominance within the occupational and consumer spaces of craft beer. The feminist theories of Butler and Ahmed have helped to critique the passive action of depicting female bodies in sexualized styles. Through a feminist lens, these labels are revealed to be actively promoting the exclusion and illegibility of women in craft beer spaces. Women continue to be marginalized in the male-dominated occupational and consumer zones of craft beer and I showed that calling attention to the processes that support this marginalization can often be subsumed by negative backlash. Supporting women's creative voices as craft brewers is a feminist cause. Can women benefit from building coalitions and engaging with allies in the industry? In fact, this is the exact strategy that men have identified as key to the successful rise of craft beer as it exists today. In the early beginnings of craft brewing, a network of male peers committed to supporting each other and together they built a small but persistent alternative to big commercial beer. Women that I spoke with pointed to this same spirit of cooperation as a reason for their success. In the next section, I will explore how this cooperative competition is both a strategy that women, like men, draw on to be successful as well as a means of boundary-keeping that may make it difficult for women to gain the recognition they deserve.

“The Rising Tide Lifts All Boats”- Coopetition among craft brewers

One of the most often repeated themes of the craft brewing industry encountered during my research, and often echoed in books and films about the industry, is the metaphor that the craft beer industry is a David to the Goliath of the commercial beer industry. It is a

widely-held belief in craft culture that small, independent U.S. breweries operate in a spirit of cooperation among each other and view all craft breweries collectively as a unified group in competition with the “Big 3” beer producers: Anheuser-Busch InBev (which acquired some stars of craft brewing such as 10 Barrel and Elysian), MillerCoors, and Constellation Brands (Corona, Modelo, and Pacifico brands) (Notte 2015). In the academic literature, this blend of cooperation and competition is referred to as cooptation. Mathias et al (2018) researched the predominant facets of cooptation that operate within the craft beer sector and determined that craft brewers routinely participate in a collective identity, which they view as is in opposition to the dominant beer companies. Craft brewers adhere to the shared belief that the success of any one craft brewery has a positive effect on the entire craft brewing category and that “advice and assistance should be paid forward” by individual craft brewers. The authors explain that in the late 1970s, at the onset of the modern craft beer industry, brewers depended on each other’s experimentation and experience in an industry that lacked successful pre-existing models, “craft breweries leveraged cooperative actions to become better competitors collectively” (Mathias et al 2018). Early entrants in craft brewing, for example Ken Grossman, founder of Sierra Nevada Brewing Company in 1980 or Fritz Maytag, who purchased Anchor Steam Brewing in 1965, established an informal professional code among craft brewers that emphasized camaraderie, innovation, and authenticity. These norms defined the industry and helped to differentiate craft beer on the shelf before people even tasted it.

Eventually, craft brewing evolved into a codified subject-area complete with certified experts (e.g. cicerones), professional trade organizations, and college degrees³². However, the spirit of cooperation remains fundamental to the craft brewing values framework. Independent craft breweries frequently collaborate (see Goldfarb 2016 for “A Brief History of Collaboration Beers”). The female brewers and other women in the industry that I spoke with referenced cooperation, a blend of cooperation and competition, as one of the contributing factors to their own and others’ success within the industry. In the transcribed segment below, Monica, a head brewer, reveals some tension between the collective identity and shared goals inherent to the craft brewing community on the one hand, and the drive for personal achievement and independent expression on the other- all couched within the “rising tide lifts all boats” mentality that is ubiquitous in craft brewers’ description of the industry:

Definitely in the craft brewing community, it’s not us competing against each other. It’s all of us competing against the big guys. A win for anyone in the craft brewing community is a win for everybody... It’s 99% community and then there’s like 1% competition. We are always rooting for everyone that is around us...

Ballast Point got bought for a billion dollars. It would be hard to say no to that because then you have the start-up money to do your weird small brewery. You also have to think... someone is going to offer me a billion dollars for this? I must be doing something right.

Monica benefits from a close camaraderie among her male peers. She cites several benefits such as the ability to borrow ingredients, compare ideas, trade equipment, and generally enjoy a professional network that sustains continued education. I found that among brewers in Northern Nevada, it is unusual to have a formal brewing education, for

³² The Master Brewers Association of the Americas has a web page devoted to listing a variety of recognized programs from certificate to 4-year degree programs.

example, a college degree in fermentation. The brewers I have spoken with, male and female alike, learn brewing informally and often through homebrewing with friends and mentors, or alone. While coopetition is undoubtedly cited as an advantage within the industry, one that promotes success among brewers of all backgrounds and genders, it is also part of a static narrative that describes the norms of the craft brewing industry. There is a distinct in-group status arrangement inherent to coopetition. Though brewers depend on each other to some degree for the furtherance of the entire industry, brewer narratives like coopetition foreground independence relative to the commercial beer industry and subscribe to masculine norms by which female brewers must abide in order to gain acceptance as credible brewers. Qualities and characteristics of brewers, female or otherwise, that do not adhere to the values arrangement of the craft brewer persona are unwelcome and must remain unrecognized in order to be included among other craft brewers. In the next chapter, I describe a strategy of invisibility as a means of coping with and maintaining this opposing side of coopetition.

Fieldwork

International Women's Collaboration Brew Day March 2019

Towards the end of my fieldwork, I was invited by one of the brewers that I interviewed to join her and several other women on International Women's Collaboration Brew Day (IWCBD) to brew a beer inspired by International Women's Day at her brewery. IWCBD started in 2014 and is promoted by the Pink Boots Society, a professional trade group comprised of women brewers. The IWCBD is meant to raise awareness of women in craft brewing and raise funds for non-profit projects that support women's professional development in the industry. We start early; I am the last to arrive when I walk in the brewery at 7 am. The brewery floor is filled with the sound of large machinery running. We shout hellos at each other and introduce ourselves. All of the five other women participating work at the brewery in various roles including two brewers, two bartenders, and the marketing director. They are excited. For those of us that are not brewers, this is the first time that we get to make beer on commercial equipment. We don pink plastic safety glasses and the brewers describe the steps we will take this morning to get the beer started. We anticipate that it will take about two hours to prepare the brew after which it will ferment for several days before it is ready to package or drink. We are making a New England style hazy IPA with a proprietary blend of hops prepared by the Pink Boots Society. Breweries around the world are similarly preparing beers today in solidarity with women brewers and many of them are creating a new recipe especially to use the Pink Boots hops blend.

Brewing the beer is mostly a waiting game. Initially, we are waiting for hot water to fill the giant mash tun, a huge steel tank that will be filled with grains soaking in hot

water. After the tank is partially full, we begin pouring in 50 lb sacks of milled grain, or grist, and oats. We have to stir the hundreds of pounds of grain with a very long plastic paddle to prevent the grains from forming a caked mass in the hot water. We want as much surface contact between the water and the grist to allow the mash conversion to occur. There is a small opening at the top of the tank and we stand on a narrow platform to access it. One woman struggles with the paddle while the others take turns dumping grist into the steaming vessel. It is hot, hard work. My safety glasses become fogged whenever it is my turn to pour grist. When all the grist is added, we all take turns stirring. This is a full-body exercise and is accomplished mechanically in the larger tuns; because this is a special one-off beer, we are using the smallest vessel for brewing, still hundreds of gallons. The women cheer each other on as we stir and snap photos to document the IWCBD brewing process and the event of an all-woman brewed beer. They also frequently make comments about each other's bodies, admiring each other's strength and making sexual remarks about the "steamy," "hot" work.

After the brewing is started, we have little to do while the wort is pumped from the mash tun to the lauter tun where it will be separated from the grist by passing through a large sieve. This transfer happens through hoses. The head brewer, Monica, offers to give us a tour of the distillery equipment, as she wants to check on a batch of vodka. We follow her to a lower level of the brewery where the distillery equipment is. She explains the distillery process to us and allows us to smell vodka she has distilled before it has been diluted (practically burned my nostrils!). She indicates that this batch will be infused with fresh lemon for additional flavor. She recently prepared a cucumber batch. She enjoys experimenting with botanicals for a more creative final product. The separation of

the wort from the grain will take a few more hours and our tour is over. The brewers are looking ahead to other chores that need doing and I must head to my regular job.

As I leave the parking lot, I am grateful for the chance to participate in a commercial brewing process firsthand and look forward to the finishing of one of my favorite beer styles in the coming weeks. Linger on my mind however, is the fact that we were a small group of women, brewing beer in celebration of women around the world doing the same- but we were unseen. Our act of solidarity is uncelebrated; there were no witnesses. When the beer is packaged, how will our act affect the gender imbalance in the industry?

Chapter 3

Invisibility

Craft beer has enjoyed explosive growth in popularity and sales during my lifetime. From its beginnings in the second half of the twentieth century, as a criminalized cottage hobby confined to garages and stove-tops to today's still rapidly expanding industry, craft beer is one of the best examples of blossoming independent entrepreneurship in contemporary American society. Consider that the industry is carving a significant market share from a once near-monopolized category, craft beer sales in 2018 were over \$27 billion in the U.S. alone, representing about 13% of total U.S. beer sales (Brewers Association, n.d.; Thompson, 2018). During the post-prohibition era, the consolidation of beer manufacturers accelerated until only a few dominant multi-national corporations produced nearly all of the world's beer. Arguably, in an uncoordinated response, thousands of small, independent craft breweries have launched, especially over the last decade (Callen and Hait, 2018). Craft brewers are drawn to their occupation from a mix of decidedly progressive ideals related to taste, independence, and creativity. Overwhelmingly, these intrepid brewers are also male, white, and college-educated. Like the major corporations that came before them, craft beer entrepreneurs created an industry that celebrates and reinforces a particular masculine formulation that omits any meaningful representation of non-whiteness and as my thesis has already shown, sustains archaic, sexist images of the female body to objectify women, if they are represented at all.

As my thesis research considers the emerging growth in the number of women who work as head brewers or brewery owners in the craft beer industry, this chapter will focus on representation of women in popular media about craft brewing through a discursive and visual analysis of documentary films that have recently covered the craft brewing industry. In this chapter, I will explore how these visual and textual elements may construct or reinforce barriers around positions of authority or power in craft brewing that limit the professional possibilities for women, particularly through the genre of documentary films. Films present a distinctly visual construction of the brewer as an embodied type. I am interested in representations that define craft brewer and associated occupations (e.g. cicerone, brewery owner, etc.) and/or consumers of craft beer. I will describe examples of the strategies employed to resist or (re)define the meanings and values associated with a craft brewing lifestyle which are frequently skewed toward a one-dimensional profile of the craft beer producer/drinker as white, male, educated, and often, bearded. Using a feminist lens, I will examine several recent documentary media examples of the latest trends in articulating craft brewing as an ongoing masculine and white space that actively promotes female oppression through marginalization and exploitation of women as sexual objects.

Oppression by Omission

Key to the following analysis is the relationship between the number of women who enjoy craft beer (estimated to be just over a third of craft beer's overall consumers) and the absence of women in the popular construction of the craft-brewing environment (Brewers Association, n.d.; Watson, 2018). As noted earlier, men outnumber women as

brewers, brewing experts, industry commentators, and authoritative voices on brewing practices. According to statistics from the Brewers Association (BA) published in 2019, women comprise just 7.5% of craft brewers (Watson, 2019). The BA, a trade organization that promotes the interests of independent craft brewers, recently committed to “support and promote diversity in craft brewing,” explicitly including racial and gender diversity (Watson, 2019). While the BA features a gender-balanced selection of images of brewery professionals on its website, the reality is that a female brewer is outnumbered 9 to 1 by her male counterparts. Observers of the industry are taking note; a commentator on the industry for *Forbes* magazine remarked last year, “women trying to land a job in the brewing industry may encounter the same obstacles they face trying to break in to other [male-dominated] industries” (Stoller, 2019). This seeming lack of agency and access to the modes of production, accumulation of prestige, authority, and perhaps wealth that accompanies the craft brewer persona are a form of oppression.

Young (1990) describes “five faces of oppression” – or five different mechanisms of oppressing the “other” that may work across and within populations. She lingers on the idea of “thrownness” (Young, 1990, p. 46) to emphasize that individuals usually become aware that they were always already a part of a particular group of others, rendered there by societal forces, rather than intentionally joining a group. Young explains, “a person’s group identities may be for the most part only a background or horizon to his or her life, becoming salient only in specific interactive contexts” (1990, p. 46). Women in brewing are not always consciously aware of their group status yet have always already existed as an oppressed group within the larger population of brewing professionals who are mostly men. I argue that those who are complicit in oppression (in this case, men) may also

experience thrownness as the unintentional cooperation (or inclusion in the privileged group) within a system of oppression that excludes another group (in this case, women). In this chapter, I argue that gender oppression is perpetuated in the craft beer industry through media representation of men and women via three of Young's "five faces": (1) exploitation through sexualized images of the body on craft beer labeling (explored in Chapter 2 of this thesis); (2) marginalization of women in the brewery profession accomplished by the foreclosure of professional brewing as a serious option for women; and (3) powerlessness of female voices in craft brewing culture through systemic exclusion and omission. The films analyzed in this chapter are representative of the industry at large wherein men vastly outnumber women and are imbued with authority while women are reduced to accessories of male success.

Following Stabile (2009), I also critique the enduring stereotypes of women in the United States as passive and silent and explore how these stereotypes are reinforced in documentary media about the craft brewing industry. Stabile notes, "U.S. culture remains unable to imagine femininity absent vulnerability" (Stabile, 2009, p. 91). In light of Stabile's theory, it makes sense that film representations of leaders in the brewing industry would focus on male power figures, aligning with the character traits often associated with brewer: pioneering, rebellious, risk-taking, adventure-orientation, etc. Like Stabile's superhero who is "first and foremost a man, because... only men have the balls to lead," brewers are constructed in U.S. society as always already male, modeling those behaviors that are most closely associated with masculinity (2009, p. 87). Craft brewing documentaries frequently feature narratives of male brewers who sacrifice financial security and professional certainty to pursue their passion through the art of

crafting beer. Like superheroes, brewers are imagined as male because of the characteristics associated with masculinity in U.S. society, preserving the feminine-as-vulnerable construct. These gendered associations align with other stereotypes in the craft brewing space as discussed earlier in this thesis such as imagining “strong” beers as associated with masculinity and fruity or light beers with femininity. Other scholars have noted that legitimate or elite beers and beer experts are imagined as male due to these gendered associations (Darwin 2017, Sugar 2016, and Kappele 2015). I expand the argument that this collective belief both reinforces the alignment of certain characteristics with male, and male with brewer, through an analysis of films. The documentary format reifies these beliefs by appearing to faithfully represent the industry while failing to convey the presence or participation of women in any meaningful way.

There is a growing body of commentary in popular media that seeks to examine the peculiar absence of women in material and linguistic artifacts of craft beer culture. Though the number of women producing and consuming craft beer is growing, the industry at large remains resistant to changing its overarching image as something created by and for men. Journalist Gray Chapman (2018) noted for the online magazine *Punch*:

Even as more women continue to enter the market, wield more purchasing power and brew more of the beer itself, craft beer’s bro-code is still enforcing outdated typecasts on what we define as good beer, bad beer and who drinks which.

Female writer Sara Freeman summarized the problem in a 2019 article that appeared on the online beer magazine, *October*:

At the end of the day, much of the beer industry was created by men who learned how to brew beer in the garage. So some of those values—hanging out with the boys, shooting the shit, looking at tits—were captured in the visual identity of beer. As Tweed puts it, “The fact that the majority of craft beer drinkers are white men is a result of the industry being driven by them.” Breweries that diversify

their decision makers will find themselves enjoying larger shares of previously untapped markets.

Chapman and Freeman join other contemporary commentators to point to the unrealized economic opportunity that endures as a result of a craft beer culture that has failed to evolve out of the “garage”—a space that is ubiquitous in the origin stories of craft breweries. In my analysis of the craft brewing documentary genre, it was typical for professional brewers to recount their transformation from amateur to professional brewer as a series of activities that began with an interest in the flavor and quality of craft beer, then lead to experimentation with home brewing and later the ambitious speculation that one could be successful opening a commercial brewery. This conventional path to brewing professionalism begins with the assumption that one is already occupying a masculine space.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this thesis also furthers the emerging work of anthropologists who “interrogate the many ways that language and food intersect” (Karrebæk et al., 2018, p. 18). Beer as a food is imbued with ideological meanings through processes of representation such as the documentary film, which I analyze in order to reveal the complex motivations that support hegemonic values seemingly inherent to craft beer commodification. Scholarship that examines “food-related activities such as [brewing craft beer]... involve and are shaped by language” which can be observed via durable linguistic artifacts, in this case, documentary films that construct the brewer identity and support the craft beer context (Karrebæk et al., 2018, p. 18). The enactment, maintenance, and contesting of cultural norms and identities regarding gender in the craft brewing industry can be explored by closely attending to the linguistic and

semiotic modes of meaning-making that occur through the genre of these documentary films.

Contemporary feminism is applied in the following analysis and within the craft brewing context to explore how women in this space resist and reconstruct their material and linguistic environments despite micro-aggressions in film and other representations of the craft brewer. Ahmed's previously discussed work in feminist theory is precisely positioned to challenge the unquestioned expectation that a white male presence is dominant in these zones. Ahmed encourages contemporary feminists to question taken-for-granted examples of white male dominance that go unnoticed because "so much is reproduced by not being noticed: by receding into the background" (2017, p. 40). Ahmed argues that background sexism and racism work to reinforce male and white hegemony in physical space, such as in the academy (or in craft breweries), as well as in mental space, for example by dominating scholarly citations (or for example, homebrewing manuals) (2017, p. 15-17). Feminism can be expressed as a willing resistance to male domination in physical and mental space. When Ahmed argues that feminism is most needed where it is least applied, she is encouraging feminists to take up a critical stance among our friends, our drinking buddies, and our coworkers (2017, p. 3-4). The processes that inhibit women's authoritative participation in the production of craft beer are happening in pubs, on the brewery floor, at professional brewing conferences, and in texts and other media about craft beer including the films analyzed in this thesis. These boundary-keeping forces are embedded in the very fabric that makes up the craft brewing genre rather than exerted on the genre by some hostile, outside source. While it may not seem immediately apparent that feminist activism may occur over a pint or while watching an

industry documentary on Netflix, it may be precisely within these intimate domains that feminist practice will have the most meaningful influence. Feminist practice is a willingness to resist sexist and racist undercurrents that (re)construct spaces where women are excluded or only valued for their potential to further male causes.

Finally, this analysis expands the project of Donahoo and Yakoboski who critique the lack of diversity in the Hollywood film-making industry through an analysis of diversity in films that focused on college or higher education since the 1978 Supreme Court decision in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (2017, p. 82). The authors argue, “images can have a lasting impact on both the present and the future as viewers structure their interactions with others... based on things they have seen” (Donahoo and Yakoboski, 2017, p. 83-84). The authors argue that available images, or their lack, have lasting impact and sometimes harmful influence on who is expected to be successful in higher education. My analysis of the craft beer industry corroborates Donahoo’s and Yakoboski’s theory in light of films that document the craft beer industry. As will be shown by the following analysis, film representation of gender roles as they relate to craft brewing and the origins of craft beer works to sustain the improbability of women as brewers or other authority figures in the brewing industry.

Dream Thesis: Research While Drinking a Pint and Watching Netflix

Following the meteoric rise in the number of craft breweries (e.g. 589 new microbreweries opened in 2018 (Brewers Association, n.d.)), many media artifacts, including articles in business journals, trade and lifestyle publications, and documentaries in various formats, have been produced over the last ten years to explore and explain this

intriguing industry. Craft brewing is heralded as an entrepreneurial phenomenon and economic success story that continued to thrive during the Great Recession while bucking conventional business knowledge about consolidation and product consistency. In addition, craft beer and the settings for consuming it promote conviviality and conversation; producing media that explores this topic is simultaneously an endeavor in commensality, intellectualism, and often, imbibing. These articles and films both reflect and construct the norms and expectations of the industry by interviewing influential personalities in the brewing profession as well as profiling trend-setting breweries. An increasing self-consciousness has also arisen in the industry during the last decade wherein brewing professionals and their observers are questioning the boundary-keeping that has maintained a striking lack of gender and ethnic diversity in the space. This mix of admiration, optimism, and self-reflection is apparent in the films selected for my analysis.

Media featuring the world of craft brewing is prolific and includes blogs, magazines, books, television series, film shorts, and feature-length documentaries. I chose to analyze several recent examples of feature-length documentary films about the craft beer industry and its ancillaries to examine the ways that the industry persists in promoting stereotypes of the brewer and consumer of craft beer even in the midst of reflexive criticism and changing demographics. I followed Donahoo and Yakaboski (2017) for a selection method to identify the films for analysis. I conducted an Internet Movie Database (IMDb) search for movies with the plot keywords “craft beer” and then eliminated films that were released prior to 2010 or focused on somewhere other than the U.S.. I then looked for availability of the films on three different streaming platforms as

well as the University collection. This narrowed my list down to 8 films (Appendix A). To supplement the qualitative analysis of the films, I adapted the Bechdel-Wallace Test as a method for analyzing whether gender imbalance is present in the selected films (Appendix B) (following Hickey et al., 2017). The results of the modified Bechdel test correlate with gender imbalance among brewery professionals across the industry in that representation and attention to men dominate the documentary content.

All of the films analyzed for this thesis follow a similar format. They start with an introductory montage of interview snippets: phrases pulled out of lengthier interviews to frame the film's primary messages. Then 4-6 featured brewing professionals are introduced through vignettes that identify what problem the professional is facing (opening a new brewery, preparing for the Master Cicerone exam³³, etc.). These case studies are supported by several expert witness testimonies from icons in the brewing industry, either famous brewers/founders of established breweries such as Ken Grossman of Sierra Nevada Brewing Company or Jim Koch, founder of the Boston Beer Company (producer of Samuel Adams Boston lager); or renowned authors/educators in the world of brewing such as Ray Daniels, founder of the cicerone program, or Charlie Bamforth, brewing professor in University of California at Davis's popular brewing curriculum. The interviews invariably explore motivations for entering the craft brewing profession, theories about the popularity of craft brewing, and speculation about the future of the craft beer industry. By the end of the documentary, the featured brewing professionals

³³ The cicerone certification program was created in 2007 by brewing expert, Ray Daniels. Inspired by the expert designation of sommelier in the wine world, cicerones embody "the [beer] industry standard for identifying those with significant knowledge and professional skills in beer sales and service" (About Cicerone, n.d.). There are four levels of cicerone certification, ranging from "Beer Server" to "Master Cicerone."

have experienced some type of transformation or overcame a significant challenge (e.g. opening a brewery, passing the Master Cicerone exam). These films and the consistency of this formula work to (re)construct the popular idea of craft brewing as a cultural domain through narratives of devotion to the craft of producing and imbibing beer despite adversity and occasional failure. Common antagonists include the top three beer companies (controlling over 80% of the overall beer market in the U.S.), local regulatory agencies, and the cicerone exam process.

Film Analysis: Brewers and their Wives

My analysis will be presented in three parts. The first part illuminates how women are underrepresented in documentaries about craft brewing. Whether counting women as consumers or employees in the business of craft beer, their presence in documentary films about the industry is not reflective of their participation in actual life, particularly in those regions of the United States where craft breweries are most numerous. This underrepresentation serves to marginalize women in relation to craft beer and simultaneously reduces their power to influence or subvert this marginalization. In the second part, I reveal how documentary films about the craft beer industry routinely frame men as the expert authorities on craft brewing. This framing diminishes acknowledgment of those women who have founded breweries and attained significant recognition for their beer recipes and other successes as brewers and/or entrepreneurs. In the third part, I explore how women appear to be motivated by factors that sharply differ from the motivations of men in the industry; specifically, women brew beer to make others happy. This, and other elements unique to the female experience (e.g. pregnancy), complicate

women's positionality in relation to current narratives about craft beer in the United States. Together, these parts reveal a whole story about craft brewing that structures the occupational identity and attending cultural elements as masculine while actively undermining recognition of women's legitimate contributions to the industry because they are outside the masculine epistemologies for distinguishing craft beer.

Underrepresentation of Women

As described in the introduction, the Bechdel test is based on a conversation between two fictional characters in a comic strip written by Alison Bechdel in the mid-1980s. The test gained cult-popularity as a somewhat snarky and admittedly superficial way to expose gender inequality in the Hollywood film industry in the decades that followed. Despite the test's rudimentary analysis, mainstream films still overwhelmingly fail (Hickey et al. 2017). Feminist critics have proposed new ways to explore gender imbalance in "modified Bechdel" tests such as measuring the number of women on production crews or in influential positions like director or writer of blockbuster films (Hickey et al. 2017). For this analysis, I devised a simple rubric modeled after the original Bechdel test to informally measure gender bias in recent documentary films about the craft brewing industry. To pass this test, a film must answer yes to two out of three of the following questions:

1. Are there at least 2 female brewing professionals featured in the film?
2. Do any female brewing professionals have more than one speaking part?
3. Does the film have a female director?

This test is meant to gauge whether women are recognized as brewing professionals in documentary films about the industry and whether the perspectives of women contribute to the representation of craft brewers overall.

Two out of the eight films (25%) analyzed for this thesis passed this test. The 2018 film *Poured in Pennsylvania* features Carol Stoudt, owner and master brewer at Stoudt's Brewing Company. She introduces herself in the beginning of the film: "I was the first microbrewery in Pennsylvania and I was the first female brewer in the country." Rosemarie Certo, the owner of Dock Street Brewing Co., is also featured in the film and claims that Dock Street was the "first craft beer in Philadelphia." These two women are prominent in the film about craft beer companies in Pennsylvania but are not mentioned in the other films (with one exception, the 2012 film, *Women who brew: Breaking the glass ceiling of beer*, mentions Stoudt as an early role model for women interested in craft beer production) even though all of the films briefly lay out a history of craft beer in the United States that includes other notable beer figures such as Fritz Maytag, Ken Grossman, and Michael Jackson³⁴. The second film that passed the test is purposely intended to highlight women in brewing. Alison Grayson set out to make a film that documented the "inspirational women" of the Pacific Northwest craft beer scene in the 2012 film she directed, *Women who brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer*³⁵ (Beeriety 2011). While this film overwhelmingly features women in various brewing industry roles, men are also generously represented. Of the many women closely

³⁴ Fritz Maytag owned Anchor Steam Brewing, often cited as the first craft brewery in the United States. Ken Grossman is the co-founder of Sierra Nevada Brewing Company, "the nation's largest, private craft brewery" (Solomon 2014). Michael Jackson is the author of numerous books on beer including *The World Guide to Beer* (1977).

³⁵ This film is also sometimes cited as *The Love of Beer* (2011), for example at IMDb <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2040553/>.

profiled, only one of them is a professional brewer by trade. The others work in ancillary roles; for instance, there is an owner of a specialty bottle shop, a craft beer blogger, and the founder of a marketing firm that specifically works to help breweries appeal to the underutilized female consumer base. These two films are the best examples of gender balance among the documentary films selected for this research but are not without problematic representations of women's engagement in the industry as will be analyzed in more detail later in this chapter.

The remaining six films did not pass the modified Bechdel test. Although women were often present in the films, they were limited to marginal roles supporting the endeavors of featured male brewers, often their husbands or romantic partners, sometimes their sons. For instance, in the 2018 film *Brewmaster*, two separate stories follow men who are preparing to take the prestigious Master Cicerone exam, the highest expert designation in the world of beer. Both men are married and their wives are shown on-screen several times as they prepare practice style-identification tests for their husbands. In several of the films, wives of brewery owners are also often on-screen while their husbands are being interviewed and occasionally add a few words to the interview. Often, these women are not brewers but play other support roles for the brewery such as marketing or taproom manager. The BA estimates that of the 30% of breweries in 2019 that have dual-gender ownership (one man and one woman), the majority are husband-wife partnerships (Watson 2019). The films analyzed in this research reveal a pattern in these marriage-business relationships that favors the authority and dominance of husbands while subordinating wives.

Men do most of the speaking when they appear on screen with women and several films contain linguistic elements that reinforce women as at best an enabler for male brewers' success and at worst, an obstacle to be overcome. For example, in *Craft: The California Beer Documentary* (2016), there is a brief montage of male brewers commenting on how their brewing pursuits have been welcomed by their wives. One brewer confessed he had to "convince [his] wife" that he could make good beer; another said he began homebrewing because his "wife was annoyed" that he didn't have a hobby; a third admitted he left his "very pregnant wife" at home to work on his brewery's construction. In *Crafting a Nation* (2013), one aspiring brewery owner's trials are heightened with scenes of his wife and newborn child, positioned to elevate the stakes should his brewery fail. Like many other brewers profiled in these documentary films, this brewer has 'risked it all' to pursue his dream. These constructed testimonies position women as always secondary and sometimes opposed to the success of their brewer-husbands, thus foreclosing the possibility that women might be a valuable driving force behind breweries even when they are co-owners of the enterprise.

Other linguistic elements that reinforce the masculinity of craft brewing are perhaps more subtle. The craft brewing scene is often constructed as a "frontier-land," likened to the pioneerism of the colonial United States or the gold rush era of the American West (particularly in *Craft: The California Beer Documentary* 2016; *Beers of Joy*, 2019), spaces in the collective imagination that glorify masculinity while erasing the presence and contributions of women. Finally, craft brewing and beer consumption are sometimes equated with athletics. In *Beers of Joy* (2019), cicerones are described as having "the genetics of a sportsman" and in *Brewmaster* (2017), brewers are described as

“homebrewers who went pro.” These particular invocations make comparisons between craft brewer and athlete that are male-oriented and function as markers of gender association.

Men are Masters, Women are Novices

Aside from the gross underrepresentation of women as brewers and women’s perspectives in documentary films about craft brewing, men are systematically portrayed as experts and women are routinely portrayed as novices. Jacobs-Huey describes the difference between these two subject positions as linguistically constructed. Experts rely on “specialized” jargon, which can serve as a “mediator of professional identity and as a pivotal resource.” Two of the films featured at least one man who was preparing to take the notoriously difficult Master Cicerone exam³⁶. Although hundreds of people have sat for the Master Cicerone exam, at the time of this writing, only 18 people have achieved the honor and only three of these (a little less than 17%) are women according to details in the Cicerone Certification Program Directory. Similarly, about 14% of Advanced Cicerones are women; this certification level is just under Master and is required to qualify for the Master exam. During my fieldwork, I did not encounter any women preparing for the cicerone exam at any level, but a head brewer named Monica did allude to a “beer-judge certification class” as important in her own development as a beer expert, “it’s an acquired skill and vocabulary to put into words what it is you are tasting... I don’t even think I’m still good at it. I am better. I think it’s a life-long learning process if you’re passionate about it.” Here, Monica connects the acquisition of particular

³⁶ The Advanced and the Master Cicerone exams have an estimated pass rate of 1 in 10.

linguistic skills with expert status. As already described, women are shown in documentary films as assistants to men preparing for the exam. Wives and female brewery personnel pour blind samples for male exam candidates to practice identification of beer styles and women offer encouraging words of support including resignation to the idea that the men they are supporting will likely fail the first exam attempt and choose to repeat the time-consuming and expensive preparation process (*Brewmaster*, 2018). No women are filmed preparing for or discussing their own cicerone certification at any level. Cicerone status, especially at the Advanced and Master levels, connote expert status in beer knowledge with an emphasis on recognizing and describing exemplar beer styles through taste and visual identification. Brewing processes and knowledge about serving beer and pairing beer with food are also topics covered during the two-day exam. Certified Master Cicerones work as brewery owners, consultants, and educators; their certification indexes mastery and breadth of knowledge on the subject of beer as well as the acquisition of a specialized vocabulary to describe beer flavors and other qualities which is demonstrated in substantial oral and written components of the test. These experts are always portrayed as men in documentary films; moreover, the process of becoming a Master Cicerone is aided by women who have no status in the context of beer.

Most of the films analyzed for this thesis follow one or more budding entrepreneurs who are portrayed as accessing natural or inherent talent as brewers to open their own independent breweries, sometimes against long odds. For example, in *Crafting a Nation* (2013), the brothers Chad and Brandon Miller are profiled as they work to open Black Shirt Brewing Company in Denver, CO. They face multiple setbacks that almost

destroy their dream of opening the brewery until ultimately, they prevail. In *Blood, Sweat, and Beer* (2015), three young men, barely of drinking age, open a brewery together in an economically depressed suburb east of Pittsburgh. The 2018 film, *Brewmaster*, follows an enthusiastic homebrewer as he works to solicit investors in his start-up brewery. These profiles are constitutive of the brewer identity, a cross between an artist and a scientist with a rebellious independence who eschews conventional career paths to nurture an extraordinary passion for craft beer.

In contrast, Tonya Cornett is an award-winning brewer featured in two of the films (only one of which passed the modified-Bechdel test described above). In each film, she is positioned as a novice. She is profiled early in her brewing career in the 2012 film, *Women who Brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer*; she is anxious and uncertain about her status among other brewers. She is also one of four case studies in *Beers of Joy* (2019) where she travels to several historic breweries in Northern Europe to learn more about her favorite beer style, Berliner-Weisse. Although Cornett has earned an impressive 20 medals for her beer recipes in national and international competitions, she is portrayed in these documentaries as a student of craft beer. In the 2012 film, she is just beginning to be acknowledged as an accomplished brewer and in 2019 she is profiled while on a quest to learn from master (all male) brewers in Europe.

Significantly, Cornett is not presented as an entrepreneur which is an essential element of the celebrated characteristics of the brewer identity. Instead, she is an employee of breweries owned by unmentioned others. In *Beers of Joy* (2019), she works for 10 Barrel Brewing, a brewery that strains the definition of craft brewery since its acquisition by Anheuser-Busch InBev in 2014. In *Women who Brew: Breaking the glass*

ceiling for the love of beer (2012), Cornett articulates an awareness of her novice and outsider statuses, “it's funny, because a lot of the guys who are [brewing] rock stars, they're definitely noticing that [I am winning awards] and kind of drawing me into their circle, because it's kind of a protected circle.” The documentary films unsurprisingly avoid overt connections between outsider/novice status and Cornett’s gender, but *she* attributes part of her success to being unexpected and credits male brewers who had dismissed her talent in the past, “thanks for the chip you put on my shoulder because it’s taken me a long way.” Cornett’s ambition and dedication is, in her own words, framed as in spite of male boundary keeping within the industry. Among the films analyzed in this thesis, men are admired for taking risks and their success as brewers and brewery owners is framed as a foregone conclusion. Women are rarely represented as integrated members of the industry and when they are, their success is presented as precarious.

Beer Makes People Happy

The documentary format of these films relies on interviews with industry participants who proactively identify the motivations that fuel their pursuit of professional status in craft brewing. There is a marked difference between the motivations confessed to by men and by women. While both genders speak to a yearning toward artistic expression, men tend to describe their interest in brewing as the pursuit of adventure, non-conformity, and attaining a legacy. Women, on the other hand, speak of brewing as a service to their communities. Teri Fahrendorf, brewmaster and founder of the Pink Boots Society,³⁷ described her interest in brewing thus: “beer makes people happy. At the end of the day,

³⁷ The Pink Boots Society is a national nonprofit that promotes the advancement of women in the beer industry through educational opportunities (About Us, 2013).

because what you do makes somebody happy” (*Women who Brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer*, 2012). Tonya Cornett expressed a similar sentiment in the same film, “I’m not a painter. I’m not a writer. But I can make you a beer, and hopefully, you’re going to like it.” One woman described the world of craft brewing as a model of “the ideal utopian world” (*Women who Brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer*, 2012). Common to all the films viewed for this research, when women were quoted about why they support craft brewing there was an element of community engagement and service toward others that downplayed their personal rewards in favor of common good. This emphasis is consistent with gender stereotypes that are pervasive beyond the craft brewing industry whereby women are expected to be motivated by the desire to care for and nurture others. Women’s departure from the standard suite of motivations common to male craft brewers has the effect of delegitimizing their participation in the industry.

Another element of gendered representation in the films is the close association of women with family and child-rearing orientations. In *Women who Brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer* (2012), the only film to extensively profile women, one of the primary women featured in the film presided over a wedding as a “beer goddess,” dressed in a white gown and wearing a crown of hops. Another woman featured in the same film experienced pregnancy and childbirth during the film’s arc. These scenes align women with familial responsibility by producing marriage (literally performing the linguistic labor of ceremoniously marrying two people) and performing/being transformed by motherhood. These identities overlap with the women’s professional identities associated with craft beer. While men appear with wives and children in the

other films, these family members are never a central aspect of the male brewer's identity and the men are never shown reconciling their professional and parenting duties. Their status as fathers or husbands is apart from their status as beer experts.

Sarah Pederson is one of the main women profiled in the film *Women who Brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer* (2012) and was the owner and founder of the specialty bottle shop, Saraveza, in Portland, OR when the film was made. She realizes that she is pregnant about 30 minutes after the film starts, complicating her positionality and relationship to craft beer. Her pregnancy is revealed while she is filmed attending a small beer festival with a 4-ounce glass of beer in one hand and a spit cup in the other; Pederson chooses to abstain from consuming beer during her pregnancy but not from tasting it. The film returns to Pederson's story several times throughout her pregnancy and interviews her in the baby's nursery days after her daughter's birth. Interwoven with talk about the physical experiences of pregnancy and childbirth are observations about her relationship to beer and drinking, the implications and anxieties of starting a family while operating a business, and musings about the first beer she will drink after the baby is born. She mentions after giving birth that she can't "lift anything heavier than a 6-pack." The condition of pregnancy and Pederson's recovery after the birth of her child function to reinforce women-as-vulnerable in the context of craft brewing because of her inability to drink beer (a requisite activity for demonstrating beer knowledge) and her actual physical weakness (craft brewing is a physically demanding space).

Like the wives of men studying for the Master Cicerone exam represented in other films as described above, Pederson's husband serves as an accessory to her success in many scenes during the film. Unlike the wives who are adept at childcare while

assisting their husbands, Pederson's husband is not quite up to the task. The most compelling and frankly bizarre demonstration of this comes after the baby's birth when Pederson's husband accompanies her to Denver, CO for the annual Great American Beer Festival (GABF)³⁸. The family stays behind in a hotel room while Pederson attends her first year at GABF. The film cuts between brief scenes of the husband struggling to comfort and care for the couple's newborn baby and Pederson struggling to navigate the enormous trade show floor at the conference. While perhaps unintentional, the production of these scenes seems to position the man caring for his infant daughter as equally out of his depth as the woman attending the quintessential beer event. No other film ties the profiled brewer's identity so closely to his role as father or husband. This scene demonstrates the fragility of the staying-in-the-middle strategy described by Inoue wherein women build influence and authority within their intimate environments but have difficulty when navigating broader professional spheres (Pederson at Saraveva vs. Pederson at GABF).

The close attention given to Pederson's familial obligations in the only film to closely profile several women in craft brewing can be thought of as an act of feminism in that it disrupts the hegemonic male representation that the other films and the industry at large perpetuate. Pederson presents an alternative representation of the craft beer professional in a departure from the adventurous-man-pursuing-his-passion-at-any-cost formula. The men in the other films may be husbands and fathers, but the concerns and responsibilities of family life are segregated from his work pursuing success as a brewer,

³⁸ The Great American Beer Festival is a large annual national beer competition and brewing trade show lasting several days and attracting tens of thousands of attendees and hundreds of breweries.

preserving the one-dimensional presentation of craft brewers. Women's success as brewers is constructed as dependent on their ability to also segregate their familial obligations from their professional pursuits and this is proven to be at times impossible in the context of craft brewing, while a woman is experiencing or recovering from pregnancy, for example. More films could represent alternative ways of engaging with the craft brewing industry that depict diverse embodied experiences for women, older people, people of color, people with disabilities, and others who expand the definition of craft brewer beyond the tidy hegemony of the white, educated, middle-class, male.

Disrupting Representation

The work of disrupting the craft brewer persona is feminist work in the spirit of Butler, Ahmed and other contemporary feminists. Perhaps, it is important to revisit why this work is necessary because in fact, men actually outnumber women in the brewing industry. Wouldn't we expect documentaries about craft brewing to feature many more men than women? While it is tempting to think of gender representation in this wholesale fashion, a closer look at industry demographics reveals a more nuanced picture of gender bias in documentary films. More women are becoming craft beer drinkers³⁹ and in markets that are densely populated with craft breweries like Portland, OR, women who describe themselves as craft beer drinkers have begun to outnumber men (Watson, 2018). Similarly, newer drinkers of craft beer (possibly interpreted as younger drinkers) are equally as likely to be a woman or a man (Watson, 2018). This data suggests that women are becoming more inclined to drink craft beer. Although only 2% of breweries

³⁹ A "craft beer drinker" is someone who drinks craft beer at least several times a year (Watson, 2018).

are owned by women without a male co-owner, over 50% of non-management service staff at breweries are women (Watson, 2019). Women are attracted to jobs in the industry but seem to have difficulty accessing positions of power such as owner or brewmaster. Ahmed claims, “feminism is necessary because of what has not ended: sexism, sexual exploitation, and sexual oppression” (2017, p. 5). The uneven power distribution along gender lines in the industry is symptomatic of the mechanisms of oppression that operate to marginalize and disempower women. One way that these mechanisms operate is through vehicles of representation such as documentary films.

Typically, discussion of the gender imbalance in craft brewing is limited to commentary in blogs and opinion articles that obliquely evaluate the underrepresentation of women in the brewer profession (for example, see Freeman, 2019; Stoller, 2019). Is it significant that only one of the films selected for this analysis emphasized women in the industry and it was one of the earliest films produced? Is only one film needed to explore craft brewing from the perspective of women? Since men are still dominating positions of power and authority within craft brewing, many more representations of women participating in and succeeding at craft brewing are needed to subvert the status quo. Additionally, representations of men that diverge from the formulaic and one-dimensional examples available to date are also needed. Even white, educated, middle class men experience intersectionality as they take up a new professional identity, navigate marriage relationships and parenting responsibilities, and strike out as entrepreneurs. The idealism and predictable success of the conventional craft brewer narrative would benefit from a more honest and nuanced treatment that exposed the complexities faced by real people of both genders.

Invisibility

Earlier in this chapter, I examined Stabile's argument that the superhero trope reinforces a feminine-as-vulnerable construct. In this section, I will turn to two particular superpowers, invisibility and flight, to frame an analysis of the invisibility of women in craft brewing. In a 2001 episode of the popular NPR radio program, *This American Life*, comedic-author John Hodgman described a sort of personal research experiment/party game wherein he began asking strangers which superpower they would prefer, invisibility or flight? Now known as the "Superpower Dilemma," the question can be used as a starting place or casual "projective test" for examining the sub-conscious and psychological dimensions of gender dynamics (Andes 2018, Berry 2015). During the radio show, Hodgman recalls that a gendered pattern emerged from among the answers he heard over the course of several years of informally posing the question. Hodgman noted anecdotally that "men lean toward flying; women toward invisibility" when choosing among the two options. Further, he realized that invisibility is almost uniformly interpreted as bad, associated with villainy. During the radio program, a female friend of Hodgman's explains, "a person who chooses to fly has nothing to hide, a person who chooses to be invisible clearly wants to hide themselves." Another woman connected the desire for invisibility with "guile," defined in the Merriam-Webster dictionary as "deceitful cunning." At its most disturbing, invisibility can be connected to an absence of accountability that enables voyeurism and even sexual violence when selected by men (Andes 2018). A study published in Forbes magazine revealed that those who select invisibility are more likely to work in administrative support roles, such as clerical

positions, within their organizations (Folkman 2015). As discussed earlier, across all industries including craft brewing, these occupations employ more women than men.

All this is to say that in the U.S., invisibility appears to be especially nefarious among men but unsurprising, and perhaps even expedient, among women. Hodgman's casual question raises interesting questions about the intersections of work, gender, and accountability. Women are more likely to work in support roles at breweries, more likely to be taproom managers, accountants, administrators. On the other hand, men at breweries are more likely to be brewers and brewery owners (Watson 2019). In cultural products of the craft beer industry, including the media and artifacts analyzed above, brewers and brewery owners are praised and recognized for their role in producing craft beer. Craft beer is associated with desirable attributes including individuality, creativity, freedom, and authenticity. Support roles are altogether omitted from descriptions of craft brewing occupations and discourses about non-brewing roles, accounting and administrative labor activities for example, that are needed to support a successful brewing enterprise are absent from the conversations I had with brewing professionals as well as from the materials I examined for this thesis. The effect is that male labor is the equivalent of flight: celebrated and valorized. Women's labor is hidden, made invisible; further, this labor is distasteful. Our collective idea of those who work in craft brewing favors the male brewer/entrepreneur persona.

The close network of craft brewers in the first decades of the resurgence of independent breweries was apparently almost exclusively male, despite the many women who supported their husband's endeavors, for example, Katie Gonser, wife of Ken Grossman, a man who flew to craft beer stardom as CEO and founder of Sierra Nevada

Brewing Company. Women who are involved in brewing entrepreneurship often play an administrative support role, conducting bookkeeping, human resources, and personnel management activities rather than the more hands on work of actually brewing the beer. While these support functions are essential to business success, there is little recognition or even mention of the fundamental necessity of this type of work in articles, films, and other media that chronicles the growth and history of the craft brewing industry. From these sources, it appears to be sufficient to simply brew great beer without any skilled and strategic business administration.

During my research, women were able to generalize about gender inequality in the industry in vague terms but also were often reluctant or genuinely unaware of gender bias within their own intimate contexts. I observed this pattern in a multitude of subtle ways. For example, early in my research, I interviewed Tina, a head brewer who operates a fairly new brewery in the Sierra Nevada foothills. She has three male business partners but controls the recipe creation and brewing at the brewery. At the time of our interview, her beers had already won national recognition in the two years that she had been professionally brewing, including a gold and a bronze medal at the Great American Beer Festival. This brewer not only claimed to have never personally encountered gender bias, she predicted that within five years the gap between the number of male and female brewers would close. In the meantime, she admitted that her brewery enjoyed more publicity than others because of her unusual status as a woman brewer. In this instance, the brewer was able to simultaneously discount or overlook gender imbalance as a significant social effect in her experience and credit her brewery's recognition in part to

her marked status as a woman in a male-dominated field rather than the prestigious awards she earned for her brewery with her expertise and skill.

In another instance, a male brewery owner spoke to me about “his” beer and when “he” expected to release a new seasonal brew. The brewery is owned by a third-party corporation which has little oversight or participation in day-to-day brewery operations or decision-making, while the head brewer is a woman. The brewery owner is also her romantic partner and he works for the corporation that sponsored the build of the brewery and remains employed full-time with that company. He joined us at the very end of my interview with the head brewer and the brewery’s female marketing director. I noted that after he joined, the dynamics of our conversation changed. Though he wasn’t invited to participate in the interview, he repeatedly spoke over the women I was interviewing or answered questions that were directed at the brewer. At one point, he spoke about a new beer that “he” was developing and speculated about the timeline for the beer’s launch. I interrupted, “But you’re not actually the brewer...” He said, “I’m an owner of the brewery.” I pressed him, “yeah, but you don’t brew?” He reiterated, “I’m an owner.” In this brief exchange, the male brewery owner asserted his position as dominant in relation to the female brewery professionals participating in my research and seated with us at the table, despite the fact that he does not participate in brewery operations and the women are the decision-makers for the brewery. His status as both male and owner served to validate his viewpoint and establish his words as preeminent, foregrounding his visibility as a contributor at the brewery while diminishing the visibility of the women who might otherwise be situated as the experts at the table.

We can contrast his attitude toward ownership with this response from Carolyn, who co-owns a popular specialty craft bottle shop with her husband. During our interview, Carolyn downplayed her role in business operations. I asked her about her role with the shop and she replied that she was an owner, “technically by marriage but I’m not a very hands-on owner.” Carolyn has two small children and works a full-time job as a therapist. In her free time she supports her husband’s business with free labor and hosts and organizes quarterly Ladies’ Tasting events. These events feature a local woman involved in the brewing industry who guides woman attendees in beer and food pairings. In this case, though a co-owner who actively promotes and stages public brewery events, Carolyn distances herself from an agentive role at the bottle shop and discredits her participation in the business operations. Carolyn and a female bartender who has worked at the business since it opened run the tasting events together. During our interview they described these events as a form of feminist activism to make women more visible within craft brewing, “we started the ladies beer tasting because we wanted to give women a space to taste beer” and to show that “if a woman can make the beer, than a woman can drink the beer.” These ancillary activities that focus on promoting the presence and appreciation of female contributions to the industry are viewed as apart from the primary activity of brewing beer which is reserved for the male brewer identity.

In another example of how women may experience invisibility in the craft brewing industry, Kelly owns and operates a homebrew store with her father. The two of them are the only employees at the shop and Kelly has been informally learning about homebrewing since her dad opened the store when she was five years old. She notices that younger people are much less likely to display bias against her because of her

gender. On the other hand, older shoppers frequently will actively avoid asking her for advice about homebrewing. “There are still people who come in, but they tend to be older men, who might not even ask me a question, they ask is [your dad] here?” Some of these shoppers know her father and view him as the authority reinforced through years of interactions with him at the store, but she says plenty of people who have never been in the shop before still overlook her as a resource and refuse to consult with her despite having already been a regular presence at the store for many years. In this case, Kelly describes a sort of default prestige accessed by her father that is foreclosed to her. For some of the shopping public looking for expert advice at their local homebrewing store, Kelly’s expertise is invisible. Kelly is not consistent with the male brewer identity and therefore is not read as a credible resource. This analysis might at first appear trite, but a recent study published by Stanford University scholars supports the notion that consumers unconsciously dismiss the capabilities of women in craft brewing domains on the superficiality of gender.

In this 2019 study, Stanford researchers observed that evaluators rated beer more poorly when they believed the beer was brewed by a woman. They designed their study to test what they call “status belief transfer” to describe “how gender status beliefs differentially affect the evaluations of products made by men and women” (Tak et al. 2019). This study was conducted in two parts, one in which researchers surveyed participants to discover products that were distinctly coded as either male or female gendered products. From among hundreds of popular consumer goods, craft beer emerged as very strongly associated with male producers and cupcakes were very strongly associated with female producers in the imaginations of research participants. In

the second stage, participants were asked to evaluate these products based on a brief description that randomly assigned either a male or female producer to the item. The researchers found that craft beer evaluation was negatively affected when a woman was invoked as the producer. Interestingly, a male cupcake baker had no effect on the evaluation of the cupcakes. The researchers concluded:

Collectively, [our studies] provide evidence of an asymmetric negative bias toward women's products in male-typed markets. In a male-typed product market of craft beer, a beer described as produced by a woman receives a lower evaluation than the same beer described as produced by a man. However, if these beers are conferred status by winning an award, the gap is eliminated.

This study reinforces the widely held belief (among women, anyway⁴⁰) that women work harder than men to achieve the same rewards. The study also reinforces the work of Darwin (2017) and others, which demonstrates that status in craft brewing is pre-associated with men. Further, it can be speculated that women may be rewarded for concealing their gender if they produce male-typed products such as craft beer. As discussed at the beginning of this section, women may experience a material advantage by remaining invisible. The challenge, therefore, is how to achieve progress toward a gender-balanced industry when women may suffer explicit negative evaluation simply by becoming more visible in an industry that does not expect to see them.

⁴⁰ This belief seemed especially salient at the time of writing. This thesis was written during a presidential election year with an unprecedented number of female candidates for the democratic nomination. The last woman to drop out of the race, Elizabeth Warren, described this sentiment as “the trap question” for women in the United States. Acknowledging sexism or gender bias results in a negative assessment of the person doing the acknowledging (akin to Ahmed’s killjoy). Failure to acknowledge gender bias, in Warren’s words, would mean that “about a bazillion women would think, ‘what planet do you live on?’” (Elsesser, 2020). Warren was described by many as the most prepared candidate in the race, but women are even more unexpected in the White House than they are in breweries. Warren’s favorite beer is Michelob Ultra.

Perpetuate Better Living⁴¹: Support Your Local Brewster

This analysis has shown that even the most recent documentary films about the craft beer industry construct the occupational identity of craft brewers as fundamentally male, foreclosing the professional possibilities available to women in this cultural domain. Men are treated preferentially as the founders of the craft beer industry despite the contributions of women and the knowledge and motivations of men is regarded as exemplary of the craft brewer identity, precluding the alternative motivations and substantial achievements of women professionals. Further, male dominance persists unquestioned and unchallenged. Women's participation in craft brewing reinforces their subordination by failing to practice or to attempt alternative ways of producing prestige through unique discursive practices, expanded representation, or simply contesting the unmarked male category. Women remain largely invisible in the craft brewing sector despite their increasing consumer participation. Scholars have demonstrated that a lack of representation in film has an actual effect on participation rates of underrepresented groups in real life (Donahoo and Yakaboski, 2017). The failure of documentary films to produce a more gender-balanced view of the craft brewing industry serves to limit the professional possibilities for women who are interested in careers brewing beer or owning breweries.

⁴¹ Slogan for Ninkasi Brewing. Ninkasi, the ancient Sumerian Goddess described in Chapter 1 as evidence that women were the original brewers of beer, is also the name of the 35th largest craft brewery in the United States, located in Eugene, Oregon. Ninkasi Brewing Company was founded by two men. A visit to the company's website reveals prominent images of men at work. There are no images of women or the Goddess as brewers, producers, or at work. "Brewster" is thought to be a word meaning female brewer in use during the Middle Ages (Cornell 2007).

Chapter 4

Conclusion

I'm gonna have a beer, cause that's what girls do⁴².

“Anthropology from its inception has been preoccupied with matters of scale, focused as we have been on questions about what is particular to the places and peoples we study, and what, if anything, is shared by humanity as a whole” (Lempert and Summerson Carr 2016).

Though craft brewing, at just under 20% of the national beer market remains a niche product, it is indelibly anchored to masculinity and male gendered performance. As an industry, craft brewing has a modest influence on consumer behaviors but analysis of a smaller-scale industry can be leveraged to make observations across the vast existence of gendered occupational domains and consumer categories more broadly. In this thesis, gender bias and at times overt sexism were demonstrated to be a common thread through the constructed history of hops agriculture, brewing in general, and craft beer specifically. While not always present, the mechanisms that subordinate women in craft brewing practice and narratives are persistent and widespread.

This thesis calls attention to one of the many occupational fields that continue to be male-dominated and the structures that support oppression through unbalanced access to power. By presenting a careful, multi-method analysis of the persistent sexism observable in craft brewing, I reveal that background sexism and microaggressions that occur infrequently and across dispersed domains accumulate into a resilient and durable boundary that largely keeps women out of positions of power within the industry.

⁴² One of Elizabeth Warren's campaign slogans was, “I'm going to run for president because that's what girls do.”

Occupations with power and/or high compensation in U.S. society like the office of President of the United States, chief executives, engineers, and airline pilots, for example, continue to employ percentages of women as low as zero. Exploration into the varied and multiple structures that maintain gender asymmetry in craft brewing helps to illuminate understanding about the underlying mechanisms at play across other occupational fields that limit representation, opportunity, and compensation parity across gender and other axes of difference. By focusing on the intimate scale of women's experiences at work among their colleagues and within settings that they frequently visit, we are able to pull on threads that weave our greater experience as societies and more broadly as humans. We can begin to trouble the limited roles available to women across intersections of gender and occupation.

Craft beer has emerged over the last 50 years to become an increasingly well-defined niche product, incorporating American values including individualism, adventure-orientation, innovation, and quality. While many critics have noted that these ideals are associated with male gendered performance in the U.S., the more general history of beer as a gendered product should not be overlooked. This thesis connected the popular history of beer and brewing with persistent themes of sexism that endure as an undercurrent to the modern craft beer industry. Early on in beer's long history women were associated with the original production of beer though modern era associations with both beer production and consumption have been distinctly male-oriented. Iterations of these gendered associations have numerous forms that are observable in the agricultural production of hops, the historic U.S. temperance movement of the early twentieth century, as well as the rise of print and television advertising that framed particular

associations of consolidated big beer with white, middle class idealism (Corzine 2010). These associations endure today where women still struggle to transcend the narrow ways that they are legible in craft beer spaces.

My thesis contributes to the popular and academic discussions that examine women's access to power and influence in contemporary American society. By tracing the scarce but uniform representations of gender across multiple media related to the craft brewing context and connecting this representation to women's actual lived experiences, I am able to demonstrate that sexism need not be encountered frequently to be frequently overwhelming. Seemingly at all times, when women are represented, they are represented in a way that compromises their legitimacy and authority. A woman can not be viewed apart from her womanhood, while a man can be perceived apart from his gender because he is a member of the neutral or unmarked category. In this way, women who are surrounded by men, as women who work in craft brewing and other male-dominated occupations undoubtedly are, are always confronted with the impossible stark choice described by Baxter which leaves no room for authentically being both a woman and a bona fide professional in craft brewing. Instead, women always appear with the qualification, "for a woman" such as the magazine articles that especially list the women brewers that are influencing craft beer or the film, *Women who brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer*.

While this thesis was broad ranging across multiple methods, field sites, and media- it leaves a lot of area still to be explored. Social media in particular is a key site for brewers and other positions of authority in brewing to connect directly with consumers, especially among very small breweries where a head brewer wears multiple

hats, sometimes including personal interaction on social media accounts. Further research could explore how gender appears or is performed on social media and whether consumers respond to representations of gender on social media platforms. Many of the brewers I spoke with emphasized the importance of distributors in the success and availability of their products across markets. Distributors play a critical role in product placement and sales on behalf of breweries. An analysis of the attitudes and demographics of these key partners in brewing would illuminate the ancillary industries that enable and reinforce the disbursement of brewery goods in the market. Finally, my research was challenged because of the brief amount of time I allowed with each participant. The “cleaning up” described by Wertheim was almost certainly occurring during my conversations with women brewers and other professionals. A future study would benefit from a prolonged relationship with the participants in order to develop mutual trust and a more intimate rapport.

The expectation that brewers are always already male remains unquestioned on a large-scale. This unquestioned expectation allows individual instances of the worst and most overt examples of sexism encountered in the craft brewing setting to remain unchallenged; explicit sexism is dismissed because it is dispersed throughout the overall craft beer culture and lifestyle rather than concentrated in a particular practice. This dispersed nature of the sexism embedded in craft brewing serves as a foil to identifying the problem and while this thesis is about craft brewing, the insights I present here are applicable in many other settings. Craft brewing, then, can serve as an excellent site to contest gendered boundaries, pervasive and resilient gendered stereotypes, and structures of power that limit the possibilities for women to achieve prestige and control over their

own futures. The conviviality and commensurability of the craft brewing environment lightens the gravity of the very heavy work that fighting sexism can be in other domains. The ancient history of women in the brewing profession is poised to provoke a reawakening of feminine power in brewing traditions.

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Appendix 1

Images of Beer Labels Selected for Analysis



Image 1: “Lord Lupulin” Revision Brewing Company, Sparks, NV.

“Introducing the high priest of hops , the hero of humulus lupulus, the sultan of strig, the brahma of bracteole... Here comes Lord Lupulin! Featuring our hoppy friends Galaxy, Vic Secret, El Dorado and Citra.”

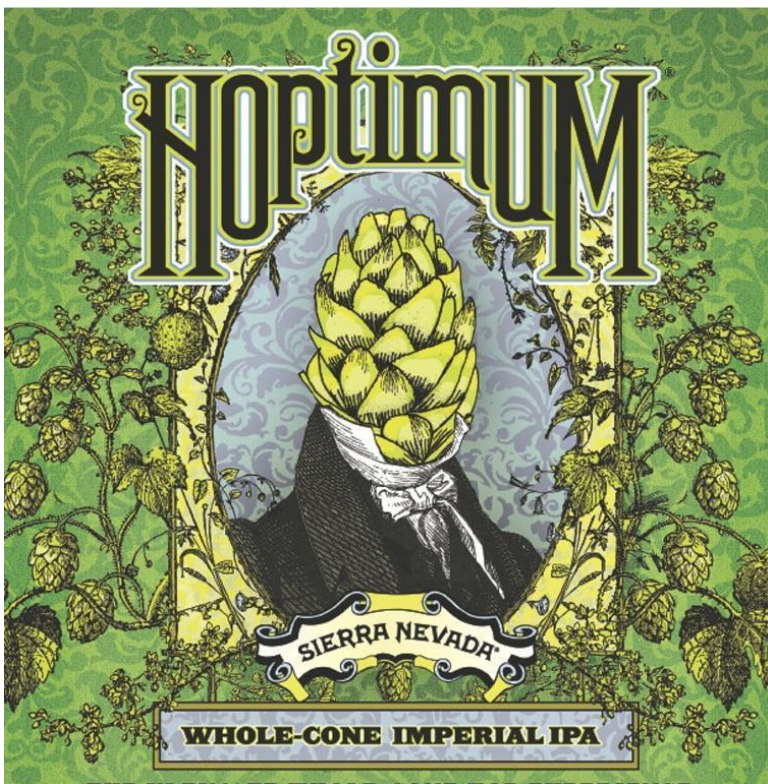


Image 2: “Hoptimum” Sierra Nevada Brewing Co., Chico, CA. “A group of hop-heads and publicans challenged our Beer Camp (#19) brewers to push the extremes of whole-cone hop brewing. The result is this: a 100 IBU, whole-cone hurricane of flavor. Simply put- Hoptimum: the biggest whole-cone IPA we have ever produced. Aggressively hopped, dry-hopped and torpedoed with our exclusive new hop varieties for ultra-intense flavors and aromas.”



Image 3: Sin City Brewing Company Logo, Las Vegas, NV. Sin City's branded merchandise includes bikini thong panties with the words "I have sinned." The company website features the slogan, "Temptations abound... So does the beer." <http://www.sincitybeer.com/home/> Accessed on 4/13/2018.

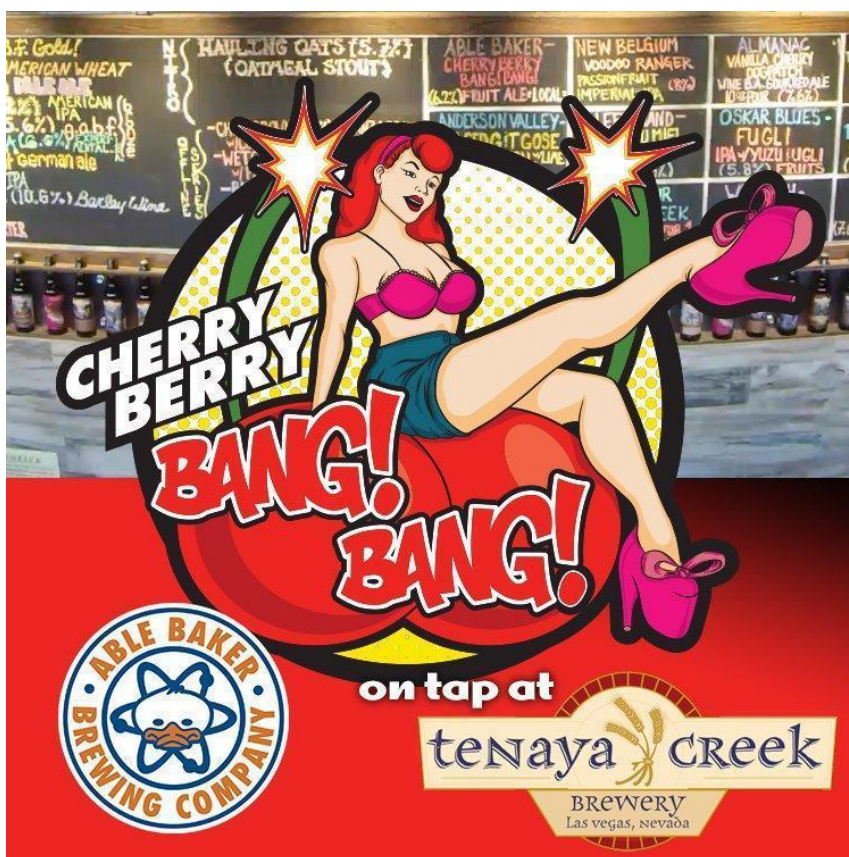


Image 4: "Cherry Berry Bang! Bang!" Able Baker Brewing Company, Henderson, NV. "A bemusing fruit ale brewed just in time for warmer weather with a flavor profile set up for easy enjoyment. This ale pours a deep pink color with a light fruit flavor derived from Oregon tart cherries and raspberries. We add elements of lemon in the boil and dry hop to add a BANG! BANG! of citric zest to both the aroma and finish. Easy to drink and amusing to say, with a mischievous taste that is truly scrumptious."



Image 5: “Blondibock” Mammoth Brewing Company, Mammoth Lakes, CA. “Blondibock was first brewed as Bluesapalooza Blonde Bock in the summer of 2011, and she was so popular that we brought her back every summer since. Brewed as a German-style Blonde Bock in December of 2013, she was racked off into Haven Hill Bourbon Barrels after two weeks in the fermentation vessels. There, she has matured for 7 months, picking up much of her color and flavor from the oak barrels.”

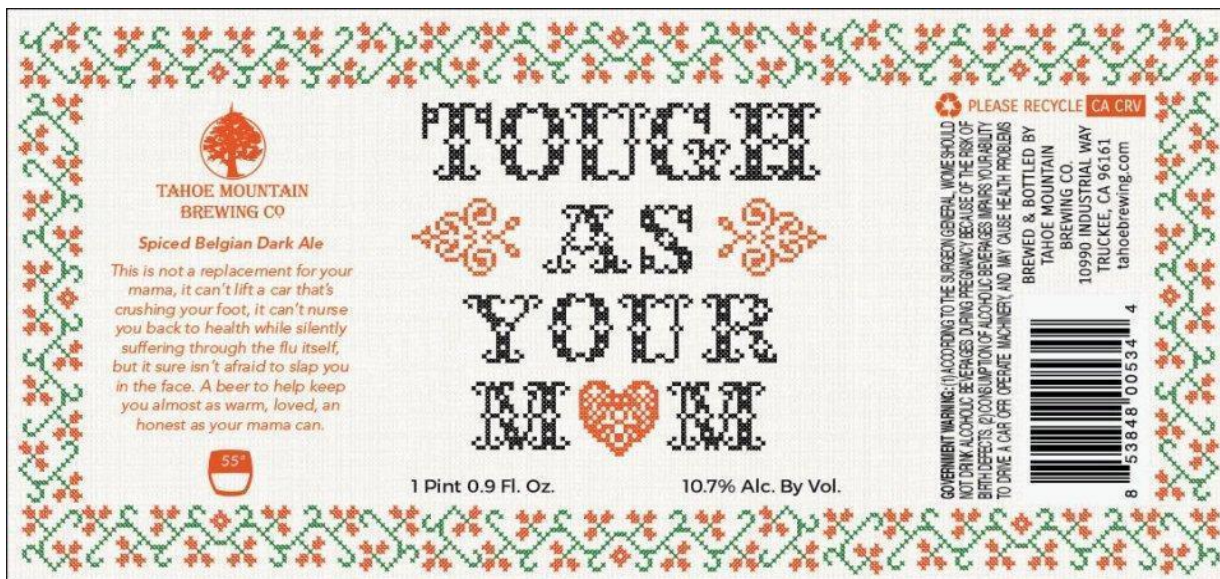


Image 6: “Tough As Your Mom” Tahoe Mountain Brewing Company, Truckee, CA. “This is not a replacement for your mama, it can’t lift a car that’s crushing your foot, it can’t nurse you back to health while silently suffering through the flu itself, but it sure isn’t afraid to slap you in the face. A beer to help keep you almost as warm, loved, and honest as your mama can.”

Appendix 2

Selected Films

Beeradelphia. 2015. Philly Philms.

Irvin, Alexis. and Hiden, Chip. 2015. *Blood, Sweat and Beer*. FilmBuff.

Kresge, Nate. 2018. *Poured in Pennsylvania*. Turn Key Films.

Kolicko, Thomas. 2013. *Crafting a Nation*. Janson Media.

Smith, Jeff. 2016. *Craft: The California Beer Documentary*. DhicPhace Films, Mass Pics.

Swift, David. and Owen, Scott. 2019. *Beers of Joy*. Gravitas Ventures.

Tirola, Douglas. 2018. *Brewmaster*. 4th Row Films, Grasshopper + Marks Productions.

Grayson, Allison. 2012. *Women who brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer*. Hiltz Squared Media Group.

Appendix 3

Modified Bechdel Test with Results

Title	Are there at least 2 female brewing professionals featured in the film?	Do any female brewing professionals have more than one speaking part?	Does the film have a female director?
<i>Beeradelphia</i>	No	No	No
<i>Blood, Sweat and Beer</i>	No	No	Yes (co-director with male)
<i>Poured in Pennsylvania</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Crafting a Nation</i>	No	No	No
<i>Craft: The California Beer Documentary</i>	No	No	No
<i>Beers of Joy</i>	No	Yes	No
<i>Brewmaster</i>	No	No	No
<i>Women who brew: Breaking the glass ceiling for the love of beer</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes