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The cultural and geographic diversity of the American South provides a unique case to investigate how Whiteness is anchored in the social and physical infrastructure of the craft beer industry. As a byproduct of critiques of Whiteness in the broader industry, a regional study is an opportunity to understand and suggest interventions in underlying and explicit tones of exclusion and displacement weaved into the fabric of the craft. Through the lens of the production of culture and transactions within a racialized cultural economy, this study engages with how craft beer and breweries are media where cultural capital is inequitably exchanged and distributed through three connected manuscripts. The first manuscript utilizes craft beer names and imagery across five Southeast states to capture Southern themes and identity. This study is designed to extend our understanding of how place-branding can inform craft beer consumption or lack thereof. The second manuscript lays the groundwork for understanding the relationship between brewery locations and race-based residential distribution across three Southeast United States cities. The third manuscript links how the clustering of breweries in acknowledged brewery districts aid in constructing and sustaining a racialized cultural economy within the industry. A narrative is built through the consumer-centered methodology of a series of site observations and interviews. The dissertation yield results that contribute to ongoing transdisciplinary cultural economy of craft beer discourse, and spatial- and marketing-based placemaking framework at the nexus of urban, cultural, and economic geographies.

CRAFT BEER LANDSCAPES OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH:

AN EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL ECONOMY

AND IDENTITY PRODUCTION

by

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the three most important women in my life: my grandmother Aurora Silvania, my mother Janet Merced, and my sister Danielle Greenhauff. Each of you paved your way through your own set of challenges, which gave me the confidence and ability to achieve my own goals.

APPROVAL PAGE

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1   Research Background and Motivations

As the craft beer industry continues to expand in the United States, geographic inquiries about their patterns of production, distribution, and consumption provide a critical understanding of how the underlying and explicit tones of exclusion and displacement weaved into the fabric of the craft. The academic investigation in the sociodemographic impact on the craft beer industry has primarily relied on economic, sociological, tourism studies, and food studies approaches (Aquilani et al. 2015; Murray and Kline 2015; Chapman et al. 2017). Continuing to integrate geography into transdisciplinary craft beer studies will supplement the industry with a body of tools and best practices to further engage with equity frameworks across production and consumption of craft beer. Grounded in fundamental cultural, urban, and economic geographies, this study demonstrates the complex relationships that urban landscapes have with the dynamics of capitalist production and identity construction.

1.2   Geographies of Craft Beer

The modern craft beer movement in the United States emerged out of the rebirth of the Anchor Steam Beer Company led by Fritz Maytag in 1965 (Elzinga et al. 2015). Early craft brewers experienced immediate resistance from commercial, mass-producing beer companies (Reid et al. 2014; Elzinga et al. 2015). However, the modus operandi of craft beer participation was to incorporate elements unique to where the craft occurred. In the sister industry of wine, a concept exists known as terroir, which is the "prominent factor relating the ways that distinctive wines reflect the characteristics of the land" (Vaudour 2002, p. 117). As terroir research continues to be explored in the beer industry (Blue II & Karioris 2017), the relationship between space and craft beer has been conceptualized as neolocalism. While not confined to the craft

beer industry, neolocalism helps demonstrate a sense of place and local themes by sourcing local ingredients and adopting familiar place names, people, landscape features, and icons in labeling, product names, and business names (Flack 1997; Schnell & Reese 2003; Mathews & Patton 2016; Gatrell et al. 2018). Geographic scholarship on craft beer and microbreweries has responded and evolved out of the rapid emergence of the modern craft beer movement (see Patterson & Hoalst-Pullen 2014 and Chapman et al. 2017).

Craft beer, as a subsector of the beer industry, is characterized as an "innovative beer, using traditional ingredients and creating different tastes without additives" (Nave et al. 2021, p. 279). Today's craft beer industry in the United States is experiencing a "reset" due to impacts of COVID-19 on business operations and climate change on barley and hops production (Biscotti 2023). Craft beer has been the medium to study a range of intersecting systems, from sustainability measurement and best ecological practices to navigating significant social relationships fostered around beer and within breweries (i.e. Reid and Gatrell 2017; Sjolander-Lindqvist et al. 2020).

Regardless of geography, craft beer maintains an affection that is nurtured through various components of the industry, even through the social pitfalls the industry continues to face (McClelland 2022; Hildebrand 2023). Craft beer's arc traversed several functions in society – what once was a trade evolved into a personal hobby, then reintegrated itself into the economy through the commercialization of brewing (Smith 1998; Calagione 2011). More prominent in today's industry, the "craft" of craft brewing carries both the function of "specialized production" and the "cultural and social capital" that is exchanged across producers and consumers (Mathews 2022, p. 1). Craft beer has become more than just a material good, and now represents a digestible cultural and social experience. Craft beer both validates and challenges

the idea of "authenticity" as it is integrated into both local landscapes and popular culture trends (Koontz and Chapman 2023, p. 33).

1.3   Southerness and Constructing a Regional Identity

Focusing on the craft beer industry of the Southeast United States is motivated by the study of the region that contributes to a larger, interdisciplinary "intellectual project of understanding the linkages between culture, landscape, and society" (Alderman & Graves 2011, p. 507). The instability of power and authority in a post-Reconstruction era "New South" reactivated cultural hegemony, establishing White as the default (Hoelscher 2003). The preservation of the dominant White narrative of the South represents "how people organize their values and understand their connections to the physical and social worlds around them" (Cooper and Knotts 2017, p. 3). The historical underpinnings of racial resiliency established stronger bonds between communities and the physical region, exposing the long-term effects of historical milestones such as the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement. These regionally significant milestones curate a range of Southern symbology that carries racial and social undertones that are arguably divisive and inaccessible for replication and integration out of their original historical context (Talbert 2017). From an economic standpoint, the preservation of this particular South maintained an advantage over the emergence of other narratives, attributed to the South is a microcosm of social relations across the United States (Cooper and Knotts 2017). However, Black southerners continue to reproduce a particular identity, proving that identifying with a region is "more about a connection to the region's folkways and to place that it is to policy or ideology" (Cooper and Knotts 2017). Alderman and Modlin Jr. (2013) advocate for "progressive representations of the south that recognize the legitimacy of African Americans as residents of, and visitors to, the region" (p. 9).

The construction of regional identities is shaped by the discourse on culture and demography of an imagined space (Paasi 2003). Paasi's conceptualization of "regional identity" is grounded in spatial theorists such as David Harvey and Edward Soja, and scales identity formation to the regional system (Paasi 1986). Regional identity formation occurs in four stages: (1) assumption of territorial shape, (2) development of conceptual (symbolic) shape, (3) development of institutions, and (4) establishment as part of the regional system and regional consciousness of the society concerned (p. 121). In the first stage (1), boundaries are imagined to begin developing regional consciousness, and social practices emerge to define the extent of those boundaries. The second stage (2) amplifies the social practices by naming the region, establishing a common language, and constructing landmarks and infrastructure. The institutions developed in the third stage (3) range from formal organizations such as networks, neighborhoods, and schools to more organically grown institutions such as interpersonal relationships, contracts, and collective values. Finally, the fourth stage (4) involves external social and historical processes that help integrate the region into broader landscapes and systems (Raagmaa 2002, pgs. 58-59). The impermanent nature of regions is due to regions experiencing a renewal cycle or fully dissolving. Region renewal reflects physical and social infrastructural changes. Regions experience disappearance through outside intervention such as invasion or war, or the collective adoption of entirely different values (pgs. 59-60).

The frequency of the reproduction of regional symbology based on historic events is a primary driver of how a White narrative sustained its dominance. Former Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson argued that racial conflict is the root of Southern heritage. Symbols associated with the dominant heritage, such as the former Georgia state flag with the Confederate Flag embedded in the design, tell more than the story of White supremacy. These symbols exhibit the

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persistence and defining moments that connect people to the physical region (Harrison 1993;

Reingold and Wike 1998). The role of media and technology also drives the imprint of dominant

symbology. For example, the interpretation of Appalachia through commercial television draws

particular imagery and stereotypes into mainstream media. The exploitation of sub-regional

identities such as Appalachia perpetuates distorted views of a collective and suggests the

presence of the "conscious, programmed, intended procedure" of cultural imperialism

(Newcomb 1979-80, p. 157). Finally, another driver of a dominant White narrative in the South

is the landscapes of organized religion in the region. It was during the Civil War that political

and religious institution merged, conceiving the Confederacy as a Christian nation, and forging

an evangelical nationalism for Whites in the region (Cobb 2005; Jansson 2009).

The perception of Southern identities is partially reliant on providing interpretations of

culture. One channel that is broadly consumed and frequently interpreted is naming. Naming is

paramount to positive cultural interpretation because it promotes "identification with the past and

locating oneself within wider networks of memory" (Alderman 2016). The implications of race

and gender are woven into the complexity of the politics of naming, as Berg and Kearns (1996)

explored in the early literature on naming in the discipline. Much of the politics draw from

Rose's (1993) "master subject,' which is an imagined White, masculine, bourgeois positionality.

Under the recognition of the social construction of race and gender, the concept of "Whiteness'

emerges in the conceptualization of identity to describe an imagined position of privilege

(Jackson 1998). The normalization of Whiteness in naming has exhausted its examination phase

and calls for a paradigm shift for those involved in enterprise operations (e.g. Alderman and

Beavers 1999; Rose-Redwood 2008). Mansvelt (2005) addressed the political nature of

consuming commodified culture in what has been conceptualized as *geographies of*

consumption. Building off of Marx's (1933) ideas of commodity fetishism, it is the essence of geography to express particular interest in spatialities of consumption and "the ways in which places and spaces are connected and made meaningful through consumption (p. 11). Naming, as a pathway for consumption, is one of the ways in which the material world is organized.

1.4   Post-Industrial Infrastructure and Urban Cultural Identity

Today's recognition of post-industrial land-use is preceded by eras of shifting urban characterization guided by economic functions (Gospodini 2006). Until the 1950s, the general trend of land-use represented "functionalism," where work, residential, and leisure sectors of the city experienced little to no physical intersection (Gospodini 2006, p. 312). In the 1970s, cities began consolidating the work and leisure zones with exclusive residential districts weaved amongst these new landscapes in development. Land use critics (Krier 1978; Rossi 1982) suggested that this era of zoning was not an optimal for "underused public open spaces and unpopular urban environments" (Gospodini 2006, p. 312). This eventually led to the shift with in the 1980s of mixed-used development, which became closely tied to Paul Knox's (1991) coined term 'CARE,' which stands for culture, amusement, recreation, and entertainment.

Local zoning regulations are a dictating factor in how brewery districts form or how types of craft beer locations coexist in certain areas. Microbreweries and brewpubs are often at the forefront of the conversation regarding increased property values and a pawn of gentrification. The desire and practicality of former industrial buildings is rooted in both the cost efficiency of transforming the space at low-cost, as well as following on-going trends in revitalizing economically distressed neighborhoods (Reid 2018; Nilsson and Reid 2019). Microbreweries and brewpubs in former industrial buildings can offer a thematic, place-making element that works in favor of the industry. The romanticization of the industrial past

helps imagine the "(positive) gentrified future of industrial relics" (Mathews and Picton 2014, p. 352).

The frequency of craft beer occupying former industrial infrastructure serves as an extension, and arguably reinvention, of urban industrial culture. The basis of industrial culture can be tied back to the Bourdesian tradition that recognized the innerworkings of class structures where "different occupational systems also possess different economic and cultural capital (Bole 2021). Under Bourdieu's distinction between the dominant class, working class, and the petty bourgeoisie, there are associated cultural practices and preferences of each class that reinforce differentiation (Bourdieu 1984). The industrial class is institutionalized through layers of identity, one of which is the branding and revitalization of physical infrastructure (Bole 2021).

Critiques of craft beer and the post-industrial aesthetic are predated by urban discourse on the valuation of cultural clusters in post-industrial landscapes (Zukin 1982; Mommaas 2004). Tenants of the post-industrial infrastructure that houses contemporary goods and services are synonymous with Richard Florida's notion of the "creative class" who represent a range of "knowledge-based occupations" and participate in exchanges of cultural capital and social innovation (Florida 2003, p. 8). The creative class serve as a driver for urban reinvestment to improve economic performance through the attraction of experience amenities such as "museums, cultural activities, and perhaps craft beer" (Barajas et al. 2017, p. 5).

1.5 A Case for Qualitative Methodology in the Geography of Beer

This research was designed to promote the value and impact of intentionally designed qualitative methodology in the discipline (Table 1.1). The implementation of content analyses, observational studies, interviews, and survey questionnaires fashioned from existing qualitative methodological approaches in geography provided an opportunity to construct a narrative around

craft beer in the Southeast United States that helps us understand the past, present, and future of the industry. A content analysis of craft beer labels and names is drawn from previous geographic work on this subject that examines consumption beyond the beer itself (Schnell and Reese 2014; Fletchall 2016). Imagery analysis in both arts and sciences research rely on in individual's interpretation based on their lived experiences. Through photographs or videos, or the development of mental maps, images play a significant role in reconstructing memories and associated themes (Tuan 1975; Hall 2009; Garrett 2011). Names and labels are merely one avenue in which beer is experienced. For on-site consumers, the experience at breweries are dictated by the spatial organization and leisure experiences of the site, but are uniquely received based on the individual's identity, familiarity, and reception. This curiousity led to the implementation of a series of on-site fieldwork to understand the individual and collective experiences with craft beer at breweries. Ethnographic studies are employed to understand the structures engrained in cycles of regularity. Ley (1988) claims that the effectiveness of this method is reliant upon seeing people as 'knowledge agents' with the researcher attempting to 'make sense of their making sense of the events and opportunities confronting them in everyday life.' Ethnographies serve as links between the imagination and the reality, as they are a way to observe human behavior in navigating the structure and particulars of the everyday (Herbert 2000). This method is often applied to research in both the social and geographic periphery to understand obscure cultures and industries. For example, Andrews et al. (2002) facilitated an ethnography to support their proposed research towards conceptualizing 'fitness geographies.' The ethnographic study occurred at a gym, where the researcher observed the relationships between bodybuilding culture and space. This research process yielded results that were attractive to a variety of qualitative human geographers, as it investigated broader themes of

masculinity, body culture, and the manifestation of community in a particular space. Semi-structured interviews were conducted due to the inherent casual nature that comes with craft beer and breweries. With guiding questions and natural conversation, data retrieved through semi-structured interviews encourages candidness and authenticity of the interview subject. The geographic academy is at the forefront of innovative data collection and interpretation to ensure the dissemination of consumable public knowledge. An example of unconventional methodology in application is Jones' et al. (2008) walking interviews, allowing the subject to freely navigate a space while minimizing the intimidating power dynamics between interviewer and interviewee typically found in structured settings.

1.6   Research Objectives

Through this research, the findings intend to advance our understanding of how varying spatial components of the craft beer industry foster a culture of Whiteness. By highlighting the spatial significance of brewery placement and understanding the role of place marketing, this research contributes to an ongoing research agenda that revolves around critiques of contemporary urban planning and the (re)construction of regional identity. This study strives to understand what factors of a regional craft beer industry, such as brewery location or place-based marketing, can inform industry participation from all angles.

The part of the Southeast United States region in analysis for this study are Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, with a focus on the cities of Asheville North Carolina, Atlanta Georgia, Charleston South Carolina, and Nashville Tennessee. These sites were considered because of measured density of Brewers Association (2019) registered microbrewery and brewpubs. This region is relatively new to the modern craft beer movement, with reasons such as a prominent voting constituency that aligns with the Southern Baptist

doctrine, and their organizing against alcohol-related legislature (Gohmann 2015). However, the brewing practice was no stranger to even the most marginalized in the region. The post-Reconstruction systematic oppression of Blacks in the South gradually erased long-standing traditions brought to the region by way of the transatlantic slave trade, one of which was ale brewing using grain alternatives (Huckelbridge 2016). The unique physical and social climate of the region offers an opportunity to see space as a living laboratory to measure the change and growth of craft beer production and participation.

Figure 1.1 Point Density of Microbreweries and Brewpubs in the American South (Brewers Association 2019)

Microbrewery and Brewpub Density in the American South
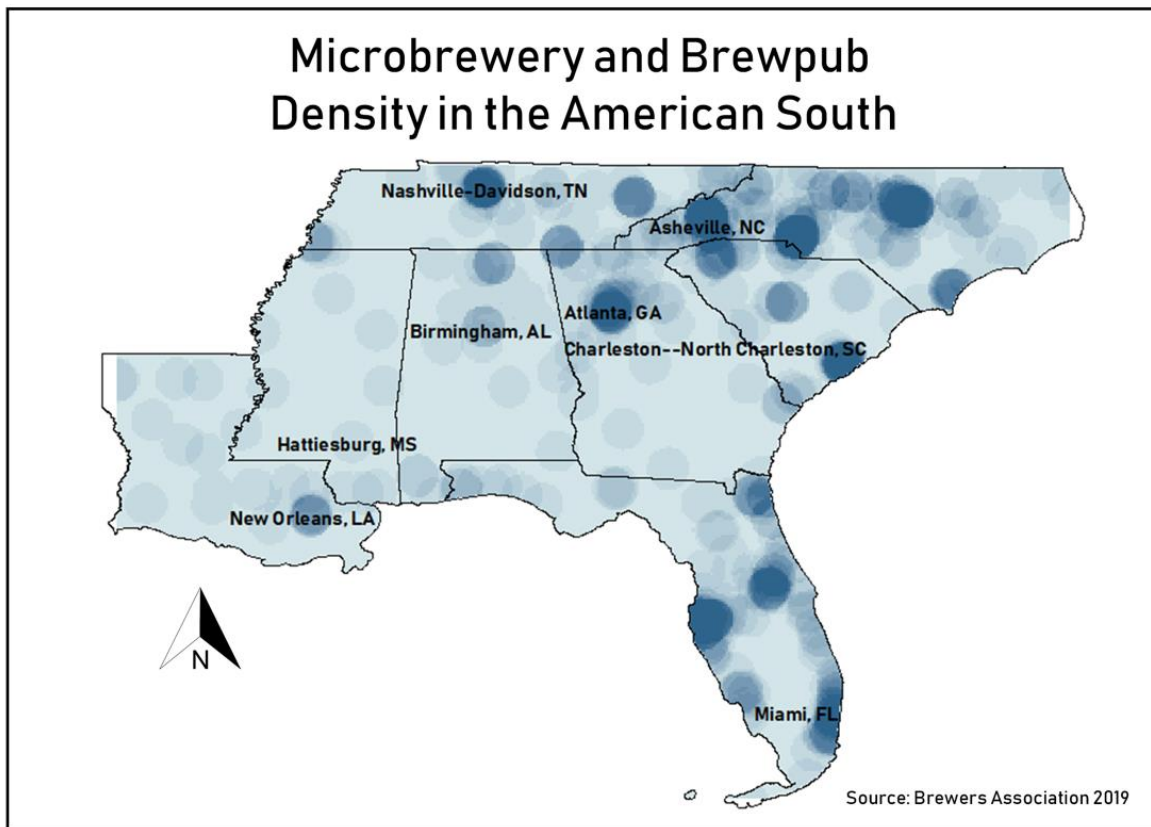
1.7   Overview of Dissertation

The dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter I outlines the research and methodological motivations and objectives. Chapter II utilizes craft beer names and imagery across five Southeast states to capture Southern themes and identity. This study is designed to extend our understanding of how place-branding can inform craft beer consumption or lack thereof. Chapter III links how the clustering of breweries in acknowledged brewery districts aid in constructing and sustaining a racialized cultural economy within the industry. A narrative is built through the consumer-centered methodology of a series of site observations and interviews. Chapter IV lays the groundwork for understanding the relationship between brewery locations and race-based residential distribution across three Southeast United States cities. Chapter V indicates the limitations of the research design, draws conclusions, and suggests potential research avenues based on these findings.

CHAPTER II: SOUTHERN CULTURAL TROPES IN CRAFT BEER NAMING AND IMAGE

CONVENTIONS

2.1   Introduction

In the craft beer industry, branding as a competitive strategy is paramount to driving multi-scalar economic function and appealing to the ethos of neolocalism within the industry (Flack 1997; Gatrell, Reid, and Steiger 2018). While the strategy of branding spaces and materials is economic in nature, the underexamined impact of selecting imagery and names has spatial and cultural implications which contribute to the broader effect of a craft beer producer. Naming and imagery of the craft beer industry is an opportunity to identify patterns of consumption and examining how the material world is organized (Kearns and Berg 2002). In the craft beer scene, producers utilize a range of naming and image conventions to produce a narrative of both their relationship with the consumer base and cultural trends in the craft beer industry (Gatrell, Reid, and Steiger 2018; Fletchall 2016). This paper examines these conventions to excavate submerged ideologies of Whiteness, contextualizing craft beer in the cultural economy in which participation reflects transactions of racialized cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986; Cartwright 2022). Through a case study of five states in the Southeast United States – Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee – I argue that naming and images of craft breweries can construct a racialized cultural narrative and establish a sense of place that both promotes and inhibits industry participation.

2.2   Craft Beer Landscapes in the Southeast United States

While the 21st Amendment was instrumental in changing society's relationship with alcohol consumption, legal restrictions and demanding policies of beer production and

consumption in the Southeast United States continue to present challenges to the industry's growth and integration into the wider network of craft brewing. Brewing reformers have confronted issues such as repressive taxation, distribution limitations, and homebrewing regulations (Ray 2013). One of the most recent legal victories in the region permits qualified Louisiana microbreweries to sell their products directly to bars and restaurants (Price 2022). Navigating the state's policies around brewing is one of many avenues that contribute to network building and resource sharing in the industry. The COVID-19 pandemic presented additional challenges for the broader brewing industry, both in their economic and social functions that inherently work in tandem. Distribution limitations regulated by local and state ordinances and availability and rising costs of materials determined the survival of breweries, with the newest companies of the industry being the most vulnerable (Fallows 2020).

Brewing in the region works against cultural friction as well, navigating the contours of the domineering toponym, "Bible Belt" (Baginski and Bell 2011). The South's widely adopted ties to religious doctrines, primarily of evangelical Protestantism, are illustrated by membership, a plenitude of places of worship, and replication of symbols and motifs (Hill 2006). The fundamental doctrines of the Bible Belt not only have impeded the legal progress of the industry but also dictated patterns of individual and collective responsible consumption. For example, at the individual level, religious leaders consciously limit alcohol consumption entirely or in private, secluded settings, to protect their moral reputation in the community (Jackson 2017).

Craft beer is inherently an economic device driven by its creative and social properties. Coupling craft beer with tourism is a sensible and deliberate practice and is proven successful in parts of the Southeast United States (e.g. Alonso 2011; Murray and Kline 2015; Slocum 2016). As an extension of culinary tourism, beer as a tourist destination involves the "visitation to

breweries, beer festivals, and beer shows, for which beer tasting and experiencing the attributes of a beer region are the prime motivating factors for visitors" (Plummer et al. 2005, p. 450). Beer tourism contributes not only to local economic growth but the development and affirmation of local identity (Schnell and Reese 2003). However, 'local' identity has developed into an elastic concept, scaling geographic localism to a wider extent, as far as a state's borders (Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowki. 2017).

2.3   Expressions of Southern Identity

The proliferation of identities is grounded in experience, replication, and mobility across time and space. Collective identities reflect continuities and ruptures in relationships to reconstruct and imagine cultural expressions and their cohesiveness and tensions with one another (Hall 1997). Barbara Bender's transdisciplinary discourse on landscape, place, and heritage puts in perspective the fluidity and transformation of identity and its relationship with space (Bender 1993; Bender 2002; Bender 2006). Regional identity, as outlined by historians, is constructed through three highly critiqued components: geography, culture, and history (Catsam 2008). For the American South, geography often reflects the fixed and narrow scope of space and is deemed an unreliable indication of the breadth and depth of the region's identity. Culture embodies recurring themes and practices across Southern communities that forge non-representative, or even misrepresentative, collective regional identity. While history is ubiquitous, individual truths and experiences are often absorbed into a homogenous narrative. Southerness operates at the crossroads of overlapping identities, in which those sub-experiences have defining factors themselves based on social and physical surroundings, and in turn, inform policy opinions and behaviors (Cooper and Knotts 2013).

2.4   Place-making through Names and Imagery of Craft and Creative Industries

Place-making discourse has evolved from the groundwork set by spatial critics that investigated how and why humans develop complex relationships with space, paving the way for emerging frameworks that adapt and accommodate to sociopolitical shifts (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Buttimer and Seamon 1980; Massey 1994; Cresswell 2004; Ellery, Ellery, and Borkowsky 2021). Ellery, Ellery, and Borkowsky (2021) present a contemporary place-making framework that synthesizes place-making factors previously interrogated, including the role of individual senses and responses to the physical environment. They elevate these factors by emphasizing the community component, suggesting that the degree in which the community is invested in individual or collective placemaking is correlated to the magnitude of the impact of the placemaking efforts. The proposed framework also suggests that placemaking occurs on a continuum.

> On one end of this placemaking continuum lies changes to the community environment that are a result of external forces (e.g. government planning policies, private development projects, etc.), and that are imposed upon the community members. At the other end of the placemaking continuum are those changes that result from individuals in the community initiating and taking responsibility for the environmental change themselves. (Ellery, Ellery, and Borkowsky 2021, p. 70).

Place-making can be conveyed through toponyms, or place names, which are intentionally constructed, primarily to "impart a certain meaning" and establish identity (Radding and Western 2010, p. 395). The shift away from an original meaning can not only disrupt linguistic and grammatical function but societal patterns and associations, resulting in opaqueness in place

names (Radding and Western 2010). Place names develop at the crossroads of geography, language, and culture, shaping both individual and collective identities and cultural conventions, and indicating spatial distribution and temporal movement (West 1954; Berg and Kearns 1996; DeAza 2020).

Names and other markers of identity have a regulatory factor, providing a space for human recipients to index and organize the material world. This process of materializing, contextualizing, and visualizing names is grounded in 'geosemiotics' framework (Scollon and Scollon 2003). Geosemiotics references the complex social meanings behind names, signage, and expressive behaviors of the material world. Drawing from the intersection of anthropological, psychological, geographic, and linguistic theories, geosemiotics is an apparatus adopted into everyday societal infrastructure that dictates human behavior. Language, at the roots of geosemiotics, plays an important role in transforming *space* into *place* (Lou 2017). Names and images strategically adopted into the communication or promotion of the material world serve as links between the intent of action and their sub-meanings:

> …there are three ways in which language can be located in the material
> world: the interaction order (including speech, movement, gesture), visual
> semiotics (including text and images), and place semiotics (all of the other
> non-linguistic symbols that directly or indirectly represent language).
> (Scollon and Scollon 2003, p. 13).

While these three ways of identifying language are bound to one another, human geographers may have a vested interest in visual semiotics and place semiotics in particular to supplement place-making discourse. Visual semiotics are represented by markers in the form of text and images that convey meanings and values through different variables such as illustration,

placement, design, and word choice. The meaning and value are determined by the recipient and their relationship with the material that is presented, informed by emotions and experiences external to the subject matter. Place semiotics represents the spatial component in which humans interact with a presented form of visual semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

Employing a visual component to place-making embraces place-branding and place-marketing tactics that are a set of tools and strategies to construct identity, and in turn provide a sort of economic advantage, in a market. Strategies used to develop place brands may not necessarily reflect the culture and heritage links embedded in a particular place (Skinner 2008). Place-marketing and place-branding can be adopted at any point in a place-making process, whether that is a place that has an established sense of identity, a place needs refashioning, or a place has an under-developed identity. Depending on the scale of place-making through these tactics, often the process occurs with governments and industries collaborating at the helm, dictating the adoption of terminology, imagery, and distribution to appropriately "target, correct, improve and evaluate the brand" (Skinner 2008, p. 919).

Craft and creative industries adhere to the practices and subjectivities of Mansvelt's (2005) "geography of consumption." The places and spaces of consumption are transformative in the sense that identities are (re)produced through materials and symbols that cycle through the political-economic functions of consumer behavior (Mansvelt 2005). Consumption, as an economic function, occurs through a range of commodity outputs: goods or services, people, and ideas. Craft commodities present unique consumption behavior, as it has evolved to reflect the culture and societal trends (Campbell 2005). Craft commodities range from conventional handworks such as jewelry, printing, and furniture making, to more contemporary expressions of material and trade culture such as bartending, barbering, and butchering (Ocejo 2017). This

particular exchange of craft commodities, referenced as "craft consumption," marries "activities in which individuals both design and make the products that they themselves consume" and "transforms 'commodities' into personalized objects" (Campbell 2005, p. 27-28).

Place-making in the craft beer industry leans heavily into 'local' discourse, both in the production of the beer itself and its marketing tactics (Schnell and Reese 2014; Fletchall 2016). In beer's sister industry of wine, the measurement of locality has become synonymous with the concept of 'terroir', or geographic indications that preserve and enhance the taste of a place through the material (Trubek 2008; Trubek and Bowen 2008). Similarly, place-making for moonshine producers, specifically in East Tennessee, occurs through place-based naming and referencing the heritage and history of the industry, identifying moonshine producers as place-makers (Rosko 2017). For beer, this identification of place-identity is conceptualized as 'neolocalism,' reflected through the "self-conscious reassertion of the distinctively local" (Flack 1997, p. 38). Neolocalism in the industry has been geographically interrogated through the analysis of brewery and beer names, accompanying imagery, and maps (Flack 1997; Schnell and Reese 2003; Patton and Mathews 2013; Fletchall 2016). Regional studies continue to reinforce place-making frameworks in the craft beer industry, identifying contemporary practices and phenomena that promote locality and innovation, which are two main drivers of industry participation for both consumers and producers (Reid and Gatrell 2017; Debies-Carl 2019; Nelson 2021; Jolly 2020; Smith and Asirvatham 2022).

2.5 Methodology

Visual and textual references in place-based marketing are devices to inform, imagine, organize, and sometimes distort geographic concepts (Fleming and Roth 1991). Place-based marketing in the food and beverage industry is approached in a variety of ways, depending on

the product. The place-based marketing tactic employed influences "consumer perception of product quality and eventual purchase behavior" (Mathews and Patton 2016, p. 277). This study draws from similar place-marketing assessments, specifically Mathews and Patton (2016) analysis of brewery website text and graphics and Fletchall (2016) survey method and categorization of imagery and naming trends.

Data for the study is an aggregate of web resources (Brewers Association database and individual brewery websites) and a perception survey distributed virtually. Part I of the study is modeled by Mathews and Patton (2016) content analysis of text and visual trends by region, with the baseline being Brewers Association data. At the time of examination, 1916 microbreweries were recognized in the United States by the Brewers Association. The study area of interest for this analysis were the states of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Of the 1916 microbreweries, 191 microbreweries were evaluated ($n=191$), with the distribution amongst the study area being: Alabama (15), Georgia (31), North Carolina (88), South Carolina (23), and Tennessee (34). Brewery names, locations, and website URLs were gathered from the Brewers Association database and cataloged into a spreadsheet. Microbreweries listed in the catalog were selected at random to analyze website content, with a particular interest in product names and associated imagery. Drawing from Bender's construction of regional identity, text and visuals associated with microbreweries in the study area were divided into three categories: landscape, place, and heritage (Table 2.1). The landscape included texts and visuals that referenced physical geographies such as rivers, lakes, and mountains and any associated toponyms. The place included city and town monikers. Heritage included historic, cultural, or personal references, regardless of association with Southerness or the American South.

Part II of the study employed a perception survey, bringing value to the behaviors and attitudes of a geographically dispersed population (McGuirk and O'Neill 2016). The survey was prepared using the Qualtrics platform and distributed through social media outlets and professional and institution-based listservs. Data from the survey were divided into the following categories: attributes, behavior, attitudes, and beliefs (Table 2.2). With written permission from select breweries in the study region, the datum gathered in the beliefs category was supplemented with website content for participants to react and reflect on active and authentic material (e.g. Figure 2.2). The data collection period took place between July 2022 and September 2022, resulting in 25 participants.

Table 2.1 Registered Brewers Association Microbreweries (*Member Directories: Breweries 2022*)

Alabama		
LANDSCAPE	**PLACE**	**HERITAGE**
Braided River Brewing Company	*Avondale Brewing Company*	*Back Forty Beer Company*
Cahaba Brewing Company	*Fairhope Brewing Company*	*Druid City Brewing*
Singin' River Brewing Company	*Goat Island Brewing*	*Folklore Brewing and Meadery*
		Ghost Train Brewing Company
		Rocket Republic Brewing Company
		Straight to Ale
		Trim Tab Brewing
		Yellowhammer Brewery
Georgia		
LANDSCAPE	**PLACE**	**HERITAGE**
Burnt Hickory Brewery	*Atlanta Brewing*	*Abide Brewing Company*
Coastal Empire Beer Company	*Dalton Brewing Company*	*Akademia Brewing Company*
Currahee Brewing Company	*Fannin Brewing*	*Arches Brewing*
Pretoria Fields Collective	*Omaha Brewing Company*	*Dry County Brewing Company*
Savannah River Brewing Company		*Fire Maker Brewing Company*
Six Bridges Brewing		*Ironmonger Brewing*
The Woodlands at Sweetwater		*Ironshield Brewing*
		Jekyll Brewing
		Monday Night Brewing
		Orpheus Brewing
		Red Hare Brewing Company
		Rightside Brewing
		Sabbath Brewing
		Second Self Beer Company
		Service Brewing Company
		Southbound Brewing Company
		Southern Brewing Company
		Three Taverns Craft Brewery
		Twain's Brewpub & Billiards

		Wild Heaven Beer
North Carolina		
LANDSCAPE	**PLACE**	**HERITAGE**
Catawba Brewing Company	*Appalachian Grail Brewing*	*Aviator Brewing Company*
Currahee Brewing Company	*Company*	*Barrel Culture Brewing and*
Haw River Farmhouse Ales	*Bear Creek Brews*	*Blending*
Nantahala Brewing Company	*Carolina Brewery*	*Beer Lab by Ghostface Brewing*
New River Brewing	*Carolina Brewing Company*	*Bevana*
Northern Outer Banks Brewing	*Kernersville Brewing Company*	*Big Boss Brewing Company*
Company	*Lost Colony Brewery and Café*	*Big Game Brewing*
Pisgah Brewing Company	*NC State Brewery*	*Billy Beer*
Sugar Creek Brewing Company	*NoDa Brewing Company*	*Birdsong Brewing Company*
Sweeten Creek Brewing	*Lynnwood Brewing Concern*	*Bombshell Beer Company*
Sycamore Brewing Taproom &	*Olde Hickory Brewery*	*Boojum Brewing Company*
Beer Garden	*Raleigh Brewing Company*	*Brew and Feed Brewing*
Twenty-Six Acres Brewing	*Southern Pines Brewing Company*	*Brewery 99*
Company	*Uptown Brewing Company*	*Brewery Bhavana*
	White Street Brewing Company	*Broomtail Craft Brewery*
		Brown Truck Brewery
		Brueprint Brewing Company
		Burial Beer Company
		Clouds Brewing
		DSSOLVR
		Dingo Dog Brewing Company
		Duck Rabbit Craft Brewery
		Durty Bull Brewing Company
		Fonta Flora Brewery
		Fullsteam Brewery
		Ginger's Revenge
		Good Hops Brewing
		Gravity Tap'd Brewing Company
		Green Man Brewing Company
		HOOTS Beer Company
		Heist Brewery & Barrel Arts
		Hi-Wire Brewing
		HopFly Brewing Company
		Hugger Mugger Brewing Company
		Jolly Roger Brew
		Kettell Beerworks
		Lonerider Brewing Company
		Mason Jar Lager Company
		Mordecai Beverage Company
		Mother Earth Brewing
		New Anthem Beer Project
		New Sarum Brewing
		Nickelpoint Brewing Company
		Norse Brewing Company
		R&D Brewing
		RMM Brewery Incubator
		Shortway Brewing Company
		Skull Camp Brewing
		Starpoint Brewing
		Steel Hands Brewing
		Steinhaugen Brewery
		TRU Colors
		Thirsty Skull Brewing

		Toasty Kettlyst Beer Company
		Top of the Hill Restaurant and Brewery
		Triple C Brewing Company
		Trophy Brewing Company
		Unknown Brewing Company
		Wise Man Brewing
		Zebulon Artisan Ales

South Carolina		
LANDSCAPE	**PLACE**	**HERITAGE**
Brewery 85	*Columbia Craft*	*Benford Brewing Company*
Cooper River Brewing Company	*Holy City Brewing*	*Edmund's Oast Brewing Company*
Estuary Brewing Company		*Fatty's Beer Works*
Low Tide Brewing		*Freehouse Brewery*
Thomas Creek Brewery		*Frothy Beard Brewing Company*
		Hunter-Gatherer Brewery
		Munkle Brewing Company
		New South Brewing Company
		RJ Rockers Brewing Company
		River Dog Brewing Company
		River Rat Brewery
		Southern Barrel Brewing Company
		Steel Hands Brewing
		The Hold by Revelry Brewing
		Twisted Spur Brewing
		Wild Heart Brewing

Tennessee		
LANDSCAPE	**PLACE**	**HERITAGE**
Blackberry Farm Brewery	*Chattanooga Brewing Company*	*Asgard Brewing Company*
Crosstown Brewing Company	*Copperhill Brewery*	*Blackhorse Pub and Brewery*
Delta Sunshine Brewing Company	*Depot Street Brewing Company*	*Blackstone Brewing Company*
Ghost River Brewing	*Hub City Brewing*	*Bold Patriot Brewing Company*
	Memphis Made Brewing Company	*BriarScratch Brewing*
	Tennessee Brew Works	*Calfkiller Brewing Company*
		Common Law Brewing Company
		Corsair Artisan
		Elst Brewing Company
		Fat Bottom Brewing
		Half Batch Brewing
		High Cotton Brewing
		Honky Tonk Brewing Company
		Hook Point Brewing Company
		Hutton & Smith Brewing Company
		Jackalope Brewing Company
		Meddlesome Brewing Company
		New Heights Brewing Company
		Ole Shed Brewing Company
		The Black Abbey Brewing Company
		Turtle Anarchy Brewing Company
		VonSeitz TheoreticAles
		Yee-Haw Brewing

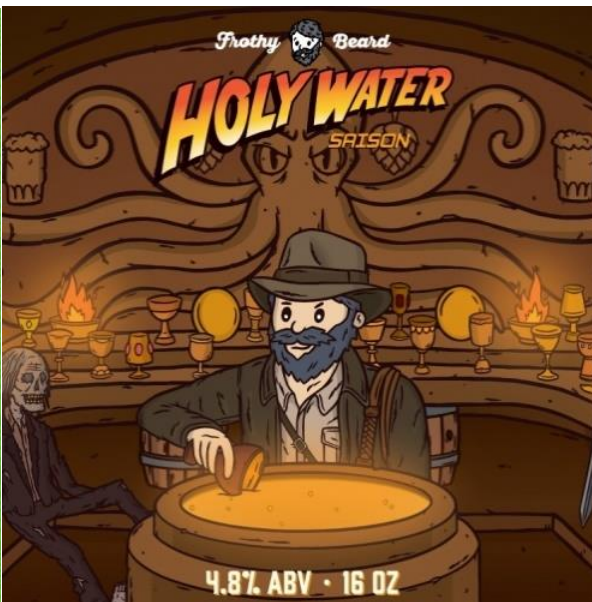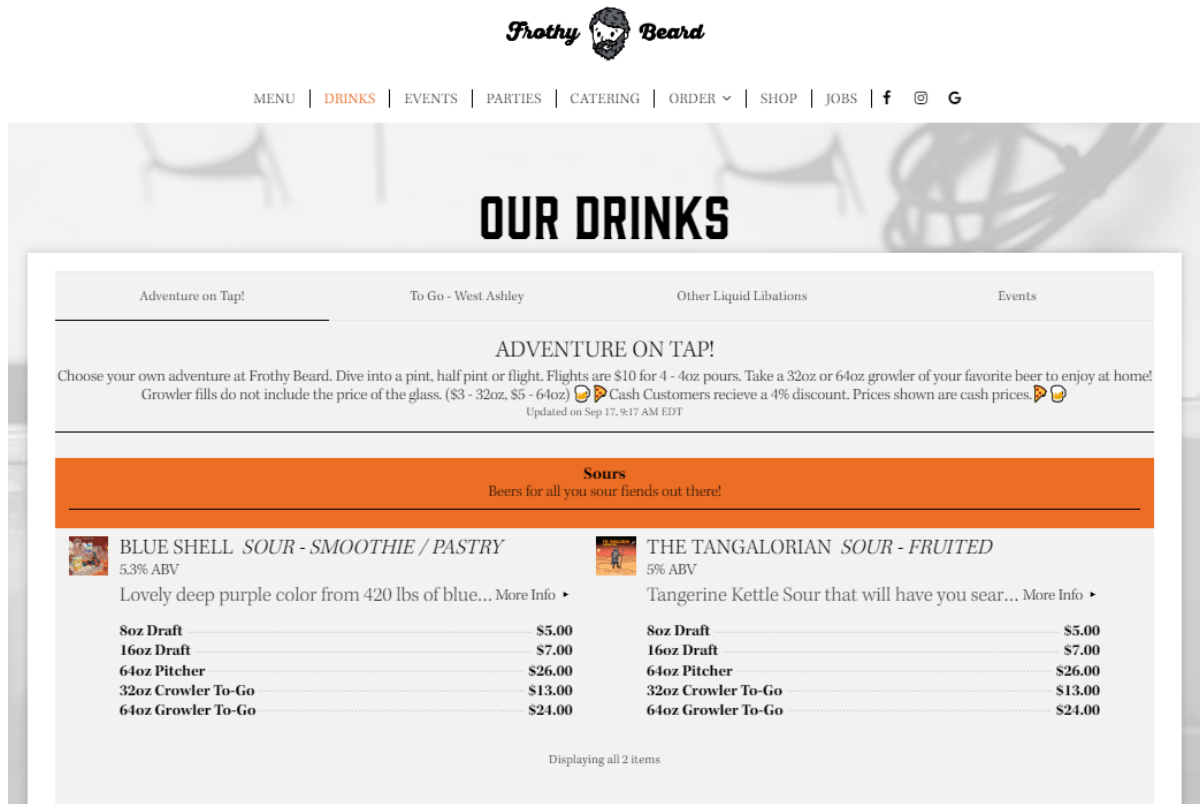**Figure 2.1 Frothy Beard Brewing Company Website and Select Labels (*Our Drinks* 2022)**

Table 2.2 Example of Perception Survey Categories

Attributes
Age, Gender Identity, Race(s), Zip Code, Education Level, Personal Income
Behavior
In the past 3 years, have you been employed at a brewery in any role? *In the past 3 years, have you visited a local brewery?* *In the past 3 years, have you traveled to visit a brewery?* *In the past 3 years, have you purchased craft brewery products from brewery on-site, grocer, bar, etc.?* *In the past 3 years, have you attended a festival or conference centered around craft beer?*
Attitudes
What degree of importance is a brewery's name on your consumption? *What degree of importance is a craft beer's name on your consumption?* *What degree of importance does imagery on a craft beer's label/marketing have on your consumption?* *Please rank the following components to your craft beer consumption from Most Important (1) to Least Important (5): Taste, Availability and Accessibility, Name of Product, Label/Imagery of Product, Brewer/Producer*
Beliefs
Please visit the following webpage. Browse through the craft beer product labels (there may be multiple pages) and share any initial reactions to the product names and associated imagery included, as well as things that stand out to you in their selection. *Do you have an example of a memorable craft beer label from any brewery not serving as a study site? If so, please explain why it was memorable. Please include as many details as possible, including imagery included on label, brewer/producer, name of product, etc.* *Do you have an example of a memorable brewery name from any brewery not serving as a study site? If so, please explain why it was memorable. Please include as many details as possible, including name of brewery, city/state, etc.*

2.6 Place-making through Brewery and Product Names

The study area presents a unique case of detaching urban and rural adoptions of social

implications and politics of Southerness. Selecting region-based language is inherently an

economic strategy to promote individual brewery's commitment to neolocal motifs. Brewery

names establish the tone and identity for the rest of the brewery's operations, permeating into

strategies behind product names, associated imagery, and programs and events hosted throughout

the establishment. Building on the placemaking framework of Ellery, Ellery, and Borkowsky

(2021), the adoption of particular references through brewery names reflects the continuum in

which placemaking can occur. One end of the continuum considers external forces that institutionalize physical and social variables of Southern identity. Whether that be political hallmarks that withstand changing sociopolitical landscapes or the acknowledgment of industrial and agricultural histories that lay the groundwork for contemporary economies, scaling the South as a homogenous institution disregards the array of narratives that co-exist amongst the region. On the other end of the continuum is placemaking strategies prompted at the individual level, drawing from personal experiences and interpretations of the environment, broadly. Replicating a dominant Southern theme and expressing it through a vanguard of consumption, in this case, brewery names restrict the scope of participants to those who resonate positively with said themes. Brewery names are arguably the first point-of-contact with consumers, where allegiance and perception develop. While not all brewery names have explicit sociopolitical implications regardless of paying homage to regional identity, several breweries identified as having a "heritage" based name remain consistent with expressing Southerness that is often approached with a critical lens (Table 2.1).

South Carolina's breweries provide a wide range of references under those classified as a "heritage." One non-regional reference is that of Frothy Beard Brewing Company in Charleston, South Carolina, whose name draws inspiration from a popular culture reference. Michael Biondi, one of three bearded owners of the company, pays tribute to the "grizzly-bearded Lord of the Rings character at a bar, sluggin' back a beer that covers his entire face" (*New Brew* 2013). Charleston, a riverside city with a coastal-urban vibe with a network of breweries referenced as the "Brewery District" at its core relieves the stress of appealing to the masses through their marketing strategies. Local and regional tourism in Charleston is driven by many channels, with the brewing scene being a leading industry. In Columbia, River Rat Brewery establishes ties to

both the physique and culture of a Southern experience. Columbia is situated at the confluence of the Saluda and Broad Rivers that merge into the Congaree River and is home to Fort Jackson, a U.S. Army training camp. The term "river rat" can resonate with a variety of experiences to those living or visiting the area. River rat has been used colloquially to describe frequent participants of water recreational activities, a historical reference for impoverished people who resided along rivers, and "a collection of American veterans…who formed the backbone of the River Patrol Force of the Vietnam War" (Stark 2016). The narrative the brewery subscribes to reflects the "three rivers that run through our city and the working-class men who labored on the canal here more than a century ago" (*Our History* 2022). These two examples exhibit place-making efforts from the two ends of the continuum framework through their names, with the latter expressing distinct neolocal themes.

Product names are merely an extension of place-making efforts that breweries deploy. Product names provide a more creative yet provisional platform to connect with consumers. The perception survey data reflects 58.3% of participants feel a product's name has neither degree of importance/unimportance in their consumption. Product names can be seen as something overlooked, giving more attention to factors such as beer style (e.g. taste, flavor profile, brewing method). However, product names work at the intersection of reflecting both the beer style and the tone and theme of the brewery established in its history and brewery name. Highland Brewing of Asheville, North Carolina embraces sensory language that mirrors primarily physical experiences of the state and region, broadly. The focus on physical elements of North Carolina and Southern landscapes validates neolocalism not only through their product names but the provided descriptions that accompany them. For example, the High Pines Imperial IPA illustrates a common topographical feature found across the region but is deeply incorporated into the

creation of the product itself, described as "citrus and blueberry hop flavors with a touch of fresh mountain pine" (*Beer* 2022). Appalachian Grail Brewing Company of Hayesville, North Carolina takes a contrasting approach to place-making by referencing a regional toponym in their product names. The names of the majority of their current products are iterative of the toponym "Appalachian," a term laden with regional cultural significance. The product names marry "Appalachian" with names of ingredients incorporated into the beer or the style of beer itself. For example, Azacca hops are incorporated into a New England Style India Pale Ale, resulting in the product name of "Azaccalachian" (*Our Beers* 2022).

2.7 Place-making and Visualizing Southerness through Product Labels

Images used to promote products and identity through craft beer labels are an opportunity to critique, construct, and reimagine place-identity. Product labels are merely a single, yet important component, to building not only the brand of a product or brewery but a geographic brand. In contrast to names, images used in product labels provide a visual context and intent behind specific marketing strategies. In the case of a regional craft beer industry, names establish definitions while labels reflect individual and community narratives and identities. Developing labels in a collaborative and multi-faceted process. Artists are responsible for their skill and creativity in conveying the identity promoted through the products. Not only are they promoting a cultural identity in this strategy, but an identity of the beer itself, including its flavor profile and style of brewing. Product labels "should not only draw attention to itself but also 'tell the story of the beer'" (Lisle 2022). Given the range of references and themes breweries subscribe to, the study area presents a case where breweries work within their means to continue developing neolocal themes through their labels.

A trend in the region's industry involves the descriptor term "haze" which provides a consistent interpretation through adopted imagery and presentation. Haze, as a broad term used in the brewing industry, "generally covers all forms of instability in beer in which insoluble material appears" (*The Oxford Companion to Beer definition of haze* 2022). Essentially, the beer itself presents to be cloudy and opaque to the brewing process. Haze is a shared reference to 1960s counterculture, coded by eccentric behavior and material at the introduction of the term 'Purple Haze' by Jimi Hendrix (Whiteley 1990). Back Forty Beer Company of Birmingham, Alabama, joins a regional colloquial idiom with the counterculture reference in a product named "Rollin' in the Haze." The vibrant color scheme and eclectic design of the label place the counterculture reference at the forefront, with iterations amongst comparable brews across the regional industry (Figure 2.3 and 2.4). While this tactic to promote hazy beers does not convey banal Southern motifs, the commitment to cultural references submits to broader place-making themes within the industry. The replication of visualizing counterculture themes situates the region as a critical component to identity development within the industry.

Figure 2.2 Back Forty Beer Company's "Rollin' in the Haze" (*Rollin' in the Haze 2022)

**Figure 2.3 Dry County Brew Company's "Graffiti Hazy IPA" (*Beers 2022)*
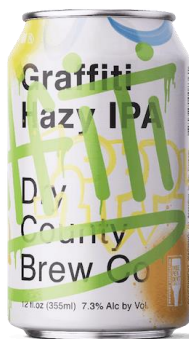
2.7.1   *Rivers as Southern Symbolism in Product Name and Labels*

The river has ecological and socioeconomic mechanisms that can drive the interest of craft breweries in establishing a relationship with them. The river generally functions as an element of the physical landscape, heavily formed by natural and human impact, and can provide both physical and cultural resources to a craft brewery (Wohl and Merritts 2007). The foundation of beer is water, whose quality is carried from start to finish in the brewing process. Regional water quality has served as both an advantage and a barrier for framing a craft brewery's branding and competitiveness in the market (Gatrell et al. 2014). Water is instrumental in constructing neolocal themes and the "taste" of a particular area. The adoption of references to regional rivers and river systems in branding and marketing contributes to the relationship building between the built and natural environment. The reference to a river in a brand or product name serves as a means of place association, recognizing that the river plays a significant part in the community's identity. River references can also provoke a sense of individual nostalgia solely through its name, allowing consumers to draw their connections to how the river constructs their geographic memory. River references are placed into the "landscape" category of Bender's regional identity framework, whether it's the explicit use of a

river's name or a colloquial term. Rivers in the Southeast United States maintain a particular

culture and experience through their histories and functions. The toponymic and colloquial river

names can tell the story of who has lived along the river or offer insight into the sensory

experience of the river (Figure 2.4). Craft breweries incorporate these into their branding and

marketing works in promotion of a unique Southern natural element and experience.

Figure 2.4 References to Regional Rivers and River Systems in Branding and Labeling

2.8   Conclusion

Overall, very few microbreweries in the region affirm banal sociopolitical themes of

Southern identity through their brewery name, product names, and product labels. For those who

subscribe to Southerness through these avenues, the material they present confirms the adoption

of neolocalism not only through the flavor profiles of their products but through the terminology

and imagery they associate with their operations. The breweries in analysis for this study seemingly have a broader interest in promoting the creativity and collaboration that the industry relies on. With the Southeast United States being a growing region for the industry, the lack of homogeny in Southern culture is reflected in the marketing decisions made by individual breweries. Promoting 'the South' through names and imagery does not seem to be a priority. However, this study assessed the open-source content of breweries and perceptions from a range of survey participants with no geographic limitations and does not account for the expressed intentions from brewery owners and operators as to why these marketing tactics are being adopted.

Place-making in the beer industry is not limited to expressions through name and imagery. While names and images provide a distinct point-of-contact that is not dependent on the geography of the consumer, place-making is arguably equally dependent on the physical embodiment of culture and identity. This often occurs on-site at breweries through décor and infrastructure, as well as other contact points such as festivals and conventions. The multi-angle placemaking framework suggested by Ellery, Ellery, and Borkowsky (2021) relies on individuals establishing a sense of place that ultimately helps construct a collective place identity. The Southeast United States' craft beer industry is at the early stages of establishing a collective place identity. As breweries make strategic decisions around marketing, often informed by neighboring activities and trends, they are establishing an individual sense of place. In order to promote a positive trajectory for equitable and diverse industry participation, it begins with monitoring and critiquing what is happening at the individual scale.

CHAPTER III: SOCIOSPATIAL IMPLICATIONS OF CRAFT BREWERY LOCATIONS IN

THREE SOUTHEAST UNITED STATES CITIES

3.1   Introduction

The geographic variation in product and microbrewery experiences commanded an increase in craft beer tourism as another avenue of experiencing 'local' (Alonso 2011). Murray and Kline (2015) determined three factors that drove patroonship in culinary tourism in which craft beer is anchored: (1) connection with the community, (2) desire for unique consumer products, and (3) satisfaction with the brand and taproom experience. It was concluded that rural breweries in North Carolina provided a higher sense of satisfaction than urban breweries because of the ability to maintain individuality and cultural identity. The growth of microbreweries and independent craft brewers expanded at a rapid rate between the 1990s and early 2000s. However, the Southern United States was not tapping into the market as quickly as other regions. Baginski and Bell (2011) examined the underrepresentation of the South's participation in the industry, concluding variables such as population density, policy limitations, and complex economies controlled the pace of involvement.

Critics of the spaces and places where breweries exist suggest that modern trends operate as catalysts for gentrification and economic disparity (Mathews 2022). For the urban craft beer industry, the challenge remains of striking a balance between authenticity in the 'craft' identity, and the conjoined structural and economic demands of the city. This study serves as an analysis of the relationship between the sociospatial trends of three Southeast US cities and craft beer locations. In this chapter, I extend on ongoing geographic and urban studies discourse on craft beer's impact on individual and collective economic decisions and in turn infrastructure use and

city planning (Mathews 2022; Reid et al. 2020). The cities of Asheville North Carolina, Atlanta Georgia, and Nashville Tennessee each provide a unique and critical case of craft beer's impact on industry access and development trends.

3.2   Social and Economic Synergy in Geographic Clustering

The geographic clustering of industries occurs for a variety of reasons, one being the organization of 'knowledge economies.' Knowledge economies are "localized and regionalized, clustered, collective learning systems" (Cooke 2002, p. 187). These centralized, industry-based systems are known to bring "disruptive change," much like how factories streamlined production for goods that were once based out of the home (Cooke 2002, p. 191). Knowledge economies can be scaled down to the local level as a way to thematically organize industries or spatially cluster like processes, making knowledge and information management the "new core of competencies" (Hadad 2017, p. 206). Craft beer clusters can be characterized as spatial pockets of knowledge economies given their collaborative culture, and sharing of infrastructure, equipment and suppliers (Nilsson et al. 2018; Duranton and Puga 2004; Fujita and Thisse 2002). The "craft" essence of craft beer requires a level of comfort and innovation. Geographic clustering of the craft is an opportunity to foster relationships vital to the social and economic sustainability of the industry, validating Granovetter's (1973) social network model.

The proximity advantages decrease the margin of response time to activities such as resolving issues and the introduction of new practices and technologies that may advance functionality and competitiveness (Kuah 2002). Clusters are constructed with underlying mechanisms that propel collective efficiency in an economy; these mechanisms include social infrastructure, innovation, and networking (Rosenfeld 1997). Business clusters form based on a common strand of identity shared by individual enterprises. An example includes ethnic

enclaves and their small and medium business ventures concentrated in a particular

region. Though ethnic enclaves can form as a result of forced urban migration of immigrant

groups, they create clusters of businesses often owned by members of immigrant groups, or

specific businesses that serve the needs of the surrounding community (Edin et al., 2003). Urban

subareas, such as ethnic enclaves, often have a broader function in the economic landscape of a

city based on the identified mechanisms of a cluster (Porter 1998a; Porter 1980). Individual firms

are faced with uncertainty and risks when deciding to be a part of or avoiding to a cluster. Krider

and Putler (2013) suggest five categories of clustering/avoidance patterns for different retail

types, providing a single perspective on small and medium enterprise behavior tendencies, as

seen in Table 3.1 These categories support Porter's (1998) notion of competition within

geographic clusters, which challenges the synchronicity of clusters as knowledge economies with

resource and knowledge sharing at its core.

Table 3.1 Categories of Clustering/Avoidance Patterns for Different Retail Types (Krider & Putler 2013)

Hyperagglomeration: Stores strongly cluster in one or a few locations within a metropolitan area
Local Agglomeration: Stores of the same-type cluster over a fairly short distance, whereas over longer distances the pattern is not different from the location of retailers in general
The Auto Mall Pattern: Stores of the same-type cluster into small areas, but the resulting clusters strongly avoid one another
Overall Avoidance: Stores of the same type avoid one another
No tendency to avoid or agglomerate: Stores of the same type reflect the general distribution of all retailers

3.3   Trends in Existing Craft Beer Urban Clustering

Brewery location is argued to be a strategic and conscious decision to appeal to both

geographic and market demands. The tendency for breweries to co-exist across spaces, especially

in urban landscapes, is driven by resource sharing and other values of being in an economic network, mimicking the advantages and pitfalls of economic clusters (Porter 1990). Nilsson et al. (2018) identified a few industry characteristics that prompt clustering tendencies of microbreweries and brewpubs in major urban centers across the United States. The following characteristics are generally dominant at the core of the clustering (1) craft brewers as insurgent entrepreneurs, (2) preference for variety, (3) collaboration and knowledge sharing within the Craft Brewing Industry, and (4) regulatory restrictions. The first characteristic, *Craft Brewers as Insurgent Entrepreneurs,* indicates that the community-centered roots of the industry are vital to understanding trends in both cultural and economic behavior. The craft beer movement retains underlying tones of being a disruption to entrepreneurial expectations. They cited scholarship that is critical of the relationship between craft beer and macro-brewing industries, describing craft beer as "anti-mass production movements" and "smothering homogeneity of popular, national culture."

The second characteristic, *Preference for Variety,* looks at consumer trends solely based on the product. Disregarding spatial tendencies, a competitive market compels enterprises to be innovative in their production to appeal to the target consumer base. Aside from market competition motivation, enterprises must also have an emotional investment in the production process, which yields greater public reception and, subsequently, loyalty. In the craft beer industry, craft brewers are found competing against macro-brewers and fellow microbrewers. To maintain competitiveness in the market, craft brewers produce a wide variety of beers using a multitude of blends and mixes. Scholarship shows that the target market for craft beer is the adventure-seeking millennial generation. A 2016 Brewers Association survey shows that 57% of weekly craft beer consumers come from this generation (Herz 2016). It is argued that craft beer

enterprises are more advantaged if they are located in close proximity to other craft beer enterprises, and more particularly in areas that are attractive to the millennial population.

This segues into the third characteristic of *Collaboration and Knowledge Sharing within the Craft Beer Industry.* The market competition looks different in the craft beer industry; participation in the industry is typically not profit-driven, but how one fits into the existing industry. A collaborative theme in the craft beer industry is innovative in both the economic and cultural arenas. Collaboration encourages more variety that consumers look for in the industry and creates cycles of knowledge to share amongst those participating in the production side. Enterprises benefit from clustering in this capacity to reduce time and costs to acquire opportunities to grow and collaborate, which benefits both the producers and consumers. The nature of learning the craft of brewing is not conducive to a "how-to" manual, but rather knowledge sharing through alternative means, mostly word-of-mouth. This also allows individual enterprises to work as a collective to address larger issues that result from their operations. For example, clustered enterprises can collaborate to reduce any harmful environmental impacts caused by standardized processes such as the transportation of goods and materials, and waste.

The final characteristic considered was *Regulatory Restrictions*. This characteristic reviewed the city planning implications of why craft beer enterprises are encouraged to be clustered. Craft beer enterprises pose a complex situation for zoning purposes. They often maintain multiple identities of restaurant, manufacturer, and entertainment. Some cities have been flexible with zoning logistics to accommodate the rapid growth of the industry. This provides an opportunity to different purposes within the industry to best accommodate their actual day-to-day operations.

Using the spatial analysis tool of Ripley's K-function, Nilsson et al. (year?) examined clustering patterns in ten cities across the United States, representing regions through one of their largest urban areas. The K-function looks at the number of points, their relative distance from one another, and the density of points in a particular study area. Nilsson et al. ran separate analyses of a common division in the craft beer industry: microbreweries vs. brewpubs. Microbreweries often serve as hubs for production and distribution, whereas brewpubs represent craft beer production with the standard service industry. One of their results outlined the spatial segregation of these two "classes". The outstanding cities that resulted in significant segregation were New York City, Portland, and San Diego. A pattern identified in the outstanding cities showed that brewpubs concentrated in more residential neighborhoods and microbreweries were more concentrated in industrial areas of the city. Nilsson et al. used Dixon's nearest neighbor contingency table (NNCT) to look at both classes of the industry. NNCT's are designed to identify spatial segregation by observing patterns of randomly labeled points of mapped data. The most indicative result Nilsson et al. drew from the spatial segregation of brewpubs and microbreweries is that, since only a few cities showed these clustering tendencies, the study lacked significant results and "suggests that these tendencies are not universal" (p. 122). However, their study does prove that the craft beer industry has a tendency towards constructing "brewery districts," whereas craft beer enterprises often serve as the core of creativity and community building. In reference to the third characteristic, *Collaboration and Knowledge Sharing within the Craft Beer Industry,* craft beer enterprises innately hold each other accountable to remain culturally and economically competitive. This ongoing competitive and communal nature can be seen as a driving force for the redevelopment of existing or transitioning infrastructure.

3.4   Central Place Theory: Urban-Economic Nexus of Beer

Christaller (1933) and Losch (1940) laid the foundation for conceptualizing consumer behavior in a complex economic landscape that forged a broadly utilized geographic phenomenon known as Central Place Theory (CPT). CPT anticipates that "demand for a particular good decline regularly with distance from the source of supply" (Brown 1993, p. 71). This theory operates on the assumption of identical consumers and an even distribution of population, as well as multi-purpose shopping behavior that developed as an extension of Christaller and Losch's contributions (King 1985). The concentration of a particular market depends on distinguishing "specialized" goods, which are characterized by the locational ties of a good based on their supply and/or demand of the market (Parr 1987).

CPT in application to the craft beer network connects the business location to urban livability, with measured impacts on residential property values and walkability (Apardian and Reid 2020; Nilsson and Reid 2019). The growth of the craft beer industry in the United States is influenced by multiple factors: product placement inaccessible areas to a predetermined target clientele, measures to remain competitive in the market, and distinguishable creativity of the craft (Elzinga et al. 2015). Indicators of neolocalism in craft beer, as identified by Holtkamp et al. (2016) consider the risk-reward component of using creativity and community building as means of social, economic, and spatial growth for the industry. However, the absence of acknowledging craft beer spaces as potential incubators of racialization provides opportunity to further examine the significance of brewery location based on urban population trends. Creative practice in both economic and non-economic systems of the beer industry is argued to be essential to the success of producing a healthy social culture around craft beer (Reid and Gatrell 2017).

Losch's (1940) theoretical reinterpretation of CPT was developed out of measuring consumer demand for beer within a particular region, and how demand for goods was correlated to population shifts and the introduction of new actors in the market. Visualized by the Spatial Demand Curve, Losch maintained the notion that the closer the distance from the good's source, the higher demand for the good itself, which is reflected in associated factors such as transportation costs and time to acquire the good. Demand for the good also determined the rate of production, and in turn the economic feasibility for a producer to remain competitive in a regional market. These trends operate under the assumption of a uniform cost structure and production schedule. Losch's theory diverges from Christaller's in the sense that market areas can spatially overlap as more actors are involved, leaving little to no room for underserved areas or a firm having a profit advantage over another within the same region (Losch 1940; King 1985).

3.5   Sociospatial Significance of Brewery Location

Determining a brewery's location, as with any commercial venture, involves strategy to ensure a location provides optimal economic feasibility, arguably its primary spatial determinant. Threshold and range, as two core components to CPT, are considerable factors that impact brewery locations and their proximity to competitors and consumers. Urban residential patterns intersect at historic, political, economic, and cultural significance, and continue to shift and adapt to the demands of the city. These trends can dictate resource allocation and commercial patterns, resulting in spatial disparities for the most fundamental of goods and services such as grocers and healthcare. Urban breweries, whether they serve as catalysts or respondents to gentrification (Mathews 2022), are commonly situated in communities that can help maximize profits based on clientele, generating tensions between the social and economic capital of the individual firm and

regional industry. Drawing from demographic distribution data by census block of the 2020

American Community Survey for Asheville, Atlanta, and Nashville, residential trends in each of

the cities present cases for brewery placement based on racial majority.

3.5.1 *Asheville, North Carolina*

Craft beer's presence and success in Asheville trailed the momentum of the city's curated

artisan culture spearheaded by Vanderbilt's drive to make it "a playground for the wealthy"

(Starnes 2003; Hayward and Battle 2018). The city crowned "Beer City, USA" multiple times

can be attributed to when Asheville's investment in redevelopment to support locally owned

small businesses of the 1990s coincided with the resurgence of microbreweries at the national

scale (Glenn 2012). Post-Depression era development led to a trend of "urban renewal" in the

1950s and 1960s, in which Asheville did not have the financial capacity to follow suit until the

late 1970s (*Urban Renewal & City Owned Property* 2021; *Mapping Racial Equity in Asheville,*

NC 2018) . Since then, development efforts of the city prioritized the preservation of its artisan

and industrial histories found in its infrastructure. The preservation of the local architecture and

districts was an appeal to driving tourism, in its many fashions, as a primary industry. Tourism

was the median between cultivating local expressions and exploiting the city's distinct culture as

an economic resource (Strom and Kerstein 2015). The local culture worked in tandem with the

physical landscape surrounding Asheville; the French Broad River and the Blue Ridge

Mountains served as ecological resources that contributed to the tourist economy.

Activity on the French Broad River skewed towards an era of industrial use, a common

function, and utilization of riverfront development. A few examples of its industrial past include

the site of present-day NorthLight Studios was built in 1904 as a tannery curing facility and

repurposed in 2011 by Wendy Whitson for artist studios, and present-day Curve Studios and

Gardens was originally built in 1916 and served as a distribution center for Standard Oil Company (History of Asheville's River Arts District 2020). In 1916, a record flood occurred, which destroyed railroads and significant water damage to buildings. In the 1970s, a riverside revitalization project was initiated by Bill Goacher, who invested in properties to rent out to artists who were displaced from the concurrent downtown revitalization (History of Asheville's River Arts District 2019). Artists inherited the cultural and economic landscape of the area, conceiving the River Arts District (RAD) designation. The RAD as a concept and space expanded alongside the emergence of new art styles that migrated to the area (History of Asheville's River Arts District 2019). Today, the RAD embodies a space for creativity and community to flourish. It has expanded to the repurposing of 23 former industrial and historical buildings along a one-mile stretch of the French Broad River. Three craft breweries found a home in the RAD, expanding the craft and art scene of the area.

Asheville's history and ties to the Vanderbilt economic powerhouse set the stage for perpetual issues of demographic diversity in terms of residential accessibility. Asheville's efforts to build an identity around arts and culture created an opportunity for non-White communities to come together along those same lines. The East End/Valley Street, Asheville's oldest African-American neighborhood, is an area of the city that has expressed resilience in the sense of preserving culture and the infrastructure that comes with the neighborhood, represented by the sole region of 0.0%-20.9% Black in Figure 3.2. The urban renewal that began in the 1970s continues to displace African-American residents and has lasting impacts on the preservation of Black and African-American culture and community that is deeply ingrained in the narrative of Asheville's history (Durr 2021). With the development of multi-dwelling residential units and the expansion of roads and highways, the erasure of this neighborhood occurs in both the

physical and social sense. A few blocks over from the East End/Valley Street is the South Slope

Brewing District, represented by the cluster of breweries north of the predominantly Black

census block in Figure 3.2. This district, with Coxe Avenue at its core, remains to be the city's

region with the highest density of breweries. The proximity to downtown Asheville is optimal

for walkability, economic diversity, and a sensible flow of outwards to the residential suburbs.

While the South Slope district neighbors East End/Valley Street, participation in the

brewing industry continues to operate in a silo, represented by limited to no efforts to engage the

histories, skills, and interests of the historically African-American neighborhood in the

predominantly White industry. Losch's approach to CPT, in the context of Asheville's brewing

landscape, observationally presents an adverse effect on African-American participation in the

industry. The East End/Valley Street neighborhood established an economic network of goods

and services on their own in response to limited engagement, support, and incorporation in the

broader Asheville economy. Craft brewing in the city consciously occupied spaces where they

could thrive economically, knowing the proximity to a confined area of racial and spatial

significance.

Figure 3.1 Percent White by Block Group in Asheville, North Carolina in 2010 (Map Prepared by Author)
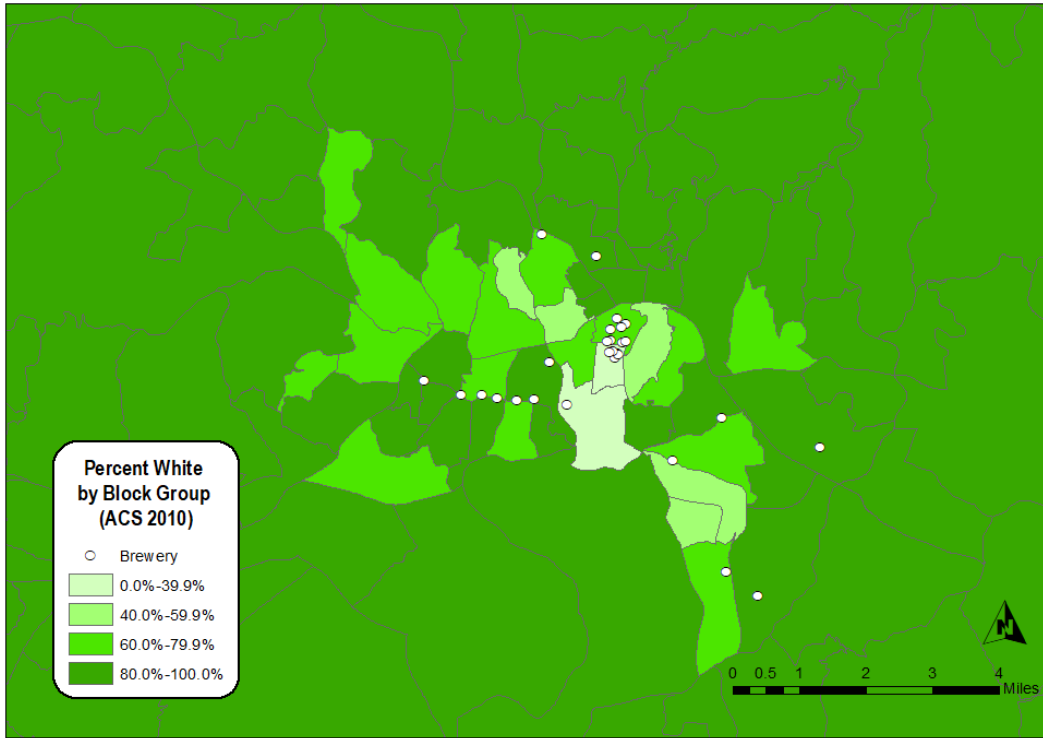

Figure 3.2 Percent Black by Block Group in Asheville, North Carolina in 2010 (Map Prepared by Author)
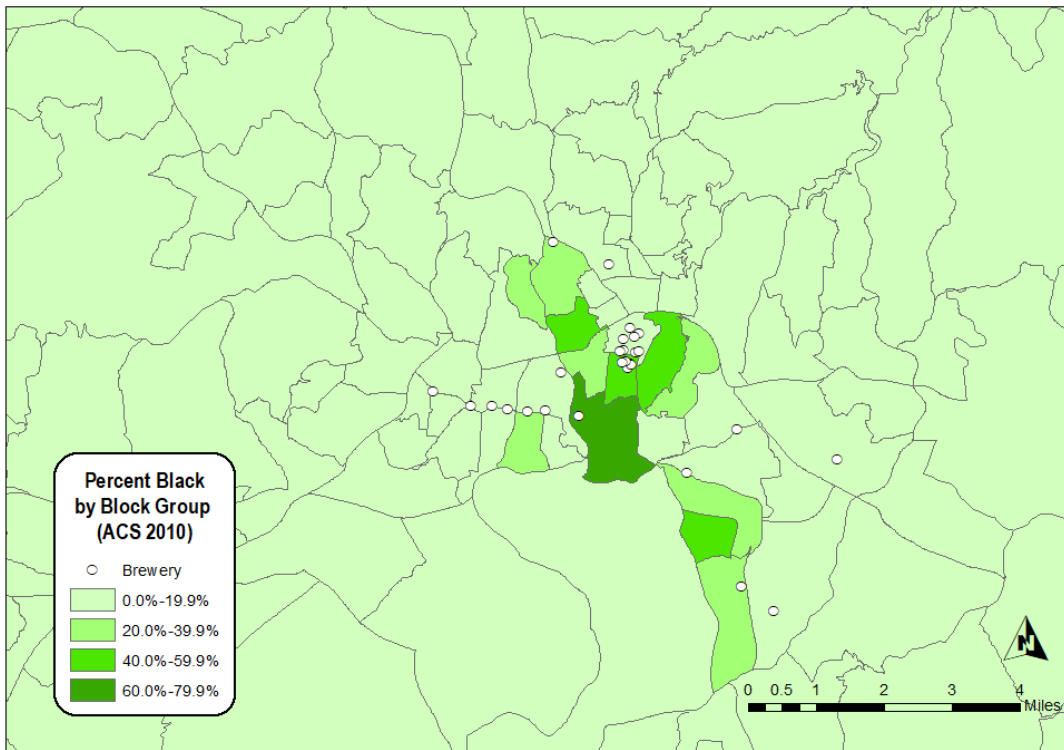
Figure 3.3 Percent White by Block Group in Asheville, North Carolina in 2020 (Map Prepared by Author)
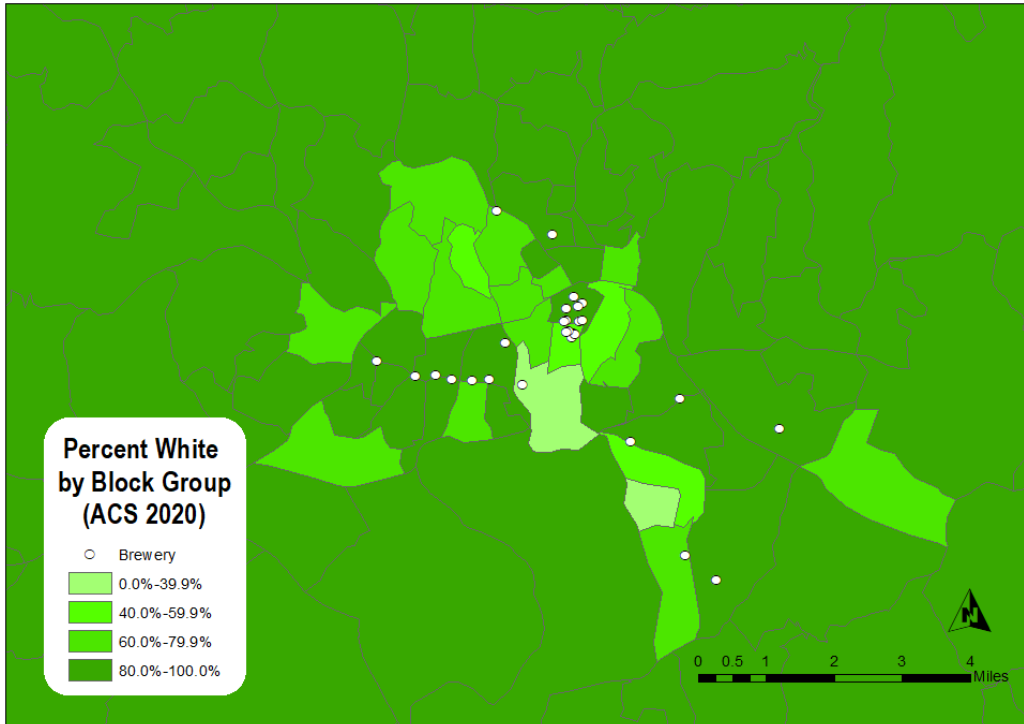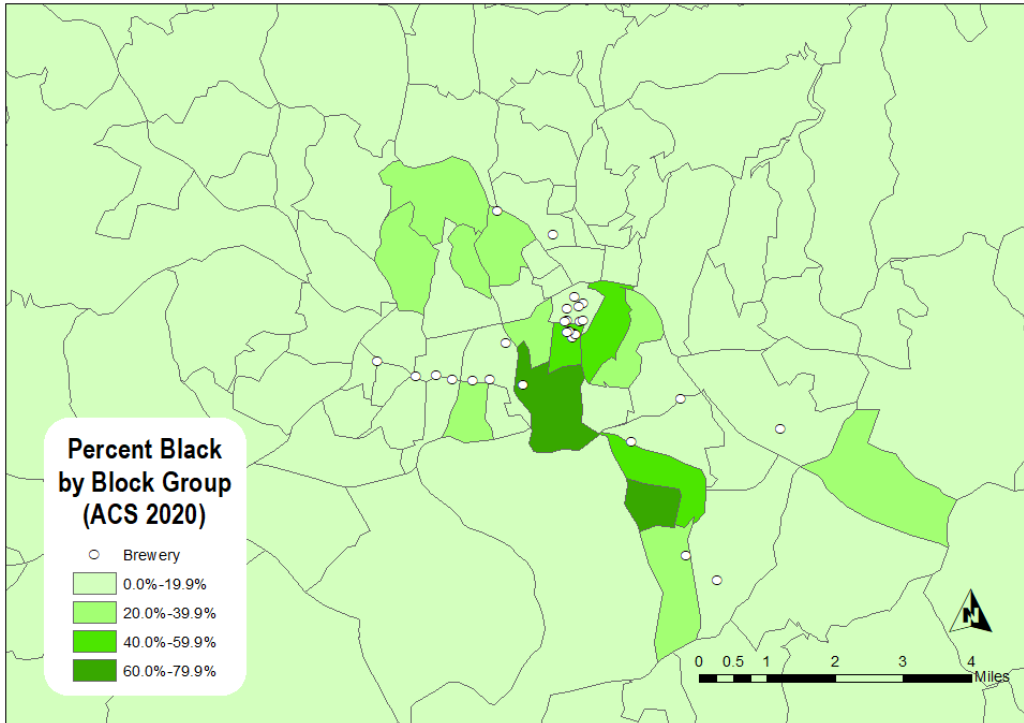

Figure 3.4 Percent Black by Block Group in Asheville, North Carolina in 2020 (Map Prepared by Author)

3.5.2 *Atlanta, Georgia*

Atlanta's urbanization was propelled by the rural-urban migration and the statewide decline of reliance on an agriculture-based economy that was most noticeable in the 1950s (Rice 1984). Nested in the two waves of the Great Migration, the shift of rural agricultural labor and racial disenfranchisement in the South caused unprecedented urban settlement patterns driven by the industrial economy. Atlanta's political significance in the Civil War was not definitive of its rate of urbanization; in the early to mid-20th century, coastal and riverside towns such as Savannah and Augusta continued to be attractive cities that helped maintain population distribution within the State (Rice 1984). The continued investment in a multi-modal transportation network and economic diversification of Atlanta propelled the city's growth, imitative of cities of the North and West that grew as a result of the two Great Migration phases. As the population density in the core of Atlanta grew, migration to the fringe occurred leading to the proliferation of suburban municipalities and special districts (Kruse 2005; Grable 1979).

Like many cities of the South, craft brewing is a relatively young industry as the region has "always been a push-and-pull struggle between the evangelical and the entrepreneurial" (Smith and Boyle 2013). There was a two-decade stint between 1972 and 1992 where there were no breweries in the city. Marthasville Brewing Company and Atlanta Brewing Company brought brewing back to the city in 1993, four years before the iconic SweetWater Brewing came into the picture, which continues to serve as a prominent symbol of Atlanta's brewing industry (Smith and Boyle 2013). State politics continued to constrain the creative and economic functions of the industry, until 2004 when Georgia House Bill 645 lifted the 6% alcohol by volume law (ABV), permitting the purchase of beers up to 14% ABV. Atlanta's craft beer industry growth continued to be dictated by politics, both on the production and consumption sides (Karellas 2018). In

2017, Georgia Senate Bill 85 permitted breweries to sell products directly to consumers, which led to the emergence of "production breweries", or breweries with an in-house restaurant, as these establishments were now able to package and distribute their products as other breweries were able to do before the passing of this legislation (Karellas 2018).

Atlanta's downtown continues to be the spatial indicator where the north of the core is consistently predominantly White and the south of the core is predominantly Black, with these trends driven by the city's policy around essential services such as housing, healthcare, and transit (Immergluck 2022). Municipal urban development projects and revitalization efforts, such as the pedestrian corridor designated the "Beltline", continue to restrict residential and commercial diversity (Brey 2021; Immergluck and Balan 2018). Within the past 10 years, breweries have developed in areas of the city that are undergoing a sociodemographic transition commanded by demands of the housing and labor markets (Townsend 2022). Areas of particular interest often intersect with the "Beltline" due to the prospects of economic prosperity and its role as a structured incubator for creative ventures. For example, mixed-used development in a region of the city known as the "Upper Westside," whose primary function was to serve as a rail corridor and industrial hub with limited residential use, is transitioning into a center for locals and tourists alike can live and play. Represented by the residential regions in the northwest quadrant of Figure 3.3, craft breweries who found home in the Upper Westside ground themselves in a network of urban amenities such as a food hall, co-working office spaces, and multidwelling residential units. As CPT suggests, minimizing the physical distance to access this variety of amenities is advantageous to both the residential consumer and the individual firms. In addition to the economic benefits of having craft beer as a part of the local landscape, this opens the opportunity for a higher frequency of visitation, in which brand loyalty is established. The

West End neighborhood presents a case of breweries being written into the complex socioeconomic history of the city. West End, represented by the cluster of breweries in the southwest region of the city that is predominantly Black in Figure 3.4, is a delicately preserved district tied to Black arts and culture and listed on the National Register of Historic Places (*Historic West End* 2021). The neighborhood is well established with residences and commercial storefronts that have sustained through generations, and is well connected on multiple modes of transit, including the MARTA bus and rail lines and the BeltLine pedestrian corridor. The West End continues to face the threat of commercialization through revitalization and its subsequent effects on property values and displacement, like that of "Lee + White" (Brewer et al. 2020). Lee + White is an adaptive reuse project that redeveloped a 433,204-square-foot former warehouse from the 1950s and 1960s into a hub for shopping, food and beverage, and office spaces (*Our News* 2019). The presence of three breweries within the same retail complex has fashioned the name "Malt Disney" by locals (Jordan 2023).

Figure 3.5 Percent White by Census Tract in Atlanta, Georgia in 2010 (Map Prepared by Author)
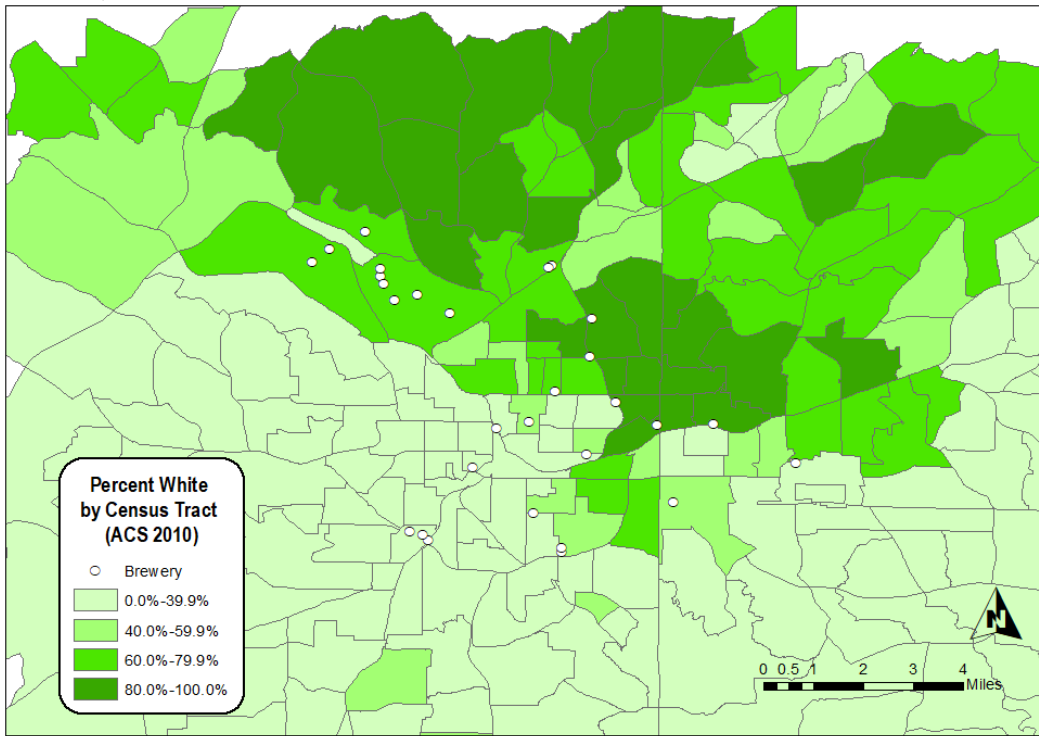

Figure 3.6 Percent Black by Census Tract in Atlanta, Georgia in 2010 (Map Prepared by Author)
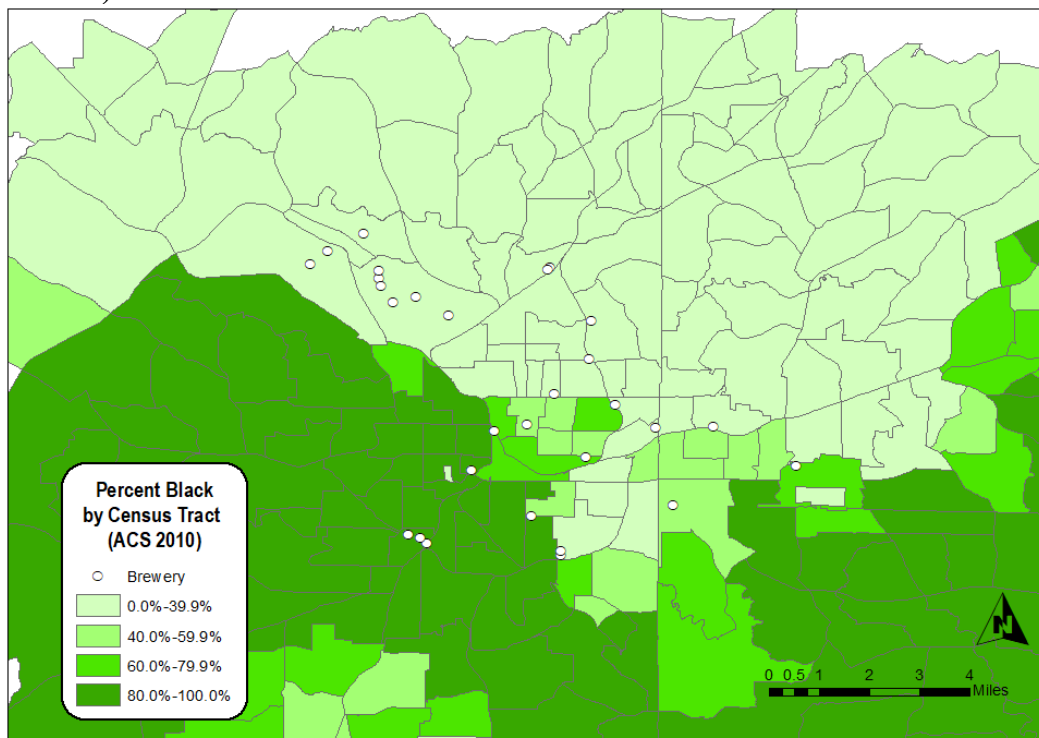
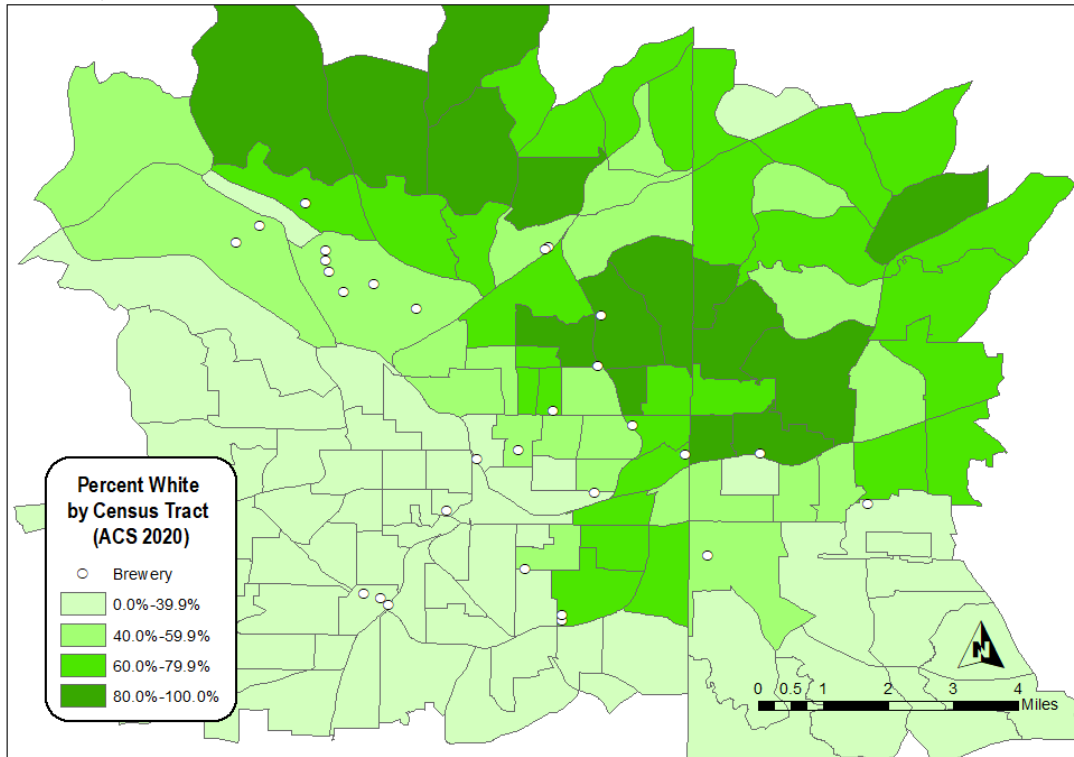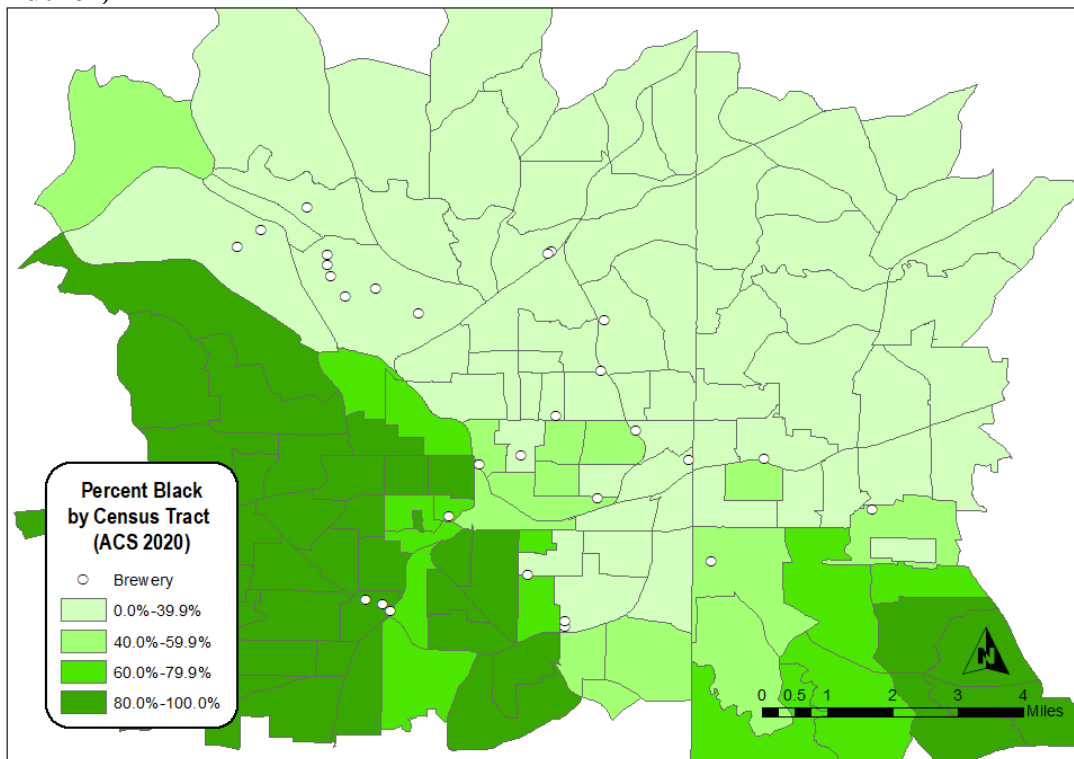**Figure 3.7 Percent White by Census Tract in Atlanta, Georgia in 2020 (Map Prepared by Author)**

Figure 3.8 Percent Black by Census Tract in Atlanta, Georgia in 2020 (Map Prepared by Author)

3.5.3 *Nashville, Tennessee*

Nashville's centrality is a geographic advantage that has helped maintain its role as an exchange center for goods, services, and knowledge. The city served as a vital link for the rail network between the North and South during the Civil War, which was instrumental in building an identity of economic, political, and cultural diversity. Agriculture, at the core of commerce for not only the region but for a growing city, prompted settlement and development patterns that cultivated economic and social belonging (Eff 1998). Post-Civil War economic impacts caused a shift from living on the farm to in the city. The move to the city forged a spike in industrial labor and a transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture (Doyle 1990). Nashville's investment in highway development led to suburban development, where the core and periphery experienced simultaneous growth in population and infrastructure capacity (Bledsoe 2020). While the growth boundaries of the city were permeated, racial settlement patterns remained consistent, with little to no impact of refugees and foreign-born communities on the metropolitan demographic landscape and social fabric. Between the 1970s and 1990s, Hmong and Kurdish refugees clustered in southeast Nashville amongst working-class white neighborhoods (Winders 2013). Black neighborhoods remained to exist in the north and east Nashville, and wealthy white neighborhoods in west Nashville, as represented in Figures 3.5 and 3.6. Until the 1990s at the rapid emergence of a Latinx immigrant population, the city's discernable Black-White binary was present in geographic, social, and political spheres. Nashville never adopted the title "gateway city" as many cities in the South and the US at large did. But with a growing Latinx population settling in the periphery, the city was "becoming part of the complex national conversation about the country's changing racial and cultural landscape" (Winders 2013, p.19).

Brewing in the Music City was introduced through the settlement of German immigrants in the mid-19th century. Brewing was amongst the range of trades that immigrants brought to a growing Nashville. The brewing industry became spatially isolated in what is known today as "Germantown" (Chamberlain 2014). The character of Germantown today is reminiscent of how the community was established in the mid-19th century, where it serves as a communal space to work, live, and play. As neighboring states across the South experienced similarly, politics in the form of the Civil War and Prohibition disrupted the presence of breweries in the Nashville community. In the early 20th century, Gerst Brewing Company dominated the industry, providing the familiarity and uniqueness of Nashville brewing. Due to market competition against mass-producing beer companies, Gerst Brewing Company closed their doors in 1954, leading to a forty-year dry stint for brewing in the city (Mertie 2018). In 1994, Nashville joined the modern craft beer movement with the opening of Blackstone Brewing Company in 1994, opening doors for the city to revive its historical ties to beer and brewing in and for the community (Chamberlain 2014).

Nashville's area that currently holds the highest density of breweries is in a neighborhood called "The Nations," a name that "stretches back to before colonization, when different Native American tribal nations would meet there to communicate" (Alfs 2017). As a hot spot for renovated homes and residential-turned-commercial infrastructure, The Nations embraces the suburban essence that counters the commotion of downtown Nashville. The principle of bringing commercial services to residential areas suggested by Losch's CPT is mirrored in recent development patterns of The Nations. The neighborhood once had a mix of residential and industrial use, where workers lived close to labor opportunities. Today, the neighborhood remains to be mixed-use, where a wave of commercial services moved into the area in response

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to a spike in residential redevelopment and the desire to have food, shopping, and workspaces in close proximity. Breweries with locations in The Nations have adopted language into their operations to demonstrate their commitment to the local by being a "neighborhood brewery", and how their presence can bring "better the community in which [they] exist" (Harding House Brewing Co. 2023; Southern Grist Brewing Co. 2023).

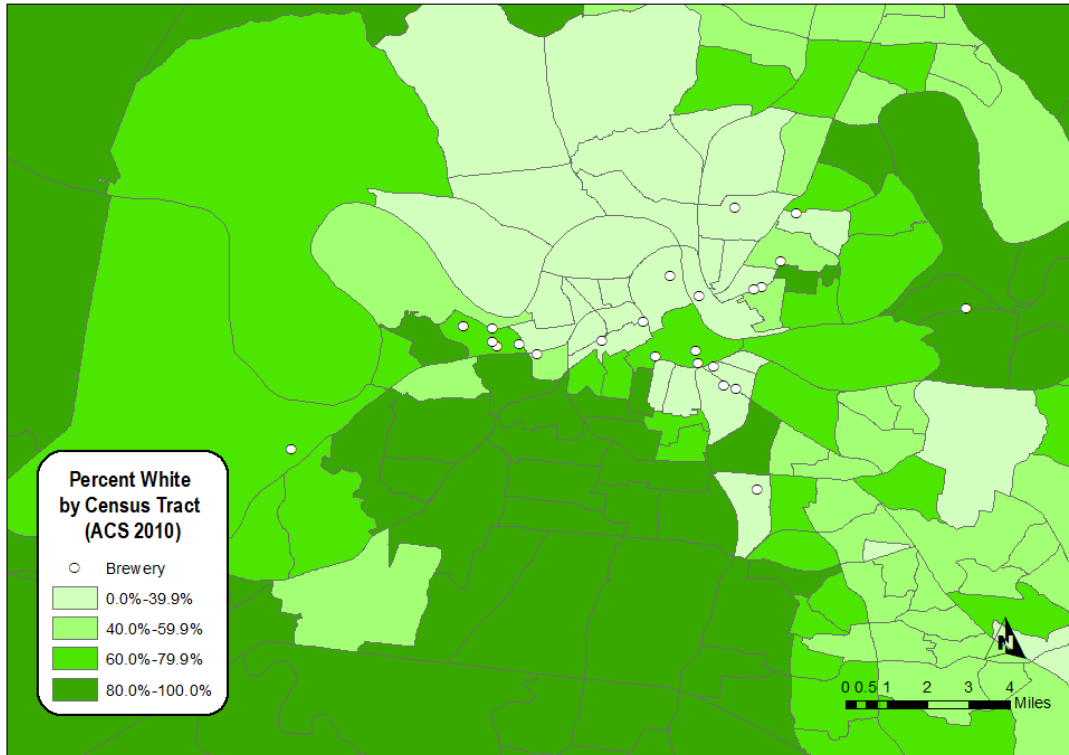**Figure 3.9 Percent White by Census Tract in Nashville, Tennessee in 2010 (Map Prepared by Author)**

Figure 3.10 Percent Black by Census Tract in Nashville, Tennessee in 2010 (Map Prepared by Author)
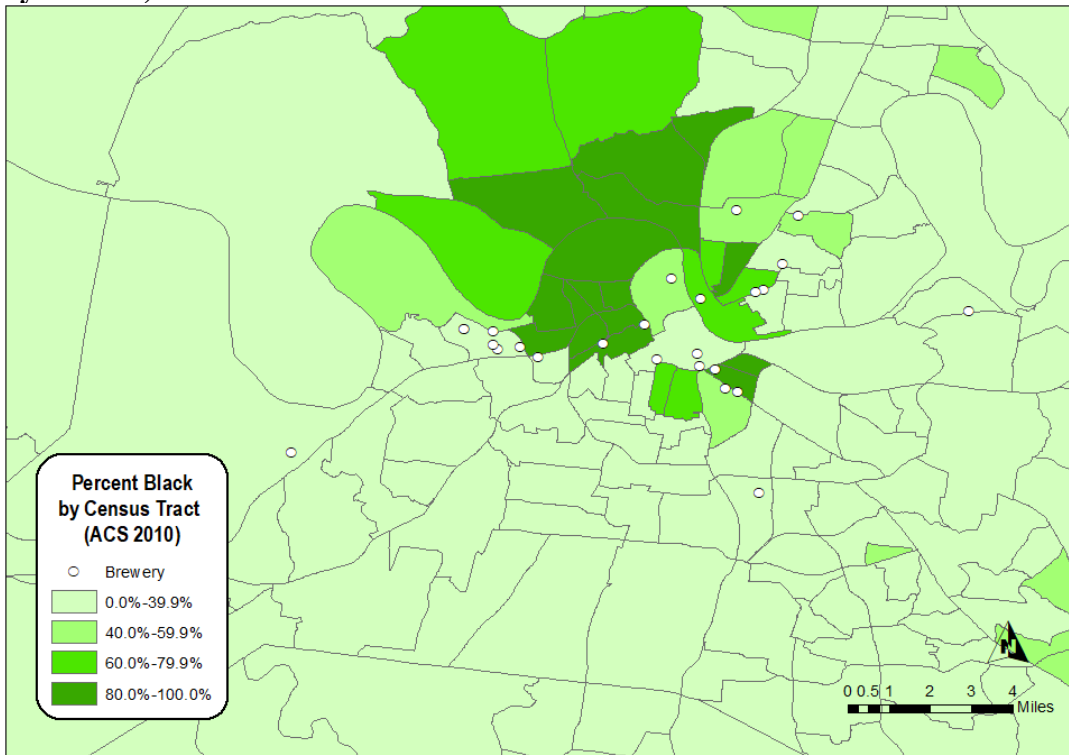
Figure 3.11 Percent White by Census Tract in Nashville, Tennessee in 2020 (Map Prepared by Author)
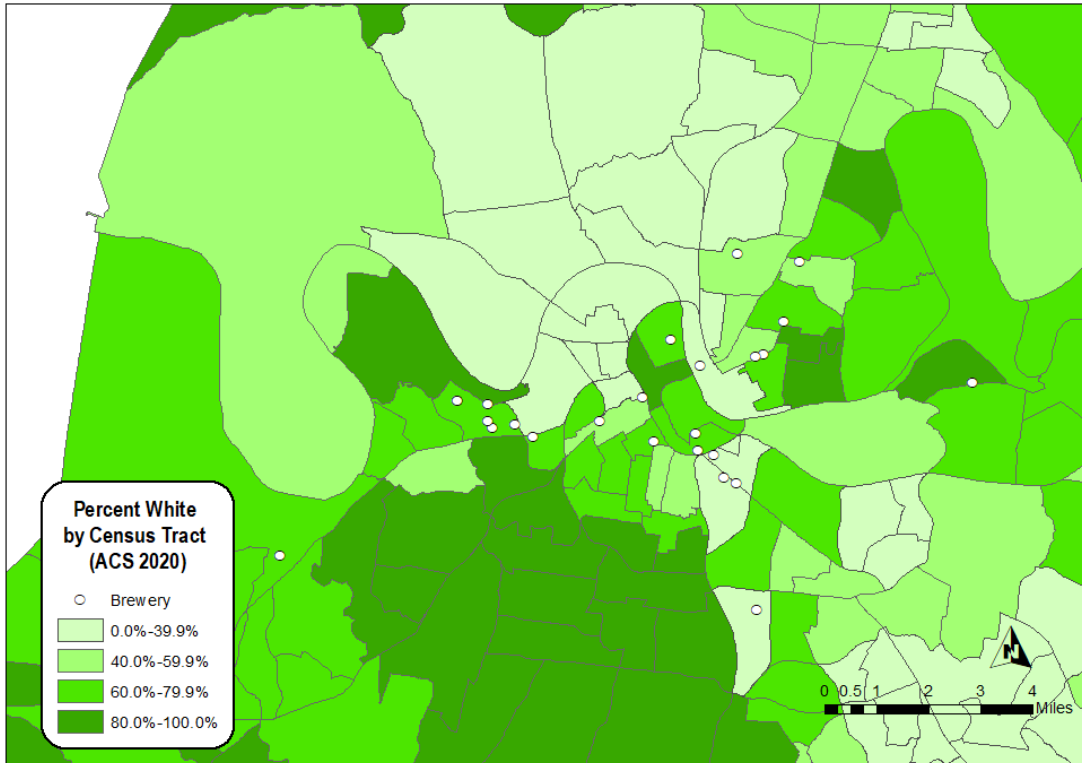
Figure 3.12 Percent Black by Census Tract in Nashville, Tennessee in 2020 (Map Prepared by Author)
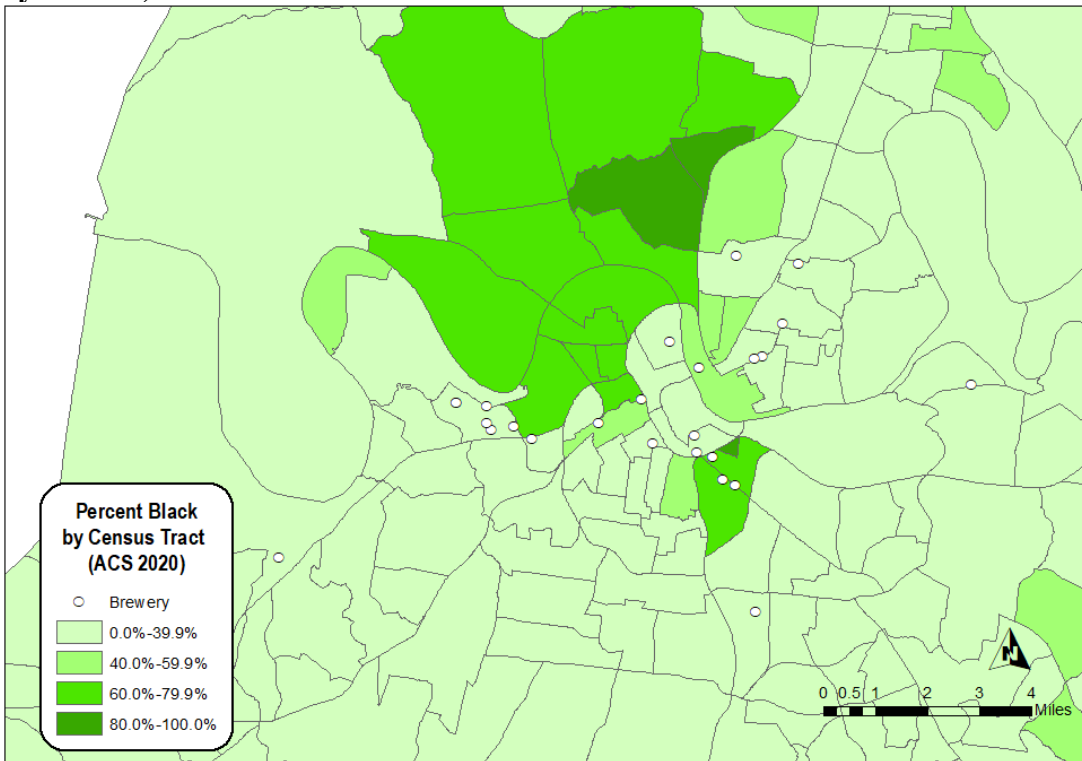
3.6 Conclusion

Brewery locations in Asheville, Atlanta, and Nashville are strategic in the sense that their development is based on modern residential and commercial trends. Losch's interpretation of CPT diverges from Christaller's by identifying the potential for a firm to achieve maximum profit based on spatial proximity to a consumer base. Breweries in these cities can be seen as a tool to preserve their respective urban histories, where brewing is merely a substitution to previous industries that laid the groundwork for how the city developed. Breweries, regardless of the magnitude of the commitment to the craft and creative aspect of the industry, are fundamentally a business venture whose survival is dependent upon a holistic urban-economic model; sourcing materials, providing a unique experience, and location strategy are just a few elements that determine a firm's success or downfall.

Brewery placement in predominantly White neighborhoods, or neighborhoods on that trajectory, is a conscious decision to ensure maximum profit based on other identity-based consumption trends. Situating themselves in a network of other breweries and comparable goods and services promotes an elevated and exclusive experience that is primarily accessed by those who frequent said goods and services. On the contrary, CPT can be applied to justify the existence and sustainability of centralized markets of Black-owned and foreign-owned businesses that occur within the same city. However, Black-owned and foreign-owned businesses are likely to carry more social, and in turn economic weight, as they can be seen as both essential for local clientele and "exotic" for non-locals. Craft breweries can assume a similar role, as they are deliberately located in places in which they can maximize their services and maintain a particular social and cultural significance.

Proximity matters to social and economic cohesion. The clustering of breweries in or near predominantly White neighborhoods validates Krider and Putler's (2013) clustering/avoidance tendencies, with concentrated areas of breweries bordering 'hyperagglomeration' and 'local agglomeration.' Breweries within close proximity to each other disregard the threat of economic competition, but rather seek value in sharing a curated spatial network with one another. However, there is an opportunity to extend Krider and Putler's clustering/avoidance notion to understand the spatial and economic competitiveness between multiple clusters of breweries across a single space. Additionally, if breweries diverge from the trend of being intentionally established in predominantly White neighborhoods, it poses the question as to how breweries can exist in predominantly Black neighborhoods without being seen as a tool for gentrification and displacement.

CHAPTER IV: CRAFT BEER DISTRICTING AND THE URBAN CULTURAL ECONOMY

4.1   Introduction

Scholars have long recognized that the contemporary "cultural economy" relies on reshaping urban spaces as sites of specialized production, cultural consumption, and the commodification of creative labor (Hutton 2015). Craft beer, as a subsector of the creative industry, has emerged in the past decade as a potent driver of this urban cultural economy. Microbreweries inherently have a cultural economy advanced by the embodiment of local culture and utilization of local resources in their operations (Beckham 2014). Craft breweries, where beer is both produced and consumed, sit at the "nexus of work, place, and creativity": they draw in local resources, act as focal points of activity, and as such serve as 'critical "place-makers"' (Beckham 2014; Reid and Gatrell 2017). The experiential economy cultivated through craft breweries' economic strategies, such as food trucks, live music, and trivia nights, plays a significant role in embodying and anchoring a "vibrant" urban atmosphere. This synergy between craft beer producers and consumers has forged commercial economies to designate craft beer *districts* that promote the agglomeration of craft beer establishments, forming "cultural quarters" (Hutton 2015) as an urban development strategy. Understanding the urban geographies of microbreweries offers a key window into the social and economic dynamics of the contemporary urban cultural economy, particularly as it faltered during the COVID-19 pandemic.

This paper examines how craft beer districts are constructed and mobilized to drive the cultural economy through a range of sociospatial elements, as well as how they intersect with patterns of socioeconomic change and urban development strategies. We present an illustrative set of three designated craft beer districts: Upper Westside in Atlanta, Georgia; South Slope in

Asheville, North Carolina; and the Brewery District in Charleston, South Carolina. Through interviews and participant observation in these sites, we identify a set of key social and infrastructural factors that underpin craft beer districts. We argue that craft beer districting draws on the preservation, manipulation, and transaction of "racialized cultural capital" entangled in the White, urban anatomy of the industry (Bourdieu 1984; Cartwright 2022), recognizing that drawing these spatial boundaries can have a nurturing and replicative effect on the racialization of craft beer consumption.

4.2 Cultural Capital and Craft Beer Consumption

The commodification of culture has led to the emergence of an interdisciplinary concept known as the 'cultural economy' (du Gay and Pryke 2002). The focus on the production of culture was propelled by Peterson (1976), who suggested that a societal reorientation needed to take place to not only understand how culture is expressed through arts and humanities, but how the results organically align with particular economic agendas. Pratt (2004) suggests three notions that consider how cultural economies are geographic, driving interest in the role of spatiality of the phenomenon: creativity, new economy, and consumption. The *creative* industry consists of expressive activities that require context and organization. Creativity can foster economic competitiveness among expressive activities. The dominant perceptions of the *new economy* are rooted in "technological determinism," which is driven by new technologies and organizational forms, such as the post-Fordist industrial paradigm which suggests an automated small-batch production process that meets the consumer demand for mass-produced specialty goods (Graham 1991; Pratt 2004, 121). Finally, with production comes *consumption*, which recognizes that the consumption of culture is not solely driven by price, but by experience. The cultural economies of cities as particular interests to geographers are said to be driven by sector

variety and in turn employability. Studies of cultural economies in existing commodities, such as maple syrup and American craft beer, suggest how systems can be disrupted early to allow an opportunity to reimagine alternative approaches to creating an economy around culture (Hinrichs 1998; Beckham 2014). Drawing from Marx's (1933) idea of "commodity fetishism," many consumer decisions are often made based on symbolism that is tied to good, driven by the invisible labor behind commodification based on social relations. Goods are presented as an opportunity to transcend intended use-value, and in turn augment their capital value, when its presentation becomes inseparable from its use. Holt (1998) draws connections between consumption and taste based on cultural capital, suggesting a correlation between class and the variations in the value of products circulated through the cultural economy.

Craft beer and breweries can hold more significance than their economic and cultural functions. Sociological discourse on the 'third place' suggests that establishments like breweries, bars, pubs, and lounges often serve as a space outside of work and home of the middle class that is fulfilling and desirable to the human experience (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982). Seeking the 'third place' evolved out of alternative sources of social support and economic production. The 'third place' operates in the absence of prescription and definition, but rather is responsive and moldable to an individual's social needs.

Cultural capital can be spatially organized in the form of cultural districts. Cultural districts are preceded by the geographic clustering of industrial-based specialized firms and the spatial patterns they establish to promote economic and social connectivity and competition (Marshall 1890; Porter 1998b; Belussi and Cardari 2009). The spatiality of the cultural economy is often fashioned into strategic districts that centralize adjacent and related industries and services to streamline administrative and programming functions (Brooks and Kushner 2001).

Districts with arts and culture at the focal point are an evolving phenomenon of their own, given that they provide a designated space for synergy between the built environment, local economy, and cultural motifs. Though different industries cycle through the same infrastructure, what remains consistent are the economic and technological transactions (Malmberg 1997). Critics of cultural districts examine both the spatial and temporal effects of how these spaces emerge and exist, often through the lens of gentrification, community displacement, and the investment in the promotion of these spaces as vital to the tourist economy (e.g. Markusen and Gadwa 2010; Grodach, Foster, and Murdoch 2014).

The craft beer economy rests fundamentally on the spatial organization of cultural capital. As Bourdieu argues, cultural capital, or the symbolic value attached to particular dispositions, competencies, and tastes within a given cultural domain, is a key domain of class competition and the reproduction of class relations (Bourdieu 1984). Cultural capital operates in tandem with economic (material resources and position within the mode of production) and social capital (human networks and symbolic relationships) to legitimize social differences but is also a field of struggle over the markers of knowledge and taste that signify relative class position, giving the appearance of class mobility within a social hierarchy (ibid. 163-4, 174-5).

Cartwright (2022) further develops this theory by conceptualizing distinct racialized mechanisms in the production of culturally valued skills and dispositions. This framework illustrates both social and spatial relationships racialized groups have with knowledge and material, dissociating cultural capital as a "class-based resource" which assumed proportionate access and advantage across all races:

Accordingly, I theorize that cultural capital is fundamentally racialized:

(1) what constitutes cultural capital may vary by the racial position of the

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holder of cultural capital and (2) those who are dominant in the racial

hierarchy contribute to determining what constitutes cultural capital for

those they dominate according to their own interests. (Cartwright 2022, p.

2).

Cartwright's theorization of racialized cultural capital interrogates the links between race and

class, and how the possession and movement of cultural capital knowledge and material is

shaped by value and significance.

In studying the geography of microbreweries and brewpubs in major urban centers across

the United States, Nilsson, Reid and Lehnert (2018) identified a few industry characteristics that

prompt clustering, often informing spatial organization and districting. The characteristics they

suggest are: 1) Craft Brewers as Insurgent Entrepreneurs, 2) Preference for Variety, 3)

Collaboration and Knowledge Sharing within the Craft Brewing Industry, and 4) Regulatory

Restrictions. Their study showed that the microbreweries and brewpubs cluster in respective

neighborhoods and are restricted in diversifying location patterns because of the weight of

appealing to tourism and economic development sectors of an urban area. Craft beer districts

preserve principles of the tourism sector of the cultural economy, as Terkenli (2002) suggests

notions of 'attraction, seduction, and desire' achieved in particular tourist-based landscapes.

Terkenli theorizes a 'new cultural economy of space,' presented as a contemporary way to see

how space is organized and renegotiated by culture, characterized by:

- a new collective experience/sense of place that increasingly transcends
  geographical barriers of distance and of place;

- changing geographical schemata of changing socio-economic relations;

- a de-differentiation in space between private and public spheres of everyday life;

- the de-segregation of leisure from home and work life, rendering distinctions drawn among these three spheres of life increasingly tentative and irrelevant;

- the rapid and widespread exchange and communication of symbolic goods (flows of money, ideas, information, images, etc.);

- the predominance of visual over textual media throughout globalization processes. (Terkenli 2002, p. 230).

Crociata (2020) suggests a relationship between cultural capital and craft beer as empirically explored through consumption study in Italy. In this study, contextualizing cultural capital in the beer industry took place through assessing the fundamental element of knowledge accumulation associated with beer consumption (i.e. taste expertise), as well as consumption of broader cultural and social activities participation (i.e. volunteering, sports, political engagement). Results presented that those who engaged in more "socially oriented cultural activities" prompted a higher probability of consuming beer, suggesting a "strong cultural value" in beer consumption. Though this study's context presents an alternative case to the areas of interest in this research and is void of Cartwright's (2022) theorized racialized cultural capital, it positions craft beer as a critical component to interpreting the cultural economy and its vulnerability to be governed by both consumers and producers.

4.3 Study Sites and Methodology

4.3.1 *Craft Beer Districts in the Southeastern United States*

In this paper, we examine how the social and spatial dimensions of craft beer districts are constructed three designated craft beer districts: the South Slope of Asheville North Carolina, the Upper Westside of Atlanta Georgia, and the Brewery District of Charleston South Carolina. The three study sites designated as a craft beer district are championed by both the breweries within

the network and branded by the community and media (Townsend 2022; Glenn 2022; Oyer 2020). We specifically analyze how microbreweries interact with one another and as a collective, and how factors of those interactions inform consumption in the industry and promote urban planning practices.

4.3.1.1 **South Slope, Asheville**

The portion of the French Broad River that meanders through Asheville, North Carolina harbors a zone of brick lofts and warehouses extending from the riverbanks into the central business district, which are the remnants of the city's industrial legacy. The South Slope district, represented in Figure 4.1, has a history of commercial activity that dates back to the 1920s, as the main corridor, Coxe Avenue, was said to be the first street in Asheville designed for automobiles in mind (Sheary 2014). Coxe Avenue then became a hub for automobile dealerships and repair shops, until urban growth of Asheville moved the industry to the suburban areas to accommodate the need for space and demands of those living further from the city center (Whitlock 2016).

Asheville received the designation "Beer City USA" determined through various public polls due to a spike in the number of breweries that came into operation in a short period of time, beginning with Highland Brewing Company in 1994 (Krug 2010; Bollinger 2021). South Slope is locally proclaimed as a 'brewery district' due to its concentration of breweries, with eight breweries within walking distance. While the distinction is unofficial, because of its proximity to the central business district, a city ordinance requires businesses to maintain a storefront to prevent a reversion to the manufacturing past and to align with the economic and functional needs of the city today, which often center around outdoor recreation, the arts, and tourism (Patrick 2013). Breweries in the district, as they operate at the intersection of the craft and

tourism industries, is instrumental in preserving the past and determining the future of the neighborhood's identity.

Figure 4.1. South Slope, Asheville North Carolina (Map Prepared by Author)
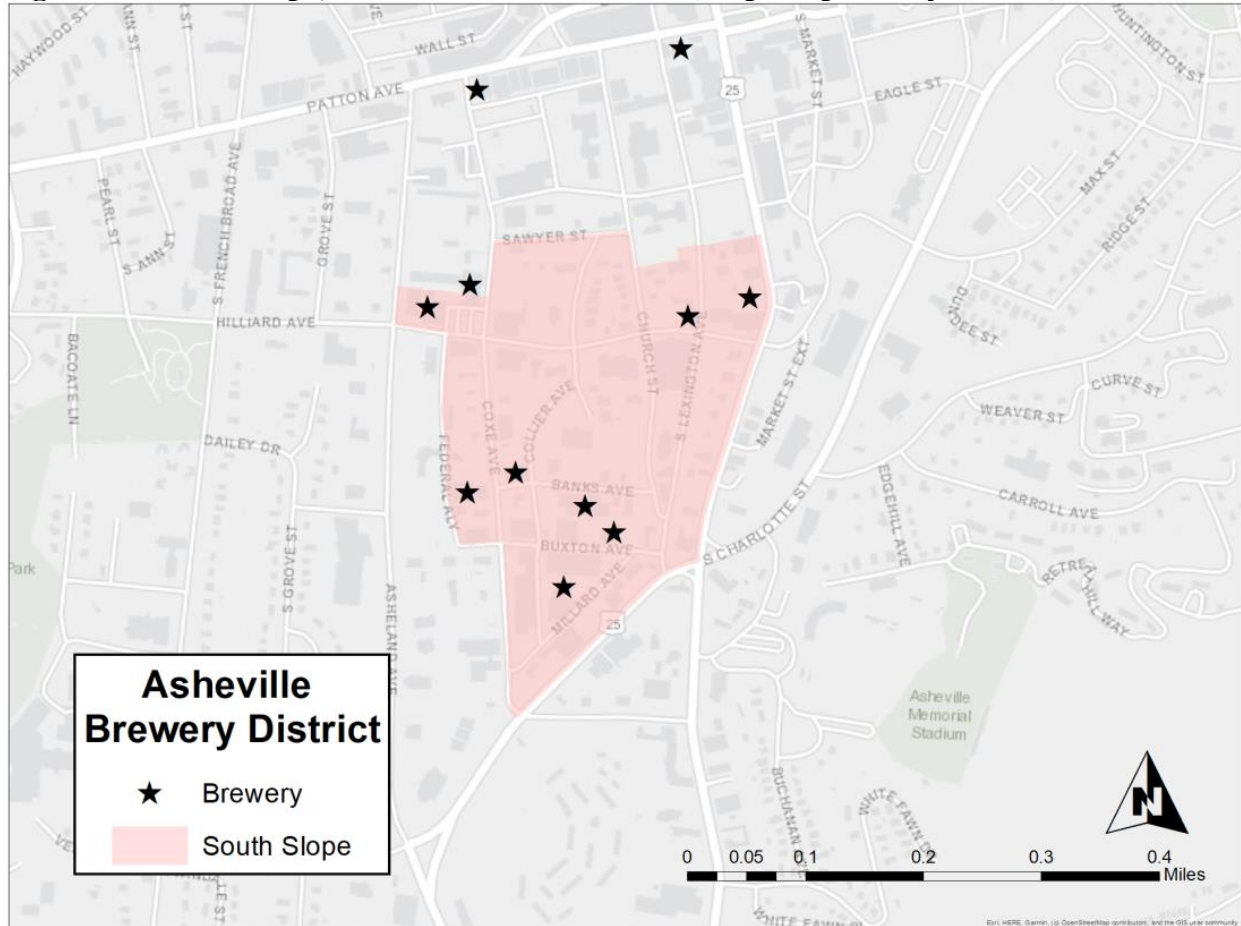
4.3.1.2 Upper Westside, Atlanta

Atlanta, Georgia was called the "Black mecca of the South" by a 1971 issue of Ebony Magazine, primarily for the surge of success of Black business and politics in the city (Whitfield 2017). A celebrated element of Atlanta's urban resurgence is the Beltline, a pedestrian-centered corridor encircling downtown Atlanta and overseen by the public-private partnership Atlanta Beltline Incorporated (ABI) (Davidson 2011). The Beltline is argued to be a tool that has caused demographic shifts in neighborhoods on or around the corridor, often in "places where rents and

[home] values had previously been relatively affordable" (Immergluck 2022, p. 88). The "Upper Westside" of the Beltline development, represented by Figure 4.2, is a sub-district that has garnered attention for its urban renewal efforts and subsequent burgeoning craft beer culture (Capelouto 2020). The Upper Westside is composed of former industrial facilities and warehouses fashioned into retail storefronts, office and co-working spaces, and food and beverage services. Prior to the redevelopment efforts that characterize the Upper Westside as we know it today, community was built around the rail network that ran through the neighborhoods of historic "Blandtown" and "Howell Station," establishing residences, schools, churches, and other locally-owned business and creative firms that served African-American and working class industrial laborers (Upper Westside CID 2020; Howell Station). These historic neighborhoods maintained political and economic power until the 1950s, which then the City of Atlanta annexed the neighborhoods and industrial encroachment gradually displaced the families to other parts of the city due to rezoning for heavy industrial use (Upper Westside CID 2020).

Today, the district is home to locally owned storefronts, leasable office spaces, and a hub for entertainment and food and beverage, including a food hall known as "The Works" as seen in Figure 4.3. Tucked into the Upper Westside is a cluster of breweries that make up the 'Upper Westside Ale Trail' (Townsend 2022), which includes breweries that occupy the former industrial infrastructure, such as Dr. Scofflaw's at the Works seen in Figure 4.4. Within a three-mile radius concentrates eight breweries, with the most recent addition being Round Trip Brewing in February 2021 (McKibben 2021). New multifamily developments proximal to these spaces provide both primary patronages to the services and support for the continued development of public green space adjacent to a connectivity-driven Beltline pedestrian trail (AECOM 2012).

Figure 4.2 Upper Westside Brewery District, Atlanta Georgia (Map Prepared by Author)
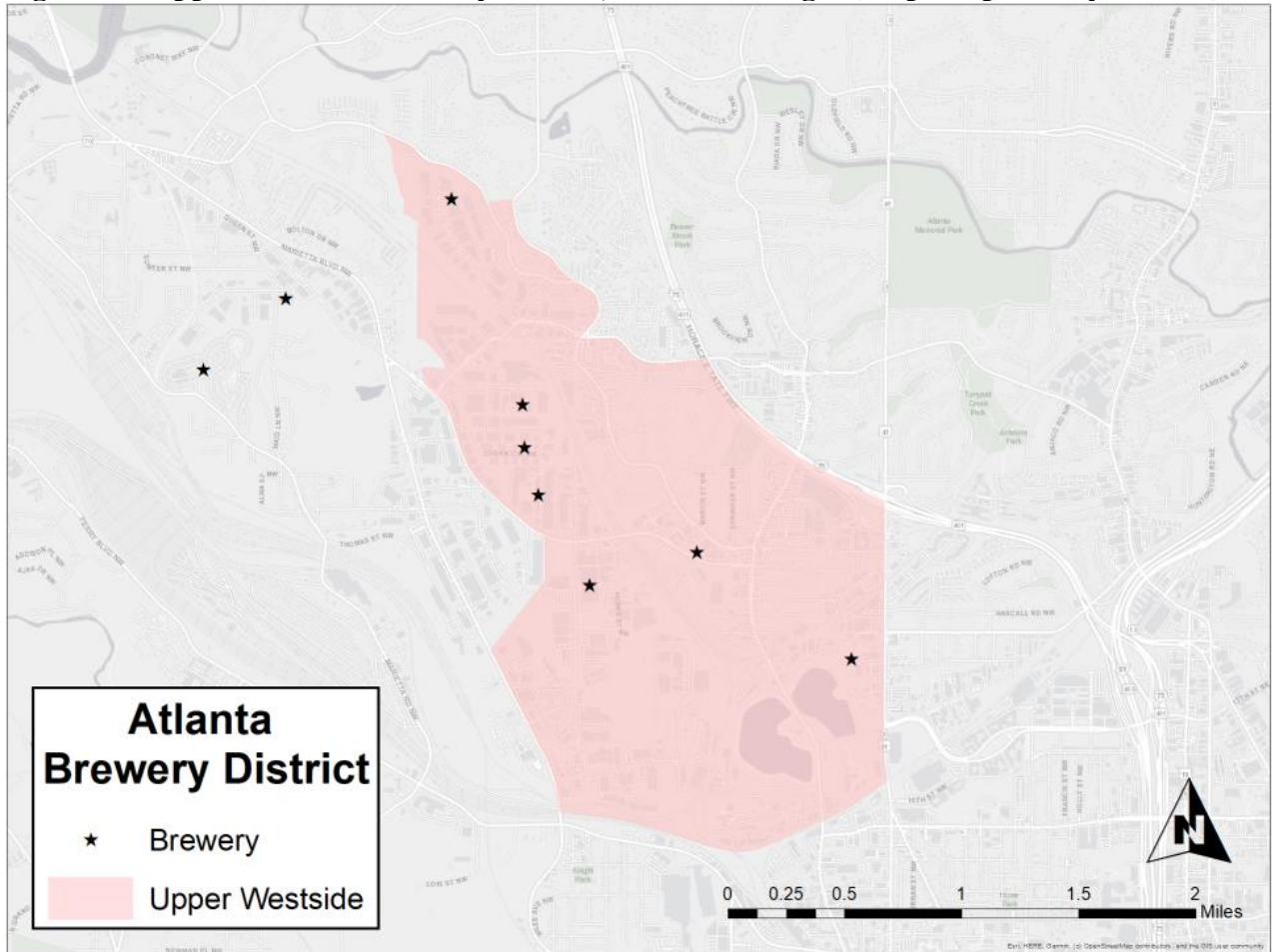
Figure 4.3 Chattahoochee Food Works in Atlanta's Upper Westside (Photo by Author)

Figure 4.4 Dr. Scofflaw's at The Works in Atlanta's Upper Westside (Photo by Author)

4.3.1.3 The Neck, Charleston

A peninsula known as The Neck (Figure 4.5), situated between the Ashley River and Cooper River, has served multiple purposes throughout Charleston's historical development. In the early 20th century, it served as an industrial district linked by a railway that processed phosphate before an urban overhaul that began in the 1960s that left its infrastructure abandoned and contaminated (Butler 2018). A surge of investment in mixed-use of commercial and residential development has transitioned The Neck as a transportation corridor between North Charleston and downtown Charleston. Most recently, a new era has surfaced for the Neck as a craft beer hotspot. The designation of the Neck's main thoroughfare as the 'Brewery District' evolved out of Edmund Oast Brewing Company opening their taproom in the Neck in 2017 and convening eight other breweries in the area to promote the industry (Lee and Lee 2018). Their strategy focused on proximity to facilitate the sharing of resources, finding opportunities to collaborate, and creating a geographic focal point for Charleston's tourist-based economy (Hoff 2018). The Brewery District has developed into a major entertainment hub beyond craft beer, with numerous food establishments, tattoo parlors, commercial storefronts, and a skatepark (Butler 2018; Lee and Lee 2018). Most recently, the Neck is the site of the Magnolia project, a $2 billion urban renewal effort on formerly contaminated land whose intent is to shift the residential-commercial-recreational core from downtown to this riverside district (Huechtker 2020; Frazier 2022; Merryman 2022).

Figure 4.5 The Neck, Charleston South Carolina (Map Prepared by Author)
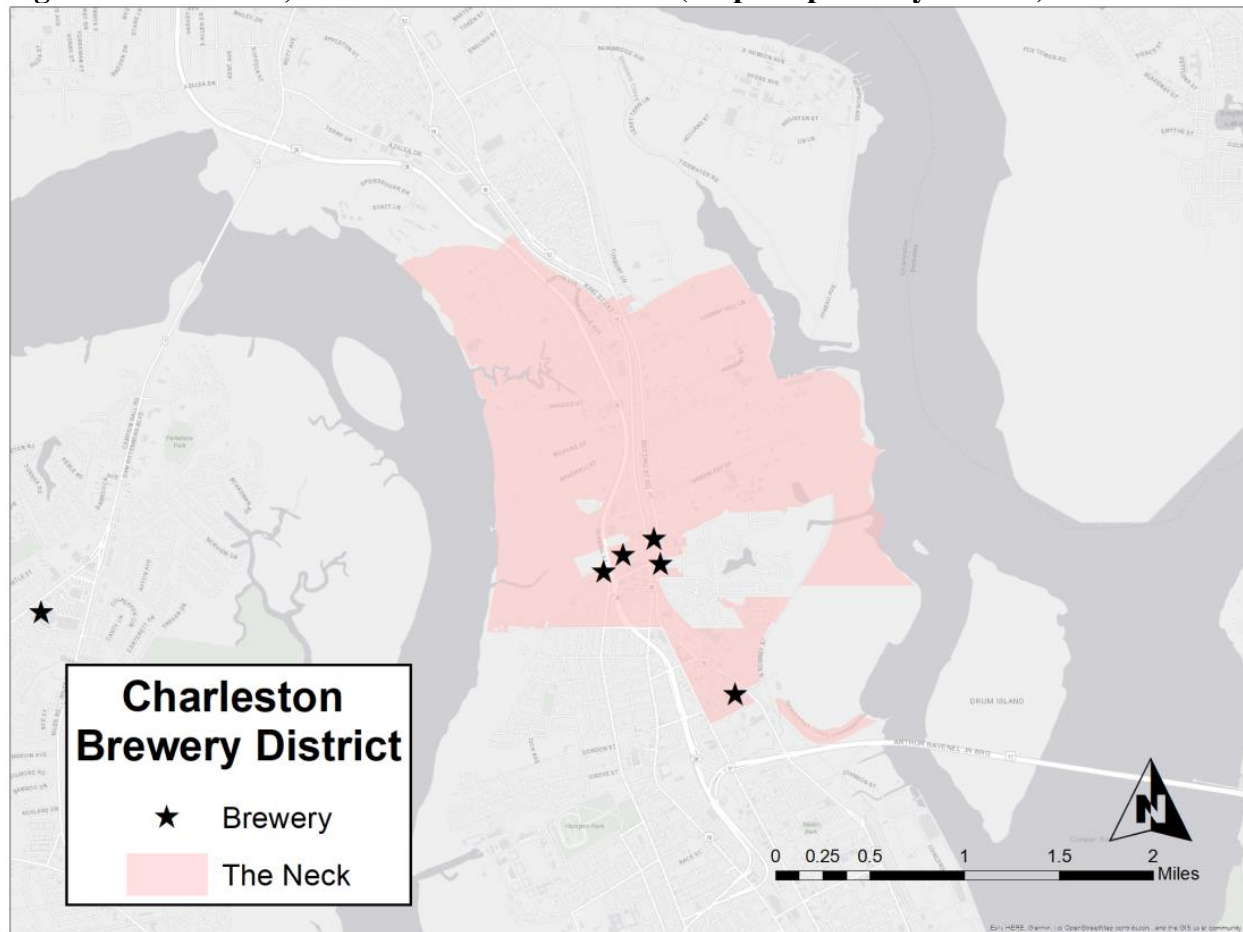
4.4   Procedures

To understand how these craft beer districts cultivate racialized cultural capital, semi-structured interviews were conducted to elicit individual experiences of these spaces. Fifteen semi-structured interviews, both on-site and via teleconference, were conducted with craft beer consumers who had visited at least one of the determined brewery districts between March and December 2021 (Table 4.1). Participants were recruited through Twitter, Facebook, and the American Association of Geographers' specialty group listservs. Consenting participants were provided guiding questions during the interview to gauge their personal consumption experience at breweries within their local craft beer district. In addition to interviews, on-site observations were conducted at the designated districts and breweries, to obtain a sense of how consumers

engaged with craft beer spaces. Spatial data on craft brewery locations were collected to compile

site profiles. These methods were combined to assess the infrastructure, land use, and social

relations that characterize craft beer district landscapes and how they influence consumption in

and of these spaces.

Table 4.1 Interview Participants Demographic Data

Name	Age	Race	Gender Identity	Occupation	Interview City
Hannah	29	White	Cisgender Woman	Nurse	Asheville
Grant	27	White	Cisgender Man	Student	Asheville
Bex	23	White	Cisgender Woman	Student	Asheville
Taylor	21	White	Cisgender Woman	Student	Asheville
Camille	22	Asian	Cisgender Woman	Nurse	Asheville
Titan	65	Black	Cisgender Man	Retired Surgeon	Atlanta
Dennis	25	Black	Cisgender Man	Student Affairs	Atlanta
Devin	30	Black	Cisgender Woman	N/A	Atlanta
Pauline	39	White	Cisgender Woman	Higher Education	Atlanta
Travis	48	White	Cisgender Man	Higher Education	Atlanta
Zeke	24	Black	Cisgender Man	Student	Atlanta
Sumi	27	Asian	Cisgender Woman	Student	Atlanta
Brandi	35	White	Cisgender Woman	Higher Education	Charleston
Chris	45	White	Cisgender Man	Higher Education	Charleston
Henry	33	Black	Cisgender Man	Student	Charleston

4.5   Findings

From the interview responses and site observations, five themes are emerged that

reflected the manipulation and materialization of racialized cultural capital, of which Cartwright

(2022) suggested disposition and physicality as elements of the framework: (1) Infrastructure and

Surrounding Environment, (2) Transportation Accessibility, (3) Breweries as "Third Place", (4)

Differentiation and Distinction, and (5) Pandemic Responses.

4.5.1   *Infrastructure and the Surrounding Built Environment*

A common theme across the three districts is the invocation of an industrial past through

the adaptive reuse of warehouses, factories, and lofts, creating clusters of entertainment, retail,

and restaurants. Craft breweries tend to favor economically distressed or abandoned neighborhoods for their low cost, industrial "charm," and the capacity to leverage the customer base to promote local economies (Reid 2018). When asked about knowledge of the industrial histories of locales of the interview participants, 73% of participants had little to no prior knowledge of the district's functional predecessor.

Hannah shared how the environment around Asheville's South Slope influenced her visitation frequency to the brewery district. We spoke at a brewery that she selected in the core of South Slope that she frequents with local friends and out-of-town visitors. When asked about the importance of its location to her, she said:

> This group of breweries is really in the perfect location. We're a few
>
> blocks from downtown Asheville if there ever was an event going on.
>
> We're just a one-mile downhill walk to the river and the River Arts
>
> District, which is a beautiful, artsy area to hang out at. I've done a lot of
>
> walking around and can't help but notice all of these old brick buildings,
>
> and I always find myself stopping in to grab a beer or check out some
>
> clothes or whatever (Personal Interview, 24 February 2021).

For Hannah, the post-industrial revitalization of South Slope which has evolved into a centralized cultural economy has become normalized into her everyday landscape. As a White cis-gender woman, Hannah's identity, alongside her continued consumption and participation, positions her cultural capital to drive the district's functions and presentation to accommodate to her preferences. Inversely, Hannah's racial identity predisposed her to have a positive reception with the brewery district. The familiarity and safety cultivated by the district permit a certain level of comfort and trust in the space for Hannah.

Titan's observation of Atlanta's Upper Westside elicited a mixed emotional response as he has seen the area's growth over decades.

> This area of the city has definitely grown. I clearly remember when this
>
> little food haven was nothing. Nothing really attracted me to visit this area
>
> until the food hall came up and now these breweries. It was exciting to be
>
> able to go out somewhere new, but I don't know if this kind of growth is
>
> good for the city (Personal Interview, 8 March 2021).

With regards to the evolution of the Upper Westside transition from abandoned warehouses and undeveloped land to a residential-entertainment hub outside of downtown Atlanta, Titan's keen observation offers insight into how (re)development can shift behavior, even at the individual level. Titan referenced the redevelopment of the Upper Westside as "*resourceful*," alluding to the rehabilitation of former industrial buildings into a range of uses, including breweries.

4.5.2 *Transportation Accessibility*

Access to the 'Brewery Districts' through different modes of transportation was identified by 66% of interview participants as a key component to deciding if they should visit their local brewery district or not. All three districts rely heavily on automobiles, whether personal vehicles or ride-share services such as Lyft or Uber, but some have invested in public transit and active transportation. Charleston's Brewery District offers a trolley service that stops at the nine breweries within the designated district. Even where larger public investments in transportation accessibility have been made, as in Atlanta's Beltline, these former industrial districts are still not especially accessible except by car. Dennis of Atlanta opted to meet at a brewery in the Upper Westside that he frequently visits. To him, the Upper Westside attracts a predominantly White, middle-class clientele, and in his words these patterns of development

"aren't going to change any time soon." As a frequent cyclist who lives in an area connected to the Beltline and uses the corridor both for transportation and social activities, he did not prefer breweries in the Upper Westside because of their limited Beltline access. However, for the purpose of the interview, he disregarded his reservations and suggested a familiar location. He noted these accessibility challenges:

> There are more accessible breweries and restaurants along parts of the Beltline that are already complete that I'd rather go to. I know there are plans to eventually connect the path to this area, but right now I have to take Uber or Lyft or catch a ride with a friend to come over here. MARTA [Atlanta's regional rail system] isn't even an option. I'd either have to walk a lot, or still take an Uber or Lyft from the closest station. Not being able to get over here by bike right now speaks volumes, to be honest. It shows where the priorities are for whoever is in charge of connecting the Beltline or building this district. It's even beyond me being Black. It's about other communities and neighborhoods in ATL that probably feel like it's such a pain to get over there (Personal Interview, 08 March 2021).

Urban transportation decision-making requires an exhaustive, non-homogenous, list of factors to consider, to include mode of transport, commute time, and cost. Dennis, though directly lives off of a pedestrian corridor, remains limited in optimal urban network connectivity. Dennis relinquishes his agency to take a mode of transportation to the Upper Westside that fits his personal needs.

While Charleston's trolley service provides convenience to the brewery district visitors, Chris expressed that the service targets a particular clientele that still limits his individual transportation needs and expectations.

> That [trolley] service is definitely set up for tourists. Being local, I can't
>
> find a reason why I would visit multiple breweries at once, and if I do, I'll
>
> just walk or drive to the next one. I guess that's one good thing about
>
> having all these breweries around here. They're so close by to each other
>
> that walking is an option. I've even seen some people bike around to the
>
> breweries (Personal Interview, 10 March 2021).

In terms of transportation, districting of breweries can have its advantages and drawbacks. As Charleston's district models, having an alternative mode of transportation between breweries is advantageous to provide a tourist experience of the area. However, locals like Charles may recognize the intent of providing services like the trolley, which consumers continue to face a limitation in transportation to and from the district.

4.5.3   *Breweries as "Third Place"*

There is inherently a community built around craft beer, and districting can serve the purpose to be a system that organizes and incubates the communal essence. Brewery visitors come to the space with a range of social goals, even if they are premeditated. Therefore, breweries must be strategic in providing the space for human socialization, where people can convene and seek fulfilling activities to achieve individual or collective needs.

Brandi illustrated how Charleston's 'Brewery District' maintains her patronage through the social experience. Brandi illustrated how the Brewery District curates a cohesive social experience through the interconnectedness and partnerships of the breweries in the area. She

reported being "*grateful to have seen the 'Brewery District' grow to what it is today*." She recalled the moment when her weekly outings with friends from a location in North Charleston switched to breweries in the Brewery District. The switch to the Brewery District occurred because of the different social events that each brewery would host, and what she called the "unmatched energy" of the community these events created:

> I remember right before COVID, there were a few weeks where my friends and I would go to a trivia at 6pm at one brewery, finish that at 8pm, then walk over to another brewery just for a change of scenery. But we weren't the only ones doing that. It seemed like everyone did that. Meet at trivia, have fun, drink their beer, wrap that up, then head to the next brewery. It's like we were all on the same page, even if we didn't know each other (Personal Interview, 10 March 2021)

In this respect, the Brewery District forges a powerful "third place" (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982) at different scales, both individual breweries and a broader, place-based cultural network. At breweries themselves, "third places" enroll participants by supplementing the social experience of craft beer consumption with other forms of entertainment and recreation. Craft beer districts extend this dimension by both formally and informally coordinating participants' social experiences across individual breweries.

The physical layout of breweries can be seen as optimal for events like trivia nights – individual tables allow for partners and groups to convene, audio/video technology is typically accessible for other social programming, and friendly competition often breeds camaraderie. Bex is a frequent trivia-goer at her favorite brewery in the South Slope district of Asheville. Whether it's with friends after work or with visitors out of town, she described the trivia night social as a

"*good taste of both the Asheville community and the beer scene.*" Although our interview did not

occur on a trivia night, she reflected on how events like this help her build loyalty to the brewery,

and to the craft beer scene of the city.

> A trivia night is the same anywhere you go. Which isn't a bad thing at all!
> I've been to several trivia nights around South Slope, I just prefer to go to
> this one because there's a better chance of me knowing who's going to be
> there, and also I prefer the beer here more. But knowing that there's other
> trivia nights I could go to in the area is cool, in case I get tired of going to
> this one or I lose too many times (Personal Interview, 24 February 2021).

The social experiences of breweries within craft beer districts are reproduced through individual

sensations at varying degrees. An individual's experience within the construction of a place

evokes tensions of authenticity and transformation. I argue that the dominant authentic

experience harbored in craft beer districts through desirable and attractive social experiences

significantly contributes to the cultural capital maintained within these spaces.

4.5.4 *Differentiation and Distinction*

While there is space for creative freedom in the craft beer industry, there are also known

limitations. In terms of product creation, the setbacks are often guided by market competition or

the science of brewing. Brewery menus usually present a series of year-round products, as well

as seasonal or guest products. Grant reflected on how product variety shapes his visitation to the

South Slope brewery district in Asheville. He lives within walking distance of the district and

chose this location "*in large part because of the breweries that are right around the corner.*" For

our interview, Grant selected a brewery he visits weekly with friends. He was well-recognized by

the brewery's staff, and very familiar with both their year-round and seasonal offerings. Grant's experience provides insight into the function of the district as coordinating cultural capital:

> I never drink the year-round products at the breweries in South Slope.
>
> Most of the time, you can buy those canned at the grocery store or directly
>
> from the brewery to bring home. The seasonal beers are what bring me in.
>
> I don't want to drink what I can drink at home. It just adds to my
>
> experience while at the brewery. If it's cold out, I know I'm sipping on
>
> something that taste like pumpkin or weird like gingerbread. If it's hot out,
>
> I'm sipping on something lighter and more refreshing. They know what to
>
> bring out at the right time. And every brewery in the district acts like this,
>
> but in their own unique way (Personal Interview, 24 February 2021).

Consumerism and the marketplace value on 'taste' and 'preference' as a means of brand loyalty and product promotion. Grant's consumption patterns align with Holt's argument that products that are 'exclusive' or 'limited' in nature experience a higher sense of commodification and are more appealing to the 'cultural elite.'

4.5.5 *Pandemic Responses*

In response to COVID-19, breweries employed a new set of operational protocols and procedures to promote safety and responsibility. In most cases, the brewery's actions reflected city and state health mandates at minimum, which included practices such as limited capacity seating both indoors and outdoors, increased frequency in cleaning public areas using a stronger sanitation solvent, and facemask expectation when maneuvering around the facility. The existence and consistent adherence to these health and safety expectations against the spread of COVID-19 was generally an important factor for interviewees across all study sites. Devin

continued supporting a brewery in Atlanta's Upper Westside that she had frequented, accepting

various logistical changes the brewery had to make in consideration of disruptions in service,

volume, and capacity. Although product variety was limited, the brewery offered "pick up only"

options, mainly for year-round products. She was well aware of the dire economic impacts the

pandemic had, and "*felt responsible*" for continuing to support this particular business in their

efforts to "*persevere through the pandemic that seemed to have no end in sight.*" Devin

commended the efforts implemented to consider the health and safety of customers while

devising alternative operations to retain and recruit consumers, which ultimately strengthened

her preexisting ties with the brewery.

Henry's experience with supporting breweries in Charleston through the pandemic was

drastically different from Devin's. At the onset of COVID restrictions, state and local orders that

set restrictions for food and beverage services were "moved through quickly," which was

concerning for Henry.

In March [2020], the governor issued an order for restaurants to stop

everything. It wasn't but two months later that bars and restaurants in the

city were opening back up as if nothing was happening (Personal

Interview, 10 March 2021).

When asked about his interaction with beer at all during this time, Henry shared that drinking

"*was the last thing on [his] mind.*" Before the pandemic, Henry's visitation to breweries in the

Brewery District was as frequent as twice a week. Henry's first time visiting a brewery was not

until a few weeks prior to this interview, with the intent to "*scope out*" how the brewery was

currently responding to the on-going pandemic. While breweries were eager to re-open their

businesses to the public in the pandemic, Henry represents a part of the local population that was

reluctant to resume his pre-pandemic consumer habits, even with breweries offering non-contact product delivery and outdoor seating options two months after food and beverage services were brought to a halt.

4.6   Conclusion

Craft beer districts offer a window into the complex synergies between space and the cultural economy. The five interconnected themes of infrastructure and the surrounding environment, transportation accessibility, breweries as "Third Place", differentiation and distinction, and pandemic responses inform patterns of consumption. Districting leverages social opportunity within individual breweries and across breweries in the network. Breweries individually serve as exchange centers for knowledge and material. When opportunities to exchange aggregate within a cluster of breweries, a social and economic fortress is formed by physical and social boundaries that are difficult to permeate. The isolation of craft beer through districts can result in exclusivity and broader inaccessibility. The five categories can serve as a framework to guide our understanding of how cultural capital, in both explicit and obscure forms, can be exploited to inhibit participation. As Cartwright's (2022) notion of racialized cultural capital suggests, participants in this study, whether knowingly or unknowingly, identified how their participation is informed by spatial elements of the industry. As the craft beer industry continues to grow, breweries continue to serve a central role in neighborhood revitalization, whether they are isolated individual firms or interconnected through a district.

Racialized cultural capital for craft beer is maintained in twofold. First, craft beer as a material good retains cultural capital based on access, history, and preference, all of which is potent of Whiteness. Based on this study, Whiteness in the industry is driven by location strategy and the individual's visitation frequency to breweries and accessibility to beer. "White" as

default is acknowledged across craft beer consumers across racial identities, evident in how participants have to travel to these pockets of craft breweries, and the frequency of their consumption and visitation to the brewery districts. Racialized cultural capital is also evident in the spatial organization and structures that craft beer is nested in. How individuals socialize within the breweries and interact with the brewery space are dictated by the consumers identity and how they enter particular spaces. While the breweries are often designed to be welcoming and interactive through elements such as social programming, seating arrangements, and other equipment to entertain consumers, the design is overshadowed by the histories and social ties that breweries preserve. The clustering of these contentious spaces operates similarly to a magnet, where those with a positive attraction maintain a stronger bond.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

These examples of craft beer landscapes across the Southeast United States serve to validate the ongoing discourse of contemporary urban planning tactics and add depth to our understanding of the role of social elements of breweries on consumption motivations. As residential and commercial markets are constantly shifting in response to state and local politics, national economic trends, and individual consumer habits, craft breweries strive to strike a balance between economic feasibility and preserving their creative essence. Findings from this study intend to inform a range of invested actors within and adjacent to the industry, including urban planning practitioners and craft brewery owners and operators. These results are also intended to raise a general consciousness around areas of improvement to broaden craft beer participation from both the producer and consumer experiences. While craft beer remains the focal point of the research agenda, how craft beer is presented spatially and culturally have neighboring effects on institutions that intersect with the industry.

A spatial assessment of the cultural economy of craft beer is a necessary step to take towards determining appropriate intervention measures to inhibit Whiteness as the default association to consumption trends in the industry. Strategies behind brewery placement and place-marketing have a measurable impact on who has access to goods and services of the industry. Studies, such as those of this dissertation, can inform what preventative measures can be taken to avoid craft beer serving as a tool to erase spatial and cultural histories across urban and regional landscapes.

Results from the studies in this dissertation indicate that spaces that craft beer exists, and the placemaking that occurs through craft beer operations, are significant determinants of Whiteness that is engrained in the industry. Chapter II's results showcase that the forward-facing

place-branding efforts in craft beer naming and imagery across the Southeast US region can produce an isolated narrative has potential impacts on consumption trends. The adoption of banal Southern icons and themes, whether they are references to physical geographic features or symbolic historic or cultural characteristics of the region, are a strategy that aids in appealing to White local and tourist consumers.

Chapter III's case study of the distribution of breweries across Asheville, Atlanta, and Nashville indicates that the procured location of the business trend towards predominantly White neighborhoods. Placing breweries within densely White residential areas contribute to characterizing Whiteness within the industry. Breweries sharing urban spaces alongside other infrastructure and services that drive gentrification and displacement builds an intrusive and exclusive identity around the industry.

Chapter IV measures the impact of the clustering of breweries that form a recognized 'brewery district' across Asheville, Atlanta, and Charleston. While we understand that brewery location across the city has an impact on collective consumption trends, studying the impact of brewery districts on individual consumption reinforces the narrative that Whiteness is engrained in various components of a brewery's operation. Of all the studies in this dissertation, this chapter presents the most novel contributions to on-going discourse around the geography of craft beer. At face value, brewery districts can serve as an urban tool of convenience and economic strategy. However, the clustering of breweries has a deeper impact on socialization and racialization that craft beer naturally retains.

Approaching this topic through a study of observation and narrative allows us to understand the impact that humans have on the trajectory of non-human actors. Without undermining measurable quantitative data, the stories that are told around craft beer, whether

explicitly through interviews or material culture, remind us that humans are an integral part of understanding the arc that craft beer has prevailed across the region. Place-making is an art that curates and preserves spatial histories. Humans, through their narratives, ingenuity, and decision-making, retain the agency to be critical placemakers and spatial custodians. Craft beer, grounded in creative science and expressions, is a platform for humans to (re)tell the stories of the spaces in which the craft takes place, as well as invite new stories to be told.

The research design for this dissertation encountered methodological and theoretical limitations. Methodologically, the research design heavily relied on gathering human narrative through interviews and observations of the study sites. The data collection phase of this study was launched in the early part of 2020, at the same time many businesses began contact restrictions and limited operations because of COVID-19. Garnering interest from individuals to serve as an interview participant was limited for a year and half stint, which I then had to introduce alternative interviewing means such as virtual and non-brewery outdoor location options. While data gathered through interviews in virtual platforms and non-brewery outdoor locations was instrumental in understanding individual perspectives, especially around impacts of COVID-19 on their consumption habits, it inhibited in the ability to gather spatial insights and observe participant interactions and responses to the brewery. Theoretically, this study neglects to engage with spatial and sociological discourse that understands the city at the macro-level that breweries are an actor within. Understanding the role of breweries as an economic and social actor in the construction of the city would benefit from verifies or challenges David Harvey's (2008) notion 'right to the city' that suggests individuals retain the agency to how interactions in the urban context take place. Additionally, the role of brewers, breweries, and craft beer

consumers can directly engage with Richard Florida's (2002) 'creative class' which discerns the impacts of class on access, distribution, and manipulation of social and economic resources.

Results of this study can be received and interpreted by anyone who engages with the craft beer industry in their own capacity. This research can affirm the experiences of consumers and challenge them to be more spatially aware and critical of the spaces and places that craft beer exists. Craft beer producers and brewery owners and operators can benefit from this study, and studies that extend from this research design, on the basis of being hyper-conscious of how their operations are presented and spatially organized. For non-craft beer actors, this research raises awareness of systems and processes that may be parallel and have an impact on adjacent industries that they are engaged with.

Research activity along the same methodical and theoretical lines could extend into extracting other cultural themes and implications of contemporary craft beer practices. First, spatial trends of brewery placement are not exclusive to the Southeast United States and are often determined by the demand, interest, and investment in a localized industry. Second, the stage and rate at which brewery density occurs can determine the viability of formalizing brewery districts and their measurable economic and social impacts. Finally, the interpretation of place and space through avenues such as place marketing is used to demarcate local and regional culture, which can have a wide range of expressions and symbology. I believe a major challenge of expanding a research agenda around understanding the relationship between "Southerness" and craft beer is navigating the conflicting definitions of what "Southern" represents – an idea that is tackled even outside the discipline of geography. Future studies should examine how spatial and cultural practices around craft beer either enhance or redefine our understanding of "Southerness." This research skims the surface of Southern themes in craft beer from an

objective regional approach. However, there are opportunities to understand the role of migration

in and out of the South, the romanticization of Southern themes, and resistance to adopting a

regional identity that can be beneficial to the healthy growth of the industry

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT CONSENT

Participant's Name: _____

What are some general things you should know about research studies?
You are being asked to take part in a research study. Your participation in the study is voluntary. You may choose not to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future.   There may not be any direct benefit to you for being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies. If you choose not to be in the study or leave the study before it is done, it will not affect your relationship with the researcher or the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
Details about this study are discussed in this consent form. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study.

You will be given a copy of this consent form. If you have any questions about this study at any time, you should ask the researchers named in this consent form. Their contact information is below.

Joshua Merced (PI)
Phone: 850-384-8546
E-mail: jzmerced@uncg.edu

What is the study about?
This is a research project. Your participation is voluntary. Using the craft beer landscape of the American South as a case study, this research considers how the dominant White narrative of Southern culture is reflected in industry marketing tactics, and subsequently manifesting predominantly White spaces. As the craft beer industry continues to expand in the United States, geographic interest in the phenomenon can provide a spatial critique to patterns of production, distribution, and consumption. The application of research on the intersections of geography and craft beer provides industry participants with a toolkit for best practices to prioritize diversity in their operations, and promote participation through education, involvement, and representation.

Why are you asking me?
I am conducting semi-structured interviews, primarily recruiting self-identified Black participants for a conversation in and around a microbrewery located in predetermined cities across the American South. As the interviewer, I will facilitate a productive conversation by providing guiding questions that will allow the subject to critically reflect upon their experience at the microbrewery.

What will you ask me to do if I agree to be in the study?
The semi-structured interview will take place at a location around the microbrewery facility of their choice. The anticipated length of the interview will be thirty (30) minutes to forty-five (45)

minutes. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder. Guiding questions will be provided as needed, but ultimately it will be a reflection on their experience at the microbrewery and a measurement of their engagement with craft beer. At any point that the participant wants to withdraw themselves from the study, we will respect and honor that decision.

Is there any audio/video recording?
Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will try to limit access to the recording as described below.

What are the risks to me?
The Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro has determined that participation in this study poses minimal risk to participants.

If you have questions, want more information or have suggestions, please contact Joshua Merced at 850-384-8546 or jzmerced@uncg.edu.

If you have any concerns about your rights, how you are being treated, concerns or complaints about this project or benefits or risks associated with being in this study please contact the Office of Research Integrity at UNCG toll-free at (855)-251-2351.

Are there any benefits to society as a result of me taking part in this research?
This research operates at the intersection of scholarship, teaching, and service as promoted by the Department of Geography, Environment and Sustainability at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. This research is results-driven, with outcomes that can inform best practices in the industry. There is an opportunity to dismantle the racialized, privileged stigma generally attached to craft beer participation, and promote the expansion of interest and participation across various identities to promote equity in the industry.

Are there any benefits to *me* for taking part in this research study?
There are no direct benefits to participants in this study.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?
There are no costs to you, or payments made for participating in this study.

How will you keep my information confidential?
Data collected in the semi-structured interview will be stored in a password protected digital file, and not identifying participants by name when data are disseminated. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law.

What if I want to leave the study?
You have the right to refuse to participate or to withdraw at any time, without penalty. If you do withdraw, it will not affect you in any way. If you choose to withdraw, you may request that any of your data which has been collected be destroyed unless it is in a de-identifiable state. The investigators also have the right to stop your participation at any time. This could be because you have had an unexpected reaction, or have failed to follow instructions, or because the entire study has been stopped.

What about new information/changes in the study?
If significant new information relating to the study becomes available which may relate to your willingness to continue to participate, this information will be provided to you.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:
By signing this consent form/completing this survey/activity (used for an IRB-approved waiver of signature) you are agreeing that you read, or it has been read to you, and you fully understand the contents of this document and are openly willing consent to take part in this study. All of your questions concerning this study have been answered. By signing this form, you are agreeing that you are 18 years of age or older and are agreeing to participate, in this study described to you by Joshua Merced (PI).

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GUIDE

A. *Demographic Information* – helps understand participant's positionality and provide quantifiable demographic data
   a. Please share some your background information with me. This can include age, occupation, what race or races you self-identify with, gender and pronouns if you are comfortable sharing, and where you call home.
B. *Spatial Awareness* – gauges participant's influence and recognition of particular spatial elements within the microbrewery
   a. Why did you choose to meet at this particular microbrewery?
   b. On a scale of 1-5, how comfortable do you currently feel being here, 5 being very comfortable and 1 being very discomforting?
   c. Do you have any context about why the microbrewery is named what it is, or why the beers are named the way they are?
   d. What words would you use to describe the aesthetic of the microbrewery?
C. *Microbrewery Access* – helps understand the value of where the microbrewery is located within the city and where the participants are coming from
   a. How did you get to the microbrewery today?
   b. How long did it take you to get here?
   c. Would you come to this area for other purposes?
D. *General Industry Participation* – general questions regarding being a consumer of craft beer, with particular interest in the Southeast United States
   a. Do you think loyalty within the craft beer industry is driven by the very concept of being craft and unique, or by particular brewers and products?
   b. How equitable and accessible do you think the craft beer industry is across the range of diverse living experiences?

APPENDIX C: PERCEPTION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. *Attributes*

    a. Age

    b. Gender

    c. Race(s)

    d. Zip Code

    e. Education Level

    f. Income Bracket

2. *Behavior*

    a. In the past 3 years, employed at a brewery in any role (Y/N)

    b. In the past 3 years, visited a local brewery (Y/N)

    c. In the past 3 years, traveled to visit a brewery (Y/N)

    d. In the past 3 years, purchased craft brewery products from brewery on-site, grocer, bar, etc. (Y/N)

    e. In the past 3 years, attended a festival or conference centered around craft beer (Y/N)

3. *Attitudes*

    a. To what degree of importance does a brewery's name have on your consumption?

        i. Very Important

        ii. Somewhat Important

        iii. Neutral

        iv. Somewhat Unimportant

        v. Not Important

    b. To what degree of importance does a craft beer's name have on your consumption?

        i. Very Important

        ii. Somewhat Important

        iii. Neutral

        iv. Somewhat Unimportant

        v. Not Important

c. To what degree of importance does imagery on a craft beer's label/marketing have on your consumption?

    i. Very Important

    ii. Somewhat Important

    iii. Neutral

    iv. Somewhat Unimportant

    v. Not Important

d. Rank the following components to your craft beer consumption from (1) MOST IMPORTANT to (5) LEAST IMPORTANT

    i. Taste

    ii. Availability and Accessibility

    iii. Name of Product

    iv. Label/Imagery of Product

    v. Brewer/Producer

4. *Beliefs*

a. List up to five words/phrases you associate with the following craft beer name:

b. List up to five words/phrases you associate with the following craft beer label:

c. List up to five words/phrases you associate with the following brewery name:

d. Do you have an example of a memorable craft beer name? If so, please explain why it was memorable. Please include as many details as possible, including name of product, type of product, brewer/producer, etc.

e. Do you have an example of a memorable craft beer label? If so, please explain why it was memorable. Please include as many details as possible, including imagery included on label, brewer/producer, name of product, etc.

f. Do you have an example of a memorable brewery name? If so, please explain why it was memorable. Please include an many details as possible, including name of brewery, city/state, etc.

CALL FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

This dissertation research project investigates racial inequities in consumption of craft beer and microbrewery visitation attributed to spatial distribution and place-based marketing.

YOU MAY BE ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERVIEW IF YOU:

1. Are 21 years of age or older
2. Live in or around one of the following cities:
   - Birmingham, Alabama
   - Atlanta, Georgia
   - Charleston, South Carolina
   - Nashville, Tennessee
   - Asheville, North Carolina

People who self-identify as Black, Indigenous, and/or a Person of Color are especially encouraged to participate

WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF YOU:

Eligible participants will be invited to schedule a 30-45 minute interview at a local microbrewery. Through guided questions and conversation, participants will be asked to provide reflections of their experience(s) with craft beer and microbreweries.

To sign up to participate or for more information, contact Josh Merced:

✉ jzmerced[at]uncg.edu
📞 (919) 342 - 8780

This research project is in compliance with the
University of North Carolina at Greensboro's Institutional Research Board

Updated 10 February 2021

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APPENDIX E: OBSERVATIONAL STUDY GUIDE

What is the study about?
This is a research project. Your participation is voluntary. Using the craft beer landscape of the American South as a case study, this research considers how the dominant White narrative of Southern culture is reflected in industry marketing tactics, and subsequently manifesting predominantly White spaces. As the craft beer industry continues to expand in the United States, geographic interest in the phenomenon can provide a spatial critique to patterns of production, distribution, and consumption. The application of research on the intersections of geography and craft beer provides industry participants with a toolkit for best practices to prioritize diversity in their operations, and promote participation through education, involvement, and representation.

Are there any benefits to society as a result of being an observational study site?
This research operates at the intersection of scholarship, teaching, and service as promoted by the Department of Geography, Environment and Sustainability at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. This research is results-driven, with outcomes that may inform best practices in the industry. There is an opportunity to dismantle the racialized, privileged stigma generally attached to craft beer participation, and promote the expansion of interest and participation across various identities to promote equity in the industry.

Why conduct an ethnography/observational study?
Ethnographic studies are employed to understand the structures engrained in cycles of regularity. Ley (1988) claims that the effectiveness of this method is reliant upon seeing people as 'knowledge agents' with the researcher attempting to 'make sense of their making sense of the events and opportunities confronting them in everyday life.' Ethnographies serve as links between the imagination and the reality, as they are a way to observe human behavior in navigating the structure and particulars of the everyday (Herbert 2000). This method is often applied to research in both the social and geographic periphery to understand obscure cultures and industries. For example, Andrews et al. (2002) facilitated an ethnography to support their proposed research towards conceptualizing 'fitness geographies.' The ethnographic study occurred at a gym, where the researcher observed the relationships between bodybuilding culture and space. This research process yielded results that were attractive to a variety of qualitative human geographers, as it investigated broader themes of masculinity, body culture, and the manifestation of community in a particular space. Ethnography is best for this study because of the opportunity to observe cultural practices and the broader urban spaces they are embedded in to validate the presence of Whiteness in the industry based on various trends of consumption.

What is the plan of action for the observational study?
There are five cities across the Southeast United States that are field sites for this study: (1) Birmingham, Alabama, (2) Atlanta, Georgia, (3) Charleston, South Carolina, (4) Asheville, North Carolina, and (5) Nashville, Tennessee. Within these five cities, four microbreweries were selected to be observational study sites based on logistical and geographic factors (i.e. location within the city and actively employing COVID-19 protocols). An ethnography is planned to be conducted at the following microbreweries

Birmingham, Alabama	Atlanta, Georgia
Good People Brewing Company 114 14th Street S. Birmingham, AL. 35233 Avondale Brewing Company 201 41st Street S. Birmingham, AL. 35222 Cahaba Brewing Company 4500 5th Avenue S. Building C. Birmingham, AL. 35222 Ghost Train Brewing Company 2616 3rd Avenue S. Birmingham, AL. 35233	New Realm Brewing Company 550 Somerset Terrace NE #101 Atlanta, GA. 30306 Torched Hop Brewing Company 249 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE. Atlanta, GA. 30308 Burnt Hickory Brewing 2260 Moon Station Court NW #210 Kennesaw, GA. 30144 Monday Night Brewing 670 Trabert Avenue NW Atlanta, GA. 30318
Charleston, South Carolina	**Asheville, North Carolina**
Cooper River Brewing Company 2201 Mechanic Street B Charleston, SC. 29405 Revelry Brewing Company 10 Conroy Street Charleston, SC. 29403 Lo-Fi Brewing 2038 Meeting Street Road Charleston, SC. 29405 Frothy Beard Brewing Company 1401 Sam Rittenberg Boulevard Charleston, SC. 29407	Wedge Brewing Company 37 Paynes Way Asheville, NC. 28801 UpCountry Brewing 1042 Haywood Road Asheville, NC. 28806 Wicked Weed Brewing 91 Biltmore Avenue Asheville, NC. 28801 Burial Beer Company 40 Collier Avenue Asheville, NC. 28801

Nashville, Tennessee

Turtle Anarchy Brewing Company
5901 California Avenue Suite 105
Nashville, TN. 37209

Blackstone Brewing Company
2312 Clifton Avenue
Nashville, TN. 37209

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Bearded Iris Brewing
101 Van Buren Street
Nashville, TN. 37208

Fat Bottom Brewing
800 44th Avenue N.
Nashville, TN. 37209
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The on-site observation will occur in a randomized order, consistently between the hours of 4:00pm EST and 8:00pm EST. During the observation, the datum that will be collected will include:
- Hourly observation of the number of male-presenting and female-presenting people in the room, and number of White-passing and observable People of Color in the room.
- Length of stay measurement for randomized individuals/groups in the room.
- Behavioral patterns, observable comfort levels, and use of space (appropriately under COVID-19 protocols)

Protection of Participant Confidentiality
No audio or video recording equipment will be used in this ethnographic study. A journal with recorded observational notes will be maintained by the researcher and will remain in a locked room when off-site. The notes will not contain personal identifying information. Observational notes will be transcribed at the end of the observational period and stored in a password protected computer drive.

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