THE VALUE OF A PINT: A CULTURAL ECONOMY OF AMERICAN BEER

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Communication Studies (Cultural Studies).

Chapel Hill
2014

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ABSTRACT

J. Nikol Beckham: The Value of a Pint: A Cultural Economy of American Beer
(Under the direction of Lawrence Grossberg)

As a material commodity beer has remained surprisingly unchanged since its discovery—composed of roughly the same ingredients, combined in roughly the same proportions, to achieve roughly the same product. What has been in dramatic flux, particularly over the past 100 years, is how beer is valued. This dissertation considers the numerous and complex ways beer has been and continues to be woven into the fabric of contemporary American life. Changes in the valuation of beer—for instance beer valued as a uniquely taxable and critically profitable source of depression-era internal revenue; as a means of supporting U.S. troops during WWII; as an exemplar of achievable value-added through branding; as a racialized social ill; as a catalyst for technological innovation in packaging and distribution; as emblematic of American masculinity; or as a touchstone of activism advocating sustainable practices of producing, distributing and consuming food and drink—are most often narrowly cast as products of economic change or products of cultural change. In crafting a historically and contextually contingent cultural economy of American beer, this project frames such changes as a complex articulation of the two and in doing so, advances a theory of culturally embedded valuation.

For my mother and father and each of the colored mothers and fathers before them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation is without question the most difficult challenge I have ever dared to face and my greatest and most cherished accomplishment. Without the support of the following people, I would have never mustered the courage to write the first page. It is because of their collective guidance, insight, encouragement, patience, and generosity that I was able to write the last. To them, I owe my deepest gratitude.

I would first like to thank my advisor, Dr. Lawrence Grossberg who took me seriously when I proposed conducting my doctoral dissertation research about beer. He has not only been a kind mentor, but has modeled a fearlessness, rigor, open-mindedness and dedication to Cultural Studies that will inspire me throughout my career. Because of him, I will never question the importance of intellectual work in the pursuit of social change.

I would like to thank Dr. Sarah Dempsey for sharing with me a scholarly passion for food and tremendous editorial clarity; Dr. Jay Garcia for being one of the most generous and helpful readers that has ever engaged my writing; Dr. Michael Palm for the incisive questions that helped shape the earliest versions of the theories of valuation presented in this dissertation; and Dr. John Pickles for offering the single most useful piece of advice I received over the course of conducting this research.

I would like to thank Dr. Julia Wood, from whom I never took a class, but in whose counsel I spent many hours. Had it not been for a serendipitous hug she offered to an adoring first year Master's student at the UNC party at the Annual Meeting of the National

Communication Association in San Antonio, I would not be the graduating doctoral candidate I am today. Deepest gratitude to Dr. Valerie Renegar, my Master's thesis advisor, who taught me that uncompromising excellence and boisterous laughter can gracefully coexist.

I would like to thank the Royster Society of Fellows at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Without the financial support of the William Neal Reynolds Fellowship, I would not have been able to attend such a prestigious institution of higher education.

I would like to thank Dr. Richard Quinn. First, for allowing me to put my mark on the homebrew supply and equipment division of Fifth Season Gardening Company; I would not have been able to complete this project without the industry contacts, experiences, and expertise I developed during my three years as his employee. Second, I thank him for showing me that a Ph.D. can lead to a life of self-directed joy and success outside of the academy.

I offer thanks to my closest companions who repeatedly risked becoming collateral damage to this dissertation by stubbornly maintaining relationships with me. I could have never have accomplished this without their loyalty, care, pep talks, willingness to listen, creative infusions, perspective, coddling, impromptu happy hours and good-natured humoring: Lisa Shaffer, Mary Donnan Debranski, Thomas Condon, and Carolyn Hardin, you are wonderful people and even better friends.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner, Shanna Jackson for quietly enduring and vocally loving me—for allowing me the opportunity to chase the best *me*, knowing that I would not for one minute face this challenge alone.

PREFACE

Beer.

"What?"

It's about beer.

"What is?"

My dissertation. You asked what my dissertation is about and it's about beer.

"That's so cool! So it's about marketing and branding and stuff like that?"

Yeah…stuff the like that.

Actually it is nothing like that, but the story that is punctuated with the writing of this dissertation is a bit too long and far too meandering to tell in passing. It is a story better suited for a preface.

My love affair with beer began in Blacksburg, VA during a short stretch as an employee of the Rivermill Map Company Bar and Grill. As far as part-time employment options for undergraduate students were concerned, my gig at the Rivermill was choice. Though the pay was no better than any other restaurant in the small mountain town, the hours longer, and the work somewhat more demanding; there was a certain kind of cachet that came along with working at a popular night spot and the hard work often came along with equally hard play. Looking back, I see now that the Rivermill ostensibly offered a kind of left-leaning populist approach to service labor that I did not yet have the Marxist education to appreciate. Everyone did everything without exception, from bartending to cooking to cleaning urinals and checking IDs at the door. The collegiality felt within our relatively non-hierarchical gaggle of job title-free employees was no more evident than at the end of the night when we enjoyed a free shift beer. It was in these moments, in the company of my coworkers, and with the basest of intentions, that my indoctrination into the world of 'good' beer began. *If I am going to be given a free beer at the end of the night, it is damn well going to be the most expensive thing in the house*. In this way, incrementally, and always well after last call, I tasted my way through the modest selection of good beer available in southwest Virginia in the late 1990s.

Like many others who find themselves sliding into the world of craft beer, I quickly found the distinctions I'd previously used to parse my beer drinking options ('light' and 'dark', 'bitter' and 'sweet, 'micro' and 'import') embarrassingly inadequate. As I dipped a toe, and then several others, into an American craft brewing scene that was on the cusp of a tectonic expansion, the Heinekens, Newcastles, and Guinness Stouts that previously represented the apex of my beer purchasing aspirations were revealed to be mass-produced imports that expressed little creativity and represented something of an 'old guard' with respect to the interpretation of beer styles in the U.S. and abroad. The rest, as they say, is history. My own is dotted with a number of timely and formative moments.

Shortly after completing my undergraduate degree, I was given a subscription to the venerable Michael Jackson's[1] Beer of the Month Club as a birthday gift. I still consider it among the best I have ever received. Though the number of locally and regionally brewed American craft beers had significantly spiked in the early years of the new millennium, distribution laws and practices still had much catching up to do; the expansive craft beer media infrastructure—

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1 Michal Jackson (1942-2007) was one of the world's preeminent beer and whiskey journalists. Though a British writer who largely published in the U.K., his books on beer have sold more than 3 million copies worldwide. He is largely credited with helping to kick off the renaissance in beer appreciation in the US, by introducing Americans to the notion of beer styles, style specific glassware, and structured tasting strategies. His life is the subject of the 2011 documentary film *Beer Hunter*.

replete with magazines, tasting and review websites, and beer-related social media platforms—was several years from emerging; and a number of American states maintained laws restricting the sale of beers with alcohol contents higher than most macrobrewed commercial offerings. Outside of my monthly delivery of obscure local beers from around the country, there were few ways to taste a large number of local craft beers without traveling to find them.

As fortune would have it, at the time I was working for a company that performed needs analyses for proposed affordable housing developments seeking to secure federally funded Low Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC). The job sent me to potential building sites all over the country. On average, I spent two to three days of each week travelling alone, hundreds or even thousands of miles away from my tiny condo in Washington, DC. During those years in the early 2000s, local bars and brewpubs became places to combat loneliness, avoid the sterility of airport terminals, collect anecdotal information about the housing market, grab a cheap bite to eat, and as it happened, taste dozens upon dozens of local and regionally brewed beers.

By 2003, I had amassed a rather extensive list of craft beer 'tastes,' a respectable library of popular books on beer styles and histories, and had grown rather comfortable in my role as a certifiable beer snob. I'd also tired considerably of the intensity of living in the nation's capital. On one hand D.C. was cloaked in the boredom that inevitably tarnishes hometowns for people in their 20s, and on the other the city crackled with the cumulative tension of the 9/11 tragedy at the Pentagon, the Anthrax related deaths at my local post office, and the Beltway sniper attacks that terrorized the D.C. area for three weeks in 2002. I moved to Southern California in search of a slower pace of life and a Master's Degree from San Diego State University.

My rapidly expanding knowledge, enthusiasm, and interest in most things beer found a remarkable home in San Diego, CA. At the time, West Coast brewers were without a doubt on the cutting edge of the American craft beer movement, pushing the boundaries of style, introducing innovative flavors, and popularizing the iconic citrusy American IPA. These brewers took what many considered to be an oddball ethos of small scale brewing from pioneers like Ken Grossman, Fritz Maytag, Charlie Papazian, and Jim Koch, and did the work of translating it into the large and energetic cultural formation that continues to gain momentum today. It was through the innovative San Diego area breweries like Stone Brewing Company and other members of the San Diego Brewers Guild that I was introduced to the beer festival circuit and the truly unique ways that brewers engaged their local communities. It was the open and community-oriented ways in which these breweries demystified the brewing process that inspired me to try my hand at homebrewing.

By the time I returned to the east coast to begin a Ph.D. program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2007, my perspectives on beer were so different from those I held in Blacksburg, VA a little less than a decade earlier, they were virtually incomparable. The cultural changes that swept over the American craft brewing industry over the same years were no less dramatic. Armed with several years of graduate coursework and a deep scholarly interest in how people make and use material objects in order to negotiate identities (in particular, historically disadvantaged identities) and wield power (in particular, power organized in opposition or outside of dominant power structures), I began to consider a research project that made use of my passion for beer and brewing.

Over the nearly four years I worked on this project, I extended the personal interest and passion I'd developed for beer into a professional pursuit that not only granted me the access I needed to complete the project, but also resulted in the forging of several important relationships. I supported myself through graduate school, in part, by managing the Homebrew and

Winemaking arm of Fifth Season Gardening Company, a 'brew-and-grow' retailer with five locations in NC and VA. In this position, I gained first-hand knowledge of the industry's largest manufacturers, growers, and wholesalers of brewing supplies and ingredients. I became an avid homebrewer, frequently teaching classes on homebrewing and even having the good fortune to speak at a few regional beer festivals on various brewing related topics. I became a member of the Pink Boots Society, the professional association for women in the brewing industry, through which I met and learned from a number of impressive women who like their feminist foremothers continue to make the personal political in creative ways. I became a Provisional Judge within Beer Judge Certification Program (BJCP), a process whose rigorous examination procedure pushed me to extend my technical knowledge of making and evaluating beer far beyond what I thought possible. My non-academic writing on beer has surprisingly gained a sizable audience and has been the medium through which I have forged enduring friendships with professional brewers, organizers, and a few of the authors of the books I cite most frequently in this dissertation. It has been a whirlwind, fun, informative, fulfilling and admittedly has prolonged the completion of this research to some degree—still, there is little I would change about how things have unfolded.

All of this is to say that my journey in the world of beer has been one that intersects with a number of aspects of my life and this dissertation is very much a product of that journey. However, it is *not* meant to suggest that this journey has not also been marked by serious challenges—experienced both personally and intellectually. My 15-year tenure in the world of craft beer is comparatively short in comparison to many, particularly to my contemporaries and friends in the world of beer writing and scholarship. Still, I have been around long enough to see several aspects of this culture shift tremendously, especially with reference to the presence of women. There is a group, however, that is nearly as conspicuously absent in craft beer culture today as it was in the late 1990s (and I suspect in the 1970s and 1980s when American craft beer was getting its legs), black folks like myself. This is not an absence I actively seek out, despite the frequent accusations of a few well-meaning friends. It is one that I, and anyone who is moderately observant, cannot help but recognize. Every quality bottle shop I enter, every taproom, every tasting dinner, homebrew shop, festival, or brewery tour—I am struck by the utter lack of individuals who look like me. From every casual scanning of a craft brewery's website to the Staff page of the Brewers Association website, it is obvious to anyone inclined to notice that craft beer is remarkably white.

This reality has at times been of no consequence at all. One of the more remarkable aspects of craft beer culture is the genuine camaraderie that circulates between strangers who happen to have the love of good beer in common. It has at times burrowed uncomfortably under my skin, as my arrival into new craft beer scenes is usually greeted with confusion and an offer of some sort of assistance. The assumption being that I am lost, confused, and/or am in need of the most remedial of introductions to 'beer.' I am often required to state and restate my beer 'credentials' *ad nauseam* before I am granted the kind of credibility that is often freely handed to stout, bearded white men who were in elementary school when began to develop an appreciation for IPAs. And it has at times troubled me to the point of intellectual crisis, as I have questioned the ethics of writing a dissertation about beer that does not take the structural racism embedded in this cultural formation as its central object. Ultimately, however, that is precisely the dissertation that I did write—one that approaches what I consider to be a more broadly applicable concept than race, that will by virtue of its sensitivity to power relations illuminate the presence of bias and inequality of all kinds.

For better or for worse, this dissertation is a product of the fact that I love beer. I love drinking it, and talking about it, and making it, and the sense of community it engenders. I love learning about it, and teaching others about it, and the sense of like-mindedness I experience around other craft beer drinkers. And this sense of community, of like-mindedness, exists in spite of the racial, ethnic, gendered, and classed disparities that I feel are so important to discuss in this work. I believe, as Christopher O'Brien (2006, pp. 27-29) suggests, that beer can be a catalyst for positive change in the world. But if we are to make that change, I believe we need to do so intelligently.

Consequently, the dissertation that I ultimately decided *not* to write—the one that explicitly considers race, gender, and other categories of difference as they have intersected with beer and brewing in the U.S.—has never left me. It haunted the margins of my early and late drafts, at times erupting onto the page in paragraphs and sections that would later be edited away. Rather than ignore the issues, questions, and tangents produced by my dissertation's shadowy doppelganger, I corralled them into an artistic project that has served me well as an emotional and creative outlet, and as a counterbalance to the demands of prolonged academic writing. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the two works collectively tell a multi-layered story about contemporary American culture, capitalism, power, everyday material artifacts, and the subjectivities that emerge in relation to such fraught and overdetermined formations.

But that is a story for an afterward.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It's not quite 8 am, on a Saturday no less, as I trace a slow lap around 3,000 shining square feet of empty space. The double doors that open to an alley shared by a row of bars and restaurants were left unlocked by the cleaning crew—a wiry-armed black woman and a stocky, somewhat stone-faced man I imagined to be her son—and so I spend the few minutes I expected to pass standing outside by the door, inside pacing idly and imaging where to begin setting up tables. We'd let them in, the "cleaning crew," after 11:00 pm knowing they would more than likely be cleaning the recently renovated space through the early hours of the morning. Having returned, in all likelihood, just hours after they'd left, I involuntarily shutter, trying to shake off a sharp stab of embarrassment at the folksy nature I'd adopted with their arrival—a compulsory response to the abrupt discomfort of seeing other black folks performing the kinds of under-paid and under-appreciated labor about which I so often have the luxury to write criticism. *We still get each other though*, I'd thought at them with an over-enthusiastic smile, so easily embracing the essentialist notions of race I make it my work to disavow.

Behind a wave of impulse or inspiration or perhaps simply a desire to avoid this uncomfortable line of thought, I slide behind an imposing black bar, anchored on one of the broad sides of this long narrow event space and spread my hands across its lacquered surface as if to ask to an imaginary patron, *what'll it be?* The answer comes with a solitary "clunk" that echoes somewhat anticlimactically in a space I wholeheartedly expect to behave more cavernously. The beer I've placed on the bar is one from the eclectic collection of bottled beers left in the cooler box, the remnants of a private birthday party that served as an informal christening of the West End Public. Today's affair will be the first official event held at the brand new space and its debut to the public—a homebrew festival I've spent countless hours over recent months helping to plan.

A chill settles over me, triggered by the cold biting carbonation on this beer opened so early in the morning, but owing more completely to a sudden rush of anxiety. *Will enough people come?* For better or for worse my name is now attached to Homebrew for Hunger, a charity fundraiser benefiting a regional food bank. Local merchants generously donated most everything for today's festival, from the space itself to the online ticketing system, from raffle prizes to the ice, and I do not want them disappointed. With the bottle neck tilted up toward my mouth, its over-chilled contents not flowing but resting against the outside of my lips, I brood upon the possibility that only the 75 or so people who pre-purchased tickets online will show up; that the $20 ticket price was simply too ambitious; that even in this region that garners national attention for its thriving craft beer culture, this event was just one too many on calendar already replete with beer festivals, tours, and tastings.

My eyes fling open wide at the sound of a jesting voice. Immediately, I acknowledge that this moment closely resembles a sit-com close-up. I am caught, lost in thought, with a bottle of beer pressed to my lips at 8:00 am, by the owner of the homebrew shop I've managed for nearly three years and part owner of the event space at which I've arrived early this morning to set up—the man whose donations to Homebrew for Hunger will exceed the event's donation to the food bank if no more than 75 people attend. He's laughing. Still, I mumble something incoherent about toasting the occasion or it being noon somewhere in the world and shuffle to the corner of the room where a dozen banquet tables are stacked. My co-organizer, a thin and fast-walking man with eyes that brighten with talk of obscure and hard to come by craft beer, is now enthusiastically helping me to line the wall opposite the bar with tables. With his arrival things feel officially underway.

Homebrew for Hunger is a craft beer festival, unique in comparison to many beer festivals in that it focuses on the homebrewer as opposed to commercial breweries. More than 50 local homebrewers have agreed to brew, donate, and personally pour beer for the attendees of this event—beers that reflect the kind of experimentation that is often financially infeasible for commercial breweries to explore: a chocolate peanut butter porter, a cranberry old ale, a strawberry basil blonde ale, a beet Belgian strong ale. For a fixed donation, attendees will enjoy unlimited tastes of these creations. A handful of local craft breweries are also participating. This area's small breweries, like small breweries nationwide, are the successful ventures of ambitious homebrewers. The intermingling of kegs of popular local beers and the presence of local brewery owners and brewmasters (minor celebrities by most accounts) underscores the very significant connection between passionate hobbyists and the exploding American craft brewing industry.

In just over four hours, my nagging fear that the event will not draw enough attendees to be considered a success is replaced by the fear that the 200+ gallons of beer donated and served by area homebrewers and the 50+ gallons donated by local breweries will be gone well before the festival is over. In just over five hours, the event will sell out and we will begin turning people away at the door. In just over six hours, I will begin to loosen my tense hold on sobriety and see the festival, for the first time, from the perspective of its attendees rather than its planner.

I will snake through the crowded room to visit homebrewers proudly pouring beers that were brewed in backyards and kitchens, conditioned in the corners of closets and basements. In just over nine hours, I will, with far less speed and precision, begin to collapse and restack the tables that I am currently covering with disposable plastic tablecloths. I will smile to myself with the sounds of enthusiastic complements still ringing in my ears. I will reflect upon the surprising number of women in attendance, still a very modest percentage of the overall attendees, but a percentage that stands in stark contrast to those seen at the events I attended just five years ago, frequently as one of only three or four women in rooms of hundreds of beer enthusiasts. I will begin, finally, to suspect that the festival raised a respectable amount of money for the food bank—a suspicion that will be confirmed a week later when $6,000 donation check is cut.

Though I have closely watched the truly tectonic shifts in the craft brewing industry (which includes for the purposes of this project, homebrewing) from the perspective of an enthusiast and professional for nearly a decade, I continue to be captivated, intrigued, and flummoxed by the economic potentials of American craft beer and the creative and often unexpected ways they are realized. It is the complex and multiple natures of these economic potentials and their apparent connections to elements of contemporary popular culture that led to the addition of a third perspective from which to observe the American craft brewing industry, that of a researcher, and inspired me to begin this project three years ago.

A Problem of Valuation

Homebrew for Hunger and hundreds more events like it, recent changes in state legislation allowing greater flexibility in commercial brewing,[2] and increasing sales for domestic craft beers[3] amidst significant declines in sales for macro-brewed products (Herz, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2011), are just a few indicators of a shift, not only in national consumer markets for beer, but in commodity markets more broadly. This shift brings with it a wealth of institutions, forms, and practices that fail to be adequately explained by economic theories that narrowly focus on monetary transaction and the circulation of goods and information and that do not consider the cultural dimension of product economies. This failure to account for the changing American brewing industry is not a failure unique to the manufacture and consumption of beer, as it gestures toward a larger underlying question of valuation. That is to say, the generation, assignment, and commensuration of commodities in the contemporary U.S. is insufficiently theorized, having been long subsumed under existing logics of supply and demand and more recently overshadowed by the primacy of finance.

What is more, commodity economies, like the brewing industry, inherently raise questions about any given social formation: What is deemed valuable and why? What actions and associations do those values engender? Posing such questions in relation to beer and brewing draws attention to the ways that even the seemingly most peripheral or dispensable

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2 For example, on August 13, 2005 a two and a half year effort on the part of a group of 35 grassroots activists was rewarded when NC House Bill 392 was signed into law, raising the 6% ABV cap on the manufacture and sale of beer in North Carolina to 15% ABV. In the years following, North Carolinians have been introduced to a previously unavailable third of the world's beer styles and have enthusiastically embraced the American craft beer movement.

3 "Craft" brewing is an American term, which refers to beer brewing by small, independent, traditional breweries. Craft beers are most often created in smaller batches, using traditional methods, high quality materials, and is crafted to be distinctive and flavorful rather than to mass appeal.

product economies are constitutive of the institutions, practices, and forms seen to be the most integral to the American social and political fabric.

Despite compelling evidence that might spotlight beer as an object of study capable of sustaining serious inquiry into the cultural-economic conditions of the contemporary U.S., current works on beer and the brewing industry are almost exclusively histories that fall into one of two categories. In the first, scholars compile the stories of significant individuals (great men) or organizations (profitable corporations) in relation to the large-scale production of beer.[4] In the second, the brewing industry is considered largely for what it accomplishes as an economic block in response to or in concert with federal and state policy. Neither approach makes a dedicated effort to incorporate cultural understandings and practices extrinsic to the brewing industry into economic understandings of beer as a commodity, nor commodity markets at large.

Attempts to read beer into recent conversations on contemporary capitalism are no more successful in developing holistic cultural economies. One significant line of scholarship characterizes the current state of Western capitalist economies as undergoing or having undergone a significant transformation from the commodity-based, production-centered formations of Marx's era to finance-based formations rooted in a nearly limitless capacity for computer-aided computation and information transfer. The explosion of scholarship on emergent technologies of financialization is no doubt critical in theorizing the economic, but in a significant sense results in the inadvertent de-centering of the commodity, limiting its explanatory power with regard to the state of late capitalism. And while evidence abounds that a transformation in the balance of power—establishing finance in a position of centrality that has arguably been occupied by material commodities since the industrial revolution—has indeed

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4 See *Brewing Battles: A History of American Beer* (Mittelman, 2008) and *A Man Walks into a Pub: A Sociable History of Beer* (P. Brown, 2003) for examples.

come to characterize contemporary capitalist economies, it would be impossible to contend that production-oriented, material, commodity-based economic practices are no longer relevant. In fact, one might argue that these economic practices remain the basis of what most Americans understand to constitute 'the economy.'

Though the turn to financialization is just one example, I argue there is too little attention paid to the changing nature of commodities and the conditions of their production, distribution, and consumption. The commodity as a useful category of analysis cannot be left behind nor can it be brought forward clinging to an antiquated theoretical architecture. Thick veils of common sense and economic dogma obscure a serious need for empirical and theoretical intervention. We know without question that things are valuable and that this fuels economic action. We neglect to ask where such value emerges, how it is created and circulates, and how processes of valuation can and do transcend what we narrowly consider to be the economic sphere.

This project elucidates several constitutive elements of what is understood to be 'the economy.' Specifically, it considers the effects of recent shifts in power within the Western capitalist formation, changing economic logics, and emergent practices of everyday life on the conceptual category of *value*. Rather than accept that a *new economy*[5] has simply superseded the commodity economy, this project asks how the disarticulation of labor and the commodity from value, money, wealth, and the most powerful economic institutions might be understood. Such disarticulations are not considered to be damning or fatal for commodity economies, rather transformative of production, distribution, and consumption practices.

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[5] My use of footnotes here reflects a healthy dose of sarcasm that carries forward throughout this document though my use of quotes with the phrase will not. The existence of a 'new economy' as a discrete historical formation will be roundly dismissed in this dissertation.

As a material commodity beer has remained surprisingly unchanged since its discovery—composed of roughly the same ingredients, combined in roughly the same proportions, to achieve roughly the same product. What has been in dramatic flux, particularly over the past 100 years, is how beer is valued. In contemplation of the diverse integrations of beer into contemporary American life, this project considers the ways that changes in the valuation of beer (for instance beer valued as a uniquely taxable and critically profitable source of depression-era internal revenue, as a means of supporting U.S. troops during WWII, as an exemplar of achievable value-added through branding, as a racialized social ill, as a catalyst for technological innovation in packaging and distribution, as emblematic of American masculinity, or as a touchstone of activism advocating sustainable practices of producing, distributing, and consuming food and drink) are most often seen as products of 'economic' change or products of 'cultural' change, but rarely as a complex articulation of the two. It asks specifically, how have techniques of commodity valuation changed over the last 100 years? And how are everyday practices of valuation implicated in workings of power?

The Peculiarity of the Brewing Industry

An estimated 84 million Americans are beer drinkers (Mittelman, 2008), roughly twice the estimated number of African Americans living in the U.S. and more than three times the populations of the U.S.'s 13 largest cities[6] combined. Beer is inextricably a part of American everyday life and, as an object of study, it provides an intriguing point of entry to the everydayness of economic practices that has in many ways eluded contemporary discussions of

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[6] As of 2009, according the US Census Bureaus, the US's largest 13 cities include New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Phoenix, Philadelphia, San Antonio, San Diego, Dallas, San Jose, Detroit, San Francisco, and Jacksonville.

American economics. The affective linkages between beer and the body, notions of morality, leisure, pleasure and addiction, among countless other discrete individual and social relations, offer an opportunity to examine what has come to be called 'the economic' in ways that might provide respite from discourses heavily dominated by price relations and fractured by the micro/macro dichotomy. The following discussion briefly summarizes the importance of beer and the brewing industry in the American cultural-economic landscape and establishes the suitability of beer and brewing as objects of study for this project.

The Unites States ranks 11th in per capita consumption of beer worldwide;[7] It is safe to say, Americans like beer (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005). In fact, Americans have consumed between 17 and 31 gallons of beer per capita annually since the mid 1960s, volumes that rival and in some years surpass the consumption of milk or coffee (2007).

The brewing of beer is the central activity of several of the U.S.'s oldest and largest corporations. In 2002, the American brewing industry accounted for more than $64 billion in sales (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005); that number jumped to $101 billion in 2009 aided largely by the explosion in popularity of higher priced craft beers. Beer is and has long been the most popular alcoholic beverage consumed by Americans, exceeding both wine and spirits, and is integral enough to average urban consumers that is perennially included in the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics market basket used to calculate the consumer price index (CPI).

The integrations, however, of beer and brewing into American life extends far beyond sales and consumption. Since Prohibition, beer has often been a national centerpiece of financial, political and moral debates. Consideration of the last 150 years of U.S. history reveals beer to be a central but often taken for granted character. As an object of broad historical

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7 While U.S. per capita consumption of beer ranks 11th among developed nations, the U.S.'s per capita consumption of spirits and wine ranks 20th and 34th respectively.

interest, beer might be variously named one of the most important sites of nineteenth and twentieth-century industrialization; the battleground on which one of the country's most public and contentious moral struggles unfolded; a forerunner in the evolution of how U.S. corporations operate and interact with government; and, through the emergence of the craft beer movement, a significant actor in the political debates at the core of contemporary environmental activism. Further, comestibles including beer have long been recognized as markers of ethnicity and national identity, culture and class.

Repeal returned beer to Americans in 1933 and introduced an era of heavy taxation for brewers that was in large part enabled by a justified fear of a return to federal prohibition.[8] The relationship between brewers and the U.S. government, forged as much in the fires of political and moral debates as in the exchange of funds and policymaking, has endured and, in many ways, made possible the wedding of beer to American identity. In response to the hovering specter of national prohibition, the manufacturers of beer historically positioned themselves as some of the country's great patriots, quietly shouldering a mounting tax burden that at times has provided more than half of the country's internal revenue (Mittelman, 2008). Further, post-prohibition brewers, innovators in modern marketing and advertising, went to great pains to associate themselves with a number of the country's most emblematic institutions—professional sports, amusement parks, rock and roll, masculinity, and war.

In the nearly 80 years of the brewing industry's post-prohibition history, beer has become firmly instantiated in the American popular imaginary. The consumption of beer has come in no small way to delineate entire modalities of American experience; contemporary collegiate life is

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8 Beer continues to be one of the more heavily taxed commodities in the U.S., paying excise taxes on the local, state, and federal level and being taxed at a rate, along with wine, spirits and tobacco that is on average two points higher than other commodities.

just one salient example. Beer has been a familiar muse among popular music artists—Sublime (*40oz to Freedom*), Black Flag (*Six Pack*), Jerry Lee Lewis *(What's Made Milwaukee Famous, Has Made A Loser Out Of Me),* and Hank Thompson *(On Tap, In the Can, Or In the Bottle)*. Further, the American movie industry continues to produce blockbuster films explicitly about beer-drinking youth cultures and to be influenced by beer's popularity in less explicit ways. Case in point: the 1986 film Crocodile Dundee was based on a character actor Paul Hogan created initially for and made popular in the UK by Foster's Lager commercials (P. Brown, 2003).

The slogans used in the 1980s by the two largest American brands, Budweiser and Miller, became such a part of the average American vernacular that the phrases "it's Miller time" and "this Bud's for you" continue to be familiar to the entire population. Clydesdales, Dalmatians, and a Bull Terrier named Spuds McKenzie have all become iconic visual images of Budweiser and Bud Light brands and in many ways eclipsed their roles as advertising icons.

The brewing industry is so large that a contemporary return to prohibition is nearly unimaginable. Still American's ambivalence about beer continues to factor into popular discourses and mandate responses from the industry. President Reagan's public support of Candace Lightner's Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) and his subsequent passage of the Uniform Minimum Age Act,[9] which raised the legal drinking age to 21 nationally (despite the fact that this legislation flew in the face of the Republican party's states rights stance), not only had a tremendous economic impact on the brewing industry but also helped to shape the moralizing tenor of Reagan years (Mittelman, 2008). In fact, it was an intervention in the form of an FCC complaint filed by MADD among other advocacy groups that compelled Anheuser-Busch to pull the Spuds McKenzie campaign despite the fact that its popularity had been

[9] This legislation was particularly geared toward beer drinking, perceived as the alcoholic beverage of choice for the country's youth.

successfully parleyed into a line of clothing, beach towels, key chains, and a cameo in the 1987 film *Rented Lips*.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of locating this inquiry in and around beer is that its continued relevance and success in the new economy cannot be easily explained away by the rhetoric of technological innovation (a move that is too often and too easily made in discussions of late capitalism) although technological innovation has been of critical importance to the brewing industry. The characterization of the state of contemporary capitalism as coterminous with the ubiquity of new media or computing technologies is, in my estimation, under-complicated. That such information technologies have in significant ways enabled the tremendous growth of finance economies supports technologically determinist understandings of late-capitalism as having evolved away from the commodity-based, production-centered formations of Marx's era. However, I believe the tremendous influence of rapid technologization and a "cultural financialization" (Martin, 2002) of the economy are better understood in concert with, as opposed to replacing, traditional commodity economies—to have emerged alongside, influenced, and been influenced by, rather than having evolved away from traditional craft industries like brewing. The fact, then, that beer can be held relatively constant over the last five centuries as a product, though production and distribution methods have certainly changed, offers an opportunity to complicate the picture of late-capitalism as inherently 'informatic.' Craft brewing in particular, a practice that in many ways eschews particular types of industrial technologies, serves as particularly interesting example as its emergence coincides with the emergence of the new economy of record.

The terms *craft beer* and *craft brewing* have come into heavy use in the last decade to describe quality, small batch brewing techniques, a unique group of independent brewers, and the beers they produce. Though somewhat synonymous with the term(s) *microbrew/ery*, craft beer and the movement it describes are marked by a few important differences. The most significant difference, and arguably the most important justification for the preferential use of the *craft* distinction among industry insiders and beer aficionados, relates to annual production. While microbrewers and craft brewers are both considered small operations (and importantly, exist in sharp contrast to mass-producing macro-brewers like SABMiller[10] and Anheuser-Busch InBev[11]), microbrewers are those producing less than 15,000 barrels[12] annually. As many of the country's microbrewers gained popularity, they have quickly exceeded the benchmark for microbrewing (for example the Boston Brewing Company with its Samuel Adams label or the beers produced by the Sierra Nevada Brewing Company[13]). As a result, the craft descriptor has emerged to describe brewers producing less than 6 million barrels annually;[14] capturing a far larger population of brewers whose products are distinct from mass-produced beers and whose brewing practices and business models remain similar to the small-business model pioneered by microbrewers.

Another important difference between the craft and micro designations is apparent in their respective labels—*micro* refers primarily to quantity: *craft*, to practice. According to the Brewers Association, hallmarks of the craft movement include: 1) innovation in the development of new beer styles and the unique interpretation of historic styles; 2) the use of high-quality,

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[10] South Africa-based SABMiller is a large multinational corporation operating in six continents. The corporation now holds ownership of a number of large brewing companies, including significant interest in MillerCoors—a joint venture between SABMiller and Molsen Coors Brewing Company—that produces the Miller Lite, Miller Genuine Draft, Miller High Life, Coors Light, and Blue Moon brands among others. The company is also one of the world's largest bottlers of Coca-Cola products.

[11] The Belgium-based AB InBev, the result of a merger between AmBev and Anheuser-Busch, is now the world's largest brewer, holding the popular global brands, Stella Artois, Becks, and Budweiser.

[12] One barrel is equal to 31 gallons.

[13] The Sierra Nevada brewing company is often credited with ushering in the "microbrew revolution."

[14] The definition of this market segment is determined by the Brewers Association. It is noteworthy that the annual barrelage that defined a craft brewery was 2 million barrels when this project was started.

traditional ingredients; 3) community involvement through philanthropy, product donations, volunteerism, and event sponsorship; 4) distinctive, individualistic approaches to connecting with customers; and 5) maintenance of creative integrity through fiscal independence, free from substantial interest by non-craft brewers (Brewers Association, 2008). The last of these hallmarks is significant in setting apart a particular ethos of craft brewing. While a subsidiary label of a major brewer might qualify as a microbrewed beer (for example, when Blue Moon debuted as microbrewed product of the company formerly known as the Miller Brewing Company), craft beers are produced by independent breweries.

The significance of craft beer to the U.S. brewing industry and to contemporary American culture at large is easily overlooked. By the numbers, craft beers seem to make up little more than a growing niche market (Herz, 2009). However, as a cultural activity and an apprenticed trade, craft brewing is at the center of the American brewing world. Significantly, the Brewers Association,[15] representing an 88-year old professional community of craftsmen and women, is primarily vested in the craft brewing community's interests rather than the brewing industry at large. Further, despite a significant economic downturn, post-2008 market data suggest that while sales and market share is decreasing for macrobrewers, Americans are drinking more and more craft beer and paying more for it (Herz, 2008b, 2009, 2011).

From Value to Valuation

This project is, above all, a story about valuation. In this, it circulates among a litany of such stories, arguably the most influential of which is told by Marx. The following locates the theoretical position taken up in this project within bodies of Marxist thought on value and the

[15] The Brewers Association is the product of a 2005 merger between the Association of Brewers and the Brewers Association of America.

commodity, by rereading Marx's labor theory of value, establishing an analytical groundwork for the commodity form, and offering a working theory of valuation. The following should be understood as a set of theoretical commitments or orientations, a loosely assembled, heuristic structure that provided direction for the inquiries contained herein.

The longevity of Smith's (1776), Ricardo's (1821) and (most central to this discussion) Marx's (1887) labor theories of value as foundational texts or standards from which one may diverge, is remarkable and a compelling reason to use it as a springboard for this discussion. Readings however, of Marxian theory, have insured that there are at least as many Marxian labor theories of value as there are styles of ale with which to fill a pint. Further complicating matters, if one is to consider Marx's critique to be historically and geographically specific, the continued relevance of the labor theory of value in the contemporary U.S. must be questioned. I will cross these bridges in order.

Labor theories of value make a number of presuppositions about the nature of *labor* and *commodity*. Perhaps, the most important assumption to clarify from the outset is the trans-historical versus the historically determined character of each conceptual category. I find compelling arguments (that will not be discussed here) in Postone's (1996) reinterpretation of Marx's critical theory for understanding both labor and the commodity as historically determined within the framework of the labor theory of value. That is not to say that the commodity form or labor did not exist in 'pre-capitalist' societies, but that the commodity form and labor referenced by Marx in his labor theory of value are expressed in forms unique to industrial capitalism. The differences, then, between the trans-historical forms of labor and commodity and those expressed in capitalism are a productive place to begin.

We understand labor in its trans-historical form as "purposive social activity involving the transformation of material in a determinate fashion which is an indispensible condition for the reproduction of human society" (Postone, 1996, p. 124). This describes what Postone calls the *essential* form of labor, established through its material performance and implicated in the production of use values. Marx, however, in *Capital Volume I* asserts that labor in capitalism is twofold and that the form of labor expressed in value does not possess the same characteristics as those belonging to labor as a creator of use values. The form of labor that finds its expression in value is *abstract* labor. Following Postone's reading of Marx, the abstract nature of labor in capitalism is found in two specific determinations.

First, capitalist labor is *commodity determined*. The product of abstract labor in capitalism assumes the form of the commodity, such that human labor power is appears as a value of things (fetishism). Further, "… the objectifications of one's labor are means by which goods produced by others are acquired (Postone, 1996, p. 149). Thus, the specific form of capitalist labor implicated in the generation of value is animated by and finds realization in commodities. Abstract labor's is, secondly, *temporally determined*. Time as a calculable mode of abstraction serves two critical functions in the labor theory of value, providing means of conceptually equating abstract labor first to wages and second to price.

The significance of this particular formulation of labor becomes clear in consideration of the nature of sociality in capitalism. The "reproduction of human society" to which Postone refers (understood biologically or otherwise) suggests a necessary degree of social interdependence, that is largely (as Marx recognized) performed through the exchange of goods and services. This interdependence, however, is continuously negotiated within a field of quasi-independent relations. Laborers who conceive of themselves working under their own volition in increments made quantifiable within the wage relationship in order to consume largely anonymous goods and services, only indirectly comprehend the inherently social nature of their production and consumption practices. The social relations of which laborers are part are thus structured as quasi-independent—self-directed and anonymous, but also indirectly connected or rather *mediated*. "Social interdependence [by definition] is always mediated…what characterizes a society is the specific character of that mediation" (Postone, 1996, p. 150). Thus, the historically specific capitalist society articulated by Marx and understood as a field of quasi-independent relations, is uniquely mediated by commodity- and temporally-determined labor.

I draw particular attention to this *mediating* function of labor in capitalism, because a functional or formal (as opposed to essential) understanding of the labor theory of value opens up possibilities for the consideration of different forms of labor (i.e. shaped by different determinations) or for entirely different mediators to be implicated in the formulation of value. That is to argue, it is not labor *in essence* that generates value, but a determinate process of mediation in the era of industrial capitalism that was articulated to a spatiotemporally specific expression of labor. In turning to the processual, I move away from theorizing value as an elemental 'stuff' of social relations and toward *valuation* as a process of objectifying unique mediations of the social field.

Thus far, I have discussed commodity-determined labor as one historically specific mediator of social relations—one that is chiefly concerned with production. However, extensions of Marxian thought into more recent history have variously considered the productive capacity of the realms of distribution and consumption in the generation of value. Again, a turn to mediation is illustrative. In discussions of value centering on exchange, quantified vis-à-vis pricing (i.e. the exploitation for profit of differential pricing or arbitrage), it becomes clear that labor is not in use as the operative mediator of capitalism's quasi-independent social relations; rather they are primarily mediated by forces regulating the exchange ratio of commodities—the market. Similarly, the value alluded to in contemporary discussions of productive consumption might reference still another mediation of the social; in this case, affectivities that realize a broad range of cultural expressions, from affiliation and belonging to status and social differentiation. Interestingly, Postone characterizes the notion of a market-mediated social field as a dominant misreading of Marx's categories of value, commodity, and labor that narrowly privileges the realm of distribution to the neglect of the realm of production. The potential of the cumulative impact of these two perspectives was perhaps lost in his effort to meet Marx on his own terrain.[16] But it is precisely this cumulative impact, assembled within the logic of mediation that holds the potential to take Marxian formulations of value forward.

Before moving to a more extensive discussion of the commodity form, I want pause here to suggest that to understand valuation, in part, as the objectification of mediated social relations, is not to unseat or replace the valuation engendered by labor's mediation—that of Marx's social theory. Nor is it necessarily to suggest the obsolescence of the labor theory of value. It is to

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[16] This is not an indictment of Postone so much as realization that speculating directly about the future utility of the labor theory of value was not part of his project. Other attempts to bring Marx's labor theory of value forward historically (or consequently leave it entirely behind) have introduced a number of modifications, most of which make some attempt to deal with the complexity of the contemporary spatiotemporal context. Braverman (1974) for example considers the impact of redistributions of labor over time, with particular attention to the influx of technology to the labor process; however, largely leaves Marx's formulation of value intact. Other efforts to revise or expand the labor theory of value have specifically sought to reconsider the nature or role of labor. Feminist interventions have contended with the problem of a monolithic notion of labor from a number of angles, addressing gendered divisions of labor, the use of technology as gendering devices (Baxandall, Ewen, & Gordon, 1976; V. Green, 2001), the plight of unwaged domestic workers, and the productive capacity of gendered patterns of consumption (Weinbaum & Bridges, 1976) among others. More aggressive expansions of labor as a theoretical construct are seen in formulations of immaterial labor, exploring the extractive potentials of capitalist apparatuses that operate largely in the absence of traditional wage labor organizations (Arvidsson, 2006; Lazzarato, 1996; Terranova, 2004). While not in any way an exhaustive summary, each of these engagements with Marx attempts to reconfigure labor in essence as a component of value. This dissertation assumes that such an approach to understanding contemporary accumulations and movements of value cannot be entirely successful.

posit a multiplicity of parallels to the labor theory of value that are similarly situated in their own times and spaces. It is to suggest that the processes of valuation in capitalism are multiple, variable and contingent, that they may be thought on the scale of the Angelo-American industrial West or that of a vibrant community of beer lovers assembling on a chilly November afternoon to raise money for charity.

The commodity has long been held in a position of narrative privilege with respect to stories of value, though definitions of the commodity form and the related process of commodification have been varied. The former often is allowed to float untethered to a concise definition; the latter is too often used as a blanket term for anything pulled within the embrace of capitalism. In this discussion thus far, the commodity has played a central role in the assembly of a theory of valuation. The ways in which individuals in capitalist societies perceive themselves as largely autonomous actors negotiating mediated relationships with other actors—as quasi-independent (taken here to be emblematic of capitalist sociality)—is closely related to the contemporary reliance upon commodity exchange. The three forms of value-producing social mediation speculated about above all rely heavily upon the commodity as an *objective* (fetishized) means of structuring relations. The following will build upon the groundwork for a theory of valuation laid above by establishing a conceptual framework for the commodity form.

Definitions of the commodity taken from a broad range of literatures generally emerge from one or more of three distinct conditions: circulation in a market; possession of pre-market value; and loss of singularity. I want to argue again for an understanding of the commodity that allows for historically specific determinations, as each of the three aforementioned conditions gesture toward a trans-historical understanding of the commodity form. For example, to define the commodity form by way of its circulation in a market (understood as a relatively formal system of exchange) privileges processes of exchange and those acts of commensuration that enable equivalent exchange (Amariglio & Callari, 1989). Definitions of the commodity drawing primarily from this criterion cannot apprehend the commodity as a crystallization of spatiotemporally specific mediations of the social that are not fundamentally implicated in distribution processes. Nor can such definitions facilitate explanations of the nature of 'value-added' generated in diverse, contextually unique consumptive practices.

To define the commodity form with reference to the possession of an inherent utility or pre-market value (perhaps best illustrated by Marx's notion of use value) is to privilege the intrinsically human aspects of economic action; it is to privilege and question the nature of desire. Definitions of the commodity drawing primarily from this criterion may take for granted an essentialist position, framed to be located in human nature. The material functionalism of this criterion obscures abstract forms and functions of the commodity, particularity the role that commodity fetishism plays in masking subjective social relations in the appearance of objective exchange.

Finally, definitions of the commodity more common to traditional business literature focus on goods that meet demand with low degrees of qualitative differentiation across a market. Such products are said to derive their value (in terms of price) from general market conditions, as each good has little to no differentiation between producers. Appadurai argues this quality of commodities is a result of having gone through processes of abstraction (Appadurai, 1986a, 1990, 1986b). He writes,

> "…a commodity can be many things, but it is not a singularity. One thing cannot be a commodity, for once it is a commodity, something is lost about its singularity. The minute you put a thing — be it a piece of clothing or food, a tool, a person, anything — on the market, you have to believe there could be others of its kind" (p 20).

To define the commodity by its loss of singularity takes for granted a condition where the capacity for mass production (even on a small scale) is inherent to the social condition where objects are produced and circulated.

Rather than argue that there is a ‘correct’ approach to defining the commodity, I will offer here a definition that will be used for the purposes of this project. The rereading of labor in the preceding paragraphs serves as a parallel to this process of definition. The commodity too will be recognized as capable of simultaneously maintaining an *essential* form as well as a *determined* form. In contrast, however, the commodity has to be recognized as exhibiting a kind of continuity in formulations of value across contexts (even more so than labor), as it has historically been thought as the ‘what’ of valuation. This continuity, I maintain, is not a product of the commodity’s essential character, but its indispensability as *an objectivity* in the formation of economic relations.

What makes essential notions of the commodity (largely understood by privileging pre-market value) particularly compelling is that they appear to effectively locate the ‘why’ of commodity exchange. The essential commodity enables the externalization of human relations and desires into more abstract and generalizable notions of utility (Schumpeter & Schumpeter, 1994). The objects, then, that can be successfully articulated to that utility are those most likely to be subject to commodification. There are however, two assumptions embedded in this formulation that I wish to leave behind in my working definition of the commodity. First, essentialist definitions of the commodity rely upon a fundamental process of abstraction that establishes wanting bodies and useful objects as existing mutually exclusively until the occurrence of some happy accident, act of innovation, or force of will. Importantly, the tendency to objectify desire is precisely the move that renders it calculable (Amariglio & Callari, 1989).

Though Marx clearly makes an attempt to posit *use* as not necessarily functional, but a product of any given human desire, such desires are assumed to be apprehensible, calculable, externalizable and satiable. Second, with the foundational logic of calculable utility in place, the object with pre-market utility seems to find its full and inevitable realization in a market where price becomes the mature formation of this logic. I take this circularity to be highly problematic.

Callon (1986) provides analytical concept for thinking through the commodity's continuity in valuation processes without reducing it to a set of essential qualities, the *obligatory passage point*. An obligatory passage point can be understood as a common path of enrollment or shared articulation that a multitude of actors in a given context (human and nonhuman) "pass through" in their respective mobilizations, no matter what their intention or investments. I use the scenario below, documented by Herman Schülter in his 1910 volume *The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Worker's Movement in America*, as an example. Documenting the conditions of late 19th century brewery workers, Schülter writes:

> The inhumanly long hours of labor and the consequent exhaustion of the men led to an excessive use of beer, which was always at their disposal, which was frequently taken into consideration in fixing wages. In the year 1868 the Internal Revenue Office at Washington made a ruling to the effect that beer which was given to the brewery workmen as a part of their wages should pay the internal revenue the same as beer which was sold. The "Sternewirth" was always at the unlimited disposal of the workmen. The fatigue and exhaustion resulting from their hard and long continued work compelled the men to drink. They had to drink in order to keep themselves going. They needed the stimulant in order to be able to perform their difficult tasks. The employers knew this, and therefore they provided unlimited quantities of beer for their workmen. They were well aware that sober workmen would not submit to the hard treatment, the inhuman hours of labor, and the low wages that prevailed. (p. 10)

Three major communities of actors with three very different sets of investments and intentions interact in this narrative—the workmen, the employers, and the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue (later renamed the Internal Revenue Service). In the case of each actor, the commodity form serves as an obligatory passage point in the formation of a cultural-economic event. Each group makes use of the commodity form as bearer of a monetized rate of exchange. The U.S. Internal revenue office, which was in 1861 rolling out the nation's first federal income tax, invested tremendous effort in identifying sources of tax revenue. These efforts were articulated to the specific *economized use* afforded commodities that allowed a kind of conceptual slippage between wages earned and profits generated through sales. I use the term 'economized' here to describe a condition of disembeddedness or a process of removing an entity from other (social or non-economic) spheres of life by subjecting them to formal or calculative logics (Muniesa, Millo, & Callon, 2007; Polanyi, 1957). In contrast, employers in this narrative endeavored to extract the largest amount of labor power from employees with a minimal expense of wages. Such efforts chiefly required the winning of compliance from workers, and were articulated to two expressions of the commodity. The ability to equate the commodity to wages underwrote a justificatory rhetoric for employers. By additionally capitalizing on the unique uses of beer and beer as the direct material product of the workmen's labor, employer's efforts were also articulated to the commodity as a node of *affective enrollment*. That is to say, the commodity and workmen were placed in relation via affective lines of intensity—that might be comprehended as pleasure, euphoria, belonging, pride, intoxication or any range of emotional responses.

In this dissertation, I argue that it is the intersection of affective linkage and economized use in the commodity form that enables it to effectively serve as an obligatory passage point across cultural-economic contexts without a fundamentally essentialist expression. An affective enrollment is one that does not use calculable abstraction as its foundational move. To recognize an entity, as having been affectively enrolled is not to assume that it will find its logical fulfillment in a market, rather it is to open the field possibilities and in doing so, asking why fulfillment in a market might have occurred. Finally, the concept of affective enrollment allows for mobilizations of communities that are not based on shared pre-existing notions of utility that tautologically explain the pre-market value of an object, rather leave space to preserve the individuation of desire.[17]

The utility an object gains as a result of being economized is spatiotemporally contingent. In capitalist economies, economized use is most often expressed by exchange via monetization. However, it is possible to see economized use realized in non-capitalist economic practices, for example in systems of barter or gift exchange (Mauss, 2000). The concept of economized use additionally draws upon ideas of standardization, however, does not assume that it is the standardization of qualities (e.g. lack of qualitative differentiation) that characterizes the loss of singularity claimed to define the commodity. That loss of singularity, within the framework of economized use might also be found in the standardization of economic uses.

Having now provided a systematic reading of the Marxian value theory and illustrated how, as part of a processual logic of social mediation, it might be fruitfully brought to bear on different spatiotemporal contexts, I can concisely articulate a theory of valuation that will be used in this dissertation. Value, I have argued, is the objectification of the determinate forms of mediated social relations, that when articulated to the commodity form enables action that, within capitalism, is predominantly implicated in the accumulation of wealth and exercise of power. Marx's analysis, read by Postone, is a critique of labor-mediated social relations from the standpoint of the historically emergent possibility of other social and political mediations. This project is, then, concerned with those contextually emergent mediations and the institutions, technologies, artifacts, and cultural forms that serve as specific mediators of the social field.

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[17] This is particularly important in reference to future discussions of the function of branding.

Acknowledging that these mediations cannot be assumed to be common across times or spaces, I assert that the nature of commodity value can only be understood by indentifying the *techniques of valuation* in circulation in a given context. The naturalization of particular techniques of valuation, particularly via the support of dominant institutional forces, constitutes *regimes of valuation*. Within any regime of valuation, the mutable expressions of the commodity form serve as obligatory passage points for any number of social practices, from owning and operating a craft brewery to appreciating a pint with friends—allowing the incidental and strategic conflation of cultural and economic domains of action to be exploited not only for monetary gain, but also the exercise of power and resistance. This dissertation tells the story of beer and brewing in the post-prohibition U.S. from this perspective.

Chapter Outline

This project is an attempt to contribute to a more complex understanding of the nature of value in the contemporary American conjuncture. In doing so, it offers an alternative method of thinking the economic, as not opposed, but rather articulated to the cultural in a series of complex assemblages. As such, the seven chapters that follow this introduction reflect three concurrent levels of organization, which should be read as interconnected rather than as discrete contextual or theoretical domains. The first level of organization divides chapters by economic levels of brewing activity, from the scale of global production and distribution to in-home production and consumption. The second level of organization introduces historical or spatiotemporally located events or crises that have had particularly significant interactions with brewing practices in particular and the American economic climate in general. Third, each chapter is organized around a series of conjunctural problematics, best understood as discourses, ideologies, or mobilizations of affect that come to define key debates and structure relations of power over time in a given cultural formation.

Chapter 2 focuses on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a particularly formative conjuncture in American history and a period that not only shaped the American brewing industry, but helped to shape the era of American capitalism that is the subject of this project. The intimate relationship between national Prohibition (1920-1934), the Great Depression (1929-1939), and the shaping of the modern macrobrewery is explored in reference to a problematic of nationality. This chapter investigates historic modalities of valuation in and around the brewing industry and how these were enabled and constrained by a general anxiety over the contested nature of 'Americanness.' These practices of valuation, it is shown, set the stage for the future of the industry and still circulate, though in much more complex ways, around the contemporary macrobrewery as a globalized entity.

Attention is turned to the emergence of the nation's most iconic beer brands in Chapter 3. Not only did the likes of Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Coors, and Pabst achieve national prominence over the period beginning in the mid-1930s and culminating in the early 1980s, the centuries old tradition of local and regional brewing was all but eliminated. The 'age of the macrobrews' represents a time of rapid and extensive change in the ways that American breweries conducted business, in the ways that Americans consumed beer, and in American beer itself. The giants experienced an explosion in international popularity, largely attributed to innovative advertising, cultural imperialism, superior mechanization, and a restructuring of organizational models that resulted in fewer and fewer people involved in the production of exponentially larger volumes of beer. The chapter explores how their growth might also be understood as the result of a series of successful attempts to align the industry's valuation practices with sweeping cultural change in the United States.

Chapter 4 explores the 'microbrew revolution'—a relatively short period of time during which the first wave of successful microbreweries began operating in the U.S. This chapter will demonstrate how a problematic defined by changing cultural meanings of *labor* and *leisure*, particularly in relation to entrepreneurship, provided a condition of possibility for the emergence and success of microbreweries that I will argue was heavily based upon the adoption of new techniques for valuing what had come to be an ostensibly stagnant commodity. In addition to becoming a turning point in the American brewing industry, these years brought dramatic changes in the nature of American politics, economic policy, and consumer tastes. Just as free market capitalism became entrenched as the self-regulating salve of an economy sullied by too much government intervention, the microbrew revolution blossomed as an interesting nexus of often-conflicting impulses. Bolstered by a national obsession with entrepreneurship, but openly critical of growing corporatism and automation; microbreweries embodied debates over the nature of labor, leisure, and production in the contemporary era.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the heart of the craft brewing movement in the U.S. Emerging in the 1980s and reaching its fullest expression after the late 1990s, the craft beer movement and the communities (both local and regional) with which it is associated might be seen to constitute what much scholarship characterizes as subculture. Building upon the meticulous work of Hebdige (1979) and his collaborators at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), this chapter revisits and revises the concept of subculture.

Subcultures, particularly those of the 1960s and 1970s UK and U.S., have been theorized with a keen eye toward communities that were primarily ideological in nature. Such moves, like those made by Hebdige in analyzing the consumptive and productive practices of working-class, UK youth cultures, have been wrongly generalized to other spaces and times. The elements of subcultural style theorized by Hebdige were particular to the conjuncture with which he was engaged. Newer literature, both popular and academic, has questioned the relevance, political potency, and even the existence of contemporary subcultures, often citing processes of capitalist appropriation as the negation subcultural authenticity. Such questions are emblematic of a problematic of *resistance* in relation to the rapid cultural expansion of commodity markets through niche marketing and branding.

In this chapter, I posit that the kinds of ideological struggles that characterized subcultures of the 1960s and 70s might be understood as techniques of valuation. That is, a subculture might be seen as a response to a dominant regime of valuation through techniques that incorporate ideological politics into their calculus. The cohesion experienced among its members then might be fruitfully understood as affective mobilizations through the performance of these shared techniques—whether expressed as elements of style or in what might be seen as explicitly economic practices. In this way, the craft beer movement's similarities and points of disjuncture with the subcultures of earlier intellectual work are legibly understood as belonging and responding to spatiotemporally distinct regimes of valuation that I argue do not necessarily foreclose the possibility of an authentic or resistant politics.

Chapter 6 takes up brewing on the local level. Breweries and brewpubs in the contemporary U.S., enjoying a firmly established and currently flourishing market for craft beers, have made a return to the local. Drawing in part on a notion of historical authenticity found in small-scale, community-based brewing practices common to colonial-era American breweries and European breweries of the last four centuries, today's local breweries and brewpubs are establishing themselves as centers of community life and culture.

As champions of the local, many small breweries and brewpubs have aligned themselves with the proliferating discourses of sustainability that animate a number of politicizations of the local, including the slow food movement, the organization of farmers' markets and community gardens, green business practices, and the drive to shorten commodity chains. These practices are often united under the rubric of Alternative Food Networks, which themselves are part of larger discourses on alternative or non-capitalist economies (Gibson-Graham, 1996). This chapter provides an opportunity to explore how politics of valuation are deployed with reference to the contemporary problematic of *sustainability*. This chapter analyzes the "green" rhetoric deployed in the institutional discourses of breweries with reference to business practices enabled by small geographies of operation.

Domestic or homebrewing has been the foundation of beer craft from its discovery millennial ago. Like many other cultural practices that fall into the domain of the domestic, brewing for most of its known history, existed within the realm of women's work. The introduction of the monastic tradition in brewing and the industrial revolution in Europe were the primary catalysts in the masculinization of beer, a trend or tactic that was later adopted with great success in the U.S. Chapter 7 interrogates the 'brewing body' as a site of valuation. Taking up the notion of affective enrollment and specifically its tethering of the commodity form to the sensate body, communities of homebrewers are explored as both consumers and producers of beer. The homebrewers' unique sensory and cultural-economic associations to beer provide an opportunity to interrogate the translations of value between the domains of the cultural, individual, and domestic and the economic, public, and commercial.

Chapter 8, the conclusion of this project, synthesizes the findings of each chapter and provides a detailed discussion of its central themes. This discussion closes with a consideration of the role of valuation in the workings of power. Though power, on the surface, does not appear to be central to this project's lines of inquiry, it is deeply embedded in both its object and approach.

Chapter 2: The Fall and Rise of the American Macrobrewery

This chapter begins an intricately narrated story about how beer might used as an entry point to exploring contemporary American culture, specifically the ways that the assignment of values (economic and otherwise) is implicated in the establishment and dissolution of power and how "everyday lives are…articulated to and by the trajectories of economic, social, cultural, and political power" (Grossberg, 2010). In it, I argue that the everyday practices of the valuation of objects as ordinary as a pint of beer and the mechanisms through which values are translated between economic and non-economic valences, have a profound impact on the way that power is organized in the contemporary United States. More immediately, this chapter provides a historical frame for subsequent chapters of the project, focusing on the years between the turn of the twentieth century and 1940. Practically, it was during these years that the American brewing industry endured its most formidable challenges and consequently took the form that has allowed it to be transformed into a massive, globalized entity. Importantly, these years also mark the establishment of certain forms of capitalist valuation that are not only still at work in the

American brewing industry, but can been seen in many ways to have contributed to the complexion of American industry at large.

Finally, this chapter provides a detailed analysis of national Prohibition—the 14-year span during which the 18th Amendment to the Constitution forbade the production, sale, and transportation (but not consumption) of alcoholic beverages—the preceding years, and the years directly following, as a time of turbulence and transition. Four significant historical events inform the historical milieu of the formative struggle in the life of American beer that was federal prohibition: the success of Taylor's Scientific Management (1910-1920); the Great Migration of millions of African-Americans from the South into urban centers of northern and Midwestern states (1910-1930)[18]; World War I (1914-1918); and the Great Depression (1929-1939). The 40 years in question can be defined as a conjuncture in which the nature of American identity was at stake in most national debates, where the problematic nature of Americanness was "lived (but not necessarily experienced per se) as a social crisis…when the instabilities and contradictions [appeared] at almost every point of the social formation and when the struggles [over what and who is a 'real American' became] visible and self-conscious" (Grossberg, 2010). This chapter specifically investigates historic modalities of valuation in and around the brewing industry and how these were enabled and constrained by a general anxiety over the contested nature of *Americanness*.

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[18] The Great Migration is periodized in two ways by historians, either in reference to the entire span between1910 and 1970 or in two discrete migrations—the first from 1910-1930 and a second from 1940-1970. This analysis uses the later formulation.

In the Beginning, There was Beer

Though historical accounts differ, the production of beer, as Americans know it,[19] dates back to eighth-century Europe (DeLyser & Kasper, 1994, p. 8). By the fifteenth century, the brewing of modern beer was well established across Europe, including England and its colonies. The American brewing tradition remains one of the most enduring effects of the British colonial encounter[20] in the new world. Case in point, the melody to which the *Star Spangled Banner* is sung was originally composed by John Stafford Smith circa 1780; lyrics were provided in the tradition of spirited drinking songs by Ralph Tomlinson, president of the Anacreontic Society, a hard-drinking, bourgeois men's social club dedicated to "wit, harmony, and the god of wine" (Robins, 2000; Roth, 2000). British ales, specifically stouts, porters, and pale ales, were some of the first to be commercially produced in the colonial United States. In addition to the affinity for popular British styles of beer, Americans imported a number of significant transitions taking place in European (largely British but including French, German, and Belgian) brewing practices—in particular the transition of brewing labor from domestic settings the popular spaces inhabited by apprenticed experts, merchants, and monastic communities. This transition had major consequences not only for the way beer was brewed and the nature of the end product, but also for the economic impact of beer as an increasingly mobile commodity. Further, socially, this transition marked a significant change in the gendering of beer and brewing—progressing from what was historically considered a domestic pursuit within the realm of women's work to a

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19 A fermented beverage composed chiefly of water, malted cereal grain, and bittered with hops.

20 It is worth noting that evidence of the existence of Native American beer brewing practices prior to the European conquest of the continent has been found. Unfortunately, this historical record remains spotty at best. The extent of the influence native brewing practices may have had on British colonists remains unknown.

public enterprise squarely in the hands of male merchants and craftsmen. These gendered dynamics will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 7.

Though the early history of beer in the United States is dominated by the influence of British ale brewing, the landscape of professional brewing in the country was most significantly shaped by the traditions brought by German immigrants in the early and middle nineteenth century, perhaps most significantly the introduction of lager beer (the distinction between lagers and ales will be explained momentarily). Only after the arrival of millions of German-Americans did the fledgling commercial brewing industry really gain its legs. As a result, many of the country's most storied breweries were founded by German immigrants and bear their namesakes, including Miller, Strohs, Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, and Schlitz (Conny, 1990).

Beer, on the most fundamental level, can be divided into two categories based upon its method of fermentation—ale and lager. Ale is the larger category of the two, containing the bulk of widely known beer styles, including pale ales, stouts, porters, hefeweizens, and most Belgian style beers. Ales are crafted using top-fermenting yeasts that function optimally at temperatures between 55 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit. The relatively rapid speed with which these yeasts metabolize sugar into alcohol, the ability to use them in temperate regions without sophisticated refrigeration technologies, and the wide range of flavor profiles achievable with various strains of ale yeasts, ensures the popularity of ales in much of the brewing world. Lager beers, by contrast, are fermented with bottom-fermenting yeasts that function optimally between 35 and 50 degrees Fahrenheit. Fermentations with these yeasts require cooler climates, seasonal brewing, or access to consistent refrigeration. With a much narrower range of flavor profiles produced and a significantly longer fermentation period, the popularity of larger beers has historically been far more regionally focused. In general, lagers are lighter-bodied, more delicately flavored, lower alcohol beers (though this is not the case of bock beers, produced seasonally in most traditional lager brewing regions). In addition to being wildly popular with early American drinkers, the ability to distinguish lager beer from ale would come to play an important role in the trajectory of American beer over the next century. To this day, the flagship brands of the largest American breweries are all light American lagers (e.g. Miller Lite, Bud Light, Coors Light, and Pabst Blue Ribbon).

The growth of the pre-Prohibition brewing industry, part of widespread industrialization in early nineteenth-century America, was nothing short of astounding. The number of breweries in the U.S. ballooned from a little over 100 in 1810 to more than 1,200 in 1860. The production of Anheuser-Busch alone grew from 8,000 barrels in 1865 to more than one million by 1901 (Baker, 1999). Milwaukee, St Louis, New York, and Philadelphia emerged as regional centers of brewing activity in the late nineteenth century, serving the country's largest immigrant and most rapidly expanding populations (Mittelman, 2008; Ogle, 2006).

In the years between 1861 and 1865, the federal government met its need to finance the Civil War by singling out the nation's vices (including the consumption of alcoholic beverages) for excise taxation. "Taxation provided the context for an explicit relationship between the state and the [brewing] industry" (Mittelman, 2008, p. 24), and triggered organized responses to federal intervention in the establishment of the country's first professional association, the United States Brewers Association (USBA) and, following, the first organized labor association the United Brewery Workers (UBW).[21] It was also the codification of the relationship between the state and the brewing and liquor industries that sparked moral, ethical, and eventually legal

[21] It is noteworthy that UBW did not publish its periodical in English until 1891 (publishing exclusively in German), five years after its creation. It was openly and staunchly socialist—declaring the "abolition of class and class government" as its mission and "the internationality of labor" as its founding principle.

responses from the temperance movement, whose proponents believed the liquor tax to be a tacit endorsement of alcohol consumption.

The first 40 years of the twentieth century were a time in which the question of value in relation to beer was framed by a uniquely binary logic. The question of value (economic or otherwise) is most commonly posed as a matter of degree—a question of modulation that might be reflected quantitatively in pricing fluctuations or qualitatively in range of affective intensities and behavioral practices. During this period, however, the debate over the value of beer was far more simplistic—the question was not how much beer (and other alcoholic beverages) were worth, but whether beer was worth existing at all. This question was not simply raised within the space of personal choice or moderation, but thrust into the national spotlight to be debated, decided upon, and collectively institutionalized—twice.

I have argued that valuation is a practice of rendering mediators of the social field into abstract constructs through which objects and practices can be commensurated (i.e. individual human labor is rendered into abstract labor time, allowing the commensuration of a host of social practices and objects via the monetized vehicles of price and wage). I intend to demonstrate how a critical mediator of the social field in this conjuncture was the struggle over American identity, such that a whole range of practices and institutional forms (including economic institutions and practices, as they are invariably part of the social field) are vested in the outcomes of this debate. Considering the struggle over the existence of beer, I will trace three related moves of abstraction that operate in specific arenas of American life: geographical change; concern for the health of the nation; and patriotic nationalism. In each of these trajectories of change in American culture, one can see the emergence of generalizable, abstract constructs or logics in which the production, distribution, and/or consumption of beer is implicated. These abstractions not only allow the kinds of comparisons between beer and other phenomena that enable economic action (for example, exchange), but also facilitate the valuation of beer with respect to its ability to produce desired outcomes—profit in economic terms, but also a host of other goals and intentions. These moves from embedded, social reality to disembeded, abstract constructs are at times strategic, but I argue that they are largely unintentional. They are rather the result of particular conditions of possibility and myriad complex relationships within a social formation that are often traceable only in hindsight. Still, as will be demonstrated, some individuals', groups', and institutions' alignment with these moves of abstraction proved to be more timely and advantageous than others'.

Mapping Debates in the Everyday: Advertisements and Political Cartoons

The invention of lithography in the 1820's, exploding populations in urban centers, the polarizing presidency of Andrew Jackson, and, later, the onset of the Civil War, fueled the emergence of the golden age of political cartooning in the United States. Cartoonists like Thomas Nast became household names, reaching levels of influence and visibility contemporary audiences might reserve for television and film personalities. "By 1900, political cartoons were an indelible feature of American newspaper and magazine publishing" (Katz, 2004, p. 45). "Political cartoons [were and] are an important medium for the formation of public opinion on salient social issues," molding and reflecting public opinion, providing "subtle frameworks within which to examine the life and political processes of a nation" (Abraham, 2009, p. 119). The cartoons used as data in this analysis were published in 1904 on behalf of candidates running under the Prohibition Party. Ironically, like much of the beer that was vilified in these cartoons, political cartooning has a strongly German heritage. Some of the most influential American political cartoonists, including Thomas Nast and Joseph Keppler, were German and Austrian born. Their editorial cartoons found their first audiences via German language publications, like *Puck,* and reflected both an aesthetic sensibility for the grotesque and an orientation toward subversively oppositional politics that were exemplified by German art and literature of the era.

The technological innovations and increases in readership that fueled the explosion of political cartooning combined with a tremendous rise in the number and diversity of consumer products, enabled a similar upsurge in advertising media. The 1880s brought standardized production techniques to a wide range of industries, flooding the market with branded goods, and creating the conditions for innovation in advertising practices. "By one commonly used measure, total advertising volume in the United States grew from about $200 million in 1880 to nearly $3 billion in 1920" (Pope, 2008). Several pieces of advertising memorabilia created by Anheuser-Busch, Inc. in the early years of the twentieth century are additionally used as data for this chapter's analysis.

As artifacts, these media offer a glimpse into the ways Americans thought, conversed, and attempted to persuade each other about the value of beer. They serve a number of functions: an entertainment function, offering humor, nostalgia, excitement, and provocation; an agenda-setting function, establishing for viewers and readers a sense of the most salient issues to consider in the valuation of beer; and a framing function, providing the parameters with which the complexity of the issue is simplified (Abraham, 2009). In looking to these two sources of visual discourse, I do not intend to rehash the terms of the debate between competing factions. In fact, while brewers and temperance activists were on opposing ends of the dispute over the value of beer, they often employed similar techniques of valuation and both made attempts to articulate a unique set of cultural practices to the same notions of American identity. By including voices from both sides of the debate, I hope to paint a clearer picture, not only of a struggle, but also of how certain continuities were established across lines of dissent.

Changing American Geographies

Historical accounts of the turn of the twentieth century in the U.S. depict a society ostensibly writhing with change. This change was manifest, perhaps, most clearly in the rapidly transforming physical and human geographies of the nation. I turn first, then, to space as one decisive axis upon which the debates over American identity mediated social life. Following Edward Soja, I argue that while closely intertwined with cognitive and affective space, the spatialization discussed here does not only concern ways of thinking, but also the production of abstract and concrete space. Soja offers,

> Spatiality is a substantiated and recognizable social product, part of a 'second nature,' which incorporates as it socializes and transforms both physical and psychological spaces… As a product, spatiality is simultaneously the medium and outcome, presupposition and embodiment, of social action and relationship…the spatio-temporal structuring of social life defines how social action and relationship are materially constituted, made concrete. This process is "problematic, filled with contradiction and struggle (amidst much that is recursive and routinized. (1989, p. 129).

I use three instances of spatial transition in U.S. history, in relation to the consumption and distribution of beer, to demonstrate how the spatio-temporal structuring of social life in the early twentieth-century America provided one significant basis for the apprehension of values. First, and on the largest scale, the beginning of the century marked the start of the Great Migration, radically impacting the distribution of peoples across the country, specifically the racial reconfiguration of the country's urban centers and their relationship to the rural fringes. Second, and on a more regional scale, prior to prohibition, beer was becoming an increasingly mobile commodity. Capitalizing on innovations in transportation and packaging, beer and its many associated meanings, performances, and rituals reached into parts of the country where it had not previously. Finally, on the local level, the saloon became a particular geography of contestation. In fact, the organization that most historical accounts recognize to be most influential in the passage of the 18th Amendment was the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), a single-issue lobby that concentrated the whole of its efforts on first villainizing and second abolishing the space of the urban saloon.

Established in 1869, the Prohibition Party was a fully functioning political party that advocated on behalf of local, state, and national political candidates committed to the prohibition cause. The party held that prohibition would never be achieved nor adequately enforced under the leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties (Committee, 2013).[22] The organization's harsh critique, then, is directed equally directed at the 'old' political parties as well as the brewing and liquor industries, and in particular the nature of the relationship between the state and the liquor interest.[23] Each of the cartoons discussed in this chapter were published in 1904, some ten years after the peak of the party's influence and still 15 years away from the ratification of the 18th Amendment. They offer a glimpse of the constellation of social concerns upon which the prohibition question turned. They were served to "transform otherwise complex and opaque social events and situations into quick and easily readable depictions that [facilitated] the comprehension of the nature of social issues and events" from a particular worldview offered

22 The Prohibition Party continues to operate as reform-minded, conservative, third party advocates of moral reform in the U.S. Though alcohol reform remains a focus of the group to some degree, its political platform closely resembles conservative-minded Libertarianism and Tea Party Republicanism.

23 The term "liquor interest" was commonly used to refer to all producers, distributors, and purveyors of alcohol including beer, wine, and spirits. This was most likely used to great rhetorical effect at the time as hard liquors, rum and whisky in particular, caused some of the most severe problems associated with the alcoholism in the pre-prohibition era. The brewing industry, with varying degrees of success, would make continued efforts to differentiate itself from the liquor industry, arguing that beer, and in particular lager beer, was not an intoxicating beverage (a designation that made it subject to the Volstead Act) (Mittelman, 2008; Ogle, 2006).

by Prohibition Party proponents as authentically American (Abraham, 2009, p. 119). Henry Wilbur, the editor of the collection, provides the following analysis of Figure 1.

> The liquor traffic is the child of law. It has no inherent right to exist. Whatever gives it its delegated right, perpetuates the traffic. Without the license law, with its provided revenue, the saloon would have to go. Whether the license is high or low, the principle is the same. The two old parties are always ready to scrub up the statute for the gin-mills, and so help to keep the public conscience quiet, and the traffic at ease. No wonder the liquor interest slides from one end of the political teter-board to the other in order to keep both old parties alive, and wrangling over old dead issues. As sure as fate, the "Gold Dust Twins" do the saloon's work. Fine twins for the gin-mills, but poor for the interests of social order and good government. It is about time that the people quit thinking that the political twins which work for the license system can overthrow the saloon. (Stewart, 1904)

Of immediate visual interest in this cartoon are the foregrounded figures of the Gold Dust Twins. The visual weight of their solidly inked silhouettes stands in sharp contrast to the fine line work of the rest of the cartoon. The Gold Dust Twins, 'Goldie' and 'Dustie,' introduced in the 1890s, were the 'mascots' of Fairbank's Gold Dust Washing products. Pictured on product containers and in a variety of advertisements, the cartoonish African-American children became the iconic center of a national marketing campaign in 1903. The caption in Figure 1 is a variation of the Fairbank's company slogan, "Let the Twins Do Your Work." The Gold Dust Twins were a common visual image in U.S. homes until the products were discontinued in the 1950s.

The introduction of the twins into the calculus of the prohibition debate extends well beyond the metaphorical power of characterizing the nation's two predominant political parties as working in collusion in service of the brewing and liquor industries. The year this cartoon was published, in the heart of the American Jim Crow era and the very beginning of the country's first Great Migration, brought an estimated 76 lynchings of African-Americans and resurgent activity on the part of the Ku Klux Klan that by 1924 would boast nearly two million members. Those who openly advocated a racist politics aside, it was largely important for the many whites to see the country as a largely Angelo-Saxon Protestant population. *Prohibition* documentarians Burns and Novick (2011), suggest that for many whites the specter of "a black man with a bottle in one hand and a ballot in the other" was enough to garner support of the prohibition cause in spite of personal affinities for alcohol.

Figure 1: The Gold Dust Twins Do Her Work

The formal logic of political cartoons is based on two components, caricature and allusion. Caricature refers to the now familiar style of illustration that makes use of the grotesque, an aesthetic practice of physiognomy that commonly includes implicit messages about race, class and gender. Physiognomy, the historically influential pseudo-science of assessing an individual's character from their facial characteristics, played a significant "role in the formation of more modern and essentialized notions of race in early America…[as] physiognomic distinction offered a means to establish moral character, embody social origin, and restrain the mobility enabled by the cultural capital of civility alone" (Lukasik, 2011, p. 12). This logic is particularly telling, not only in reference to the representation of the Gold Dust Twins in Figure 1, but more so in the figure of the Germanic woman representing both the brewing industry (who widely controlled saloons) and the growing population of light-complexioned immigrants who formed the bulk of the brewing industry's ownership, labor force, and customers. The juxtaposition and explicit cooperation of 'Frau Saloon' and the Gold Dust Twins, frames Jim Crow racism and mounting anti-German sentiment (that would reach its zenith at the onset of WWI a decade later) within the space of a general anxiety over newcomers to the American fore and their 'dangerous' associations to alcohol.

The allusions in Figure 1, as in most political cartoons, are made based on symbolic evocations of familiar imagery and narratives. The greedily obese and overtly masculinized matron of the scene sits on a throne-like perch with a crown on her head as she watches the Gold Dust twins, the Democratic and Republican parties, scrub floors—quite literally, doing her dirty work. Americans, a little more than a century removed from their colonial struggle with imperial powers in Europe, still looked to monarchal figures with disdain. Explicitly embodying the saloon establishment in the U.S. and the citizenry of Keiser Wilhelm II abroad, the body of Frau

Saloon is a receptacle of misplaced power and influence, in both her monarchal (unearned) status and more subtly her gender. The represented collusion between the saloon establishment and Gold Dust Twins as an embodiment of black America would have resonated with readers on at least two levels. First, saloons were largely understood (accurately or not) to be the melting pot of the nation's colored, poor, and morally bankrupt—as a site where an uncomfortable mass of 'othered' bodies presumably gathered in pursuit of drunkenness, prostitution, violence, and the cause of political subversion. Second, considering the power dynamics between the figures illustrated in the cartoon, and the fact that the major American party identities are attributed to the Gold Dust Twins, the cartoon suggests that the 'foreign' brewing industry relegated democratic Americans to the status of house Negros, a reversal of racial hierarchies that would have been profoundly uncomfortable for much of white America.

Figure 1 is emblematic of attempts to value social conditions based on abstract spatial parameters—to codify the terms of the debate in ways that quantified American identity in degrees of nativeness as opposed to foreignness and that resisted the encroachment non-white bodies into spaces of everyday life. By the numbers, American cities were becoming exponentially more racially and ethnically diverse. These efforts, then, to define American identity were not based on the number of bodies in a particular place, but in the power particular bodies were seen as capable of wielding (that are assumed to be racially normalized). In particular, the ability to make self-directed, autonomous, ethical decisions is held up as an important measure of Americanness.

The debate over national prohibition is a tremendous example of how American society, structured into exploding urban cities and the rural countryside and their varying paces of life, engaged in struggles to articulate at least two unique sets of cultural practices to a normalized

American identity. There were a number of borders across which these differences mapped in addition to those that defined urban centers from the rural fringes, though the geographic basis of these divides remained largely consistent—native born vs. newly arrived (or newly freed) citizens, white vs. non-white peoples, Protestant vs. Atheist, Catholic, and Jewish Americans. However, the social relation that was perhaps most emblematic of how spatiotemporal and social organizations recursively structured each other was the gendered dynamics of the American temperance debates.

The early temperance movement was mobilized by a number of active grassroots women's organizations, whose arguments for federal prohibition were largely based upon the quality of domestic life—the locus of rural American identity. The need to abolish alcohol was framed primarily to be for the benefit of women and children, who were financially dependent upon men and were often the targets of alcohol-fueled physical, sexual, and emotional violence. It is worth noting that these arguments would have struck a sympathetic chord with large segments of the American public, both male and female. Hard liquor was a serious problem, stemming largely from a rapid increase in the availability of liquor coupled with ritualized cultural practices developed while beer was American's drink of choice. Historians suggest that beer of two to three percent alcohol by volume (ABV) was regularly consumed with all meals (including breakfast) in the early United States, particularly as the boiling used in the preparation of beer commonly made the drink more potable than available water sources. With the introduction of much stronger liquors, these drinking practices quickly led to rampant alcoholism. It is estimated that the average male above the age of 15 in the years preceding Prohibition, consumed the equivalent of 88 bottles of hard liquor annually, about three times the amount of his twenty-first century counterpart (Burns & Novick, 2011). The female activists of the early temperance movement had little in the way of political power, but engaged in a variety of locally and regionally successful direct actions against the liquor interest including, marches, public prayer vigils, and in some cases blatant vandalizing of saloons illegally operating in dry municipalities.

Those arguing against temperance were largely doing so in defense of aspects public of life, those associated with men's spheres of influence and spaces of movement—elements of public life epitomized by urban centers. Specifically, anti-prohibition arguments in support of the country's brewers focused on the beneficial economic impact of the brewing industry that provided a significant portion of the federal budget in the form of taxes, but also a large number of jobs in breweries and related industries—matters of state and finance that were predominantly thought to be the concerns of men. When the Volstead Act went into effect in 1920, the brewing industry was the country's fifth largest industry (Burns & Novick, 2011). Consumption of alcohol during this time took place overwhelmingly outside of the home, in public spaces that were largely off limits to women and children (with the notable exception of German influenced beer gardens that were established in the European tradition as family friendly places of leisure), and was considered to be a well-earned reward for days of often grueling and unsatisfactory employment on the part of working class men.

Ultimately, the temperance movement would not make sustainable progress toward the end of legal prohibition until it ceased to be a women's cause connected with the concrete geography of rural towns and became a more universal cause (organized by men) connected with an abstract geography of small town values that was ostensibly as mobile as the breweries' kegs of beer. The largest and most effective proponent of federal prohibition, the Anti-Saloon League, was founded in 1893 and introduced a number of organizational advantages to the temperance movement, largely represented up until that time by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Daughters of Temperance. First, and perhaps most importantly, the ASL was a men's movement, enabling its membership with more access, influence, and ability to effect change in the legal and political spheres of life. Second, the ASL fiercely practiced single-issue lobbying, choosing not to take a stand on other social issues. The women's organizations by contrast, were inextricably linked with the more radical cause of women's sufferance, child labor issues, free public education, and other progressive social reforms. The ASL was also not above using less ethical means of persuasion including spreading slanderous rumors, providing kickbacks, and buying votes. Finally, the ASL operated like a modern corporation as opposed to the largely grassroots efforts of the women's movements. Touting a corporate headquarters, satellite offices, and its own large printing facility where it churned out tons of prohibition propaganda, the ASL changed the relative regional geographies of the prohibition debates. Instead of one side working from the position that American identity was largely white, rural, domestic, and moral against another from the position that American identity was diverse, worldly and sophisticated, the ASL effectively occupied both positions in this debate, compressing the concrete geography of the city with the abstract geography of the small town, forging an Americanness that was racially and religiously 'pure' as well as modern and urbane.

Brewery advertising at the turn of the century reveals a great deal about the vastness of the empires the country's largest brewers were able to erect via vertical integration of the industry. These breweries were owners of barrel-making and bottling companies, railroads and trucking outfits, farms, distribution warehouses, and most significantly, saloons (Mittelman, 2008; Ogle, 2006). Prior to prohibition, most urban saloons in the U.S. operated as 'tied houses,' establishments required by a financial arrangement to buy at least some portion of the beer served from a particular brewery. In some cases, the saloonkeeper financed the purchase of a saloon via a mortgage supplied by the brewer who in return required the purchase of its beer. In many cases, pubs and saloons were owned by breweries and rented to publicans or saloonkeepers and/or staffed by employees of the brewery. It was not uncommon in major centers of brewing like St Louis or Milwaukee for a single brewery to have tied nearly all of the drinking establishments in a region, making it virtually impossible for residents to drink anything other than its products. As part of this tied house structure, a wide range of brewery advertising memorabilia was produced and distributed to pubs as incentives for sales and in the effort to cultivate brand loyalty among saloon goers.

Framed advertising lithographs (like those pictured in Figure 3) come from an era when artists were commonly commissioned to create original artwork for advertisements (Baker, 1999). As opposed to splashy sign-based ads, these prints were intended to present as pieces of fine art on the walls of establishments in an era before televisions dotted the visual horizons of American bars. Moreover, these landscapes in particular, would have had a kind of proto-televisual appeal (L. Marx, 1964), serving an escapism function for their viewers. In this sense, breweries were highly invested in cultivating the geography of the saloon with the sensibilities of the enormously wealthy families by whom they were controlled. The saloon was already established as a tangible space of working-class masculinity, and brewers spent a good deal of money working to cultivate an heir of fraternal decorum.

Saloons, however, were more effectively characterized by proponents of national prohibition, in particular the Anti-Saloon League, as hotbeds of gambling, prostitution and violence, that drew impoverished black and immigrant communities into uncomfortably proximate public spaces. Ogle (2006) and Mittelman (2008) suggest there is little in the historical record to imply that this was an accurate depiction of most neighborhood saloons; however, enough extreme cases existed to justify these kinds of sweeping generalizations. Furthermore, saloons did serve as important centers of urban life for poor black and immigrant populations, though not in the debauched capacity depicted by some temperance activists. The saloon served as meeting place for working class men to take leisure, to escape what were quickly becoming overcrowded factories and tenement houses. They were places to participate in politics (specifically labor organizing), to vote, or to read a newspaper. Saloons became living rooms, libraries, lunch halls, and importantly spaces where immigrants could safely speak their native tongues.

Successful efforts to capitalize on the material reality of saloons as classed, raced, spaces that embodied the nation's losing struggle with changing patterns of alcohol consumption, are largely recognized to be one of the decisive factors in the ratification of the prohibition amendment. As an abstract geography that was depicted to be both pervasive and virulent, the saloon and the drink served within its walls, was effectively designated a territory outside of the preferred social boundaries of the United States. The eradication of the saloon was therefore an opportunity for particular Americans to police the spatial distribution of difference—difference that was perceived to be damaging to the value of American identity in which the country was collectively invested.

The Health of the Nation

During the early decades of the 1900s, discourses about health become a particularly important component of the American public imaginary. Since the 1860s, the impact of Louis Pasteur's germ theory had brought significant achievements in vaccine development and pasteurization practices (Latour, 1998). The rhetoric of public health was not limited to matters of disease, but also safety (particularly with respect to labor conditions), morality, and the concept of a national economy. Two aspects of public and private health in relation to the production and consumption of beer are discussed below—those that pertaining to the physical wellbeing of the country's citizenry and those pertaining to its financial health. In both cases, health is a highly valued status with respect to national identity, translating (in the case of individual citizens' as well as the nation's overall financial health) to healthy markets and a robust Gross National Product (GNP), and in the case of public heath, translating to a population of healthy, productive laborers, who ultimately served the aforementioned goal.

As was described in the previous discussion of drinking practices in the United States, alcoholism was a problem severely affecting the physical, emotional, and financial health of families and individuals. Proponents of temperance had an easy case to make in the light of this crisis, simply eliminate alcohol and enjoy the benefits of healthier more productive America. The brewers had a harder case to make, but did not shy away from the challenge of integrating beer consumption into healthy lifestyles. As proponents and opponents of federal prohibition struggled to define what products and practices could be deemed healthy and which could not, they were influenced by and contributed to prevailing methods of quantifying and qualifying healthfulness. In doing so, all parties capitalized on the ability to translate the cultural significance of particular products and practices to economic value.

In 1895, the Anheuser-Busch brewery introduced a malt-based health tonic branded Malt-Nutrine (Baker, 1999). Little more than a low alcohol beer (1.5% - 2% ABV), the brewery professed a bevy of health benefits to imbibing the cure-all tonic, recommending its consumption to children, adults, "invalids, convalescents, and nursing mothers" (Baker, 1999, p. 8).

Throughout the years Malt-Nutrine was distributed (from 1895 to 1942), Anheuser-Busch distributed a series of tin advertising signs to physicians' offices depicting explicitly medical themes in hopes of gaining endorsements for the product by the medical establishment. The company also made a number of more sophisticated persuasive attempts to align their brand with notions of health, including the die-cut trade card pictured as Figure 2.

Trade cards, precursors to the modern day business card, evolved from small cards used by merchants and tradesmen during the eighteenth century to advertise their services into colorful product advertisements that were distributed at the point of sale during the late 1800s and early 1900s. These cards, even during the time of their production, were considered pieces of memorabilia and were commonly collected and preserved in scrapbooks. The ornate trade card pictured below features four illustrated panels, each portraying a different health benefit attributed to Anheuser-Busch's Malt-Nutrine. However, the persuasive work of this artifact is not performed solely by its claims of health benefits, rather rest in its expansion of the terms of healthiness outside of the purview of explicitly medical contexts.

The panels together span the course of a human life (as understood from a particularly heteronormative perspective), from childhood, to adolescent courtship, to family life with children, and finally old age. In each panel, a happy and boisterous group of exclusively white, financially comfortable individuals is pictured enjoying Malt-Nutrine in highly romanticized performances of everyday life. Each panel is prominently labeled with a professed medical function of the tonic. In each case the combination of the label and the image naturalize a connection between medical discourse and the portrayal of health as a way of living or as a quality of life as opposed to a set of positive clinical indicators. Thus, the nourishment of children becomes calculable in the rowdy play of young boys as opposed to indicators such as standards for height and weight by age. The invigoration of adults in their youth is not gauged by individual feelings of increased energy, but in the outward performances of sexual prowess and desirability. The strengthening of the elderly is not related to overcoming illness or any particular malady of aging, rather embodied in the simple ability to continue to enjoy social interaction. Only the third panel bears a label that does not directly connect with explicitly medical discourses. The framing of quality of being "appetizing," however, in relation to medical health benefits suggests a kind of parity between health as interpreted clinically and health as experienced in pleasurable living. It additionally draws an overt connection between Malt-Nutrine and the company's beer brands.

Figure 2: Fold out die-cut trade card for Anheuser-Busch's Malt Nutrine health tonic

These efforts on the part of American brewers, coupled with the long held belief that alcoholic beverages contained at the very least palliative benefits, ensured that a notion of 'healthy drinking' persisted even during the prohibition years. Some of the only legally produced and distributed alcoholic beverages from 1920 to 1933 were those dispensed for medical purposes with a physician's prescription. Consequently, the number of drug prescriptions sky rocked during the prohibition years, as physicians seized the opportunity to make extra income writing liquor prescriptions (Burns & Novick, 2011).[24] By the end of Prohibition, during which an enormous number of Americans blatantly and openly showed disregard for federal law and which saw the country in the grips of the Great Depression, the picture of heath as experienced in pleasurable living took on a particularly positive valence, as there was palpably less pleasure to go around.

With the rise of Taylorism in the U.S., a labor force tending toward increased managerialism and structured in the pursuit of achieving ever-higher levels of efficiency (Braverman, 1974), brewers had yet another obstacle to aligning the consumption of beer with the health of the nation. "Heavy drinking meant waste and loss of profit. Drinking, which promised immediate gratification, conflicted with the new work ethic, which required delayed gratification or the gratification that came from hard work alone" (D. Cohen, 1995). Fortunately for brewers, the production side of the industry maintained clear contributions to the fiscal health of the nation that were trumpeted at every opportunity by brewers, particularly in the years following Prohibition.

From the onset of the Civil War until 1913, as much as a third of the federal budget came from the excise taxation of alcoholic beverages and most of these funds were generated by taxing the brewing industry, which dwarfed the distilling industry by comparison (Burns & Novick, 2011; Mittelman, 2008). The nation's dependence upon excise taxes and license fees sheltered the brewing industry from any real threat of federal prohibition during more than five decades of

[24] Similarly, one of the largest and most profitable bootlegging operations in the country used an enormous chain of legal drugstores as a front for the illicit business.

temperance advocacy, limiting the movement's gains to local and statewide prohibition measures that went largely unenforced. Though this chapter hopes to make clear that a very specific and complex set of conditions of possibility enabled the institution of national prohibition, it is nearly impossible to imagine the passage of the 18^{th} Amendment would have occurred without the institution of the personal income tax in 1913. Unsurprisingly, the ASL lobbied hard in support of the personal income tax, seeing it as a progressive measure that allowed Americans to contribute directly to the greater good of the nation and framing the contribution brewers made to the financial wellbeing of the nation as a benefit that came at too great a cost. In perhaps what is the single most perplexing lack of foresight in regard to the consequences of national prohibition, was the potentially negative economic impact of making one of the country's largest industries illegal. Not only were hundreds of thousands of brewery workers out of work the moment the Volstead Act was enforced, but ancillary industries like farming, glass, and barrel-making endured significant loses of jobs. When the speculative bubble burst in 1929, triggering the crash of the U.S. stock market and the deep recession and high levels of unemployment that followed, the personal income tax fell woefully short of insuring the nation's solvency. In reality, no single measure would have shielded the nation from the impact of the Great Depression, however, wet politicians gained enormous traction during the first few years of the 1930s by speculating about the brewing industry's ability to revive the floundering economy. Prohibition offered its own opportunities for enterprising criminals and everyday citizens with growing ambivalence for the law to make tremendous profits in illicit liquor manufacture and trafficking and is largely acknowledged to have created the conditions that made the rise of organized crime possible. Such developments only fueled the wet argument as more and more citizens found it inexcusable to continue to spend federal resources on an increasingly unpopular and largely unenforceable law when one in four Americans were out of work. Taxation was a pivotal issue in the repeal of Prohibition as it was in its ratification.

Cultivating Nationalism and Patriotism

With the onset of World War I, the largest and most powerful brewers in the United States had a tall task in combating anti-German sentiment and proving their patriotism when for decades they had acted explicitly in the interest of preserving German culture among the country's large immigrant populations. In the wake of an onslaught of anti-German propaganda, and facing the rationing of cereal grains used in the production of beer, brewers made a concerned effort to align themselves with military interests (not only during WWI, but in every U.S. military conflict since).

Equally as important for brewers as overtly supporting the nation's military, was cultivating an image of patriotic investment in more subtle and everyday ways. Advertising and memorabilia produced by all of the major breweries during this time begin to depict ways of life intended to embed their brands into distinctly patriotic narratives. Whether out of necessity or more intentional acts of persuasion, the nation's brewers used set of relational strategies to situate their branding efforts within a patriotic frame while simultaneously stretching the constitutive boundaries of Americana. In Figure 3, two lithographed advertising prints portraying hop-picking scenes, produced by the Anheuser-Busch brewery for distribution in saloons, are pictured. Created in 1904, the two prints when considered together offer a compelling glimpse at an attempt to align particular imagery and by extension a particular commodity with prevailing attitudes about American ways of life. The first of the two landscapes depicts an open blue sky, rolling greens hills, a leisurely scene of men and women picking hops, with an orderly village visible in the background. A child sits idly in the foreground and horses stand grazing the background. It's caption reads "Hop picking for the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n, St. Louis, U. S. A. at Saaz (Bohemia)." In the distant village, the women, children and men pictured here are given a conceptual anchor for their domestic lives and thus their presence in this advertisement extends within a larger narrative beyond the portrayed moment of labor in the hop yards. Their labor, consequently, does not appear to be overly difficult, rather the group of men and women removing hop flowers from recently harvested vines appear busy, but not in distress. One might imagine the small groups in which the inhabitants of this landscape are sitting facilitate friendly conversation over the lush bushels of hops they fastidiously fill. In this sense, this scene typifies the "gratification that comes from hard work alone" valorized at the time.

The setting offered a pleasant visual escape to American saloon goers, a picture of simple, European rural life that was highly idyllic and largely uncomplicated. More importantly, such a panorama was capable of being conceptually grafted onto the American frontier, rhetorically working to render European landscapes familiar and non-threatening. Toward this end, the Anheuser-Busch brewery commissioned a series of prints depicting frontier landscapes of the American west that were also distributed to its tied houses—making it not at all unlikely that these prints would have been part of the same visual discourses space of the saloon.

Figure 3: Hop Picking Scenes c. 1904

In contrast, the second lithograph features a group of individuals that are remarkably placeless. Bearing the caption "Indians Picking Hops for the Anheuser-Busch Ass'n, St. Louis, U.S.A.", this view offers little open sky, no hills, villages, conceptual or visual depth, as hopvines reach up through the top of the frame. Apart from than the racial identification offered by the caption, there are no other contexts created for the lives of the men, women and children pictured here. With no domestic spaces and no artifacts of daily life, these individuals are entirely defined within the space of their labor. There is no communal or social feel to this landscape. It, lacking the casual candidness of the first image, is posed, as if those portrayed had to break from a largely silent and solitary day of arduous labor to be documented for posterity.

Together these images situate the brewing industry within the dominant racial order of the era while aligning elements of German heritage with the heroic and highly patriotic ethic of the American frontier. By universalizing a European scene (notice the caption does not refer directly to the identity of the pickers and only secondarily locates them geographically) of a pastoral, hardworking, family-oriented way of life, this image taps into the notions of whiteness espoused by the Angelo-Saxon Protestant base of the temperance movement. In conjunction with the second image, particularly it is naming the racial identity of Indian laborers; the immigrant status clearly occupied by German-Americans is shared temporally and thus conceptually with Americans of British decent. Both become implicated in the moment of colonization depicted in this image. Both are positioned in the space of racial superiority over the brown-skinned laborers.

The onset of World War I set off a furious wave of anti-German sentiment in the U.S. that deeply impacted the brewing industry and helped to pave the way for the passage of the 18th amendment. Documented lynching in the early months of the war of men whose only transgression was publicly speaking German attests to the magnitude of this vitriol. The United States Brewers Association (USBA) met in 1919 after the prohibition amendment had been ratified but before the Volstead Act was subject to enforcement on January 16, 1920. In the published proceedings of that year's conference the organization seems to be assessing its options and preparing to mount an organized retaliation. In doing so, the group brewery owners and executives, led by August Busch I, compile a list of arguments against federal prohibition that explicitly evoke notions of patriotism by way of adherence to the country's practices of democratic government. For example, the convention goes to great pains to illustrate than an electorate based upon an outdated census ratified the amendment. An updated census, reflecting the ballooning number of immigrants and blacks in the nations urban centers would have transitioned a significant number of electoral votes to the centers of the wet cause. Further, they argue that a popular vote would have opposed the amendment thoroughly. The proceedings also make reference to prohibition measures contemplated by other nations; interesting, a number of these comparative analyses predicted the problems with enforcement and criminal behavior that would eventually envelop the United States (Unites States Brewers' Association, 1922).

The proceedings specifically evoke a concern for the rights of the nation's solders. Though it is unknown whether these men would have advocated in favor of the prohibition amendment or against it, brewers gravitated to the fact that these men were abroad in combat when most of the ratification state efforts took place, arguing that a critical and essentially American block of the population were excluded from having a say. Yearbook is very literally be invested in giving these solders a voice by including a series of anecdotes, song lyrics, and reports of the reception of the news of prohibition by solders overseas. "Over in France and in the occupied parts of Germany the doughboys feel very much peeved that prohibition should have been enacted in their absence. They feel that something has been put over on them" was one published statement attributed to Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt Jr.

Despite their best attempts, the nation was undoubtedly swept up in a nationalism that did not include in its vision sympathy toward Germany and by extension German-American culture and business. National prohibition was repeatedly framed by its proponents as means of claiming moral superiority over the rest of the world during the war. Upon the successful passage of the prohibition Amendment, one temperance movement leader wrote,

> Let the church bells ring and let there be great rejoicing, for an enemy the equal of Prussianism [a word that meant German militarism] in frightfulness has been overthrown and victory crowns the efforts of the forces of righteousness. Let us see that no Bolshevistic [a word that meant Russian communism] liquor interests shall ever tear the Eighteenth Amendment from the Constitution of the United States. (D. Cohen, 1995, p. 10)

Discussion

Mittelman offers in the introduction to a scholarly history of the American brewing industry, "the history of the American brewing industry is a history of a battle between control and individual freedom" (2008, p. 4). This struggle, for Middelman, plays out in three historic relations: between federal taxation and individual economic actors; among participants in a public discourse about the right to determine what defines healthy (physical and social/public) behavior; and within the economic space in the relationship of the individual consumer and a market characterized by choice and variety in products. Middelman's reliance on the binary opposition of freedom and control, however, overly simplifies the complex nature of the debates over the value of beer in relation to twentieth-century century American subjectivity. Seiler suggests that 'the American' is a "a condition of amenability to a regime of control that characterizes its particular compulsions as 'freedom'" (2008, p. 8), suggesting that what

Middelman reads as the struggle between control and individual freedom might more effectively be characterized as a struggle between competing regimes of control. I would both agree with this later perspective offering that these regimes of control might in this context more fruitfully be understood as regimes of valuation. That is to say, American identity was a subject position occupied by those who assessed value in ways consistent with techniques of valuation that came to occupy a status of dominance and were subsequently codified into a regime of valuation via the work of significant institutionalizing forces—in this case, the United States Constitution. As is evidenced by this very abbreviated history of the federal prohibition debate in the U.S., the struggle to innovate, adapt, and appropriate dominant techniques of valuation was an ever-evolving process, one that does not always explicitly link up with commodity valuation or economic value. When it does however, as the following chapters suggest, the logic of capitalist accumulation and the institutional apparatus of the market provide avenues for the rapid materialization of cultural change and the unambiguous struggle for power.

Chapter 3: Industry Compression and the Age of the Macrobrews

The passage of the 21st Amendment to the United States Constitution brought the end of federal Prohibition and marked the beginning of a distinct era in the American brewing industry. From this moment forward, the industry would act with the knowledge that it had been and could potentially again be vulnerable to sweeping prohibition legislation. Its relationship to the federal government was, for at least a time, one in which legislators had considerable leverage in negotiating with the brewing industry, a condition that more than once lead to virtually unchallenged increases in excise taxes on beer.

In this way, the story of American Prohibition was much more than a simple application and reversal of policy. Prohibition left a tangled web of legal traces on both the state and federal levels, with which the present day brewing industry continues to grapple. Across the country blue laws,[25] gravity restrictions,[26] and limitations on service at the point of manufacture have become increasingly frequent targets of intensive lobbying on the part of contemporary craft

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25 Blue laws are intended to enforce religious standards, especially the observance of days of worship or rest. Though many such laws have been repealed or declared unconstitutional in the United States, restrictions on the sale of alcohol on Sundays are still common.

26 Gravity restrictions are restrictions on the percentage of alcohol by volume.

brewers.[27] In contrast, the country's largest breweries in terms of production and sales—the macrobrewers—are largely uninvolved in these legislative efforts, as they were built for success within the constraints of a post-Prohibition brewing industry. Three of the five largest historically American[28] breweries in operation today opened their doors before Prohibition and survived the 14-year layoff by relying upon substantial capital, flexible infrastructures, and vertically integrated corporate models that could plug other retail products into the places that were occupied by beer (Ogle, 2006).[29] As such, the American Macrobrewers began the post-Prohibition era with a significant advantage, an advantage that set the stage for a dramatic compression of the American brewing industry between 1934 and 1984. This 50-year span, the 'age of the macrobrews,' was a time in which the American brewing industry became increasingly nationally oriented and during which time the products produced by the industry became increasingly homogeneous.

Existing literature on the American brewing industry (both historical and analytical in nature) largely attributes the industry's post-Prohibition transformation to changing market conditions and concludes that related cultural changes followed in turn (Gourvish, 1994; Hogarty

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[27] As of the writing of this chapter, the Brewers Association is working to gain federal support for the Small Brewer Reinvestment and Expanding Workforce Act (Small BREW). The proposed legislation seeks to reduce the small brewer federal excise tax rate on the first 60,000 barrels produced annually by 50 percent (from $7.00 to $3.50/barrel) and institute a new rate $16.00 per barrel on beer production above 60,000 barrels up to 2 million barrels. Breweries with an annual production of 6 million barrels or less would qualify for these tax rates. A proposed bill in Indiana seeks to allow a small brewer to sell the brewer's beer to consumers for carryout at a farmers' market that is operated on a nonprofit basis. A proposed bill in New Hampshire seeks to amend the definition of "wholesale distributor" to allow purchases of beverages from nanobrewery licensees. A proposed bill in Ohio seeks to raise the maximum allowable gravity for beer sold in the state from 15% ABV to 21% ABV. A proposed bill in Vermont would allow malt and vinous beverage wholesale dealers to hold tastings at local establishments that have yet to receive their licenses, but have prior approval from the local control commission (Brewers Association, 2014).

[28] I use "historically American" to describe breweries that have for most of their organizational history were American-owned and operated.

[29] During prohibition, the country's largest breweries produced a number of products including, "near beer" a non-alcoholic beer product, sodas, malt extracts, and yeast cakes.

& Elzinga, 1972; Keithahn, 1978; Montgomery & Wernerfelt, 1991; Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005). This literature suggests that economic conditions (largely citing consumer demand) were favorable to the assent of corporations/brands like Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Coors, and Pabst and as a result of their successes the United States now not only includes the brands produced by these corporations[30] in its everyday practices, but has come to be culturally defined in association with them.

In this chapter, I argue that a scenario close to the reverse is more accurate. Economized market conditions were a result of particular cultural conditions of possibility that inspired Americans, as a nation, to *value differently*—not only beer, but also a range of practices and products. These changes in valuation practices have resulted in two particularly interesting outcomes for the brewing industry that, I argue, demonstrate more broadly observable dynamics at the intersection of cultural change, the process of valuation, and capitalist profit making. First, I demonstrate through a series of abbreviated examples that value (a crystallization of valuation practices) was produced in a number of sites of emerging cultural change during this 50-year span, but not *capitalist* value. Capitalist valuation in sites of cultural change, I argue, does not become possible until an industry (in this case the brewing industry) is able to capture non-

[30] From a retail perspective the megabrands Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Coors, and Pabst are still intact, but the corporations behind these brands have changed dramatically in the last decade. In 2002, South African Breweries purchased the Miller Brewing Company, forming the multinational SABMiller (also one of the world's largest Coca-Cola bottlers). In 2005, the Coors Brewing Company merged with Molson of Canada to become the North American Molson Coors Brewing Company. Anheuser-Busch was acquired in 2008 by Belgium/Brazil-based InBev (which was itself the result of a 2004 merger between AmBev and Interbrew), forming the world's largest brewer, Anheuser-Busch InBev. Not long after the sale of Anheuser-Busch, the Molson Coors Brewing Company and SABMiller entered into a joint venture, forming MillerCoors. MillerCoors, responsible for the domestic marketing and distribution of the US brands held by independently run SABMiller and Molson Coors, was formed with the intention of maximizing domestic resources to compete with AB InBev. After 20 years of steep decline, in 1996 the Pabst Brewing Company ceased to operate as a brewery and became a holding company or virtual brewery that contracts the brewing of more than 20 regional brands (including Pabst Blue Ribbon). Currently, brewing for all of the brands owned by the Pabst Brewing Company is contracted to MillerCoors.

monetized lines of valuation, a few of which are described in detail below. Once such capture is possible, existing cultural change finds one important expression in, and becomes legible through, powerfully institutionalized articulations to particular brands, corporations, and industries. Second, and somewhat conversely, until the brands, corporations, and discourses that constituted the 'great American macrobrewery' during the mid twentieth century began to align (intentionally or not) with emerging cultural change and associated techniques of valuation; they could not have realized the growth, accumulation of wealth, and competitive prowess that allowed them to completely redefine the domestic brewing industry between 1933 and 1983.

Tremendous cultural work over this half-century resulted not only in a dramatically changed economic landscape, but also a wholesale redefinition of beer, its production, distribution, consumption and the techniques with which it was valued. This cultural work might be understood to be composed, in part, by the brewing industry's strategic choices and, in part, by larger cultural shifts in the U.S. Beer as a material product and site of cultural practice was effectively de-articulated from the matrix of meanings, practices, and affects that had come to define the industry before and during Prohibition (including those detailed in Chapter 2) and was re-articulated to another set of significances that will be partially enumerated in the analysis that follows. This chapter is specifically concerned with the cultural work required to constitute a new, post-Prohibition regime of valuation for the brewing industry[31] that included changed assumptions about the nature of labor and the rise of consumption as a valuing practice.

[31] The regime of valuation discussed in this chapter was, by many indications, not unique to the brewing industry. Many food commodities, in particular coffee and cheese show similar pathways to consolidation during this era, and experienced craft, artisanal, or hobby-based diversification during the 1980s. I maintain that the trajectory that beer traced is unique, as it was the result of very specific historical contingencies. However, observable

By the 1980s, the brewing industry had ostensibly reached a state of cohesion and solidity in which the relatively new configuration it adopted was accepted as both natural and enduring. This chapter will demonstrate that the configuration of the brewing that emerged in the 1960s and became dominant by the 1980s—exemplified by the ubiquity of America's iconic brands, Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Coors, and Pabst—was not nearly as cohesive or stable as is often assumed. The apparent solidity surrounding these macrobreweries and their products, I argue, is itself a product of continuous cultural work and is subject to change, disruption, and outright subversion. The mid-century consolidation of the brewing industry is reflected in four clearly observable changes: 1) the transition from a primarily local/regional to a nationally-oriented industry; 2) an industry-wide standardization of product to the American adjunct lager; 3) the relocation of geographies of consumption from public to domestic spaces; and 4) a change in the organization of brewery labor, as breweries transitioned away from a guild-based model to a corporate model. In the discussion that follows, I will address each of these aspects of change in turn, identify prevailing economic logics, and suggest more nuanced interpretations that acknowledge cultural facets to more commonly observed market conditions.

Four Aspects of Industry Compression

In 1873, the height of the pre-Prohibition brewing era, 4,131 breweries operated in the U.S. These were the peak years of a brewing industry dominated by businesses with very limited geographies of operation, serving local populations in pubs, saloons, and inns. Much of the clientele of these local and regional establishments were newly immigrated to the United States,

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similarities between the brewing industry and other commodity markets, speaks to the cultural embeddedness of the stories told here.

hailing from European nations with rich brewing traditions and in which beer was an ever-present contributor to the rhythms of daily life. Nearly six million individuals emigrated from Germany alone, the birthplace of nearly all of the major American brewing families, between 1820 and start of World War I.

By the time Prohibition was ratified in 1919, the number of U.S. breweries had dropped to 1,345. In the intervening years, a handful of individual breweries, largely based in the immigrant populated urban centers of Milwaukee, St. Louis, and New York, came to control regional markets with an uncanny ferocity and grew with astonishing speed through aggressive acquisition and expansion (Ogle, 2006). Though these breweries, and the families whose names they bore, became enormously powerful in the years immediately preceding Prohibition, they did not control the majority of the domestic beer market; rather, a symbiotic relationship existed between regional/national and local/regional breweries that enabled all to flourish.

Instead of returning the U.S. brewing industry to its pre-Prohibition composition (one in which the majority market share was controlled by thousands of local producers), the repeal of Prohibition laid the groundwork for unprecedented levels of industry compression along two dimensions—*contraction* (that is, a significant decline in the number of breweries in operation) and *consolidation* (that is, a significant shift in market share toward fewer and fewer top performers). In 1934, the year after prohibition was repealed, only 765 breweries returned to operation and within months, roughly 200 more closed their doors. In 1983, exactly fifty years after Prohibition was repealed, the number of breweries in operation in the U.S. stood at just 89, the lowest total since the colonial era. Perhaps more significantly, in 1983 only 44 firms controlled these 89 breweries, production had reached all-time highs, and the top six breweries[32] represented 92 percent of all domestic beer production.

The four aspects of change that characterized the brewing industry between 1933 and 1983 can each be located in the context of broader cultural-economic changes. First, the emergence of a national brewing industry is aligned with a nationalizing tenor observable in the U.S. more broadly. Second, the standardization of product to the American adjunct lager is closely tied with the innovation of cost-saving mass production technologies. Third, the movement of geographies of beer consumption from public to private spaces is intimately connected with the explosion of modern branding and the growth a new kind of domesticity. Lastly, the change from a guild-style to a corporate business model in the brewing industry was one indicative of the changes in the composition of American businesses in general.

Though these broader changes that occurred during mid-twentieth century might be traced through any number of historical artifacts, texts, or discourses, I am concerned here with those that pertain to processes of valuation. The theory of valuation presented in this dissertation relies upon a notion of abstract mediation. As was established in Chapter 1, the process of valuation begins when social phenomena are subject to abstraction, a practice recognized in most labor theories of value in the conceptual turn from the essential labor of an individual to the abstract labor that becomes the basis of wage and product cost determinations. Abstraction, in this project however, is not limited to labor, but rather is considered to be an act of transformation and displacement, movement from a materially specific to more a formal, calculative space (Muniesa et al., 2007). Once rendered conceptually abstract, phenomena like

[32] The top six performers in 1903 were Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Heileman, Stroh, Coors, and Pabst.

labor become quantifiable, enumerable, and thus facilitate the recognition of equality (and inequality) and opportunities for commensuration (i.e. labor, quantifiable as abstract labor time facilitates commensuration between wage and price). Because such abstracted social mediators commonly facilitate exchange and a discernible means of marking wealth, they are taken to be economic (but not necessarily capitalist) in nature—the routinized use of these economized abstract mediators are referred to here as *techniques of valuation*. This project holds that there are innumerable techniques implicated in myriad processes of valuation at any given place and moment, but some come to be dominant, normalized, and institutionally maintained, forming what are referred to herein as *regimes of valuation*. Unsurprisingly, those techniques that heavily circulate within capitalist social formations often ascended to firmly established positions of dominance in the U.S.

With the dawn and progression of the twentieth century, the regime of valuation constituted by labor's use as the preeminent technique of valuation began to wane and one undergirded by the growing importance of consumption as a technique of valuation ascended to a position of relative centrality. Consumption, precisely *abstract consumption*, as a mediator of the social is historically tied to the emergence of iconic American brands, including the country's beers. The following discussion, then, considers how a number of cultural impulses (toward nationalization, simultaneity, and uniformity) first became abstract mediators of the social, and second, became 'bundled' with abstract consumption, the preferred technique of valuation for mid twentieth century American capitalism. It is the success of particular breweries in aligning their products with these secondary techniques of valuation that eventually led to their bundling with a mass-consumption oriented regime of valuation, and the subsequent formation of a profitable, naturalized and seemingly stable system of valuing practices for the brewing industry.

Nationalization of the brewing industry.

Formidable challenges to nationalizing a beer brand have existed since the colonial origin of the American brewing industry. Some of these challenges have been more easily overcome with the adoption of advancing technology. For example, the difficulty and cost of producing and distributing a heavy, perishable commodity nationwide have been mitigated (but not overcome) by developments in transportation, refrigeration, packaging, the invention of pasteurization, and the technical capacity to brew exponentially larger volumes of beer with smaller amounts of humanpower. Others challenges, for example the regional affinity of most major consumer brands, difficult economies of scale, and steep capital expenditures, remain as formidable today as they were 200 years ago. Despite the presence of such enduring challenges to expansion, indications are that by 1970s the American brewing industry imagined itself to be thoroughly national in nature. The executive summary of the 1978 report on the brewing industry prepared by the Bureau of Economics for the U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC) states, “The essential feature of structural change in the brewing industry has been the decline in the number of brewers and the increase in national concentration” (Keithahn, 1978). Indeed, the attention of the FTC, whose mission it is “to prevent business practices that are anticompetitive, deceptive, or unfair to consumers” is noteworthy in itself.

Contemporary consumers, particularly those who are old enough to have experienced the brewing industry (as a consumer of beer or of beer advertisements) during the 1980s, may take for granted the dominance of national brands, and though the landscape has changed with increasing momentum over the last 10-15 years, the coast-to-coast ubiquity of Anheuser-Busch, Miller, Coors, and Pabst remains virtually unchallenged. Consider however, that prior to and just after Prohibition, breweries that distributed beyond their immediate regions were commonly referred to as 'shipping breweries,' effectively labeling their broader distribution activity as a variation from the norm. The modern day labeling of craft breweries as 'local' or 'regional' is a testament to how thoroughly reversed attitudes and expectations of a beer producer are, as nationwide reach is the new default scope of operation.

The following discussion will situate the nationalization of the brewing industry in the context of a cultural nationalization of the country at large. I use the terms *nationalization* or *nationalizing* to refer to processes whose default scope is the nation-state. Therefore, there is an important differentiation to be made between the *nationalizing* tendencies in discourse and social practice discussed in this chapter and the *nationalist* impulses described in the previous chapter. The nationalism that characterized Prohibition-era understandings of beer as a symbolic commodity and cultural artifact (the subject of Chapter 2) turned upon disputed definitions of Americanness. Those debates were ultimately concerned with *narrowing* definitions of Americanness to become more consistent with distinctly regional, religious, or ethnic identities. In contrast, the nationalizing that I describe in this chapter is an *expanding* movement. Though this movement carried no less of the standardizing inclination of the former, it operated with a more observable assumption that a valuable American identity was something external to any particular region or group, and that this valuable American identity could be assembled and quantified via an extensive shared infrastructure.

The process of nationalizing can be described as the making and/or marking and subsequent valuing of shared infrastructural *network/assemblages*. I use the term(s) network/assemblage in a very particular sense, informed by the approaches espoused by actor-network theorists and a number of scholars working within flat ontological paradigms, perhaps most succinctly understood as 'Deleuzian' (Callon, 1986; DeLanda, 2006; Deleuze & Guattari, 1977, 1988; Latour, 2005; Law, 2004; Mol, 2003). Functionally, Latourian actor-networks and Deleuzian assemblages are quite similar, though they arise from theoretically distinct lines of thought. The compound construct used here, then, hovers within the domain of intersection where actor-networks and assemblages meet, but is significantly informed by each unique trajectory—a detail I find important enough to justify the preservation of each individual term. Below, I summarize a collection of core assumptions, taken from these bodies of work that form the foundation for this project's use of the term network/assemblage.

Network/assemblages are composed of heterogeneous elements. At its simplest, a network/assemblage is a collection of heterogeneous elements—individuals, organizations, institutions, discourses, happenings, symbols, mobilizations of affect, and more. Though heterogeneously composed, a network/assemblage exists and functions as a totality. That is, it exhibits an internal cohesiveness.

Network/assemblages are relational in nature. The cohesiveness demonstrated by network/assemblages is not imposed by an external boundary; rather it is the result of the myriad relations or connections between its constituent elements—a unity that might be described as gravitational in nature. The terms *articulation*, *enrollment*, and *agencement* (again, very similar though they differ in some notable ways) have variously been used to characterize the nature of these connections. No matter which term is used, these connections are not taken to be permanent or stable; rather, they are actively built and maintained and must be continuously made, unmade, and remade. Therefore, a network/assemblage exists only as a system of relations, directing any investigation of such formations away from the constituent objects or elements and toward the number and nature of formative relations.

The connections between elements in a network/assemblage are also heterogeneous and non-essential. Within the system of entities and relations that comprise a network/assemblage, there exists the potential for any entity to connect to any other kind of entity. These potentials, recast as what Deleuze calls the *virtual*, are not taken to prefigure a condition of 'reality' or exist merely as the backward looking pre-condition of that which is currently taken to be fact. Rather, the virtual is always already real, but may be subject to different *actualizations*. I follow Delanda (2006) in asserting that no kind of entity is innately more important or capable of determining relations than another—there exists no innate ontological hierarchy and thus no basis for assumptions based upon necessary relations.

The connections between elements in network/assemblages are not prefigured – The number and nature of the connections that constitute network/assemblages is arguably the centerpiece of both of the bodies of thought from which I have assembled the term and each shares the conviction that such connections or relationships are not the result of prefiguration or causation. As such, the question of 'intention,' whether or not a sentient being willed a relation into existence, becomes moot—an understanding, I believe Latour intends to drive home in his methodology by granting agency to all entities or *actors*, human and non-human alike. Again, such connections are the result of conditions of possibility, of virtualities, rather than necessary outcomes.

Network/assemblages are therefore radically contextual. Each of the previous assumptions can be summarized as a condition called radical contextualism, I term I borrow from Grossberg (2006, 2012), used most frequently to describe conjunctural approaches to the practice of Cultural Studies. Radical contexualism advocates for the recognition of the historical and material specificities of objects of study, of their heterogeneous components, and (most importantly) how "unequal positions and relations" are revealed in perceiving the cultural field or a network/assemblage as such. He writes, "Using the notion of context must not be allowed to flatten all realities, to singularize every territory, as if talking about contexts necessarily makes every system of relationality equivalent, or puts every territory on the same plane or scale" (2006, p .4). In sum, this approach is non-reductive and non-standardizing and is thus is uniquely prepared to address questions of power.

Using these core assumptions as a framework for this discussion, mid twentieth century America's increasing tendency to utilize *connectedness*, *instantaneity*, and *uniformity* as techniques of valuation that rendered 'the national' valuable, will be explored through three seemingly disparate network/assemblages. These brief examples illustrate how three emergent techniques of valuation were used to render nationalizing movements in commerce, culture, policy as intrinsically valuable and how the consolidation of the American brewing industry was, in part, fueled by the alignment of major breweries with these trends in the nation's valuation practices. The examples—the development of the interstate highway system, the emergence of national advertising, and the adoption of standardized testing—were chosen for their centrality to cultural change during the era and relevance to the operation of the brewing industry. It would be tempting to conclude that the cultural impact of developments in the nation's history can be summarized as having provided more efficient expressions of an American impulse to expand across the country (manifest destiny, essentially a geographical figuration of supply and demand). However, I argue that the rigidly causal logic implicit in such a conclusion leaves little room to explore the complexities of related occurrences in recent history. I do not argue with the fundamental contention that nationalization was the expression of a collectively experienced American desire, but I will suggest that such a desire is produced, organized, and set into motion by conditions of possibility that deserve investigation.

Nationalization, the Interstate Highway System, and connectedness.

The development of the interstate highway system is, perhaps, one of the clearest examples of the nationalizing tenor of the mid twentieth century years. When President Eisenhower signed the *Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956* he codified an avenue for cultural change that would touch the lives of Americans in uncountable ways. Not only was the nation's largest public works project very literally a conduit of federal funding and an avenue of transportation for people and products, it additionally exemplified how Americans increasingly used an abstract measure of connectedness to value aspects of everyday life. Seen as a network/assemblage, the Interstate Highway System is composed of ecological habitats, roadways, signage, legislative acts, billions in public funding, automobiles, rest stops, drivers, discourses about vacations, sightseeing and safety, and of course much, much more. In what follows, I will forgo a discussion of the more literal ways that interstate highways embody connectedness for the sake of brevity, specifically in the form of physical roadways. However, I want to make clear that the exclusion of this discussion is not a commentary on the importance of these material expressions of connectedness, crystallized in the *47,182* miles of asphalt that connect thousands of American cities (and isolate thousands of others). It is vastly important symbolically and in providing a means for other members of this network/assemblage (in particular, the human members) to perform connectedness.

I focus this discussion, however, on a node of connection formed by the automobile, citizens, discourses of modernity, and the ideology of American exceptionalism. This discussion is largely enabled by the work of Cotton Seiler's *Republic of Drivers* (2008) , which explores the "affect generated by driving, and the instrumentation of that affect under shifting regimes of liberalism and capitalism" in the United States. Seiler's inquiry is situated between 1895-1961, precisely the years in question here, and his work attempts to explain the rise of mass automobility via a revision of the "thesis of utility," challenging (like this dissertation) the tyranny of the logic of supply and demand (2008, p. 13).

Even the most surface investigation of mid twentieth century American history reveals that American work-life, wages, and patterns of consumption were crucial in binding citizens to automobiles, not simply in providing the means to make such a large purchase, but also in creating a subject position that Seiler refers to as *driver-citizenship*. In considering the network/assemblage that is the Interstate Highway System, the question arises, "What makes the relations or connections that offer cohesion to the diver-citizen so fast,[33] repeatable, and enduring?" Seiler finds the answers to these questions, at least in part, in the transition from industrial to corporate capitalism, and it is in the space of his answer that I find a broad locus of valuation that is eventually shared with the consolidating American brewing industry.

A range of Marxist thinkers have detailed the increasing alienation of American workers during this time of change, marked by the shift from industrial to corporate (or monopoly) capitalism (Aglietta, 1979; Braverman, 1974). Growing managerialism and mechanization in the tradition of Taylor's scientific management resulted in keenly felt losses to the autonomy,

[33] Though not discussed in detail at this juncture, Chapter 6 includes a detailed theorization of "fast" articulations or enrollments as they pertain to the formation of network/assemblages.

privacy, and agency of workers. It is in this loss that consumption finds a foothold and eventually ascends to become a centerpiece of capitalist valuation. Roughly, the logic follows that the American Fordist regime established the precedent of providing workers with higher living wages, enabling workers to become better consumers (presumably of the products they make) and allowing employers to avoid growing demand for shorter working hours. These changes allowed consumptive leisure to assume the place of meaningful activity formerly held by one's occupation. Seiler, however, cautions readers from making too simplistic a substitution by assuming that the automotive object itself functions as the crucial compensation for the American worker's losses. Rather, he proposes that we consider the act of driving, and its unique affective mobilizations to be the more important recompense for the losses that are a part of a cultural condition I refer to as *waged subjectivity* (and discuss more fully later in this chapter).

In the act of driving, Seiler locates an access point to a sovereign individualism—a formulation that is consistent with the definition of the commodity form used in this project. Commodities here are understood using Callon's (1986) notion of the *obligatory passage point*—common path of enrollment or shared articulation that a multitude of entities (human and nonhuman) "pass through" in their respective mobilizations in any given network/assemblage, no matter what their intention or investments. In Chapter 1, I assert that it is a combination of *affective enrollment* and *economized use* in the commodity form that enables it to effectively serve as an obligatory passage point across cultural-economic contexts. The economize use of the automobile, though significant, requires little exposition here. Affective enrollment, in contrast deserves pause.

Seiler describes an affectivity of automobility that is more than the pride of ownership or reveling in the status conferred with an act of conspicuous consumption. Rather, it is a complex of sensory experiences (engaging movement and speed), emotional responses, ways of seeing, and ways of orienting and relating to others that are organized within the subjectivity of the driver-citizen. Seiler's affective interpretation of the act of driving, then, can be understood as in type of affective enrollment to the automobile as commodity, in part, allowing the automobile to function as an obligatory passage point in the network/assemblage that is the Interstate Highway System. To acquire a capacity for advanced locomotion, movement of the body beyond previously imagined abilities, to traverse time and space within the relative autonomy of a personal automobile, is an affective mobilization of driver-citizenships that was efficiently and repeatedly grafted onto discourses of American modernity. Driver-citizenship is not simply representative of the notions of sovereign individualism and self-determination that were cornerstones of an exceptional American modernity; it was also a predictable means of repeatedly generating such impulses for an individual driver.[34]

Importantly, these ideas were not born in isolation; they were intimately entwined with emerging abilities to connect with an unfettered, unconstrained, and distinctly un-regional United States—the encounter with an Interstate-accessible *everywhereland* that inhabited the commercial and industrial floodplains cradling the broad rivers of indistinct asphalt now crisscrossing the nation. To traverse these roadways as a driver-citizen was to mobilize sovereign individualism via a capacity for *connectedness.* Connectedness here does not evoke community or collectively; rather, it is defined individually in opposition to containment.

[34] Much like drinking quantities of beer are a predictable means of generating a constellation of other impulses, both symbolic (American, masculine, working-class) and affective (intoxication, euphoria).

Connectedness is the disavowal of boundaries imposed by the specificity of one's station in life—a refusal to be limited geographically, socially, culturally, ethnically, or professionally by categorizations that contain. In this way, to be connected or to have the capacity to perform connectedness by way of privileging that that was distinctly national becomes an actualization of autonomy for the American waged subject.

It is in this space that we might see the brewing industry's change in relation to its adoption of the ethos of connectedness, expressed through performances of nationalization. In 1933, when Prohibition was repealed, the nation's largest breweries were intact, supported for 14 years by the vast wealth they generated prior to Prohibition. In the pre-Prohibition years, macrobreweries were thoroughly vertically integrated, owning miles of railway, trains, trucks, pubs and saloons. Most barkeeps rented their establishments, taps, glassware and more from an area brewery in a system of tied houses. Those who did not generally carried unspoken and sometimes explicit non-competition clauses in their supply contracts. In this way, macrobreweries maintained significant regional strongholds—the Busch family very literally owned St. Louis, as the Millers controlled Milwaukee—and distributed to select markets on the east coast and in the south via train. Repeal, however, significantly changed the landscape of the brewing industry. Though much of the marcrobrewers' competition in the form of smaller, locally-oriented brewers had effectively been eliminated during Prohibition, new legislation dictated that breweries could no longer hold deeds or mortgages on properties where beer was sold, could no longer distribute their own products, and beer could now be legally sold in grocery and department stores. Wholesaling instantly became critical to operation of the industry.

The government-enforced structural loosening of the grips that the macrobreweries held upon the business of brewing was not the only challenge facing the macrobrewers in the years after Prohibition. The industry was simply not doing well. Though the nation greeted the end of national Prohibition with delirious excitement, at least they'd greeted the *idea* of Repeal with enthusiasm. Their actions were another matter entirely. Per capita consumption of beer was far less than pre-Prohibition levels—by the end of 1934, a full year after Repeal, Americans drank just half of the nation's 80 million barrel capacity (Ogle, 2006). In fact, Americans weren't drinking enough to keep the regional brewers that managed to survive Prohibition (but that lacked the deep pockets that sustained the macrobrewers) in operation and many closed their doors permanently. Moreover, this downturn was not a momentary condition or an expected lag as the industry knocked off its rust. Sales of beer remained remarkably stagnant into the 1950s, in particular during WWII when rationing severely limited supplies of cereal grains like barley and wheat, restricted access to the metals out of which newly adopted beer cans were manufactured, claimed 15 percent of all brewery production, and sent the brewers' primary customers (young men) overseas.

It is precisely in this historical moment that the essential flaw in the assumption that the national ascendency of the macrobreweries and their brands was driven by responses to consumer demand might be clearly seen. With demand hovering between half and two-thirds of its pre-Prohibition levels for the first two decades after Repeal, conventional economic wisdom suggests the macrobreweries should have pulled back from underperforming markets, downsized, and/or reduced or controlled supply. The nation's most successful macrobreweries, however, did exactly the opposite—not in a cocoon of risk-free, demand-driven growth, but via a painful abandonment of nineteenth-century brewing practices. By the 1950s, the macrobrewers were in the process of shifting from operating as craftsmen that sold *beer* to *locations* (saloons and inns) to operating as corporations that sold *brands* to *wholesalers*—a move from the tangible and situated to the mutable and diffuse. Most significantly, these shifts embraced the need to synch up with Americans' growing fondness for people, products, and ideas with national scope—a process that did not come easily to America's largest brewers. "'We had to forget that we were brewers, bred in the bone and trained that way for years,' August A. Busch II told a reporter, a painful process he likened to 'tearing trees up by the roots.'" (as cited in Ogle, 2006, p. 209).

The adoption of this strategy and its implementation were by no means seamless, evidenced by the many fits and starts in decision-making, strokes of seemingly impossibly good luck, and nearly unforgivable blunders made by almost every major brewing family between 1934 and 1954. August Busch's II creation of a centralized marketing department to oversee a nationally cohesive brand is heralded as one of the most innovative moves in any industry at the time and Anheuser-Busch's competition quickly followed suit. Still, it took time for brewers to learn to see themselves and their products as national and not simply a collection of regional markets. Slowly, brewers stopped selling products to people in places and began selling the idea of the national consumer.

The transition was in no way limited to marketing strategies. Rather, it permeated the very manner in which the business of brewing was conducted. In order to maintain a national brand, breweries had to have a national presence. Interstate highways and expanding and improving state and municipal roadways enhanced distribution far beyond what any of the macrobrewers might have dreamed of prior to Prohibition, but it still remained far too costly to ship large volumes of packaged beer over vast distances. The macrobreweries, previously operating almost entirely from their massive headquarters dotting the Midwest and Northeast, now began a process of establishing sizable breweries around the country—and they did so in the complete absence of justifiable consumer demand and in most cases with their existing breweries operating far below capacity.

But, it was precisely the lack of demand that created much of the opportunity for the macrobreweries to establish a national presence in the mid twentieth century years and eventually come to control more than 90 percent of the domestic brewing market. Lack of demand drove brewery after brewery out of business or into mergers and in each case, as each defunct brewery was promptly snapped up or absorbed, the macrobreweries satisfied the growing perception of a need to *be everywhere*. More than beer, brands, stainless steel vats, workers, or buildings, the macrobreweries acquired distribution contracts and access to new markets. These moves were significant not only because they resulted in the nationalization of the brewing industry, but also because they demonstrate how the impulse to nationalize was the result of nationalization having been already deemed valuable. Simply, in the logic of this emerging regime of valuation, expansion was not a risky decision that may or may not be productive of value in the future; expansion was the occupation of a position that was already deemed valuable.

The theory of valuation used here posits that abstract social mediators are *economized* when they enable economic action. In the context of modern capitalist economies, economic action is commonly recognized as the facilitation of exchange through the recognition of equivalence or lack thereof. In this case, however, it is not the exchange of products in a market through which the abstract measure of connectedness finds an economized expression in the brewing industry. Rather, it is in amassing or saving—the management and acquisition of fixed capital. Adding a geographic node to the reach of a brewery is a demonstrable and calculable means of performing connectedness, one that was used in facilitating decisions that would have previously been understood as overly risky. Being connected, particularly during 1940s and 50s, did not produce substantive gains for many macrobreweries—as entering a market with sales so stagnant that they sunk a regional brewery did not miraculously produce profits for larger breweries. The connectedness offered by these acquisitions did, however, operate as a kind of equity, hedging their riskiness during a time in which consumer demand, sales, and the holding of industry specific assets alone could not have justified such a dogged pursuit of growth. That is to say the perceived value of *being everywhere* was served to minimize the fact that many of the specific locales that *comprised* everywhere were historically underperforming markets with respect to beer.

The justificatory logic underlying these moves is clearly reflected in the ways the largest American breweries quantified their success and competitiveness with each other. Contemporary histories of the American brewing industry make much of the eventful, well documented, and often entertaining rivalries between the patriarchs of the great brewing families. Their competitions were heated and personal, but also reveal much about how these influential men perceived the value of their companies. In the years before Prohibition and for some years after Repeal, the chief officers of the macrobreweries waged a war of volume. Adolphus Busch, Frederick Miller, Frederick Pabst, Adolph Coors, and Joseph Schlitz all flaunted the growing capacities of their brewing facilities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and quantified their competition in terms of total barrelage. Simply, the glory went to the man who could brew and sell the most beer. As the middle decades of the twentieth century arrived, the competition (taken up by each patriarch's heirs) intensified, but the end goal shifted from largest total barrelage to greatest share of a market that was now conceived of as national. This shift from volume to market share marks the adoption of a vision in which the entirely of the country was accepted as a single, finite marketplace in which a war of attrition must be fought.

Popular narratives of the brewing industry suggest Miller and Anheuser-Busch emerged as the winners of this century-old competition precisely because they captured the largest market shares by the 1970s. Montgomery and Wernerfelt (1991) subjected these popular narratives to empirical tests. Their study dismantles the assumption that there is a direct correlation between market share and firm performance. Their analysis of the top six American breweries between 1969 and 1979 suggests, "On the average, gains in market share were associated with the destruction, rather than the creation, of firm value."[35] I do not take the findings of Montgomery and Wernerfelt's study to mean that the American macrobrewer's pursuit of market share was unjustified or that the codification of connectedness that lead to the positive valuation of nationalizing moves within the industry were, in actuality, not valuable. Rather, these findings demonstrate the fluidity of processes of valuation and the contextual nature of *value* as the product of these processes. In hindsight, and from within a position of longstanding comfort with the kinds of techniques of valuation that shaped the American brewing industry, a broader scope of operation might be seen as a valuable end in and of itself. But this is a cultural

[35] Firm value is quantified here as and aggregated daily stock price.

condition, I argue, that was not natural or native to the brewing industry and it was a cultural condition that had to be in motion before the brewing industry could truly nationalize.

In the light of the historical record, it is almost comical that the strong increases of beer consumption that began in the 1960s are viewed as largely random or a sudden change in American's preferences, when macrobreweries had for nearly 20 years been single-mindedly manufacturing demand by aligning their products and breweries with emergent cultural change. It is important, however, to recognize that these changes where not absolute, concrete, or lacking of limits. As brewers and purveyors of commodities of all types both consciously and unconsciously worked to align themselves with cultural change, they frequently came up against its limits and lack of uniformity. Take for example responses to a major labor dispute at the Miller brewery in the mid-1950s. After the resolution of the dispute, Miller increased prices in order to account for losses incurred during the strike. An enterprising August Busch III, or 'The Third' as he would come to be known, seized the opportunity to raise his own prices, though his breweries were unaffected by the dispute and shortly thereafter pushed prices upward again. Customers responded swiftly and angrily, and reverted to drinking cheaper regional beers. Busch lowered prices and worked to regain customers.

Nationalization, advertising, and instantaneity.

Just as the Interstate highways demonstrate how connectedness emerged as a significant technique of valuation in the mid twentieth century; the materialization of a robust national media infrastructure reveals American's adoption of *instantaneity* as a means of making and marking value. Like the Interstate Highway System, if one is to consider the U.S.'s national electronic media infrastructure[36] to be an influential network/assemblage, it becomes clear that the number of related entities that constitute this formation is nearly uncountable. Advertising, however, presents itself as an excellent point of entry, not only for its functional connections to the brewing industry, but because of its clear centrality in enabling the existence of nearly every national media outlet in the provision of content and funding. Moreover, advertising and served as a primary conduit of ideological messages from powerful institutions to the American public (McGovern, 2006). Advertising that was specifically directed to the nation as single and unified consuming entity served a unique function in the twentieth century. "National media advertising presented a social order in which the consumer held a central place as both free individual and ideal citizen" (McGovern, 2006, p. 24).

Though the influence of national media outlets on the nation's valuing practices might be traced through any number of avenues of popular life (perhaps most commonly the impact of representative and symbolic discourse), it is the *how* and not the *what* of national media to which I wish to draw attention first—the form rather than the content. In doing so, it is helpful to make two related moves; first, to establish an understanding of the cultural impact of the mediatized event and second, to contemplate the articulation of product advertising to such an understanding.

Of the many significant contributions media ecologists and related thinkers have, one of the most fruitful has been a means of contemplating the relationship between media forms and the experience of time and space. McLuhan (1967), Innis (2008), and Virilio (2008) among

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[36] My use of this term does not suggest that no national media infrastructure existed prior to this time. I am focusing on national media that were enabled by development of electronic devices—namely television, radio and records, print publications, telephone, and cinema. However, one would be correct in assuming that national media long existed in the country in the form of the US postal service, the pony express, telegram, etc.

other influential thinkers have each offered a variation on the theme of time-space compression. Each acknowledges the fundamental truth that modern media serve to shrink and speed the experiences of distance and time, and that the ubiquity of such experiences has helped to give shape to what we call Western modernity. The *media event*, in particular, is a useful tool for exploring the cultural impact of the forms taken by the national electronic media infrastructure. There is a range of colloquial and scholarly meanings of the media event in circulation. I use the term here to refer to occurrences that are largely experienced via the mediation of electronic mass media devices. More importantly, the consumption and experience of these events are substantially altered and ontologically separate from the 'live' event or events that provide their source material.

Laurel Sercombe (2006) provides an excellent example of the usefulness of this construct in deconstructing one of the most significant moments in American popular culture. On February 9, 1964, as macrobreweries began introducing ring- and tab-topped cans and just a few months before the birth of August Busch IV, Anheuser-Busch's last CEO,[37] the Beatles first appeared on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Sercombe explains that this moment in popular culture was more than the broadcasting of a concert, but also the assembly of an influential media event. *The Ed Sullivan Show* appearance on the relatively young national television network, CBS, was preceded by months of national print media coverage of 'Beatlemania' and the 'British Invasion,' as well as heavy rotation on national radio, as part of a coordinated promotional campaign undertaken by Capital Records. In her analysis, the Beatles performance was just one in a series of interrelated performances. Along with the Beatles themselves, who played five

[37] August Busch IV was CEO in 2008, when Anheuser-Busch was sold to InBev for $70 a share or 52 billion, at the time the largest cash sale ever recorded.

popular songs that evening, the media event included the performance of the show's host Ed Sullivan, announcer George Feniman, advertisers, Elvis Presley (in the form of a telegram), and the live audience itself. The studio audience, in particular, colors the complexion of this evening, not only by embodying the pathology of Beatlemania (screaming, weeping, fainting, etc.), but also in openly revering the machinery national media. "One (un-named) reviewer present in the studio for the rehearsal noted: The kids weren't actually looking at the Beatles themselves but at TV pictures of the Beatles that appeared on the nine or ten monitors scattered around the studio. I noticed this because the kids also began screaming louder every time a different Beatle appeared on the TV screen" (as cited in 2006, p. 5). Further, the live studio audience watched themselves watching the Beatles as the studio monitors (showing what viewers at home were seeing) frequently cut back and forth between shots of the band and shots of the hundreds of screaming girls in the audience. Sercombe suggests that the nationally televised image of a live audience ravenously consuming the televised image of itself consuming the televised image of the Beatles performing live, did as much or more to structure the responses of individuals watching in their homes as the musical performance of the band.

What stands out in this example is how significantly simultaneity and a measure of instantaneity function in crafting the drama of national media events. Their impact in the mid-century years was not only a product of the effectiveness of national media outlets to span the county's geography or the advanced speed at which information could be transmitted to an immense population, but more significantly the ability of the emergent national media infrastructure to recursively organize coordinated consumption. In the example of the Beatles *Ed Sullivan Show* performance, a complex of national media outlets—print media, national radio, network television—enabled the American public first to understand the Beatles as a imported product and second to simultaneously consume the affective intensity, the agony and ecstasy of the process of consuming the Beatles.

It is in this aspect of the national media infrastructure that we find an important articulation to national advertising, as both emerged at the turn of the twentieth century, gained tremendous momentum in the early part of the century and exploded with the widespread arrival of television in the 1950s. The magic of national media forms rested, in part, in the mass coordination of social life (and thus the tendency to structure public memory in terms of this coordination) and in allowing us to watch and listen to ourselves watching and listening. National advertising translated this formal magic into the realm of content, hailing a nation of consumers of consumption. "Advertisers crafted and purveyed a vision of social life in the United States that highlighted consumption as the key not only to individual happiness but also to the health of American society" (McGovern, 2006, p. 24).

The macrobrewers were aggressive advertisers before Prohibition, producing a wealth of promotional products and artfully crafted advertisements that today are the center of a thriving beer memorabilia trade. But it was not until after Prohibition that marketing and advertising eclipsed brewing beer as the most cost intensive activity of America's macrobreweries. The post-Prohibition legal climate had much to do with this transition, as the federal government invested extensive efforts in returning alcohol to the nation in a manner that was as distanced as possible from the raced and classed urban saloon culture that was the center of temperance movement's wrath. By legalizing the sale of beer in grocery and department stores, prohibiting retail integration, and destroying breweries' existing direct distribution outlets by outlawing the system of brewer-owned saloons and tied houses, the federal government elevated a retail sphere that had been little more than an ancillary activity in previous decades. With the bolstered importance of retail came rapid developments in packaging and the practice of national advertising in earnest. The impact of this transition was truly tectonic for the industry. Though it is difficult for contemporary consumers to envision, the vast majority of beer drinkers in the early part of the twentieth century had likely rarely encountered their favorite beers in a container; rather, they consumed them in a saloon where no other options were available. Beginning in the mid-1930s; however, brewers were tasked to peddle their wares in largely unfamiliar packages off the shelves of retail outlets adjacent to the packages of their competitor's products.

A number of analyses of the American brewing industry attempt to draw correlations between advertising expenditures in the mid twentieth century years and sales and/or growth, with limited success. This is no doubt a product of the functional interpretation of advertising that comes along with these neoclassical economic analyses. For example, Tremblay and Tremblay precede their analysis by stating, "For advertising to be an effective strategy, it must increase demand for the advertised brand" (2005, p. 172). No such functional requirement will be assumed here. Still, a byproduct of such analyses is an excellent timeline of industry expenditures on advertising that might be considered alongside other cultural conditions outside of the industry, as well as the form and content of the ads themselves. These broader comparisons reveal not only an overall shift from regional approaches to national approaches to advertising, but also a shift from advertising beer, to advertising the act of consuming beer, and eventually to representing a broad and abstract mode of recreational consumption.

Historically, themes in beer advertisements were clustered closely around the quality of product, championing aspects of its appearance, flavor, aroma, purity and expertise invested in its production. This strategy changed as national media networks were assembled. By the mid-1920's, the first large newspaper chain in the U.S.—the Scripps-McRae League (later called the Scripps-Howard company)—owned 25 newspapers. Just a few years later, William Randolph Hearst assembled a media conglomerate of more than 30 newspapers, two wire services, six magazines and a newsreel company. By the time Prohibition was repealed in 1933 and brewers were again able (and in dire need) to advertise beer, both the opportunities and pressures associated with advertising had changed substantially. One on hand, the wheels of advertising had been thoroughly greased by consolidated media ownership, making reaching larger numbers of people in far-flung places simpler. However, with retail integration prohibited after Repeal, brewers encountered more direct competition in closer quarters than ever before and faced an uphill battle in differentiating their products. In truth, as the 1930s and 1940s passed, the contents of brewers' bottles and newly introduced cans became more and more difficult to distinguish. Advertisements touting a golden appearance, light flavor, crisp aroma, absolute purity and expert craftsmanship did little to aid any particular brewery's cause, as beer advertisements in the early part of the century were as similar as the beers they brewed.

In the 1930s, "many brewers were following the mid twentieth century equivalent of a saloon-era game plan: sports oriented sales pitches aimed at the 'worker,' a mythological creature believed to be (a) lower income; and (b) addicted to watching or listening to sporting events" (Ogle, 2006). These approaches were a reflection of the heavily industrialized, immigrant filled markets in which most large breweries were headquartered. But with mid-century acquisitions, expanding markets, and the reality that beer had become a product more likely to be purchased by a housewife from a grocery store than a young man in a pub, breweries shifted significantly toward advertisements that portrayed attractive conditions of their products' consumption—of the beer, of the packaging and of the brand. By the 1940s and 1950s, brewers, having suffered years of sluggish sales, increasingly abandoned their products as the center of their advertising efforts and embraced the experience of consumption.

Figure 4 includes three Anheuser-Busch advertisements that appeared in popular magazines. The advert on the left was published circa 1934; one year after Prohibition was repealed. The whistling delivery boy and smiling police officer pictured are happy consumers of Anheuser-Busch's newest product—home consumption. The ad reads,

> The order of the day is to order a case of BUDWEISER for the home. With this world-famous lager beer in the refrigerator, you become a perfect host on a moment's notice. To offer your guests beer is hospitality, but to offer them BUDWEISER is a gracious compliment. Serve it at dinner, at light luncheons, at bridge or any occasion that brings good friends together. One generation after another has recognized BUDWEISER as a symbol of good living.

The attempt to define Budweiser by the conditions of its consumption here is not a subtle one. However, the advertisement covers an astonishing amount of ground by addressing multiple points and types of consumption. The text of the advertisement, oddly asynchronous with the visual imagery, paints a unique picture of home consumption. This image is decidedly not working-class, not only because of references to leisurely entertaining and recreational luncheons, but more so on account of the reference to keeping cold beer on hand in a refrigerator. While more than 80 percent of American homes in 1934 were wired for electricity, only 25 percent were equipped with mechanical refrigerators (Ogle, 2006). The police officer, by virtue of a body posture that suggests he was facing the background of the image (having turned toward the delivery boy and viewer in a momentary greeting), is an implied consumer of the Budweiser brand, with the striking red billboard directly in his eye line. The delivery boy, part of the new retailing networks that breweries were now mandated to use, is a consumer of a case of wholesale bottled beers—at this juncture being shipped from the brewery's single location, listed at the bottom of the advertisement, St. Louis, MO. The viewer, then, is a consumer of consumption in three distinct forms—of the brand, of a new kind of packaging, and of an idealized image of domestic life—none of which directly reference the sensory experience of drinking beer.

The advert pictured in the center of Figure 4 appeared in magazines circa 1952,[38] presumably on the eve of the presidential election between Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson and against the backdrop of Senator McCarthy's cold war congressional hearings. The advert reveals a turn towards advertising that explicitly references current events, as Anheuser-Busch worked to insert its flagship beer into a relevant national consciousness—a theme in advertising enabled by the growing instantaneity of the national media infrastructure. It is noteworthy that images of beer in this advertisement, which now included lined steel cans in addition to glass bottles, look out of place, visually imposed upon the scene in a way that betrays the product's functional irrelevance to the message. Anheuser-Busch's advertising thematically reflects its growing reach (if somewhat awkwardly), by visually and thematically reaching out of

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[38] The collection from which this image was taken dates the advertisement c 1940-1950, however the advertisement references Anheuser-Busch's location in Newark, NJ that was not opened for operation until 1951. Advertisements appearing after 1954 include references to the corporation's third location in Los Angeles. Given the overtly political content it is likely the ad appeared during the campaign season for the 1952 presidential election.

domestic and recreational settings and into political commentary, a move punctuated by the inclusion of the brewery's new location in Newark, NJ in the footer of the ad.

Figure 4: Anheuser-Busch Magazine Advertisements 1934-1954

The advert pictured on the right of Figure 4 appeared in magazines circa 1955.[39] It is one of a series of advertisements developed over more than a decade that featured the tagline, "Where there's life…there's Budweiser." In the decade prior to the appearance of this version, the tagline ran with elaborate portrayals of members of high society, black tie cocktail parties with servers in tuxedos carrying trays of effervescent beer to serve to jeweled and furred guests. This advertisement represents a maturing of the 'consuming the consumer' approach to advertising on the part of Anheuser-Busch and was significantly accompanied by some of the

[39] The collection from which this image was taken dates the advertisement c 1940-1950, however the advertisement references Anheuser-Busch's location in Los Angeles, CA that was not opened for operation until 1954. The advertisement additional references the *Damon Runyon Theatre* television program that only aired on CBS from 1955-1956.

brewery's first television advertisements as part of a multimedia campaign. Attempts to situate the brand in an out-of-touch lifestyle to which the public presumably aspired were abandoned in favor of idealizations of more broadly experienced aspects of everyday life. Importantly, the ad dips into a notion of the everyday in the consumption-centric sphere of youth culture, a significant change from the portrayals of family-life and established professionalism that had been the subject of brewery advertising in the early part of the twentieth century. Through images of boisterous dance, the Budweiser-filtered lifestyle portrayed in this advertisement reflects the growing influence of popular music and fashion—as the 1950s brought the birth of rock and roll and the widespread popularity of women's circle skirts. The image of the young, hip, consumer would become and remain one of the central themes in Anheuser-Busch advertising into the twenty-first century. More significantly, this advertisement relies upon modalities of *consumption of the now*, enabled by the performances of immediacy endemic to a growing national media infrastructure. It speaks to a viewer who is a consumer of national trends in popular music, fashion, and television. The small type in the lower left hand corner of the ad reads, "Be sure to see the 'DAMON RUNYON THEATRE' on TV", a short-lived CBS series that dramatized the short stories of newspaper mogul Damon Runyon and was sponsored by Anheuser-Busch. This advertisement embodies a discursive shift within the advertising community documented by historian Charles McGovern in *Sold American: Consumption and citizenship, 1890-1945*—from use of the term *customer* to *consumer,* and from the idea of one who buys a product in its specificity to one who more generally consumes as a way of life. Budweiser beer in this advertisement is very literally the lens through which a particular kind of consumptive being in the world—one that is reliant upon and pays homage to an immediacy driven national media infrastructure—might be apprehended.

The brewing industry was part of an explosion of purveyors of mass-produced commodities reaching out to America's waged subjects, those seeking compensation for the losses imposed by a dramatically changing workplace, and advertising (not the commodities themselves) became these purveyors' primary means of interaction with the public. McGovern asserts that "advertising became the privileged discourse for the circulation of messages about the self in relation to objects" (2006). I propose a slight rephrasing and extension of this statement, asserting that advertising became a privileged discourse that circulated messages encouraging the American public to understand the self via its capacity to relate to objects of mass production—relations, both direct and mediated, forged with growing speed and breadth.

With the robust upswing in beer sales in the 1960's and industry compression well underway, the American macrobrewies kicked off decades of branding wars. The invention and popularity of light beer and significant reductions in brewery spending on ingredients with the inclusion of non-traditional, low cost fermentables like corn, rice, and soy in place of barley, rendered most commercial beers nearly indistinguishable. This was a fact readily conceded by some Anheuser-Busch executives (MacIntosh, 2011). As Figure 5 shows, by 1976 ingredients made up just 5.7 percent of the price of a commercially produced beer while brand development activities (advertising and packaging) exceeded 30 percent.

Per barrel expenditures on marketing that eclipsed the cost of ingredients were justified by a growing scientism in studies of advertising (and the study of Communication more broadly). In 1961, August Busch II, or 'Gussie' as he was colloquially known, hired University of Pennsylvania Professor of Management and Behavioral Science, Russel Ackoff, to investigate the effect of the company's advertising on sales. Dr. Ackoff's findings led to two significant changes to Anheuser-Busch's advertising strategy, which in turn inspired replication on the part of other macrobreweries and dictated the newly nationalized industry's preferred means of reaching its consumer-base. First, Ackoff concluded that the uses of advertising that were most strongly correlated with increases in sales were uses that included a variety of media and were conveyed intermittently (as opposed to with prolonged exposure). Such strategies make the most of what a national media infrastructure makes possible—multi-channeled interaction that isn't built upon permanence or memory, but rather repeated exposures wholly contained in their present moment. Second, Ackoff found that different Anheuser-Busch sub-brands appealed to different personality segments of the beer-drinking population (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005), inspiring Anheuser-Busch to adopt market segmentation as one of its primary marketing strategies.

When tobacco giant Philip Morris bought the Miller Brewing Company in 1969 and introduced sophisticated market segmentation, target marketing, and image advertising practices that had proven successful in the cigarette market, a marketing war between the industry's leaders, Miller and Anheuser-Busch was initiated. Research backed consumer segmentation was the weaponry of choice.

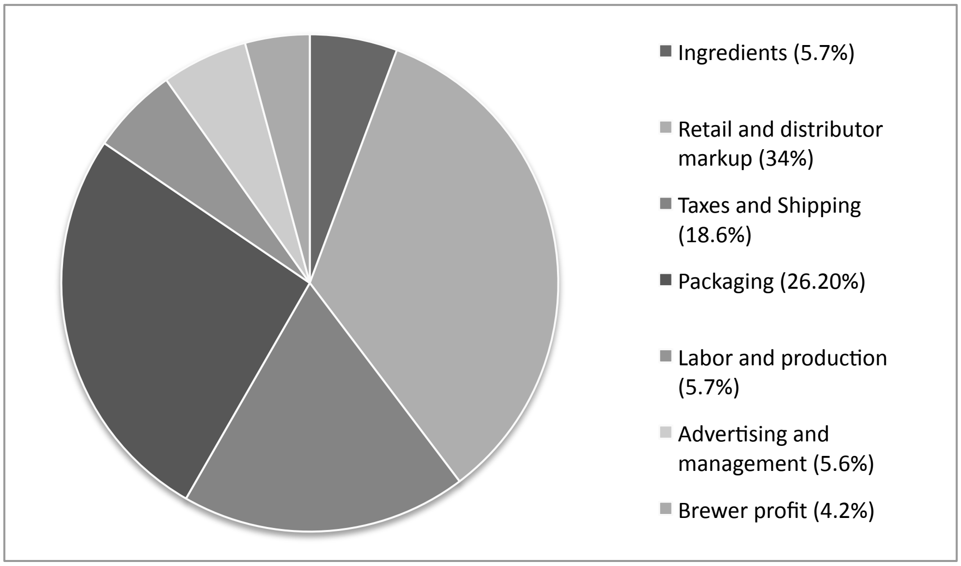

Figure 5: Price-cost breakdown of mass-produced beer in 1976

The trend toward segmentation in marketing and advertising may seem to undermine the hypothesis of valuable nationalizing that is advanced by this analysis, but the logic of segmentation is precisely the same logic that underlies the segmentation and re-distribution of abstract labor during the rise of corporate capitalism. Just as the re-distribution of labor in monopoly capitalism was not a return to valuing the specificity of an individual laborer's skillset, the segmentation of a consumer market is not the valorization of a unique consumer's tastes.

In the introduction to Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (1974), Foster puts forth a question that succinctly summarizes the fundamental crisis of the American waged subject in the era of modern capitalism. *How is the systematic tendency of the capitalist social order to produce unsatisfying work perpetuated?* Braverman's investigation of labor in capitalism in the mid twentieth century focuses on emerging patterns of labor's organization. He asserts that the reorganization and redistribution of processes of production became the central means of capitalist expansion in the twentieth century and came to represent the primary field of political struggle in the modern capitalist labor forces. A production-centered theory of value, then, is critical to Braverman's work, as it is the pursuit of more efficient production that is assumed to be the driving force behind capitalist expansion. His analysis singles out the mechanization of production processes —conjuring images of the stern, wire-framed Frederick Taylor hovering over workers in a white lab coat, stopwatch in hand—and the unique divisions of labor that increasing mechanization enabled. Braverman's assessment of the implication of mechanization on production assumes that a more nimble *general production* that is capable of generalizing and then re-dividing human labor power into units other than those that originally constituted it—namely the knowledge, skills, efforts, and creativity of the individual laborer. This re-division of labor into units of general functions and tasks as opposed to those determined by the creative capacities, skills and desires of individual laborers, for Braverman is thought to be profoundly alienating, specifically for laborers for whom expectations of self-actualization have been raised by the trappings of waged subjectively.

Braverman argues that laborers in every era of capitalism must be re-habituated to the capitalist mode of production, somewhat of a departure from the Marxist argument that an individual has no choice but to comply or face starvation. This modulation of the means of habituation is based upon an acknowledgement of the role of wages, and specifically the new consumptive abilities that higher wages engender—a *waged subjectivity*. This acknowledgement on the part of Braverman as a public intellectual and participant-observer of mid-century labor conditions opens the theoretical field as well as the record of lived experience to implicating consumption practices in the redistribution of the labor force. Though not productive of value in

Braverman's estimation, consumption here can begin to be considered as *consumption in general* a conceptual precursor to *abstract consumption.* And it is in abstract consumption that we find the answer to Foster's question.

It is not, however, consumption's role in influencing the complexion of labor that is of the greatest relevance here; rather it is the logic of change underlying both labor and consumption as dominant capitalist techniques of valuation. It is the generalization and abstraction of labor in capitalism that allows for labor to be aggregated and re-divided in pursuit of ever-higher degrees of efficiency driven task-orientation (Aglietta, 1979). As a result, capitalist labor forces are not viewed as collections of individual people, but rather as collections of tasks, competencies, or objectives with which individuals are systemically encouraged to align themselves—after the fact. It is a similar transformation of consumption in capitalism that brings about the practice of market segmentation. *Consumption in general*, or perhaps mass consumption (consumption both in high volumes and of mass produced products) has a substantively different role in systems of valuation than consumption-in-particular. Mass consumption, like labor when subjected to abstraction, is removed from the specificity of its spatial and temporal determinations. Abstract consumption, in turn, is opened to calculative logics through which measures of quantity and degree might be universalized across a range of products and practices. Just as these calculative logics produced the twin expressions of abstract labor in Marxist articulations of the labor theory of value—labor time and labor power—and the accompanying ability to divide and reorganize a labor force, so the calculative logics underlying abstract consumption allow for the division and redistribution of abstract consumption into segments of qualities, values, and attributes.

Much like the capitalist re-distribution of labor in the early part of the twentieth century, the segmentation of consumption relied upon growing mechanization (in this case, via the emerging national media infrastructure) to enable and justify its pursuit. And, much like the re-division of labor in capitalism, the segmentation of consumption was pursued in the interest of greater efficiency, in this case, the ease of symbolically aligning a product with tropes, ideologies, and stereotypes that communicate more per moment of exposure than unique messaging. In the case of brewery advertising in the mid- and late-20th century, these tropes and ideologies were neither provincially regional, nor hollowly patriotic (like the bevy of early to mid-century advertisements featuring Uncle Sam). They were nationalizing efforts in their immediacy; in their ability to capture a persistently shrinking present moment that was simultaneously experienced by more and more individuals and organized via the infrastructure of national media. They were nationalizing efforts in their ability to sell not just mass produced products, but to sell consumer segments as a hallmark of modernity with which individual consumers might align themselves—after the fact.

Nationalization, educational testing, and standardization.

The third and final example of the trend toward nationalization presented here considers how demonstrable measures of standardization emerged as valued expression of American social life and the ensuing adoption of standardization as a hallmark of quality on the part of the brewing industry. Standardization carries with it two implicit impulses: the identification of important criteria for similarity, and the marking of difference. There are numerous examples of the adoption of national standards shaping the experience of everyday life throughout the twentieth century, from the enactment of a national speed limit to the evolution of standards for ethics in advertising. But perhaps the most interesting examples of the emerging use of standardization as a means of determining value is the application of standards to the American citizenry in the form of testing.

Amariglio and Callari (1989) offer a framework through which the relationship between bringing measures of standardization to bear on the self and the realization of value in commodities might be thought. The authors re-theorize commodity fetishism as a subject position that precedes and thus serves as a condition of possibility for capitalist social formations. This subjectivity, in their reworking, is defined by the acceptance that one's individuality in modernity (modernity specifically understood as a Western, capitalist formation) is predicated on an ability to bring a calculable logic to bear on the self and to imagine relations of equality and inequality with other individuals. They write:

> In a capitalist social formation the concept of equality is based on a quantification of human relations that depends on cultural and political, and not just economic, forms of objectification… In order for agents to construct their social relations and relations of equality, they must "see" themselves and others as differentiable entities that embody amounts of different qualities… The constitution of these agents as quantities has a partial economic determination in the activity of exchanging objectified and quantified articles of trade. (Amariglio & Callari, 1989, p. 52)

For Amariglio and Callari, the modern individual is one that brings abstraction to bear upon qualities of the self and in doing so enables economic action, contributing to a collective subjectivity that makes capitalist value production possible. Though I am ambivalent about the author's identification and naming of this subject position 'commodity fetishism' and disagree with the estimation that such a subject position represents the root of capitalist economic action, I am struck by their identification of strategies for 'quantifying human relations' that are not solely economic in nature. The recognition of these strategies reveals processes of valuation that have non-economic expressions (the authors name IQ testing and voting in particular) but nonetheless maintain an intimate relationship to the processes of economization. In this light, the forms of objectification that individuals bring to bear on themselves introduce modern individuals into circulation within an economy of qualities, in which the establishment and acceptance of a universal standard is a critical tool for understanding one's position, or value, in the world. Self-segmentation, as it was. Amariglio and Callari argue that the use of these strategies of quantifying human relations—commodity fetishism understood as a human subjectivity—pre-dates and typifies capitalist social formations. Though I am wary of the lack of temporal specificity and the causal relationship with capitalist value production assumed in this theorization, I find specific examples of the adoption of the objectified self as an institutionally valued way of understanding a national citizenry to be particularly useful.

Standardized intelligence testing is an excellent example of a strategy for abstracting and objectively assessing a nationalized American citizenry that emerged in the early part of 20th century. French psychologist Alfred Bine invented the Intelligence Quotient (IQ) test in 1905. Robert Yerkes, a Harvard professor who administered the IQ test to nearly two million army recruits during WWI, advanced its use in the U.S. Though the test is predicated on a standard of age-appropriate intelligence, it was explicitly used to identify candidates for officers and to build up a record of statistical evidence for the future use of the test itself. That is to say, to reinforce and justify the utility of a standard and to use it to mark valuable difference. Carl Brigham, a Princeton University psychologist who worked on the army IQ tests with Yerkes, developed the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) between 1923 and 1926 to establish national standards for a U.S. education system he believed was declining and would continue to do so, "with an accelerating rate as the racial mixture [became] more and more extensive" (Brigham, 1923). Brigham marketed his test to military academies and other Ivy League universities. The SAT gained an important endorsement and advocate when adopted by Harvard University president James Conant for use as a Harvard scholarship test in the 1930s. Adoption of the test by all Ivy League institutions followed shortly thereafter. The SAT was first administered to high school students in 1926 and by 1957, aided by the invention of automatic test scanners, more than half a million students took the SAT annually (Fletcher, 2009).

In *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy* (1999), Nicholas Lemann, offers that Conant adopted the test as part of a vision of radical democracy in the U.S. He expressly aimed to unseat what he perceived to be an elite group of all male, all white, Episcopalians who tightly controlled power in the country. Promoting the idea of a natural aristocracy, Conant "believed you would look out across America and you would find just out in the middle of nowhere, springing from the good American soil, these very intelligent, talented people. You would find a way to find them and let them run the country instead." Conant, as Lemann points out, could not have anticipated that the recognition of the test as a significant means of valuation that conferred upon the valued subject significant advantages, would produce a culture industry centered around obtaining college admission. Conant's vision of the test was that of a passive screening, meant to cull unsuspecting test-takers and prime them for civic participation as a new merit-based elite.

The widespread adoption and use of the SAT provides a telling example of the ways uniformity and standardization are used as a technique of valuation in the process of marking nationalization as inherently valuable. Standardized testing was for both the American military and the country's colleges and universities a way to overcome inconvenient and undesirable regional variations in the citizenry. The SAT was importantly not designed to assess a standard curriculum or academic achievement, but was a test of *aptitude*—based on the eugenics-inflected assumption that a valuable national citizenry might be reducible to a number of biologically innate qualities that can be objectively measured. The value of standardization, then, lies in something of a paradox: A national standard is valuable because it 'objectively' marks that which is different—but always in terms of a valued uniformity. Attempts to manipulate the standard, such as test preparation, are practical plays for power, aided (unsurprisingly) by the possession of resources, in the case of the SAT and in many other instances of standard making, reveal the undeniable fact that power is most extensively consolidated with those who have the means to define the standard.

The increasingly intensive benchmarking of the national citizen was mirrored by increased standardization of comestibles—perhaps a literal understanding of a phrase that was entering the popular English lexicon in the 1920s and 30s, "you are what you eat." Though it was not known as the Food and Drug Association (FDA) until 1930, the FDA's regulatory functions began with the passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906. Standards for specific foods and food industries would not come until 1939, when the FDA issued regulations for canned tomatoes, tomato purée, and tomato paste. But by 1965, the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act required all consumer products in interstate commerce to be honestly and informatively labeled, including food (though alcoholic beverages are ironically exempted from many of these reporting requirements).

Historians and scholars of food have documented that American's developed a healthy preference for pre-packaged products during the twentieth century, supported by a shift in taste preferences for bland, processed foods and a fascination with the trappings of a modernizing food industry that dedicated much of its efforts to innovating packaging. The uniformity of sliced white bread, stackable cans, and very light beers were the hallmarks of this era of mass production (Belasco, 2007). Where variation marked the hand of an artisan or craftsperson in the nineteenth century, it came to denote flawed production or even contamination in the twentieth. This shift was more than enthusiastically embraced by brewers, first out of necessity and later in an adoption of a newly enmeshed cultural status quo.

Prohibition had spawned a massive illegal liquor trade; one that sparked the fabled rise of organized crime in the U.S. and often involved the production and consumption of dangerously adulterated alcohols. Most histories suggest that thousands lost their lives to drinking dangerous illegal booze. When Prohibition was repealed, a spate of inexperienced and unscrupulous opportunists jumped into the brewing industry to capitalize upon what must have seemed a golden opportunity to get rich quick. Whether it was the poor reputations gained by providing foul tasting and contaminated products or the realization that brewing was an equipment, capital, and labor-intensive industry that garnered small (if any) returns, most of these startups did not last a year. Still their negative impact was significant and brewers in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s made concerted efforts to reinforce the salubriousness of their products. Making much of the standardization of process and packaging went a long way in accomplishing this goal.

As public health concerns in relation to beer subsided, uniformity of product appeared to be less about protection from contamination and simply a means to establish a brand's reputability. Consumers were promised that a Budweiser, Miller Genuine Draft or Coors Banquet beer opened in Sarasota, Florida would be identical to one opened in Sacramento, California. Further, the standardization of beer brands was accomplished through the introduction of a new lexicon of terminology for beer including pasteurization and filtration—two processes that were are not traditionally used in the brewing of beer and in many cases adversely affect flavor. This, however, did not appear to adversely affect breweries, as distinctive or robust flavor was not part of the standard accepted for beer in the years after Prohibition.

Distinctions or variations in flavor that used to be considered desirable in beer were effectively deemed undesirable, because difference was less acceptable in the narrow framework of the standard established for American beer (that will be examined more closely in the next section of this chapter). This presented a conundrum for the players in a competitive marketplace, where distinction and differentiation are the primary means of gaining competitive advantage. Brewers overcame this challenge in two ways. First, they sought distinction via branding rather than in the product. Second, they discovered ways to distinguish themselves within the terms of the standard. That is to say, they distinguished their product by performing the standard to an extreme. If the standard called for a light, refreshing, beverage with few distinct flavors, the country's macrobrewers would strive to provide a beer that was the lightest, most refreshing, and least challenging to the American palate. Between the 1950s and 1980s, more and more brand messages promised 'no aftertaste' or highlighted a beer's ability to quench thirst rather than deliver flavor. Such messages helped to redefine Americans expectations and understandings of beer as material commodity.

Each of the previous examples provides evidence of a nationalizing movement in American culture; a movement that reflected changes in how American's considered themselves in relation to the U.S. as whole. These changes, in particular, exemplify a shift in techniques of valuation as they are related to the scope and scale of travelling, getting news, purchasing goods, or doing business in the U.S. This emergent imaginary was one that began to understand popular objects and ideas to be capable of extending from coast to coast, and more importantly, that this capability is not only widely but also institutionally valued. Specifically, the emergent techniques of valuation in the three examples given, involve the institutional instrumentation of collective cultural performances. It is through this instrumentation that quantifiable abstract measures of *connectedness*, *instantaneity*, and *uniformity* emerge in reference to a nationalized United States. Furthermore, each of these relatively transitory techniques of valuation were, during the years in question, articulated to the emergence of consumption as a dominant technique of capitalist valuation in the United States.

American Adjunct Lagers

> "American beer is a little like making love in a canoe.
> It's fucking close to water"
> - Monty Python's Eric Idle

In many ways the success of the American Brewing industry is the story of the success of a uniquely American style of lager beer and the near elimination of ales from the American Brewing lexicon.[40] Though North American brewing in the colonial era was dominated by the production of English-style ales, the fledgling brewing industry did not see substantial growth

[40] The distinction between lager and ale is detailed in Chapter 2.

until European immigrants brought a cultural affinity for beer and lager yeast. The growing popularity of lager between the colonial era and the turn of the twentieth century in the U.S. was anchored by rapidly growing immigrant populations, in particular German communities, in the urban centers of the Northeast and Midwest. Well-circulated historical narratives of the brewing industry highlight the combination of financial prowess and business savvy of German brewing patriarchs and American's early approval of the lighter taste and mouthfeel[41] of lager beer as a recipe for rapid success. However, the cultural situation into which lager was introduced was no less important in establishing the dominance of the American adjunct lager.

The excessive consumption of liquor, in particular rum, in the years preceding Prohibition was a legitimate public health concern (Burns & Novick, 2011). In those decades, the U.S. was burdened with levels of alcoholism that have not been observed since. Beer and in particular, lighter looking, lighter feeling, lighter tasting, and less alcoholic lagers, were embraced by many Americans as a more restrained, civilized, and moral alternative to liquor. The brewing industry was in fact able to escape excise taxation for a time by asserting that lager beer was not intoxicating and by associating it with upwardly mobile family contexts, like luxurious theme-park style beer gardens. Temperance advocates were eventually more successful in controlling dominant narratives about beer, as the 18th Amendment, mandating a federal prohibition of the manufacture, sale and transportation of alcohol above 0.5 percent alcohol by weight (ABW), was ratified in 1919.

Ironically, the Prohibition years and more specifically legislative restrictions within the conditions of Repeal may have been the most influential factor in codifying lager as America's

[41] Mouthfeel refers to the texture and viscosity of beer in the mouth. It is generally described in terms of weight.

beer. On March 22, 1933, just 18 days after he took office, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Cullen-Harrison Act, which authorized the sale of beer or wine at or below 3.2 percent ABW.[42] The Cullen-Harrison Act, which was a modification of the 18th Amendment and not its repeal, had two important effects. First, the legislation gave the brewing industry something of a rolling start on producers of other alcohols, as the 21st Amendment that fully removed federal prohibition was not ratified until December 5, 1933. For nine months, beer was ostensibly the only available choice for Americans who wanted to legally drink alcohol. Second, the Cullen-Harrison Act set off a rash of state-level legislation that would impact the brewing industry far beyond Repeal. The Cullen-Harrison Act, when signed, applied only to the District of Columbia and the 20 of 48 states that did not have laws expressly prohibiting the sale of alcohol. The 28 dry states wanting to embrace the change and, more importantly, reap the immediate economic benefits of state level excise taxation in the midst of the Great Depression, had to create state-level legislation allowing the sale of beer within the new federal guidelines. Though it was only nine months after the signing of the Cullen-Harrison Act that the 21st Amendment legalized the sale of full strength beers, wines and liquors, many states kept some form of the 3.2 ABW or 'low-point' beer restrictions in place well beyond December 1933—some, in fact, linger today.[43]

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[42] Because alcohol is less dense and weighs less than water, a measurement of alcohol by weigh denotes a slightly higher in content than when expressed as alcohol by volume (ABV), which is the more commonly used notation of alcohol content. 3.2 ABW translates to roughly four percent alcohol by volume.

[43] The states of Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Oklahoma, and Utah permit general establishments such as supermarket chains and convenience stores to sell only low-point beer. In these states, all alcoholic beverages containing more than 3.2% alcohol by weight (ABW) must be sold from state-licensed liquor stores. Oklahoma additionally requires that any beverage containing more than 3.2% ABW must be sold at normal room temperature. Missouri also has a legal classification for low-point beer, which it calls "nonintoxicating beer". Unlike Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Oklahoma, and Utah, however, Missouri does not limit supermarket chains and convenience stores to selling only low-point beer. Instead, Missouri's alcohol laws permit grocery stores, drug stores, gas stations, and even "general merchandise stores" (a term that Missouri law does not define) to sell any alcoholic beverage; consequently, 3.2% beer is rarely sold in Missouri.

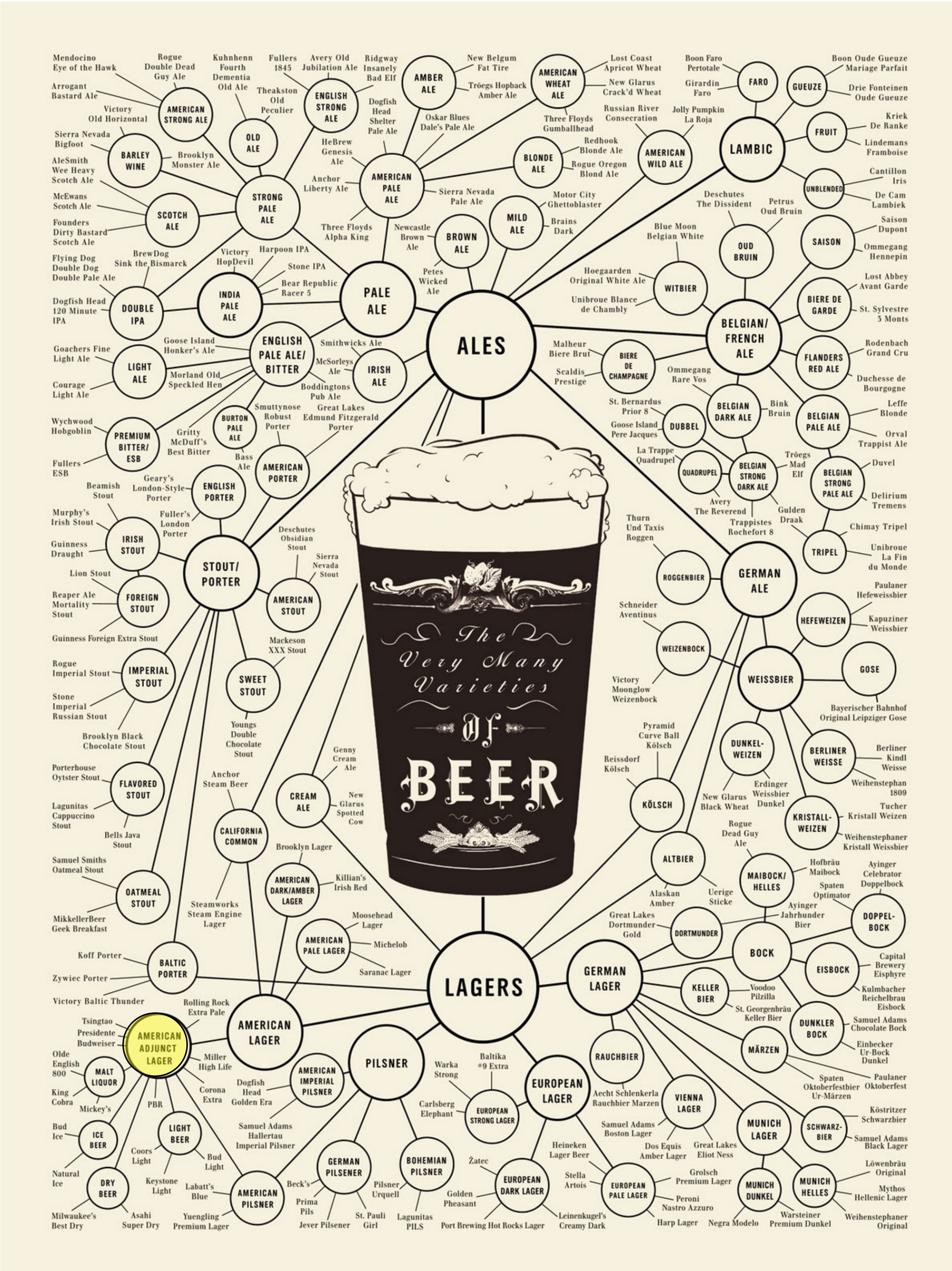
Though most breweries had already adopted lager beers as their flagship products, the restriction to produce beers below 3.2 percent ABW functionally limited the styles of beer that could be authentically brewed. With a handful of exceptions, most traditional styles of all-malt ales produce alcohol contents higher than 3.2 percent ABW—many would be off-style and more importantly off-flavored if brewed to this requirement. Many traditional lagers however, are stylistically light, in color and flavor and acceptably meet this standard with ease. More importantly, American brewers had already been brewing lagers for more than half a century. If brewers had any inclination to diversify, the Cullen-Harrison Act ensured that they did not. And lingering state-level legislation insured that any brewer wanting to take full advantage of all available national markets kept a low-point beer in its portfolio, often as its flagship product, for many years to come.

Still, American macrobrewers continued to lighten their lagers significantly after Prohibition, even after the conditions of Cullen-Harrison Act were met. Two consumer-related justifications are most often cited with respect to this trend. First, and most vaguely, Americans seemed to prefer lighter beers and breweries accommodated en masse. Second, brewers consciously courted female drinkers after Prohibition, seeing women as both the gateway to the domestic market and a previously untapped customer base. Creating a lighter product and offering them in smaller 7 oz. bottles and cans were both measures taken in attempts to win female drinkers. It is difficult to quantify precisely whether the shift to lighter and more uniform products was as consumer driven as both of these lines of reasoning suggest. What is clear is that post-Prohibition era beer drinkers quickly had few other options.

It would be difficult to dispute that Americans did indeed demonstrate a preference for lighter-colored, lighter-bodied, and lighter-flavored product in their beers. But, as this chapter hopes to demonstrate, consumer demand is not autopoetic; it is, like beer, manufactured. Furthermore, such demand did not operate simply as a determining factor in brewery offerings. It underwrites two significant moves that would considerably change the complexion of the industry and financially benefit macrobreweries in ways that allowed rapid expansion in the middle and late part twentieth century. In short, the demand for lighter beers benefited macrobreweries financially. So while lighter and lighter products correlated with greater levels of success among the U.S.'s top breweries, they also correlated with significant reductions in the cost of production and the ability to transition to more mechanized approaches to mass-producing beer.

Specifically, the lightening of commercial lagers was favorable for the increased use of adjunct fermentable material. Malted barley is traditionally the chief ingredient and primary source of fermentable sugars (which are converted to alcohol), color, mouthfeel and flavor in beer. Malted wheat and rye are also common additions to traditional beers, though in far lesser amounts. The term *adjunct* in brewing refers to the use of unmalted grains—primarily corn and rice, but also rye, oats, barley, and wheat—to supplement the primary ingredient of the grist (malted barley). In traditional brewing practices, the use of such adjuncts are extremely limited and generally used to achieve some desired aesthetic quality in the finished beer. For, example the addition of small amounts of unmalted oats to the grist of a stout—a dark, thick style of ale—creates the silky mouthfeel associated with the Oatmeal Stout style. In the mid-century production of commercial American Lagers, however, the use of adjuncts was not limited to stylistic addition; rather it was intended as a partial replacement for malted barley and brought the primary benefit of significantly cutting ingredient costs. There are those who argue that it was the pursuit of aesthetic qualities that matched the American palate that drove brewmasters at nearly every major American brewery to shift to significant adjunct inclusion in their lagers, but such an argument rings hollow in light of the clear economic benefits of this move and the near universal acknowledgement that all-malt beers are markedly superior tasting products. Why, then, did American adjunct lagers become so entrenched in the American society that these lightened and adulterated products came to be synonymous with beer for the average citizen?

Two disparate accounts of the history of American brewing attempt to answer this question. In the first version of the story, greedy macrobrewers sacrificed quality for quantity and in doing so destroyed the integrity of the American brewing industry, leaving Americans woefully underexposed and undereducated about the world’s diversity of beers and rich brewing traditions. In the other, Americans roundly rebuked the brewing industry’s attempts to offer up more traditional or flavorful products and aggressively fueled the creation of a distinctly American style of beer. Both are true and both are poor attempts to tell a decidedly more complex story.


The Very Many Varieties of BEER
ALES
LAGERS
PALE ALE
STRONG PALE ALE
AMERICAN PALE ALE
ENGLISH STRONG ALE
OLD ALE
AMERICAN STRONG ALE
BARLEY WINE
SCOTCH ALE
DOUBLE IPA
INDIA PALE ALE
ENGLISH PALE ALE/ BITTER
LIGHT ALE
PREMIUM BITTER/ ESB
BURTON PALE ALE
IRISH ALE
AMERICAN PORTER
ENGLISH PORTER
STOUT/ PORTER
IRISH STOUT
FOREIGN STOUT
AMERICAN STOUT
IMPERIAL STOUT
SWEET STOUT
FLAVORED STOUT
OATMEAL STOUT
BALTIC PORTER
AMBER ALE
AMERICAN WHEAT ALE
BLONDE ALE
AMERICAN WILD ALE
MILD ALE
BROWN ALE
LAMBIC
FARO
GUEUZE
FRUIT
UNBLENDED
OUD BRUIN
SAISON
WITBIER
BELGIAN/ FRENCH ALE
BIERE DE GARDE
BIERE DE CHAMPAGNE
FLANDERS RED ALE
BELGIAN DARK ALE
DUBBEL
BELGIAN PALE ALE
QUADRUPEL
BELGIAN STRONG DARK ALE
BELGIAN STRONG PALE ALE
TRIPEL
ROGGENBIER
GERMAN ALE
HEFEWEIZEN
WEIZENBOCK
WEISSBIER
GOSE
DUNKEL-WEIZEN
BERLINER WEISSE
KÖLSCH
KRISTALL-WEIZEN
ALTBIER
MAIBOCK/ HELLES
DOPPEL-BOCK
DORTMUNDER
BOCK
EISBOCK
GERMAN LAGER
KELLER BIER
DUNKLER BOCK
MÄRZEN
RAUCHBIER
VIENNA LAGER
MUNICH LAGER
SCHWARZ-BIER
MUNICH DUNKEL
MUNICH HELLES
EUROPEAN LAGER
EUROPEAN STRONG LAGER
EUROPEAN DARK LAGER
EUROPEAN PALE LAGER
PILSNER
AMERICAN IMPERIAL PILSNER
GERMAN PILSENER
BOHEMIAN PILSNER
AMERICAN PILSNER
AMERICAN LAGER
AMERICAN ADJUNCT LAGER
MALT LIQUOR
ICE BEER
LIGHT BEER
DRY BEER
AMERICAN PALE LAGER
AMERICAN DARK/AMBER LAGER
CALIFORNIA COMMON
CREAM ALE
Mendocino Eye of the Hawk
Rogue Double Dead Guy Ale
Kuhnhenn Fourth Dementia Old Ale
Fullers 1845
Avery Old Jubilation Ale
Ridgway Insanely Bad Elf
New Belgum Fat Tire
Tröegs Hopback Amber Ale
Lost Coast Apricot Wheat
New Glarus Crack'd Wheat
Boon Faro Pertotale
Girardin Faro
Boon Oude Gueuze Mariage Parfait
Drie Fonteinen Oude Gueuze
Arrogant Bastard Ale
Victory Old Horizontal
Theakston Old Peculier
Dogfish Head Shelter Pale Ale
Oskar Blues Dale's Pale Ale
Three Floyds Gumballhead
Russian River Consecration
Jolly Pumpkin La Roja
Kriek De Ranke
Lindemans Framboise
Sierra Nevada Bigfoot
Brooklyn Monster Ale
HeBrew Genesis Ale
Redhook Blonde Ale
Rogue Oregon Blond Ale
Cantillon Iris
De Cam Lambiek
AleSmith Wee Heavy Scotch Ale
Anchor Liberty Ale
Sierra Nevada Pale Ale
Motor City Ghettoblaster
Brains Dark
McEwans Scotch Ale
Founders Dirty Bastard Scotch Ale
Three Floyds Alpha King
Newcastle Brown Ale
Deschutes The Dissident
Petrus Oud Bruin
Saison Dupont
Ommegang Hennepin
Blue Moon Belgian White
Flying Dog Double Dog Double Pale Ale
BrewDog Sink the Bismarck
Victory HopDevil
Harpoon IPA
Stone IPA
Bear Republic Racer 5
Petes Wicked Ale
Hoegaarden Original White Ale
Unibroue Blance de Chambly
Lost Abbey Avant Garde
St. Sylvestre 3 Monts
Dogfish Head 120 Minute IPA
Goose Island Honker's Ale
Smithwicks Ale
McSorleys Ale
Malheur Biere Brut
Scaldis Prestige
Ommegang Rare Vos
Rodenbach Grand Cru
Duchesse de Bourgogne
Goachers Fine Light Ale
Morland Old Speckled Hen
Boddingtons Pub Ale
Courage Light Ale
Smuttynose Robust Porter
Great Lakes Edmund Fitzgerald Porter
St. Bernardus Prior 8
Bink Bruin
Leffe Blonde
Orval Trappist Ale
Wychwood Hobgoblin
Gritty McDuff's Best Bitter
Goose Island Pere Jacques
La Trappe Quadrupel
Tröegs Mad Elf
Duvel
Fullers ESB
Bass Ale
Beamish Stout
Geary's London-Style Porter
Avery The Reverend
Trappistes Rochefort 8
Gulden Draak
Delirium Tremens
Murphy's Irish Stout
Fuller's London Porter
Deschutes Obsidian Stout
Thurn Und Taxis Roggen
Chimay Tripel
Guinness Draught
Sierra Nevada Stout
Unibroue La Fin du Monde
Lion Stout
Reaper Ale Mortality Stout
Paulaner Hefeweissbier
Schneider Aventinus
Kapuziner Weissbier
Guinness Foreign Extra Stout
Mackeson XXX Stout
Rogue Imperial Stout
Stone Imperial Russian Stout
Victory Moonglow Weizenbock
Bayerischer Bahnhof Original Leipziger Gose
Brooklyn Black Chocolate Stout
Youngs Double Chocolate Stout
Pyramid Curve Ball Kölsch
Porterhouse Oyster Stout
Genny Cream Ale
Reissdorf Kölsch
Berliner Kindl Weisse
Weihenstephan 1809
Anchor Steam Beer
New Glarus Black Wheat
Erdinger Weissbier Dunkel
Tucher Kristall Weizen
Lagunitas Cappuccino Stout
New Glarus Spotted Cow
Weihenstephaner Kristall Weissbier
Bells Java Stout
Rogue Dead Guy Ale
Samuel Smiths Oatmeal Stout
Brooklyn Lager
Killian's Irish Red
Hofbräu Maibock
Ayinger Celebrator Doppelbock
Alaskan Amber
Uerige Sticke
Spaten Optimator
Steamworks Steam Engine Lager
Ayinger Jahrhunder Bier
MikkellerBeer Geek Breakfast
Moosehead Lager
Great Lakes Dortmunder Gold
Michelob
Koff Porter
Saranac Lager
Capital Brewery Eisphyre
Zywiec Porter
Voodoo Pilzilla
Kulmbacher Reichelbrau Eisbock
Victory Baltic Thunder
Rolling Rock Extra Pale
St. Georgenbräu Keller Bier
Tsingtao
Presidente
Budweiser
Samuel Adams Chocolate Bock
Einbecker Ur-Bock Dunkel
Olde English 800
Miller High Life
Baltika #9 Extra
Warka Strong
Spaten Oktoberfestbier Ur-Märzen
Paulaner Oktoberfest
King Cobra
Mickey's
Corona Extra
Dogfish Head Golden Era
Aecht Schlenkerla Rauchbier Marzen
PBR
Carlsberg Elephant
Köstritzer Schwarzbier
Bud Ice
Samuel Adams Hallertau Imperial Pilsner
Samuel Adams Boston Lager
Dos Equis Amber Lager
Great Lakes Eliot Ness
Samuel Adams Black Lager
Coors Light
Bud Light
Heineken Lager Beer
Löwenbräu Original
Natural Ice
Keystone Light
Labatt's Blue
Beck's
Žatec
Stella Artois
Grolsch Premium Lager
Mythos Hellenic Lager
Pilsner Urquell
Prima Pils
Golden Pheasant
Peroni Nastro Azzuro
Milwaukee's Best Dry
Asahi Super Dry
Yuengling Premium Lager
Jever Pilsener
St. Pauli Girl
Lagunitas PILS
Port Brewing Hot Rocks Lager
Leinenkugel's Creamy Dark
Harp Lager
Negra Modelo
Warsteiner Premium Dunkel
Weihenstephaner Original

No matter what version of this story one gravitates toward, the enormity of the cultural work required to categorically redefine beer, a wildly diverse beverage with a millennia old history, to be wholly represented by a product that significantly differs in ways that for most aficionados and traditionalists undercuts precisely those qualities that are desirable in beer, is apparent. Figure 6 is a contemporary mapping of beer styles that is neither definitive nor all-inclusive. It does, however, begin to provide a visual representation of the diversity of beer styles and the limited space occupied by American adjunct lagers (highlighted in yellow). But, Americans did not simply prefer adjunct lagers to other styles in the twentieth century; the adjunct lager came to define all beer in the U.S., effectively disavowing the existence of the vast majority of beer styles produced in the word since the emergence of modern beers in the fifteenth century. To provide a contemporary analogy, the degree to which the American adjunct lager became definitive of beer is the hypothetical equivalent of a nation where the domestic two-door compact car wholly defined the automobile industry. It would be the equivalent of a nationwide acceptance—in a world with sports cars, luxury sedans, jeeps, hatchbacks, station wagons, SUVs and more, manufactured domestically and abroad—that Ford Escorts and Chevrolet Cavaliers represented the sum total of the possibilities for passenger vehicle industry. In this hypothetical scenario, only Ford Escorts and Chevrolet Cavaliers would come to bare the moniker 'car.' All other brands and variations would come to be ignored, forgotten, or actively denied membership to that discursive category. Such a scenario is nearly inconceivable, but it is precisely what happened in the American brewing industry.

Whether the lightening of U.S. beers and the adoption of the adjunct lager was a response to demand or a deliberate effort to manufacture it, the brewing industry worked tirelessly to normalize the characteristics of the beers they produced as those as of beer in general—though, historically speaking, the qualities of light, effervescent, adjunct-heavy American beers resembled traditional beers very little. Specially, macrobrewers worked to elevate their take on lager—that lighter is better—and distance ale from consumers' understanding of beer entirely.

As we Like It, a short promotional film produced in 1954 by the United States Brewers Association, Inc. (USBA),[44] is a representative example of this kind of rhetorical effort. The film was produced by the Jam Handy Corporation, which made over 7,000 films for the U.S. Military during WWII and whose major client was General Motors. It is a ten minute and 13 second long proclamation of the legitimacy of the brewing industry, narrated by a single nondescript male voice. Contextually located during a post-war slump in beer sales and only 20 years removed from Prohibition, the film is shot through with a scarcely concealed anxiety to portray the brewing industry as patriotic, law-abiding, and economically indispensable. The film's narration reveals a concerted effort on the part of the USBA to define the brewing industry in relation to the nation and in doing so, providing and reinforcing the extremely narrow redefinition of American beer to include the attributes of the American adjunct lager.

A 1,278-word transcription and close visual reading of the film were used to perform a cluster analysis. A cluster analysis was deemed appropriate for this artifact, where it was not for the print advertisements, cartoons, memorabilia, and lithographs encountered previously in this dissertation, because of the significantly higher volume of thematic, visual, auditory and symbolic material presented in a film in comparison to a still image. In a rhetorical cluster analysis or "cluster criticism, the meanings that key symbols have for a rhetor are discovered by

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44 The USBA was the trade association representing the interests of the commercial brewing industry and anchored by the industry's largest brewing families. It dissolved in 1986.

charting the symbols that cluster around those key symbols in an artifact" (Foss & Foss, p. 71). The significance of terms and themes in a cluster criticism are determined on the bases of frequency and intensity in use (Foss & Foss). A thorough examination of this rhetorical artifact reveals several key symbols or rather rhetorical themes, including strong economic performance to degree of law abidingness. This analysis, however, is concerned specifically with those themes that work to define the nature of beer as a product, and therefore excludes key symbols or themes that exclusively characterize the industry or brewers. What remains are four key themes: beer as site or embodiment of Americanness; the favorable aesthetic qualities of beer; beer in relation to public health; and direct definitions of beer through the act of naming.

This relatively short narrative contained 26 unique references to an idea that might be called 'the American,' coded as instances of the terms *America*, *American, citizen, and citizenship*—roughly one mention every 25 seconds. These included five uses of the word *America* as geographical location, significant in that there are no uses of the decidedly less symbolically laden terms 'United States', 'nation' or 'country'; 16 instances of the adjective *American,* primarily used to describe people (eight uses), but also history (two uses), agriculture (two uses), the economy, a way of life, and finally beer; and three uses of variations of the term *citizen*. Qualitatively, these uses have the impression of overuse and leave no doubt about the major thrust of this spot. The ideas clustered around the theme of the American work to define the scope of the brewing industry as broad and inclusive, referencing the nation as the expansive space bound by its geographic boarders as well as a population of people. Beer in turn, is defined in relation to some of the most fundamental aspects of the nation-state, its history, agricultural foundation, economy, and everyday culture.

In contrast to the numerous references to the American, references to the aesthetic qualities of beer were remarkably few. However, these terms were significant when evaluated in terms of intensity. They are, as a group, punctuated with lengthier pauses than the rest of the words in the film and are clustered in the opening thirty seconds, setting the tone for what follows. There are only five such references in the entire film, but they do much to provide a very clear and persuasive rendering of precisely what are desirable qualities in beer. These references included two uses of the term *sparkling,* two uses of the term *golden,* and one use of the term *refreshing.* Three uses of these terms are among the first five words spoken in the film, each punctuated with strong vocal emphasis. These initial uses are important in that they are followed by an astonishingly brief historical account of beer from the time of Egyptian Pharaohs through the American colonial era, establishing through association that a beer through the ages has always been a *sparkling*, *golden*, and *refreshing* beverage. This claim, whether an accidental (and convenient) result of juxtaposition or an intentional misdirection on the part of the USBA, is wildly false. Historians suggest that early Egyptian beers were most likely thick, unfiltered, porridge-like beverages—the product of leaving wet or flooded cereal grains in open bowls or basins to be fermented by wild yeasts. Golden color represents only one end of the spectrum of beer historically produced, ranging from light straw to opaque black. Porter, one of the most popular styles in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe, is the color of a strongly brewed coffee. The high levels of carbonation that is common to American adjunct lagers were also fairly new and a product of both modern packaging and mass production techniques. Ales and lagers served prior to this time would have had far lower levels of carbonation, naturally developed during the product's time in storage in wooden casks and barrels. And, historically, beer has been brewed and consumed for its nutritive value—acquiring terms like 'liquid bread'—as much as for its ability to quench thirst.

While the references to desirable aesthetic qualities of beer are limited in the textual narrative, these uses are significantly reinforced by frequent visual imagery. The film begins with a lengthy close-up of an effervescent pilsner glass[45] of beer. The carbonation bubbles are pronounced and active. The color in the beverage inside is nearly transparent, barely dark enough to change the color of the spotlighted blue background behind the slender glass. The narrator's voice breaks into the close-up with the opening line, "Beer. Sparkling. Golden. Pure. Refreshing." Including the opening sequence, the film features 19 shots,[46] including some repeated at different intervals in the film, in which un-packaged beer is pictured. Seven shots are close-ups of beer in a glass or actively being poured into a glass, two are of beer in the production process, and ten shots are of groups of people consuming beer in a social setting. In each of these shots, in particular in the close-ups, there are no discernible differences between the products pictured. Each representation of beer is a light, golden, effervescent beverage, aesthetically defining beer as monolithic product, with little diversity or capacity for variation.

The film contains 15 references to public health concerns regarding cleanliness, sanitation, and unadulterated products. The code set included instances of the terms, *pure* (two uses), variations of the word *spotless* (two uses), variations of the word *clean* (six uses), variations of the term *immaculate* (two uses), and uses of the term *quality* (three uses).

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[45] Pilsner, smaller than a pint glass, are tall, slender and tapered. The slender glass will highlights the transparency of color and allows the high levels of carbonation of the beer to be on display. Its wider circumference helps maintain a foam head.

[46] A shot here is defined as an unbroken stretch of film recorded by a single camera that begins and ends with a cut to or from another shot, the beginning or end of the film.

Descriptions of brewing technologies and of links in the chain of distribution were most frequently clustered around uses of these terms. Importantly, the latter was expressed in the persons of delivery drivers, shop owners, and barkeeps. In addition to asserting the integrity and safety of beer as it travels along its commodity chain, the pseudo-medical descriptions of sanitation conditions in the industry combined with the visual imagery of a light colored, bubbly product—effectively equate the lightness of beer with cleanliness and safety. Further, this ideal of healthful and safe products was contextualized as the responsibility of friendly, responsible, hardworking American citizens. The narrator cheerfully offers,

> The neighborhood tavern is a friendly meeting place for the community, the average citizen's club. Its owner? He's just another good American. He knows that he and his operation reflects on the whole brewing industry. He wants to keep that reflection a good one...First of all, he protects the quality of the beer and ale he sells by serving it at the right temperature, whether it be in bottles or on draft. Second, he knows the he's serving beverages that were made in immaculate conditions. He believes they should be served in clean glasses and in clean surroundings. What's more, he knows that a tavern should be a friendly place where people can relax, discuss issues of the day, and enjoy sparkling malt beverages. (Jam Handy Organization, 1954)

Lastly, this cluster analysis considers how the USBA named beer as a product in 26 total occurrences in the film. The term *beer* is used on nine occasions. The term *brew* is used twice and *beverage* is used six times. The compound term *beer and ale* is used on nine separate occasions and the film additionally includes two uses of the compound term *malt beverages*. When considering what ideas or themes cluster around these terms, a clear temporal pattern emerges. On four of the nine instances when the term *beer* is used, the film refers to a historic or antiquated product. More dramatically, both uses of the term *brew* and five of the six uses of the term *beverage* refer to beer in a historic context. The compound terms *beer and ale* and *malt* *beverages,* however, are used exclusively in reference to modern American beer production, distribution, and consumption.

The temporal and rhetorical distinction between modern American products and historic and/or antiquated products is significant (there are six discrete uses of the term *modern* that are closely associated with the term *American*). It is with this move that the USBA embeds a persuasive codification of the primacy of lager, though the term *lager* is never used in this film. As I have said, beer is categorized into two major categories: lager and ale, depending on what kind of yeast is used in its fermentation. By repeatedly referring to the light and sparking products produced by modern American breweries in the cleanest and technologically sanitized conditions as *beer and ale* (and not *lager and ale*), lager, through replacement, is equated with beer. Or rather, *beer in general* is redefined as *lager* and ale is separated as a semantically different product.

This particular example of commercial brewing industry rhetoric reveals an effort on the part of macrobrewers to narrow the public's understanding of beer to conform to the products it produced at the time and the direction in which its formulations were progressing, toward ever lighter and more homogeneous products. Though the changes in formulation that distinguished pre-Prohibition era lagers from those manufactured when *As We Like It* appeared in 1954 were significant, the most significant changes to American adjunct lagers were still to come. From 1950 to 2000, the amount of barley malt used to brew a barrel of beer in the United States fell by more than 21 percent (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005). The widespread acceptance of the definition of beer as a light-colored, blandly flavored, highly carbonated beverage made possible the most significant lightening of American beer—and this time macrobrewers made no claims of pursuing the formula change in the interest of the collective American palate.

In the 1960s, in keeping with American's new obsession with thinness and dieting and ever conscious of its inability to capture the enormous consumer segment represented by women, breweries introduced diet beers. Quickly, however, the label 'diet' was abandoned in favor of the more gender-neutral term 'light'. Unlike the development of many traditional styles of beer, the light American adjunct lager was not the result of innovations in traditional brewing craftsmanship or environmental conditions.[47] Light beer was invented in 1967 by biochemist Joseph L. Owades with the express intention of meeting a particular market segment. The brewing of beer involves the extraction and conversion of complex starches in malted barley and/or adjunct fermentable material into simple sugars. Many of these simple sugars, like fructose, sucrose and glucose are readily consumed by brewing yeasts and converted into the desirable byproducts alcohol and carbon dioxide. Other sugars produced, like maltose and more significantly dextrins, are less readily consumed by brewing yeast and therefore remain in a finished beer as residual sugar. In addition to providing the body or mouthfeel and many of the flavor components (including sweetness, roasted character, toasted qualities, bready aspects, summarized by the term 'malt profile') in a finished beer, these residual sugars are also the primary source of carbohydrates and thus calories. Owades engineered an enzymatic process that allows yeast to completely metabolize dextrins developed in the brewing process, reducing

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[47] Environmental conditions often significantly contribute to the character of particular beers. For example, character of Dublin's Guinness Stout is significantly influenced by high levels of Bicarbonate in the water, which served to buffer the acidity of dark roasted grains in the mash and lend to the perception of smoothness in the finished beer. Belgian and French Saison beers are fermented in open vessels, the unique character of these beers is a result of the wild yeast that is only native to these regions.

the presence of residual sugars, calories, mouthfeel and also malty flavors. The development of light versions of the already adjunct laden American lager required the inclusion of a number of manufactured chemical additives to ensure that light beers still 'performed' like beer, including dyes like Emka malt, foam stabilizers and thickeners like alginate, and preservatives like propylene glycol. New York's Rheingold Brewery introduced Gablinger's, the first commercially produced light beer using this enzymatic process. Its numerous and more well-known successors, beginning with Miller Lite and followed by Bud Light and Coors Light, quickly became the central products of the American brewing industry.

The products produced by top performers between 1954 and 1983 were (and continue to be) remarkably similar, and newly expanded marketing departments spent significantly more per barrel on making the case for their brands' uniqueness than on the ingredients to produce the beer inside. It cannot be underestimated how significantly the standardization of the American adjunct lager was to the entrenching of large corporations in the brewing industry and the death of the local brewpub. By reshaping the meaning of 'beer' for Americans, breweries were able to cut production costs significantly and eliminate consumer interest in artisanal beers—the last vestige of competiveness for smaller producers.

Geographies of consumption.

"The legislators who constructed Repeal encouraged citizens to scorn [the] saloon and tavern in favor of convivial drinking 'round the family hearth'" (Ogle, 2006, p. 205). Though cloaked in the wholesome imagery of the idealized American home, the federal government's encouragement to stay home and drink was forceful and legally institutionalized. What began with enabling the sale of beer in grocery and department stores and undoing breweries' control of bars, pubs, saloons and taverns, was by 1983 a complete reversal of the geographies of beer consumption in the U.S. It was a change that unfolded in step with a shift toward the domestic American space as the locus of waged subjectivity and the consumptive modernity associated with the birth and rise of the suburb. When Prohibition was ratified in 1919, the vast majority of beer sold in the U.S. was sold in public settings, and poured from wooden casks. When Prohibition was repealed, brewers were forced to take up the bottle in earnest, but most domestic beer was still served on draught. By 1983, however, 54 percent of domestic beer was sold in metal cans, 25 percent in glass bottles, eight percent in refillable bottles, and only 13 percent on draught (Beer Institute, 2013).

As a dimension of industry compression, the shift in geographies of consumption represents both a cause and an effect of the dwindling number of breweries and the top performing breweries' growing shares of the market. Advertising, packaging and distribution—all primary activities of a home-consumption oriented industry—are exceedingly cost intensive, particularly when considering the relatively narrow price point established for the products produced by most commercial breweries. Smaller producers simply could not achieve the economies of scale necessary to survive in this market setting. More significantly, the shift is representative of the industry's adoption of the perspective that its brands were more important value producers than its beers. This perspective was not a 'discovery;' that is to say, brewers did not come upon the brand as the 'true' producer of value in the industry. Value is found wherever there are processes of valuation. Such value, however, is not necessarily economic and if economic, not necessarily capitalist. It is more accurate to say, then, that brewers invested more energy into economizing the value produced by its branding activities. The success of these techniques of valuation is closely tied to changing geographies of consumption.

Toward this end, brewers shifted strategies to speak to an emerging form of domesticity that served the American waged subject as the justification and reward for embracing consumption as the 'modern way' being American. The two most significantly strategies included advertising messaging that specifically referenced the home, home environment, and desirable family dynamics, and the development of branded packaging that physically delivered the macrobrewers products into the evolving American home. Though the first of these two strategies provides a wealth of compelling insights into how brewers hoped to establish beer as a staple of the new American domesticity, I focus this discussion strategies related to packaging and branding.

The legal and cultural imperatives to shift the brewing industry into the home are embodied in the development of brewery packaging, as the package serves as a unique crystallization of the brand. A package is simultaneously a commodity and an advertisement for itself, and in the case of commercial beer, significantly more expensive to produce than the product inside. Labeled glass bottles as a delivery method for beverage commodities existed for centuries prior to Prohibition, but after Repeal bottles presented a number of challenges to brewers who were newly tasked with packaging unprecedented volumes of beer and moving these bottles over unprecedented distances. Bottles were heavy, fragile, and with the glass manufacturing techniques of the 1930s, glass bottles were not yet considered disposable and so required not only a costly trip from breweries to distribution centers, but also a return trip back to the brewery once emptied.

On January 24, 1935, the first steel beer can was test marketed in Richmond, VA by the

Gottfried Kruger Brewing Company. Cans were lighter, more durable, stackable, and because of their uniform shape, capable of being more tightly packed into railcars, trucks, and storage facilities. Kruger's test can was wildly successful and was quickly adopted by other brewers. From a branding perspective, brewers promptly realized that because cans could be stacked in a retail environment, they made a unique visual impact when considered as one large package and because cans were opaque (unlike glass bottles), consumers could no longer rely upon seeing the actual product for incitement. Packaging, perhaps the most important weapon at the point of sale, came to require sustained attention from brewers.

On January 22, 1959 Coors introduced the first all-aluminum two-piece recyclable beer can (Conny, 1990). This innovation represented a major leap forward in the manufacture of beer packaging and has facilitated a number of innovations since. The new can was lighter, required less material to make, and was composed of a metal that did not interact with the beer inside (steel cans had to be lined). Further, the innovation proved to be an avenue of vertical integration that did not draw the Federal Trade Commission's wrath. Between 1960 and 1983 a number of wholly owned subsidiaries of the country's top performing breweries would enter the packaging and materials market, including Anheuser-Busch Recycling Corporation and Coors Ceramics Company.

The shift in geographies of consumption and subsequent reliance upon new packaging conventions directly coincided with the emergence of the brand as a locus of valuation with respect to American beer. Brand valuation represents a cluster of techniques of valuation used by American macrobrewers (and mass producers of all kinds) that is closely tied to what this project suggests is a regime of abstract consumption. Because of brand valuation's intimate connection to consumption practices and less concrete connections to labor and production practices, it is more difficult to locate a foundation for critical discussions of brand valuation in Marxist literature. Though brands have been around since the eighteenth century, their presence in theories of value, much like the role of consumption, has been somewhat marginal in critical political economies (Arvidsson, 2006).

In a recent work on value theory and the brand, Foster (2007) sets out to test the claims of 'value added' discourse generated around brands and the presumed relationships forged through brands between consumers and corporations or between consumers and products. He specifically asks if such claims can be supported in terms of Marxian value theory. In asking, Foster must make a fundamental expansion of Marxist value theory by allowing the creation surplus value to occur outside the realm of productive consumption in the spaces of individual consumption. Borrowing, heavily from Callon, Meadel, and Rebeharisoa's (2002) economy of qualities, the branded product is understood as a sequence of transformations or processes of qualification and re-qualification that Foster suggests work to re-capture use value on the consumptive end of the labor theory of value. The product seeks out and binds agents, and agents shape the product reciprocally. Thus, the relationship inverts the commonly understood temporality of commodity valuation, as the productive processes that result in a crystallization of use value occurs only after a product has entered into a brand-enhanced relationship with consumers. This formulation, importantly, sees continuity in the consumption/production cycle of commodities, where many Marxist formulations take consumption to be the end of a discrete process of valuation.

Significantly, in this formulation of brand function, the reciprocal process of forging brand-enhanced relationships occurs not only at the point of sale, but also within the spaces of domestic consumption. During the first half of the twentieth century, the explosion of branded consumer products and development of new media technologies like radios, phonographs, and televisions signaled the evolution of a domestic space that not only included more public imagery, but took on more public functions, as the act of consumption required consumers to process the ideological vehicle that was the brand in private, familial places. In this way, the brand-enhanced relationship forged between beer brands and consumers was established more individually and less socially than every before.

Arvidsson (2006), also attempting to advance a theory of value for the brand, suggests that brands produce value in two ways: first, the brand extracts value by putting to work the autonomous productivity of consumers, understood largely to be mobilizations of affect structured by giving consumers the tools with which to exercise their own creative capacities; second, the brand, and specifically brand equity, operates as a kind of capital, valuable, not unlike a stock of labor power or fixed assets, because it is thought to reliably produce certain forms of attention in the field of consumption that are translatable to surplus value.

If, as Arvidsson suggests, brands put to work the autonomous productivity of consumers by mobilizing and structuring affect, they are in essence tools. Importantly, they are individually possessed, but collectively held tools that allow the individual to exercise their own creative capacities within the larger space of collectively understood meanings and experienced affects. Again, these collectively understood meanings now circulated in and included contributions from domestic life. The, brand then provides a means for consumers to align private, domestic habits of consumption to a readily retrievable consumption-in-general, or abstract consumption, by providing the tools through which consumers might render those acts commensurable.

The U.S.'s most successful macrobreweries from 1950 to 1984—Miller, Anheuser-Busch, Pabst and Coors—can be seen to produce value in this manner. Each brewery's flagship beer brand presents a clear vision of a hypergeneralized or abstract mode of product consumption—what might be called *American beer drinking*. Anheuser-Busch's flagship brand, Budweiser, rooted its vision of American beer drinking in patriotic nostalgia, or what the corporation describes in its annual reports as "core American values." The Miller Brewing Company boasted two flagship beers in the second half of the twentieth century, first Miller High Life and then Miller Genuine Draft. Both brands were marked within a uniquely crafted space of leisure, denoted by the company's trademark phrase 'Miller Time.' This leisure space is characterized as a unique manifestation of *leisure in capitalism* (a concept that will be explored in detail in the following chapter), leisure that is tied to the corollary condition of work through a system of conceptual dependencies. Leisure in capitalism is not only defined as that which is not labor, but must be justified via the completion of 'adequate' labor, and enabled by the disposable income generated in the wage relationship. In this 'work hard, play hard' social imaginary, American beer drinking is a well-earned reward reaped inside the home for valorized and predominantly masculine work (for example, manual labor) outside of the home. Coors and its flagship Banquet beer cultivated a decidedly rugged, rural identity, trading on the professed purity and remoteness of its Rocky Mountain water supply. Pabst, with its Pabst Blue Ribbon brand, evoked an urban and decidedly northern working class. Both Coors and Pabst traded as much on putting forth a vision of abstract beer consumption as they did on acknowledging the more extensive vision advocated by Anheuser-Busch and Miller, and offering themselves as an alternative.

Each brand, with varying degrees of success, has reliably served as a tool for consumers to forge a relationship with an established mode of abstraction consumption, whether that connection is direct, tangential, or even antagonistic. Take, as a contemporary example, the enormous popularity of Pabst Blue Ribbon among young hipsters, whose relationship to the brand is largely based upon a subcultural display of conspicuous irony. Finally, each has enjoyed the benefit of the presumed future reliability of the brand's ability to effectively mobilize profit-generating responses in consumers.

For example, in 2008 Anheuser-Busch was nearing a state of crisis. Sales had been stagnant for years, employees and board members had serious doubts about its newest CEO, August Busch IV and his ability to lead, and the company was hastily rushing to devise a plan to significantly cut spending in an effort to stave off a hostile takeover by Belgium-based InBev. Despite the dire conditions, mainstream media outlets, Anheuser-Busch board members, and a handful of big industry's leading financiers believed that the Anheuser-Busch corporation was too large and too symbolically wed to the U.S. to be bought—many believed the duo of its Budweiser and Bud Light brands were effectively priceless (MacIntosh, 2011). Ultimately, Anheuser-Busch did have a price, $52 billion or $70 per share in the largest all-cash transaction recorded at the time—a testament to the value of brand equity in a time of turmoil for Anheuser-Busch, the brewing industry, and financial markets more broadly.

The visions offered of American beer drinking, as a mode of abstract consumption, offered by each of these breweries were predominantly structured around pre-packaged products for home consumption, though commercial beer continued to be served in public settings, including restaurants, bars and clubs and a growing number of large sporting venues. Products produced for home consumption offered more opportunities to expose consumers to brands and offered consumers more opportunities to use their creative capacities to cultivate an experience of consumption in relation to a brand. Though images of public consumption were not abandoned in brewery's branding strategies, the images of public consumption tended to include pre-packaged beers taken into intentionally-crafted public spaces where intimate relationships dominated interaction—a father-son fishing trip, a party on the beach, a backyard barbeque, a game of flag football, or a get-together after a long day of work.

Brewery as Corporation

The second half of the twentieth century saw breweries embrace a new role as brand managers; it also launched the beginning of macrobrewery diversification into large subsidiary holdings via the machinery of their brands. Anheuser-Busch owned the St. Louis Cardinals major league baseball club (and Busch Stadium) from 1953 until 1996 and was one of the country's largest theme park owners over the same decades. The Miller Brewing Company became a wholly own subsidiary of the Phillip Morris Tobacco Company. Coors currently owns the rights to Coors Field in Denver, CO, home to the Colorado Rockies professional baseball club and holds 20 percent ownership of the Montreal Canadiens professional hockey team.[48] These changes were indicative of the adoption of a new model of operation for the American

[48] The other 80 percent is owned by the Molson family. The Coors Brewing Company and the Molson Canada merged in 2005 to create the Moslon Coors Brewing Company, in 2012 the world's seventh largest brewery by volume.

brewery, a move from privately owned guild-based manufacturers to publicly traded corporations.

The three aspects of compression of the brewing industry examined previously—the nationalization of the industry, the redefinition of beer to singularly include the American adjunct lager, and the change in prevailing geographies of consumption from public to domestic settings—were significantly enabled by a change in the prevailing organization of American breweries from guild-based to corporate models of operation. Guilds[49] historically structured the craft and business of brewing during the Renaissance, when modern ales and lagers were developed in Europe. Brewing was a common and widespread activity in these centuries. Much of the beer brewed in Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries was brewed in and for the home, by innkeepers and tavern owners, by monasteries (particularly in Belgium) and other sacred orders, and by brewer-merchants operating relatively modest enterprises. Commercial breweries and brewpubs in Europe were commonly led by master brewers or brewmasters who learned their trades through formal apprenticeships and in many cases belonged to formal brewers' guilds. With the reach of the brewers being limited, many establishments simply produced beer for its customers to be consumed on site, competition between breweries was far less direct and mutual benefit was a logical aim for a region's community of brewers.

Brewing, like most manufacturing trades, changed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the growing capacity for rapid communication and transportation and the development of modern technologies. When Europeans colonized North America, they brought

[49] Associations of people with common interests, particularly of merchants or artisans, formed for mutual aid, protection and to maintain the standards of their craft.

a European brewing tradition that was already in transition, as the American colonies were part of European mercantile system that traded heavily in beer. With single breweries able to brew greater and greater volumes of beer and move that beer over greater and greater distances, and a public growing accustomed to an expanding consumer marketplace that included, among other things, expanded choices, a climate that included direct competition began to shape the landscape of American brewing.

By the time Prohibition was ratified and then repealed, the U.S.'s largest breweries had universally subscribed to a Fordist approach to manufacturing beer. No longer organized around a group of skilled artisans and their apprentices, large American breweries became repositories of automated machinery, unskilled laborers, white-collar middle management, and an intellectual class of economists and scientists. The structure of a modern corporation—a legally codified organization of people and material resources for the primary purpose of conducting business—offered considerable advantages to brewers in an increasingly competitive cultural-economic landscape. A corporation's parts are more interchangeable, as opposed to a business organized around the talents of specific individuals, allowing for greater efficiency and flexibility. As brewery's shifted toward this model after the repeal of Prohibition, the brewing process itself became more and more automated, and brewers, assistant brewers, and other brewery workers moved further down the chain of command, as sales and marketing departments became more and more critical. This change however, was not imposed upon brewery workers; it presented itself as the natural and logical order of things. Even with in the brewing industry's most active labor union, the shift from guild or craft based organizations to something reflecting modern industrialization was valorized. The following commentary appeared in a 1936 issue of *Brewery*

Worker, the journal of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers:

> In the development of industry and organization the tendency is toward concentration and perfection. This applies to the organization of labor as well as to the organization of industry and capital. Hence the reason why organized labor is gradually passing from craft organization to the more effective industrial form of organization. (W. Green, 1936, p. 4)

It is not my intention here to speculate whether or not this change was good or bad for American beer, those who make it, or those who drink it. Rather, I am interested in drawing out how a change in the organizational structure of mid twentieth-century American breweries contributed to the types of valuation strategies they used. In order to undergo many of the changes previously described in this chapter, the brewery as an entity had to become markedly less concerned with the execution of a tradition craft and more concerned with the successful development of a brand. Breweries' models of operation responded to and helped to structure their goals and activities, the subject positions of their workers and executives, their relationship to the beers they produced, and ultimately what kinds of processes of valuation they adopted in attempts to turn a profit.

Though there are many indicators of an organization's structure, goals, and values (i.e. organizational flow charts, mission statements, annual reports, formal and informal internal communications), I consider here how the brewing industry as a whole, and macrobrewies in particular, evaluated its success. As breweries grew from small manufacturers that could be managed with relatively simple bookkeeping procedures into large corporations with dedicated marketing, sales, research and development, and production divisions, so did the belief that economic analysis was critical to the survival and health of their enterprises. Specifically, breweries put a great deal of faith in the scientism of economic analysis, buoyed by "the prevailing belief that genuine economic science must be mathematical and quantitative" (Callahan & Leeson).

As previously mentioned, traditional narratives of the post-Prohibition brewing industry argue that the nationalization of the industry was inevitable—that the laws of supply and demand, coupled with the economies of scale achievable by national/global corporations, rendered it impossible for local and regional breweries to survive. Such arguments and the historical research of the brewing industry on which they are based, reveal how deeply ingrained the notion of the brewing industry as a national industry has become. Several of these studies look back to the 1930s and 1940s and apply metrics based upon national levels of production and distribution to a market that was not yet composed in this way. Momentarily taking the appropriateness of national measurements as a given, it is interesting to consider the conclusions drawn by these econometric studies of the American brewing industry. They tend to cite just two factors in the consolidation of the industry: advertising expenditures (in service of cultivating demand); and technological innovation (in service of enabling greater scale in production). These studies conclude with some certainty that statistically significantly correlations cannot be discovered between the growth of breweries in the market and any aspect of change beyond advertising expenditures and increases in brewing capacity (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005). The commercial brewing industry, armed with these findings, has concentrated on these two areas of expansion for roughly the last half century.

Two metrics used to describe the level of concentration of the industry, are particularly prevalent in econometric studies—Minimum efficient scale of production (MES) and the 4-Firm concentration ratio (CR4). MES is defined as the lowest level of production at which a firm can operate while still taking full advantage of economies of scale with regards to supplies and costs. CR4 refers to the total market share of the industries four largest forms. It should be noted, first, that both of these metrics are used with the assumption that all firms in the brewing industry can be evaluated in the same marketplace, a single national market. Regional or local firms are simply not legible in the spaces validated by these metrics, thus research concludes that such firms occupy a niche that cannot be discussed or declare they will inevitably exit the market.

Notably, the brewing industry only began talking about itself in such terms within the last 50 years, as MES and CR4 begin appearing in economics journals and texts related the manufacturing sector around 1955. It seems then that the years during which the brewing industry compressed most aggressively (consolidating most rapidly in terms of market share and contracting most rapidly in terms of firms exiting the market), were also the years during which economists codified a scientific means of quantifying performance in national marketplace that was the only recognizable market place.

More than 600 horizontal mergers and acquisitions of facilities and/or brands have occurred in the U.S. brewing industry since 1950 and there has been a complete absence of entrants to category of mass producers, macrobreweries, since the 1930s (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005). Analysts have used calculations of the MES for the brewing industry to explain these activities and mark them as statistically inevitable. Tremblay and Tremblay note argue that average capacity of breweries leaving the market over these years was just 7.7 percent of the minimum efficient size determined for the era. Further, the MES for the brewing industry is large relative to the size of the market—suggesting that the market cannot support a large number of firms (for example in 2000, calculations suggested that the market for beer could support no more 11 firms operating at the MES for the industry). These metrics suggest that since 1960, brewers have fought a war of attrition with too many brewers for the market to support. According to these analyses, firms operating below the MES are faced with four strategic options: expand internally, merge with a competitor, find and profitable niche market, or exit the industry.

The growing corporatism of American breweries was bolstered by the scientism of mainstream economic thought of the era. By 1983 the country's largest breweries were global corporations with some of the largest advertising budgets of any firms worldwide, built for operation that privileges automation and efficient mass production above all. Their successes were born out in economic analyses, which in turn justified the goals and decision making that was consistent with expanding corporatism.

But the late 1970s and early1980s brought another dimension to the brewing industry that not only failed to be explained within the intellectual-economic spaces cultivated within corporate commercial brewing. The microbrew revolution—a period in the American brewing industry where smaller producers returned in significant numbers to the American brewing landscape—flew directly in the face of prevailing assumptions about what was possible within the brewing industry. Though the compression the industry achieved in the early 1980s was barely 50 years old, it was so culturally normalized that the resurgence of small quality-oriented producers was wholly inconceivable. One of the most extensive and well-respected mainstream economic analyses of the U.S. brewing industry offers, "The microbrewery invasion of the brewing industry in the midst of the war of attrition among the mass producers presents a quandary" (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005).

With the corporate organization of a highly compressed American brewing industry taken to be a given, and a highly developed and institutionally supported science for evaluation of the economic performance of breweries American breweries, it was assumed that successful brewing could not be achieved outside of the relatively new parameters established for brewery operation. In the 1990s, the nation's largest breweries continued to grow. The top three breweries achieved a combined 92 percent market share in 1992 and the largest brewery, Anheuser-Busch, held an astonishing 50 share of the domestic beer market. At the same time however, there was an explosion in the number of breweries. Between 1983 and 1999, the number of brewing firms in the U.S. increased 30 fold (Beer Institute, 2013). The microbrew revolution and the subsequent craft beer movement are plainly economic developments in American brewing industry, but they are developments that fail to be adequately explained within the regime of valuation established during the age of the macrobrews. One unsuccessful attempt posits, "At this point, the domestic specialty sector appears to be stabilizing. The most recent data show that firms are still exiting but that market share for the sector is up and profitability is negative but rising. The number of firms will likely bottom out shortly, and the spectacular growth of the early 1990s will probably not recur" (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005). Such a prediction is based on an attempt to apply the assumptions of a regime valuation that was challenged by pioneering microbrewers and actively subverted by contemporary craft brewers. It has also turned out to be painfully inaccurate. As of 2013, the number of breweries in the United States has exceed 2,500, growing by more than 70 percent since 1999. The craft brewing industry grew 15 percent by volume and 17 percent by retail dollars in 2012 alone, while sales volumes of mass-produced beer have decreased or remained stagnant for several years. New breweries are entering the U.S. market at a rate of just over one brewery per day (all into the craft segment) and exiting at roughly three a month. Recently, macrobrewers have turned to producing “crafty”[50] beer brands like Blue Moon and Shock Top (brewed by MillerCoors and Anheuser-Busch InBev, respectively) and acquiring craft brands in efforts to capitalize on the ‘unfounded’ success of the craft sector—success that is impossible in framework of metrics like Minimum Efficient Scale, but discernible when the processes of valuation are assumed to include the complexities of everyday culture.

Discussion

This chapter has explored the 50-year period of industry compression between 1933 and 1983, when a post-Prohibition regime of valuation for the American brewing industry emerged. This regime of valuation was founded in the context of the rise of consumption and the displacement of labor as a dominant technique of valuation in American capitalism. By aligning themselves with a number of emerging abstract social mediators, changes occurring in American culture more broadly, the U.S.’s largest commercial breweries, the macrobreweries, were able to obtain extraordinary competitive advantages in the market place. Specifically, by embracing connectedness, simultaneity, and uniformity as techniques of valuation that influenced patterns

[50] On December 13, 2012 the Brewers Association, the not-for-profit trade association dedicated to small and independent American craft brewers, issued statement entitled “Craft vs. Crafty.” The statement addressed the “increase in production and promotion of craft-like beers by large, non-craft breweries” and in particular the lack of transparency in brand ownership, as these beers are not labeled by the parent companies that brewed them. The piece includes a specific accusation of deception on the part of large brewers, “seeking to capitalize on the mounting success of small and independent craft brewers.”

of acquisition, expansion, advertising, packaging, and product development, American macro-breweries successfully transformed a nation filled with corner saloons and neighborhood brewpubs into a single nationalized marketplace in which coast-to-coast brands are the norm.

In addition to this transformation into a nationally oriented industry, the compression of the domestic brewing industry was typified by three other structural changes. The redefinition of beer in the U.S. to include only the American adjunct lager and its light counterparts allowed breweries to dramatically reduce production costs and invest in the proliferation of branding activities that came to replace the production of beer as breweries' most cost intensive and profitable valuation practice. Those branding activities were on one hand necessitated by and on the other benefited from a shift in the predominant geographies of beer consumption from public to domestic spaces. As the nation's brewing industry compressed at an increasing pace into the second half of the 20th century, it adopted increasingly corporate models of that were justified and thrived upon an economic scientism that took the only recently achieved composition of the industry to be a mathematical certainty.

The breweries that most thoroughly exemplified these changes have become large multinational corporations, however the nature and extent of their impact on the craft and business of American brewing laid the groundwork for the microbrew revolution. In the chapter that follows, the microbrew revolution is explored as both rupture in the status quo of the brewing industry and an extension of a heroic entrepreneurship born of the industry's neoliberal corporatism. The craft brewing industry, which was initiated by the microbrew revolution represents a proliferation of alternative valuation practices that now putting visible cracks in the unity of the commercial brewing industry's prevailing methods of valuation.

Chapter 4: Entrepreneurial Leisure and The Microbrew Revolution

The preceding chapter details four critical changes to the American brewing industry that were symptomatic of, and contributed to, the dramatic post-Prohibition compression of the industry—the nationalization of the brewing industry, the overwhelming adoption of the American adjunct lager, the change in geographies of consumption from public to domestic spaces, and the transition from a guild-based to a corporate model of operation for the nation's breweries. This chapter focuses on the implications of these changes as they relate to the dawn of the microbrew revolution.

The microbrew revolution[51] describes a period in the American brewing industry—from the mid-1960s through the mid 1980s—when smaller producers returned in noteworthy numbers to the American brewing landscape. Though few would have predicted it at the time, the microbrew revolution was the antecedent and opening overture to the contemporary craft brewing movement, currently a $10.2 billion industry.[52] More importantly, the time marked an important break in the status quo established by the country's macrobrewers. Bolstered by widespread interest in imported and premium products—from cars and coffee to sushi and Super

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51 Though the term microbrew revolution is in heavy circulation, the time is not always remembered in such positive terms. Those advocating the interests of large commercial brewers tend to use the term "microbrew invasion."

52 Total annual sales as of March 18th, 2013, according to the Brewers Association.

Mario Bros.—microbrewed beers reintroduced Americans to the diversity of traditional beer styles. Further, microbreweries defined themselves in opposition to many of the characteristics that came to define the commercial brewing industry. Their products were decidedly local, positioned as anti-corporate, unapologetically flavorful, communally consumed in brewpubs, largely unavailable in retail outlets, and focused on the specificity of the experience of enjoying and appreciating beer. They did not advertise, package extensively, or distribute broadly, but they importantly cultivated a culture of appreciation in beer drinkers that fostered loyalty and justified significantly higher prices. Homogeneity and standardization in product and an intense focus on marketing and branding made Budweiser, Miller, Coors and Pabst the largest beer brands in the U.S. and in the case of Budweiser and Miller, the world. The uncanny extent of this standardization also left the door wide open for enterprising microbrewers.

Though indicative of a significant rupture in the status quo of the brewing industry, the microbrew revolution was at least in part an extension of expanding laissez-faire, neoliberal economic policy and a valorization of leisure-born entrepreneurship in American culture. While this certainly coincides with a general growth in the popularity of niche markets since the 1970s and 1980s, I argue that the microbrew revolution, the jumping off point for the American craft beer industry, unfolded in ways that left structural openings for the more progressive cultural-economic formations that have emerged in the last two decades. More than a niche market, the American craft beer industry is now putting significant pressure on the corporate brewing industry and its prevailing methods of valuation.

The Revolution must be Legalized

The era referred to as the American microbrew revolution—roughly, the decade from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s—was the product of at least two specific conditions of possibility. First, the middle years of the twentieth century were characterized by an extraordinary consolidation of the brewing industry, explored in detail in the previous chapter. By 1970, the American brewing industry almost exclusively produced a fairly bland, unadventurous, and (as most beer aficionados would argue) poor quality product. Sales of the top four mass-producing brewers of the era—Coors, Pabst, Miller, and Anheuser-Bush—would achieve 92 percent market share by 1984 (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005) and most American's knowledge of beer rarely diverged from the effervescent, light American adjunct lager. Second, and much like previous instances when the complexion of the American brewing industry changed significantly, a policy decision on the part of the Federal Government acted as a catalyst. On October 14th, 1978 President Jimmy Carter signed H.R. 1337 into law. By February 1979, the legislation was in effect, exempting from excise taxation beer brewed at home for personal or family use, effectively legalizing the homebrewing of beer. Though this act was seen as the resolution of an incidental omission in the 21st Amendment (home wine making had been legal since Repeal), as opposed to codifying a hard fought political battle, it did generate a spike in interest in homebrewing. This growing interest in handcrafted beers supported the growing presence of American microbreweries. As a result, many of the microbreweries that entered the market in the late 1980s and 1990s were founded by former homebrewers, brought to the hobby by changes in federal law. Without the simultaneous occurrence of both of these historical events, it is difficult to imagine that the modern craft brewing industry would have reached its current size or achieved its current level of zeal.

During the 1970s and 1980s a handful of brewpubs and microbrewers entered the market; many did not succeed. But by the mid-1980s, the revolution was afoot, supported by a growing interest in imported beers that introduced many Americans to the wide variety of ales and lagers still consumed by European drinkers. By the end of the 1990s, several of the successful start-up microbreweries of the 1970s and 1980s had grown into regional and national mainstays—the Boston Brewing Company (makers of Samuel Adams), the Sierra Nevada Brewing Company, Anchor Brewing, and Brooklyn Brewery—outgrowing the microbrewery distinction[53] and inspiring the use of the term *craft* to describe smaller scale brewing, with high quality ingredients, using traditional methods, and keeping an eye toward innovation and community engagement.

Like many historical accounts, most histories of the microbrew revolution are hagiographies of a group of 'founding fathers.' The rags-to-riches narrative arcs often used in the telling of these histories of the revolution's trailblazers, however, are not only sloppy, but also historically misleading. Jack McAuliffe, founder New Albion, the nation's first post-Prohibition microbrewery; Fritz Maytag, pioneer of Anchor Steam Brewing Company, the nation's first regionally and nationally successful microbrewery; Ken Grossman, creator of Sierra Nevada, perhaps the best known of the first wave of craft brewers; and Jim Koch, creator of Boston Brewing Company and the Samuel Adams Boston Lager, one of the nation's oldest and most iconic craft beer brands—these 'founding fathers' share a number of commonalities,

[53] A microbrewery is a brewery that sells no more than 60,000 barrels annually.

most noticeably a passion for good beer and dissatisfaction with commercial offerings that drove each to pursue the production of a different class of commercial beer. This chapter, however, focuses on another line of similarity, an approach to the business of brewing that I refer to here as *entrepreneurial leisure*. Entrepreneurial leisure is the transformation of leisure (often subcultural pursuits) into businesses and occupations (Ides, 2009). Fundamentally, then, entrepreneurial leisure involves a slippage between the meanings of work and leisure, and between consumption and production in modern capitalist economies.

This chapter first provides a short historical background for contemporary understandings of leisure as they relate to the corollary condition of work. The evolution of how labor is understood as an activity, subject position, and generator of economic values reflects a similar evolution in the understandings of leisure, particularly *leisure in capitalism*. The chapter then discusses the contingency of entrepreneurial identity as it intersects with and diverges from the identity of the modern American worker and an ethos of managerialism. Entrepreneurial leisure is then established as an activity that is the result of a simultaneous reversal and recasting of entrepreneurial identity, and a reinscription of power already consolidated among the managerial classes into the context of leisure activity. The chapter closes with a discussion of how entrepreneurial leisure established the tenor of the craft beer industry and the attendant subcultural formation that is the subject of Chapter 5. Though often regaled as anti-‘big beer’ renegades who shattered the status quo of the brewing industry, it is also accurate to say that the founding fathers of the craft brewing industry were white men of significant means and privilege who pushed aspects of white-collar managerialism, neoliberal self-determination, and a ethic of justificatory risk to an illogical extreme and found success.

Leisure in Capitalism

Marx's critique of political economy in this dissertation is taken as an attempt to understand a specific determination of *labor in capitalism*, rather than labor in general—one defined by the time and the place from which Marx wrote (Postone, 1996). Though there has been considerably less attention given to leisure as a socio-cultural phenomenon as it exists in capitalism, it follows that *leisure in capitalism* would maintain something of a parallel existence, acquiring, like labor, a spatio-temporally specific determination within capitalist regimes of valuation. Leisure, like labor, is a historical concept that emerges in discourse and cultural practice at different times, in different contexts in world history (Hunnicutt, 2006). Common themes, however, have come to dominate the discourse of Western leisure and can be traced to origins in the Greco-Roman empire. Most critical to the concept of leisure as it is currently understood, is its various and complicated relationships to the notion of 'work.'

According to Hunnicutt's (2006) expansive history of Western leisure, there is no etymological record of the term 'work' in its modern connotations existing prior to the advent of the slave state in the ancient Greek empire. As the social continuum became more stratified, the activities that were appropriate for men of status and the activities that men of status had the power to delegate to servile populations became significant. Control, then, was critical to work's articulation in classical Greek society. As slavery continued to define work and depreciate the status of subsistence labor, leisure came to be defined as a corollary condition—a freedom conferred by the ability to control others.

Hunnicutt (2006) points to *leisure's questions*, those inquiries that emerged as the result of widespread conditions of leisure among the privileged classes. Unfettered by the requirements of work, the elite were inspired to speculate what was possible for the dominant class now that it had the ability to control others—what were the things that were worth doing in and of themselves? In answering leisure's questions, sport, fine arts, doing politics, making music, and engaging in conversation as leisure activities, became representative of Greek social life. To this end, leisure was the generative and binding force of Greek society.

A significant transformation took place with the fall of Greek society and the rise of the Roman Empire. The writing of poets Virgil and Horace signaled a renewed importance of nature and human existence in the natural world. The desirability and social status of agrarian life was restored in large part, as the vision of simple, frugal pastoral existence became an object of romantic imagination. Simultaneously, urbanization became increasingly conflated with corruption and alienation. Leisure then, ceased to be an opportunity to enter civic life and rather became the opportunity to retreat from the crowd in the pursuit of solitude and simplicity. Importantly, leisure began to recede from the public sphere into the domain of the individual. While these ideological shifts in Roman society at large are significant, changes in Christian values and church doctrine were most central to the emergence of modern conceptions of work and leisure (Hunnicutt, 2006).

The formation of Benedictine Orders within the Roman Catholic Church brought the first of Christianity's two major contributions to the modern notion of work.[54] As a privileged class that was both physically and dogmatically isolated from the responsibilities of work, the monks of the Benedictine Orders pursued manual labor in search of balance for time spent in

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[54] Consequently, it was also the monks of the Benedictine Orders who pioneered large scale brewing and first cultivated hops for the express purpose of using in beer, and developing, not only, modern beer, but modern brewing practice.

contemplation and prayer. Work became a means to the end of spiritual virtue. The Protestant Reformation reinforced this notion, and marked Christianity's second major contribution to changing the value of work. The protestant work ethic emerged from the belief that all people were called by God to work; idleness was among the severest of early protestant sins. As the Middle Ages came to a close, the valuation of work and leisure had been essentially reversed, an ideological development ripe for the rapid entrenchment of capitalism (Hunnicutt, 2006; Rojek, 1985).

Implicated with the rise of modernity and the efficiency of Western imperialism, capitalism has been established as a global economic system, ideological formation, and system of social interaction. The protestant work ethic, now secularized, has been rearticulated as the neoliberal spirit of capitalism. *Leisure's questions* are now *work's questions*, and the most common answers in circulation suggest that acquiring a good job and making money are two critically important things that are 'worth doing in and of themselves.' Leisure now requires justification as it becomes increasingly subordinated to work and no longer holds its position as the 'glue' of social life, nor as the space where representative cultural practices are developed. Simultaneously, leisure grows more and more dependent upon leisure goods and services, as popular leisure activities are more and more closely conflated with consumption.

With this historical shift, *leisure in capitalism* is not only dependent upon labor as a defining condition (i.e. leisure understood as that which is not labor), but it also defers to labor as a justification (one is not entitled to leisure without labor), a model of operation (the pursuit of hobby and leisure is increasingly career-like), and the source of economic resources required to participate in increasingly consumption-oriented leisure activities.

The Contingency of Entrepreneurial Identities

The ways that Westerners have historically understood work and by extension, leisure, were not developed, and are not held, in isolation. They are, in practical and tangible ways constitutive of the identities of those who engage in this pair of ubiquitous human activities. Social and critical cultural theorists have advocated for the understanding of all identities and subject positions—be they delineated by race, gender, class, sexuality, age, or ability—as contingent, dependent upon contextual factors that are external to the individual. du Gay (1996) argues that economic identities function no differently and underscores the role of difference in the formation of contingent economic identities. Following Laclau, he suggests "a contingent identity only constitutes itself *in relation to that which it is not*" (du Gay, 1996, p. 2). To examine an economic identity, then, is to trace the processes whereby it struggles against an 'outside' that simultaneously denies that identity and provides its condition of possibility. Though I believe this antagonistic rendering of identity construction threatens to minimize the significance of collaboration and community in that process, ultimately it is useful here in bringing attention to the ways that performances power coalesce to form the articulated set of elements that are entrepreneurial identity.

The contingent American entrepreneurial identity, one that is in part defined by its position of power in the contemporary capitalist regime of valuation, is an extension and negation of the contingent identities of the American worker and the white-collar manager. The following is a very brief and cursory overview of a vast and robust organizational literature. Rather than exploring the socially constructed, individually enacted, and collectively embodied identities of the American worker, white-collar manager, and entrepreneur in detail; I focus broadly on the ways each identity antagonizes the others, and the subsequent consolidation of power within the entrepreneurial identity.

The producing industrial subject (whose experiences were the focus of Braverman's (1974) *Labor and Monopoly Capital*) is the basis for the identity of the American worker that is native to the dominant capitalist regimes of valuation that have characterized the last 100 years. The figure of the worker in such narratives is engaged in a losing struggle against an emerging managerial elite, who use increasing mechanization and science-backed managerial strategies in a relentless pursuit of organizational efficiency. For Braverman and others, the reorganization of labor that is the result of the coordinated application of mechanization and managerialism, results in the deskilling and alienation of workers, who are subsequently pacified with emerging discourses on 'job satisfaction.' In this way, Braverman frames the antagonism between the identities of workers and the managerial elite as a struggle between two mutually exclusive impulses: the quest for meaningful autonomy on the part of workers (via the retention and utilization of one's skills) and the struggle to manufacture consent on the part of the managerial class.

What is excluded from these narratives is a consideration of the ways that the identity of the American worker was historically established in relation to other identities outside of the workplace. These extra-workplace relations do as much to define the American worker as his relationship to the managerial class. My use of the pronoun *he* draws attention to a particularly important aspect of the identity formation of the American worker. It is largely taken for granted that the American industrial worker was already defined as a white male who worked a 40+ hour week at the time of Braverman's inquiry and in those that followed (du Gay, 1996). "Rather than being a universal, gender-free ‘individual’...the ‘modern worker’ is a male breadwinner who has an economically dependent wife to take care of his daily needs and look after his home and children …The stable public identity of the ‘modern worker’ is therefore established through the positioning of the woman as ‘other’ within the domestic sphere” (du Gay, 1996, p. 2). Such an acknowledgment is in no way revelatory. I reference it here in order to draw attention to the ways that this relational antagonism is not only maintained in the formation of managerial identity, but consolidated and exacerbated within it. That is to say, if the contingent identity of the American worker is decidedly not female and not non-white, the character of the white-collar manager and entrepreneur are even less so.

The character of managerial identity is, in significant ways, dependent upon and defined in opposition to the character of the American worker. Whereas the worker, as the executer of tasks, comprises the bottom of the food chain in a managerial hierarchy, managerial identity is defined by a capacity to execute bureaucratic, if not pedantic, managerial control. Thus managerialism is production-focused and rule-bound (Anderson & Warren, 2011), but enacted within discourses of greater freedom and creativity. Even as the Western workplace transitions to what some have called ‘post-bureaucracy’—a workplace in which discourse and consensus replace rules and mandates—control remains a central aspect of the performance of managerial identity. The post-bureaucratic workplace is said to be typified by ‘self-managing’ employees, empowered and trusted to pursue organizational goals with minimal supervision (McKenna, Garcia-Lorenzon, & Bridgman). The managerial elite, therefore, has shifted focus from the management of people to the management of organizational culture and the maintenance of preferred technologies of the self (Foucault, 1992).

Literature on entrepreneurial identity frequently cites its mythic, heroic, stereotypical, and often cliché nature (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Costa & Saraiva, 2012; Down & Warren, 2008). Anderson and Warren add, “Entrepreneurial meanings are not free-floating, but are anchored in a modernist project that somehow tomorrow will be made better entrepreneurially than today (2011, p. 592). Entrepreneurial identity has been described by a range of qualities that are above all anti-bureaucratic. The entrepreneur is thought to be self-motivated, competitive, autonomous, bold, energetic, creative, productive, and innovative. Moreover, this list of traits is understood to justify the component of entrepreneurial identity that is most salient to this analysis, a valorized willingness to shoulder perceived risk and the tendency to understand that risk in the frame of personal responsibility.

Though often associated with financial risk (loss of personal assets, threat of extreme indebtedness, etc.), the risk tolerance of entrepreneurial identity might also be thought to be a product of its affinity for change. Indeed, the foundational contribution of the entrepreneur is a capacity to do things better by doing them doing them differently, where difference represents divergence from the safety of the known and the proven. Entrepreneurial identity is, in this way, a profound reversal of managerial identity—insofar as managerialism is a kind of stewardship over the very aspects of organizational practice and culture that represent constraints to be overcome by the entrepreneur. Entrepreneurial identity also stands in stark contrast to the identity of the American worker, as both the champion of a character that is fundamentally ‘unmanageable’ and the embodiment of the losses that define the American worker. Thus, both in terms of business practice and organizational identity, the entrepreneur symbolizes the future of business, by charismatically displacing the now of business. “Enterprise rhetoric privileges entrepreneurs as change masters, to challenge the power of established elites – to be the architects of Schumpeterian creative destruction" (Anderson & Warren, 2011, p. 593).

The history of the American brewing industry from Prohibition to the microbrew revolution saw this drama of antagonism played out to the letter, as skilled tradesmen and apprentices (from brewmasters to barrel makers) were replaced by general menial laborers who in turn were subsumed by an exploding white-collar managerial force at the nation's largest breweries. Historically, the brewing industry's labor force has been one of the most extensively organized and has formed and maintained some of the oldest American labor unions. Before Anheuser-Busch was purchased by Belgium based InBev, it was known for having one of the most bloated and expensive executive forces, whose antagonistic relationship with its laborers was far more than theoretical.

In the early years of the tenure of August Busch III (colloquially known as 'The Third') as CEO of Anheuser-Busch, he was confronted with an imminent Teamsters strike over pay negotiations. Rather than cede to the union's demands, The Third chose to staff his production floor with the company's white-collar middle management. The incident not only touched off what would be a combative relationship with organized labor for years to come, but also illustrates the divisiveness at the heart of these two organizational identities.

> "It was a disaster—an absolute disaster," said Bill Finnie [a 26-year Anheuser-Busch executive]. "The union people absolutely hated management in general and August in particular, and it was reciprocated. So August did not start off on day one on the right foot." Finnie spent the first six hours of every day cleaning soggy beechwood chips out of the brewery's giant metal tanks, crawling into them through a two-foot hole while grasping a toilet plunger and a rake. Then he and the other mid-level executives would spend four or five hours at their desks in the office. One of his subordinates, graduate of the notoriously cerebral Massachusetts Institute of Technology, suffered that summer from a general lack of handiness and physical coordination. "He drove a forklift, and I think that he had some pretty serious accidents," Finnie said. "It was pretty ugly. But at

> lunch, they'd bring us really fresh beer in gallon milk jugs, and it was the best-tasting beer you've ever had in your entire life." The company ultimately paid each of the while-collar workers a $1,000 bonus for their loyalty. (MacIntosh, 2011, p. 34)

The bemusement apparent in Mr. Finnie's recollection of the incident and the fact that white-collar workers were rewarded with a cash bonus for performing the unheralded daily tasks of laborers who were actively fighting for higher wages, speaks volumes about the ways in which managerial identity was formed in the disavowal of the identity of brewery floor workers.

du Gay writes,

> If every identity is dislocated to the extent that relies upon a constitutive 'outside,' which simultaneously affirms and denies that identity, then it follows that the effects of dislocation will never be unambiguous...If dislocation unhinges stable identities, it also opens up the possibility of new articulations: the construction of new identities and the production of different social subjects. (du Gay, 1996, p. 4)

The entrepreneurial microbrewer represents one such new articulation, unique in that it also represents a 'doubling back.' Insofar as the identity of the American worker and the entrepreneur are both defined in the negation of bureaucratic managerialism, there is something of a parallel between the desires of the brewery floor worker and the fulfillment of the successful microbrewer. Where the worker is defined by a loss and desire for autonomy and creative self-actualization, the entrepreneur is defined by the self-directed realization of that autonomy. The entrepreneur is thus a truly heroic figure, specifically for the laborer for whom he represents the unattainable realization of desire.

Within the brewing industry, this was not only an abstract heroism. Microbrewers not only shared the historic laborer's distain for the open corporatism of 'big beer,' they embraced the lost ethos of craft—making it central to the formation of their entrepreneurial project. Far from a return to the identity of the worker as apprenticed craftsman, the entrepreneurial microbrewer represents a reinscription of privilege and power into a craft-based identity. Significantly, this reinscription was performed within the discursive space of leisure, rather than labor—imbuing the demanding physical requirements of the brewmaster's trade with an element of choice that is not native to the producing subject; rather, it is more emblematic of the consuming subject at play.

Serious Leisure and the Resurrection of Craft-Based Labor

The entrepreneur plays a unique role within the dominant capitalist regime of valuation—being one who actively seeks out and vets techniques of valuation with the express purpose of recruiting them into the dominant regime. The entrepreneurs who ushered in the microbrew revolution filled this role with astonishing success by engineering the strategic valuation of leisure. This process—the codification of entrepreneurial leisure—was dependent upon two pre-existing conditions: First, that the architects of the microbrew revolution possessed the means to occupy and thus successfully antagonize/subvert the managerial identities established for the brewing industry; and second, that these men enjoyed the ability to justify, pursue and eventually use the pursuit of serious leisure to lend credibility and a rebellious mystique to the products and brands they produced.

The following provides a brief retelling of the popular narratives surrounding four of the founding fathers of the microbrew revolution. Though this analysis could include a number of other influential individuals (most notably Charlie Papazian, homebrewing advocate and founder of the American Brewers Association), Jack McAuliffe, Fritz Maytag, Ken Grossman, and Jim

Koch represent the four men whose stories are most consistently told and retold in relation to the return to success of the American microbrewery.

The New Albion Brewing Company, founded in 1976 by Jack McAuliffe in Sonoma, CA, is by most accounts the first American microbrewery to operate in the modern era. It did not succeed, closing its doors in 1982, but McAuliffe is credited with providing the blueprint for microbrewery operation that was taken up and executed successfully by his contemporaries. Born in Caracas, Venezuela, McAuliffe was the son of an FBI agent stationed in South America during World War II. He returned to the U.S. as child, attended technical school as a teen, and eventually began an engineering career in the U.S. military, serving as a technician for naval submarines. In a version of events that would be repeated for other craft beer entrepreneurs, in particular Brooklyn Brewery cofounder Steve Hindy (Hindy & Potter, 2005), McAuliffe developed a taste for flavorful beer and was introduced to homebrewing while stationed abroad (Ogle, 2006). Upon returning to the U.S., McAuliffe studied physics at the University of California at Davis and began a career as an optical engineer in Silicon Valley. Shortly thereafter he relocated to the Sonoma Valley, where he would eventually start New Albion.

Narratives differ on McAuliffe's reasoning for the move. In one version, friends asked him to assist in the construction of a house. By the time they completed the project, three years later, he was firmly enmeshed in the community (J. Hall, 2012). Another version credits McAuliffe with a more business-inflected savvy, stating that he specifically located in Sonoma with a brewery plan in hand, and hoped to take advantage of lower expenses and a vibrant local food and wine scene. Regardless of the details of its telling, elements of the prologue to McAuliffe's short-lived career as a professional brewer is a prototype of a now well-worn trope with regard to the labor/leisure divide in discourses of craft beer entrepreneurship—discourses that include commonly told stories and a sizable amount of published literature (Acitelli, 2013; Calagione, 2011; Grossman, 2013; J. Hall, 2012; Koch, 2011; Magee, 2012). McAuliffe and nearly all of the notable craft beer entrepreneurs who followed his lead were in possession of University educations, specialized training, and successful careers in private industry. Rather than being established as necessary means to their success as entrepreneurs—assets that provided financial resources, the basis for credit and purchasing power, access to investors, expertise to navigate legal environments, technical knowhow, and more—these resources are instead cast in the light of personal sacrifice and heroic risk tolerance.

Thus, McAuliffe was the first in a line of men who would quit their 'real jobs' to pursue their homebrewing hobbies. In the establishment of a second narrative trope, McAuliffe's homebrewing practice followed the trajectory of serious leisure. Serious leisure is the steady pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or career volunteer activity that captivates its participants with its complexity and challenges (Stebbins, 1982, 1992, 2001). Serious leisure is distinguishable from casual leisure—leisure that is "immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived, requiring little or no special [knowledge or] training to enjoy it"—in that its rewards are often deferred, require the acquisition of certain competencies, and often inspire sustained financial investment (Stebbins, 2001). As such, homebrewing as serious leisure is part of a critical double articulation to the brewing industry in the microbrew revolution's entrepreneurial narratives—on one hand granting legitimacy to the 'hobby' in business circles, and on a second, allowing the very labor-intensive process of professional brewing to be continuously read as leisure.

Ultimately, New Albion did not succeed and McAuliffe returned to his first career as an engineer, "designing industrial control systems for sewage treatment facilities and factories that produced aluminum car wheels" (Leonard, 2013). The formula for the start up and operation of his brewery however, would be quickly disseminated to men like Ken Grossman, Fritz Maytag, and Jim Koch, all of whom found success by avoiding McAuliffe's mistakes (Leonard, 2013; Ogle, 2006). More significantly the formula for the identity of the microbrewing entrepreneur was established as a well-educated, technically competent, problem-solver. The microbrew revolution's quintessential entrepreneur was, thus, less a blue-collar 'beer man' who learned to play the business game and more a white-collar executive who was willing to get his hands dirty for the love of a hobby.

Fritz Maytag, a contemporary to McAuliffe, is at the center of another of the craft brewing industry's most repeated origin stories. Upon hearing about the impending closure of San Francisco's floundering Anchor Steam Brewery, Maytag, a disparaged young Stanford graduate, rushed to secure 51 percent ownership in the brewery for a few thousand dollars, saving it from an eminent bankruptcy (Ogle, 2006). After a few years he secured full ownership of the brewery. Maytag was recently celebrated in *Inc.* Magazine as one of the "26 most fascinating entrepreneurs." Recognized for "setting limits," the *Inc.* profile celebrates Maytag as a man who "knew nothing about beer-making or business" when he purchased a majority stake in the brewery, but who was able to max out the brewery's production capacity in just four years (Burlingham, n.d.). As the story goes, rather than take on investors and increase his production to match demand, Maytag rationed the supply beer to customers. "Size, he believed, was the enemy of quality. 'This was not going to become a giant company" Maytag said, "not on my watch,'" (Burlingham, n.d.). In a move that is said to have inspired the collaborative ethos of the contemporary craft beer movement, Maytag fostered the community of microbrewers cropping up in the San Francisco region, allowing surging demand to be met collectively. "'It was a great relief,' says Maytag... 'It's not any fun when you can't produce enough to satisfy people.'" (Burlingham, n.d.).

Interestingly, Maytag's family heritage plays a remarkably small role in his entrepreneurial narrative. He is the great-grandson of Maytag Corporation founder Frederick Louis Maytag I and heir to the appliance giant family fortune. Though it is not stated whether or not, or to what degree, Maytag was assisted by financial contributions from his substantial family wealth, many moves in his history are better explained in the light of a significantly reduced likelihood of personal ruin. Moreover, the 'aimless college graduate buys brewery on a whim' story contributes to the impression of the business microbrewing as one that is supposed to be—to use Maytag's own words—fun.

Southern California native and homebrewer, Ken Grossman's story begins with a cycling trip down the north coast of California. He reportedly made an early stop in Chico and fell in love with the college town, opening a homebrew supply store and laying the plans for his microbrewery. Regarded as something of the 'mad scientist' of the revolution's architects, Grossman frequently drove around the state collecting equipment from dairy farms and scrap yards to repurpose as equipment for his brewery. Visits to McAullife's New Albion are said to be some of the most influential road trips he undertook. With $50,000 in personal loans from friends and family, Grossman and an associate rented a warehouse, and in 1980 launched Sierra Nevada Brewing Company.

Though brewing only a few years after McAuliffe and Maytag, Grossman is most frequently cited as the founder of the U.S.'s first *craft* brewery, and his narrative embodies the ground up, do-it-yourself ethic that has animated the opening of more than 2,500 small American breweries in the last 30 years. Grossman's story is also the narrative that relies least upon the notion of brewing as leisure. Rather, his contribution to the microbrew revolution is more often than not framed as an exemplar of perseverance and ingenuity (Schawbel, 2013). Consequently, Grossman arguably possessed the least in the way of traditional 'entrepreneurial assets' and some of the most applicable hands on experience in the making of beer.

Jim Koch is credited with reviving an old family recipe for a flavorful lager in his kitchen that eventually would become the popular Samuel Adams Boston Lager. Koch, who earned a Bachelor of Arts, Master of Business Administration, and Juris Doctor from Harvard University, left a high-paying position as a management consultant with the Boston Consulting Group to co-found the Boston Beer Company in 1984. In a popular story that is retold in some of the brewery's contemporary advertising, Koch went door-to-door offering samples of his beer to Boston bars and restaurants, building a loyal customer base for his brewery.

Though his biography has significant divergences from the narrative tropes already established by popular interpretations McAuliffe's, Maytag's, and Grossman's experiences, Koch's story is nonetheless told using the narrative conventions identified above. Koch's departure from the Boston Consulting Group often overshadows the fact that he is the sixth-generation of first-born sons in an established German brewing family—the first after five generations who did not (immediately) assume a career as a brewmaster. Remarkably, Koch's founding of the Boston Brewing Company and development of Samuel Adams is largely interpreted as a departure from the corporate world and pursuit of a passionate leisure activity—though it is more accurately a return to a family trade that has pre-Prohibition origins.

The Boston Brewing Company has for two decades been the largest American craft brewer. With the sale of Anheuser-Busch to Belgium-based InBev in 2008, it became the largest American-owned brewery in operation. As of 2013, Koch became the first billionaire who made his fortune in craft beer (Satran, 2013).

Discussion

My brief retelling of the biographies of the founding fathers of the craft beer industry was not intended to minimize the significance of their individual accomplishments. They ventured into an industrial climate in which the precedents for their business models were long forgotten. They faced a number of practical and formidable constraints—small batch brewing equipment simply did not exist and had to be fabricated; few suppliers of ingredients made sourcing raw materials a challenge; banks and investors were skeptical of brewing operations that literally flew in the face of everything that was known about commercial beer. It is important, however, to understand that the entrepreneurial leisure that underscored the microbrew revolution was dependent upon the possession of a white-collar managerial identity that could be abandoned and superseded by a romanticized entrepreneurial identity. The fact that this new identity was steeped in the understanding of brewing as leisure generated a wealth narrative traction, that in no small ways have contributed to the mystique of micro and craft brewing as the 'rebellious' careers of those who dare to pursue their passions. The cultural work of these narratives has contributed to the value of dozens of craft beer brands and inspired the thousands of brewing entrepreneurs that followed.

The microbrew revolution demonstrates how particular subject positions make possible particular kinds of valuation. In this case, the subject defined by entrepreneurial leisure rediscovered and redefined the techniques of valuation required to make a small scale brewing operation solvent in a corporate climate defined by macrobreweries with international scope. Significantly, these techniques of valuation implicate ostensibly non-economic activities—though in reality, brewing as serious leisure is particularly well suited for economization, as its performance follows the trajectory of modern work. Moreover, though the microbrew revolution is frequently heralded as anti-corporate, it does much to reinforce the logics of the dominant capitalist regime of valuation by asserting that the most estimable form of leisure activity is that which generates a profit.

Chapter 5: Craft Brewing, Black Beer, and the Values of Subculture

"I take anecdotes, or yarns, to be primarily referential. They are oriented futuristically towards the construction of a precise, local, and social discursive context, of which the anecdote then functions as a mise en abyme. That is to say, anecdotes for me are not expressions of personal experience but allegorical expositions of a model of the way the world can be said to be working"

- Mehgan Morris. "Banality in Cultural Studies"

It's February in Boston. Cold by most accounts, more so by that of an American graduate student who has spent the last six years below 35°N. I've acquired at least three new articles of clothing since my departure from Raleigh-Durham International Airport, most from phone booth sized stands poised to capitalize on underprepared or overconfident travelers. The hotel I'm staying in for the weekend, "boutique" according to Priceline.com's synopsis, is a study in gentrification. Sleek midcentury modern furnishings flank an old cast iron radiator wrinkled with countless coats of paint. A forty-inch flat screen television hangs uncomfortably close to the foot of an Asian-inspired platform bed. Metallic tile work in a miniscule bathroom sets off decades-old rust stains on a pedestal sink. The view from this eighth floor suite is crowded with abandoned buildings and new condominiums, bus stops, blinking car alarms, and fifty year old aluminum patio furniture. All is awash in ninth floor construction noise, now revealed to be the basis for my incredibly good deal on the stay.

Truth be told, the hotel might be a pile of rubble or any number of motel chains offering a bed and little more. I chose it for its location, approximately stumbling distance from the Cyclorama at the Boston Center for the Arts, site of this year's Extreme Beer Festival. I've attended more than a dozen similar events in Washington DC, San Diego, Durham, and now Boston. This year's Extreme Beer Fest, organized by BeerAdvocate™,[55] features more than 100 beers that "push the boundaries of brewing" and represent the spirit of the American craft beer movement. The nearly thirty brewers represented have brought more than kegs for three tasting sessions scheduled this weekend. Where most beer festivals feature sampling stations staffed by volunteers or regional sales representatives, the organizers of the Extreme Beer Fest have handpicked breweries willing to staff their festival booths with knowledgeable members of their brewing staffs—often brewery owners and brewmasters[56].

Tonight the Cyclorama is a blur of one-of-a-kind experiences for the beer aficionado—a special session limited to just 500 attendees; tomorrow's sessions will bring 1,000 each. Those of us willing to pay the premium price for a ticket to the *Night of the Barrels* are enjoying a selection of fifty limited edition beers, aged in wood barrels, the vast majority of which will never be available to the general public: an Imperial Stout aged in bourbon barrels with fresh cherries; an aggressively hopped Double IPA aged in mesquite barrels; a Belgian Quad aged in

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[55] Founded in 2002 by brothers Jason and Todd Alström, "BeerAdvocate is an global, grassroots network, powered by an independent community of beer enthusiasts and industry professionals who are dedicated to supporting and promoting beer" (BeerAdvocate, 1996-2010). In addition to maintaining the forums, educational resources, and tools on BeerAdvocate.com, the organization publishes *BeerAdvocate Magazine* in print monthly and organizes two world-class beer festivals annually.

[56] Brewmasters supervise the entire brewing process and are often responsible for the selection of raw materials, recipe formulation, and management of brewery staff.

oak chardonnay barrels. I'm pacing myself. With an average alcohol content around eight percent by volume, even two-ounce pours of beers this "extreme" are potentially debilitating. I will eventually take full advantage of the free food included in the price of my admission, but for now I am staking out a seat in a makeshift lecture hall. Some of the most well known figures in the craft brewing movement—among them Bryan Selders, Lead Brewer at Dogfish Head Craft Brewery, Jim Koch, Founder and Brewer at the Boston Beer Co. (makers of Samuel Adams beers), and Tomme Arthur, Brewmaster at the Lost Abbey—are participating in a panel discussion on innovations in American brewing. I have a clipboard for notes and three questions it took most of the flight to write that I desperately hope I get the opportunity to ask. An event staffer makes her way through my isle with pitchers of the panelists' special offerings for the evening. I am already feeling looser, warm, chatty and indifferent to the travel fatigue that has set in from the day spent in airports.

As I wait for the panel discussion to begin, it occurs to me that virtually none of my friends or family would *get* why I am here; yet there is an unspoken understanding I share with most of the men sliding into chairs around me; this is, for lack of better words, is a *very big deal*. Few people would travel this far to attend an entertainment event (alone at that), but I am not the only one here who has traversed the eastern seaboard. A pitcher of ice water is placed at the empty panelists' table. We gaze toward the stage like iguanas toward the sun.

There are no prototypical college boys here, no chest bumpers, no one likely to drink beer with a bias toward quantity or total disregard for quality; this is a room full of self-professed beer geeks. I am one of perhaps five women in attendance (including staff) and, as far as I have seen, the only black person here. However, I am comfortable. With the price I paid, ticket sales for tonight's session alone should have cleared $27,000; tomorrow's sessions will nearly quadruple that number, and all of these funds are already sitting in someone's accounts; this event has been sold out for months. With the exception of the local fixture, Boston Beer Co., none of these breweries have ever produced a television commercial; few distribute their products nationwide; none produce any of the beer styles represented by the flagship products of giants like Anheuser-Busch InBev or the SAB Miller Brewing Co. Yet, nearly all are known to those in attendance with the kind of everyday familiarly one might expect of grocery store fare.

This moment, this collection of people and institutions escapes simple explanation (though the simplest of explanations are often the most alluring). Tonight, the rhythm of activity echoing from the Cyclorama resonates with that emanating from countless other locations around the U.S. said to be representative of the enculturation of high capitalism. Such events are undeniably *economic* and undeniably *cultural* and yet resist easy encapsulation by either domain. Summations as niche markets are woefully inadequate, but begin in small part to map out what might be called unique communities of valuation.

* * *

In the years following the microbrew revolution (the topic of the previous chapter), an explosion in homebrewing and craft brewing, and in the connoisseurship of beers that both activities inspire, has become the heart of what can be said to constitute a vibrant craft beer subculture in the United States. Subculture has a relatively short but storied history as the subject of social-scientific and humanities-based academic scholarship and has been firmly established in the American popular vernacular. But what was in the 1960s and 1970s a fairly accepted means of describing spectacular communities of youth, their music, modes of dress, and ideological struggles against and within mainstream culture, has become for some a relic of a time and a line of thinking that is radically out of place today. The relevance, political efficacy, and even the existence of contemporary subcultures, have been called into question, as the accelerating speed of capitalist appropriation threatens the authenticity of such formations.

In what follows, I revisit the concept of subculture as a means of theorizing contemporary cultural phenomena and as a tool for examining the unique sociality of two social/cultural/economic groups organized around American beer: primarily, the contemporary craft beer movement (makers, drinkers, and craft beer enthusiasts); and, as an instructive counterpoint, a cultural formation I call *black beer culture*. The chapter begins with a short and incomplete history of the study of subculture*, vis-à-vis* a re-reading of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' (CCCS) influential literature on post-war, working-class, youth cultures. This re-reading briefly addresses examples of the research that preceded and inspired members of the CCCS and their colleagues who were not directly affiliated with the University of Birmingham working group on subculture, as well as more recent literature that has aggressively critiqued the work of the CCCS published under the umbrella of Post-Subculture studies. The chapter then builds upon the reframed foundation of subculture studies, introducing a theory of subcultures as *alternative valuing communities*. The chapter concludes with an exploration of contemporary craft brewing communities and black beer culture within this newly articulated expansion of subculture theory. Throughout, the chapter considers the question of whether subcultures can continue to be thought of as vestibules of authentic political resistance in an era of high American capitalism.

Recovering Subculture: Rereading the CCCS

Early twentieth-century sociological studies on youth cultures of delinquency, the subculture studies and theory produced by the CCCS and its contemporaries, and more recent intellectual work completed under the rubric of Post-Subculture studies might be thought of as related attempts to theorize "forms of solidarity that contrast with the dominant norms and values of society" (Blackman, 2005, p. 2). Importantly, each of these bodies of scholarship emerged from different epistemological foundations and hold different assumptions in regards to the goals for researching subculture and the best means of achieving those goals. After briefly reviewing these literatures, their underlying assumptions, goals, methods, and achievements, I argue that the groundwork laid by the CCCS's subculture theory remains the most useful analytical tool for studying the groups we have come to colloquially refer to as subcultures, though much about their formation and existence has changed in the intervening years. Further, I challenge a number of contemporary critiques of the CCCS's scholarship on subculture on the part of Post-Subculturalists on the grounds that they have ignored the larger premise of cultural studies scholarship and in doing so misapprehended the value of this work.

The Chicago School and the origins of subculture.

The origin of the study of subculture is most frequently credited to a group of sociologists working largely at the University of Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s. Though a number of influential scholars are associated with the Chicago School and its revival (the 'Second Chicago School' in the 1950s), Frederic Thrasher (1929), E. Franklin Frazier (1939), and Edwin

Sutherland (124) were most central to developing the Chicago school's theoretical work on subculture. This early work on subcultures can be summarized in three major points.

First, and most critically, early subculture research was principally concerned with deviance and collective acts of delinquency among urban youth. Such a focus was consistent with the context in which the Chicago School sociologists worked. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Chicago was the fastest growing city in U.S. history, largely populated by diverse immigrant communities who did not share a common language, social norms, values, religions, or everyday social practices. Because Chicago, like many other large cities, had little in the way of social agencies to address the problems associated with rapid growth and urbanization, and given that Chicago's population had a number of significant barriers to organizing themselves to solve community problems, high rates of delinquency and gang violence represented a profound social crisis (Tibbetts & Hemmens, 2010). This concern was not limited to Chicago, as many rapidly growing urban areas in the U.S. and in the UK experienced similar types of change and responded with similar levels of 'moral panic.'[57] As such, the academic study of subculture proliferated in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s—many, but not all, following in the tradition of the Chicago School's urban sociology.

Second, early subculture work can be separated into two camps based upon whether it took the causes of delinquency among members of a subculture to be largely external and environmental or predominantly internal and psychological. This was not only a disciplinary divide, but also one geographically reinforced by the Atlantic Ocean. The Chicago School, sometimes referred to as the Ecological School, identified the causes of subcultural delinquency

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[57] I use the term moral panic here to define a condition of generalized anxiety about a social phenomenon that appears to threaten the social order.

to be predominantly social and derived from a complex interaction of environmental conditions and groups. “Their aim was to explain the social and cultural context of deviance without reducing young people’s actions to symptoms of psychological inadequacy” (Blackman, 2005, p. 3). In contrast another significant body of early subculture scholarship, produced by psychiatrists in the UK, working largely from within the psychoanalytic tradition and influenced by social Darwinism, found subcultural delinquency to be largely behavioral, attributing collective delinquent behavior, particularly among the working classes, to defective morals, pathological traits, low levels of intelligence, maternal deprivation, and inadequate socialization (Blackman, 2005).

Third, considering the general concern with delinquency, early subculture work was highly diagnostic in nature and often included therapeutic implications. The goal of this body of research was to pinpoint the causes for social phenomena that were overwhelmingly understood to be problematic and thus required interventions. For this reason early subculture scholarship was explicitly problem-oriented—taking subculture itself to be a problem to be solved or recognizing subcultures to be largely unsuccessful attempts by subordinated groups to solve collectively experienced crises.

A pair of scholars with the surname Cohen would be pivotal in the development of both American and British subculture theory, pushing their movements away from a criminological preoccupation with delinquency, and help to usher in the next cohort of subculture scholars. Albert K. Cohen, author of *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (1955), is responsible for popularizing the term subculture, particularly in studies of youth (Blackman, 2005). Significantly, he contributed a theory of subcultures as discrete attempts to collectively solve social problems experienced by a subset of a community that lacked the status or resources to address these challenges. In the UK and roughly ten after Albert K. Cohen published his influential work on urban gang subcultures, Phil Cohen conducted studies of youth communities in East London from a similar perspective (P. Cohen, 1972). His work challenged the largely psychological bend of early British subculture studies, asserting that the study of subcultures must paradigmatically break from the study of deviance. The contributions of both Cohens lead researchers of subculture that followed to seriously engage with structural causes of working-class oppression and most notably served as a significant point of departure for of the CCCS working group on subculture.

The CCCS and the golden era of subculture.

The approaches to the study of subculture associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham includes contributions from the members of a subcultures working group that formed within the CCCS—Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts, as well as a number of scholars outside (but working in close conversation with) the subcultures working group—notably Phil Cohan, Gary Clarke, Dick Hebdige, Simon Frith, and Angela McRobbie. The culmination of this largely collaborative project is collected in the volume *Resistance through Ritual* (1976) and a group of core publications on youth culture (G. Clarke, 1981; Frith, 1983, 1984; Hebdige, 1979; McRobbie & Garber, 1993; McRobble, 1989). Though the terms are often used interchangeably, here, I use the term 'CCCS' to refer to the thinkers and research that were formally involved with the CCCS working group on subculture and the term Birmingham School more loosely, to refer to the broader context of the CCCS that shaped subculture work.

The study of subcultures was one of the original and most influential strands of British cultural studies as it was developed at the CCCS during Stuart Hall's tenure as director. Though it is often portrayed (particularly by its detractors) as a unified theory of subculture, the subculture theory, or rather theories that came out of the Birmingham School are most accurately described as a collage. In attempting to explain the larger crisis of post-war working-class culture, the thinkers within the programmatic terrain of the CCCS looked to the social, cultural, and economic practices of rapidly changing youth cultures to illuminate a larger cultural condition—a cultural condition that CCCS members believed necessitated greater breath and diversity in theoretical and methodological approaches than narrowly disciplinary academic approaches could provide. The subculture studies conducted by members of the CCCS, then, were as much an attempt to imagine, construct and explore the possibilities for cultural studies scholarship as they were to theorize the sociality of youth culture in postwar, working-class Britain. Indeed, the articulation of cultural studies as an intellectual and political project is arguably the most significant outcome of the CCCS's work on subculture.

The "Marxian sociology of culture" produced by the Birmingham School included contributions from political economic traditions in Marxism, Gramsci's work on hegemony, the Chicago School's urban sociology, literary-inflected notions of culture from thinkers like Raymond Williams (1961) and Richard Hoggart (1957), and emerging work in media studies among others influences. The works collected in *Resistance through Rituals* (1976) provided textual readings, or semiotic deconstructions, and ethnographic inquiries of the spectacular styles of speech, dress, music, and symbolic consumption in youth subcultures. Each, to some degree, evaluated the ways in which subcultures created meaning as a collective political response to the larger cultural crisis of the working classes in postwar Britain. In addition to its diversity in intellectual origins, the work of the CCCS was explicitly and unapologetically context-bound and openly politically influenced.

The collection of work that represents the core of the Birmingham School's approach to subculture includes a range of perspectives, explicit moments of self-reflectivity, and from the start, a willingness to engage in self-critique. Indeed, some of the most salient critiques of the CCCS's subculture theories came from scholars within or associated with the movement. Angela McRobbie, in particular, recognized that the CCCS's treatment of the activity of women and girls (or rather failure to treat these activities) offered a fruitful line of expansion and revision to Birmingham School thought and paved the way for feminist voices in the study of subculture moving forward (McRobbie, 1990; McRobbie & Garber, 1993; McRobble, 1989). Similarly, Gary Clarke recognized the imprecision implicit in Cohenite examinations of subculture that influenced the CCCS's theorization of subculture, pointing out an "uncomfortable absence…of any discussion as to how and with what consequences…subcultures are sustained, appropriated, transformed disfigured or destroyed." He asserts, "It is extremely difficult to consider the life trajectories of youth within the model laid down by Cohen" (G. Clarke, 1981). Clarke's recognition of the insufficiency with which the CCCS's theoretical frameworks attended to intra-group dynamics, variations, struggle, inconsistencies, and the significance of the experiences of individual members of a subculture, artfully summarizes and anticipates 30 subsequent years of critique.

Growing cadres of scholars in 1990s, working outside of the Birmingham School tradition, incorporated emerging scholarship in a number of disciplines in order to expand upon, circumvent, or directly challenge the CCCS's work on subculture. Significant examples include Sarah Thornton's *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital* (1996) that brought Bourdieuian sociology directly to bear on the study of subculture and Michel Maffesoli's concept of neo-tribalism, expanded by Kevin Hetherington (1998), that envisions subcultures as communities of feeling, affinity, and expression. Though not far removed from the most prolific years of Birmingham School subculture studies, the fact that subculture scholarship from the 1980s included an obligatory response or passage through the work of the Birmingham School, reveals how quickly the CCCS's subculture theories achieved the status of academic orthodoxy. By the turn of the twenty-first century, this work began to be collected under the moniker Post-subculture studies.

Post-subculture studies and the search for alternatives.

Post-subculture studies is a body of thought organized around the project of critiquing and developing alternatives to the work on subculture developed by the CCCS. In this way, it is an intellectual tradition rooted in negation, and critique is one of its primary modalities. David Muggleton, one of post-subculture studies' leading authors and editor of the *Post-Subcultures Reader* (2004), explicitly frames the project of Post-subculture studies as "post-CCCS studies." For this reason, it is somewhat challenging to unite Post-subculture studies under a group of shared tenets, methodologies, and assumptions. Though most work completed under this umbrella is heavily influenced by French Post-Structuralism (notably, by Baudrillard and Foucault), the aggressive and sustained critique of the Birmingham School is by far its most notable unifying feature. A common refrain of Post-subculturalist writing proceeds something as follows: Though it can be conceded that the works of the Birmingham School "can still be regarded as pioneering scientific work, they no longer appear to reflect the political, cultural and economic realities of the twenty-first century" (Weinzierl & Muggleton, 2003, p. 5).

The most significant contributions in Post-subculture studies have included new means of describing and exploring spectacular youth cultures that incorporate innovations in philosophical thought and scholarship (for example considerations of affect as an organizational force) as well as emerging technologies of subculture (for example communities that organize online or in virtual environments). Music-based, spectacular, youth cultures represent the most common objects of inquiry for Post-subculturalist research and it is about these formations that some the most important theoretical accomplishments have been made—including theorizations of music-based subcultural groups as neo-tribes and/or scenes (A. Bennett, 1999; Hesmondhalgh, 2005).

By in large this work is highly celebratory of subcultural groups and is often conducted by insiders or former insiders rather than researchers adopting a more anthropological approach. Post-subculturalist research focuses heavily on the ways individuals relate to the subcultural group—shifting a significant amount of attention to intra-group dynamics and away from a group's position in a larger cultural formation. Further, much of this work has moved decisively away from the political economic focus of earlier work on subcultures, on the grounds that the early subculture work and the work of the CCCS was reductive with regard to class and therefore obscured the depth and breadth of the creative capacities of subcultural formations. Indeed, post-subculture scholarship is often specifically attuned to other conditions of difference.

CCCS subculture theories as a foundation for future research.

Table 1 summarizes the three major movements in subculture study discussed above. It summarizes the key differences and similarities between each body of thought and succinctly reveals the substantial divergences in the motivations each group of thinkers held for conducting this work.

	Goals	Epistemological and Theoretical Assumptions	Methods	Accomplishments
Subculture Delinquency Studies	To explain and diagnose delinquency among communities of urban youth.	Quantitative data analysis. Ethnography. Cultural geography.	Ethnography, Quantitative data analysis.	Established the significance of the category of youth in understanding cultural change, particularly in rapidly urbanizing cities. Provided the intellectual ground work for identifying and understanding 'subculture.' Developed a criminological understanding of subculture.
CCCS Subculture Theories	To explain the cultural crisis of the working class in post-war Britain, via a reading of subcultural style.	Marxian political economy. Gramscian hegemony theory. Literary & Communication influenced theories of culture.	Textual analysis, media criticism, theory building. Ethnography	Pioneered a method for British Cultural Studies. Legitimized a sustained intellectual interest in subculture. Established the importance of subcultural relations between a subculture and the larger cultures in which it is embedded.
Post-Subculture Studies	To explain and explore individual subcultures in their specificity.	Post-structuralism. Bourduian Sociology. Anthropological theories of tribalism. Affect theory.	Critique, Ethnography, Auto-ethnography. Participant observation, media criticism.	Pioneered new ways of exploring intra-group dynamics and non-discursive approaches to examining subculture.

Table 1: Approaches to the Study of Subculture

Though Post-subculture studies represents a substantial leap forward in intellectual work on subcultures, addressing the dramatically changed cultural-economic landscape of (predominantly Western) cultures and incorporating a significant of philosophical innovations in the humanities and social sciences; I argue that the scholarship produced by the CCCS continues to provide the most useful framework for investigating forms of solidarity that contrast with the dominant norms and values of a society. The following addresses the central critiques of the Birmingham School's work on subculture and supplies arguments for the work's continued utility.

In addressing critiques of the CCCS work on subculture, it is useful to make a brief return to the world of the craft beer festival for an analogy. The gatherings of thousands of craft beer enthusiasts at festivals all over the U.S., like those that are the subjects of this chapter's experiential *yarns*, are not solely tasting experiences for attendees or opportunities to generate exposure for craft brewers. These events often include a formal competition element, codifying both standards for connoisseurship and for brewing craft that contribute to the authenticity of the craft beer subculture. In competitions, brewers submit each beer to be evaluated in groups of the dozens of styles officially recognized by the Beer Judge Certification Program (BJCP) and American Brewers Association (ABA). In this way, competition beers do not compete against each other; rather they are evaluated against the standard for their style. Just as it would make very little sense to critique an American Brown Ale for failing to exhibit characteristics of English Pale Ale, it is a questionable practice to critique a body of scholarship for failing to accomplish something it was not intend to accomplish. This, however, is precisely the nature of many of the critiques of the CCCS.

The necessity for a Post-subculture studies is predicated on the argument that the Birmingham School work on subculture (and even the term 'subculture') is now of little utility because it fails to adequately reflect the experiences and organization of spectacular youth cultures in the twenty-first century. This argument is correct. But, it in no way legitimates the wholesale disposal of the CCCS's subculture theories. It should go without saying that the

CCCS work on subculture was not intended to explain the cultural and economic realities of the 21st century. This, however, is not merely a result of the temporal location of the research. Rather, it is a product of the radically contextual approach espoused by practitioners of British cultural studies.[58] The theorization of subcultures was intended to attend to the material, cultural and economic realities of the twentieth century, specifically the decades of the 1960s and 1970s in urban England, among working-class youth, in the service of understanding that particular cultural moment writ large. Those lobbying the critique that Birmingham School subculture theories fail to translate forward into new cultural-economic contexts are seeking utility from the CCCS subculture theory in the wrong places and for the wrong reasons. Specifically, Post-subculture studies has looked to the Birmingham School to find a generalizable theory of subcultures for the explicit purpose of explicating spectacular, youth cultures. No such theory was found, because the Birmingham School did not produce one. This glaring fact, however, has not discouraged many from attempting to apply the theories that the Birmingham School *did* produce to unfamiliar contexts, motivated by distinctly different goals for conducting research. Unsurprisingly, in these cases of misguided application, CCCS subculture theories are found to be inadequate.

In the theoretical introduction to *Resistance through Ritual*, the authors plainly assert, "The 'phenomenal form'—*Youth Culture* provides a point of departure only for such an analysis" (John Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, & Roberts, 1993, p. 10), revealing an important assumption often glossed or completely overlooked by the CCCS's detractors. First, we find in this quotation the implication that *youth culture* was not intended to be the subject or end point

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[58] See Grossberg (1997, 2006, 2010) for several excellent descriptions of this approach.

of the CCCS's analyses; on the contrary it is explicitly marked as a beginning point for a larger scope of inquiry. Second, by attending specifically to the sensible materiality of youth culture (the *phenomenal*) as a jumping off point for a broader analysis of the conjuncture, the importance of the category 'youth' is revealed to be part of the contextual landscape of the time and place under investigation, rather than a base assumption about an essential nature of subcultures. That is to say, the CCCS's work recognized spectacular youth culture to be an important articulation of and to cultural conditions of the time and place in which they were organized. In formulating this conjuncturalist approach, attempting to apprehend the "whole way of life" (Williams, 1961), spectacular working-class youth cultures were found to reflect emerging trends in subjectivity, patterns of signification, practices of media consumption, and class dynamics. Critiques, then, on the part of Post-subculturalists that impugn the CCCS work on subculture for its inability to address the contemporary sociality of youth are significantly unwarranted, as providing a generalizable theory of youth cultures was never the object of this work. Rather, the provision of a radically contextual group of subculture theories served the CCCS as tools to unravel the complexity and specificity of a larger cultural crisis.

A second significant line of argument questioning the utility of the Birmingham School's work on subculture suggests that it is rooted in an outdated structuralist philosophy. Evidence for such a contention is generally found in what is taken to be a reductive privileging of class relations in Birmingham School research on subcultures. More than a few contemporary scholars of subcultural and Post-subcultural groups eschew the work of the CCCS on the grounds that class is no longer a significant marker of difference in the contemporary youth communities they study. Such an accusation, again, fails to recognize the finite contextual applicability of the

CCCS's findings. The CCCS did not conclude nor argue that subcultures are, in essence, little more than class formations, as many have contended.[59] The CCCS did, however, successfully demonstrate that subcultural style was an expression of and reaction to a matrix of fraught social relations, in which class location was the dominant field of struggle for power in the everyday lives of a large number of British citizens. That is not to say that other struggles were of no importance, but within the time and place under investigation, class difference represented the dominant field of struggle.

The CCCS approach presented subcultures as overly homogeneous and did not provide a means of understanding individual membership in or the generation or preservation of subcultures. This is result of the clearly outward-looking method of understanding the existence of spectacular youth cultures. That is to say, the CCCS is demonstrably more interested in how subcultural formations relate to other dominant and subordinated cultural formations and the implications of those relations, than in subcultures in and of themselves. Such an approach may have been too 'macro,' but I would argue that much of the intellectual work published under the umbrella of Post-subculture studies is unnecessarily 'micro,' specific to the point where intellectual inquiries are little more than detailed reveres of exotic communities of people.

If one must distill the contributions of an intellectual movement into a 'takeaway,' the golden nugget to be mined from the Birmingham School's theorization of subculture is not a means of explaining or understanding subcultures, but a *framework for acknowledging the cultural significance of subcultural relations*—how they are implicated in and expressive of the

[59] Moreover this rejection of class has leaded to the production of numerous analyses that take contemporary subcultures to "classless" formations, leading to the categorical neglect of important (if not determining) relations on the grounds of an oppositional theoretical stance.

broader relationships of power in a given context. Ironically, some of the most formative work within Post-subculture studies are outstanding examples of scholarship in the Birmingham subculture studies tradition, as they are largely successful attempts to do what CCCS subculture studies were conceived to do—they use empirically grounded research to theorize the nature of subcultural relations in terms that are radically attentive to the context in which the subculture is part.[60]

To preserve Birmingham School theories of subculture, to contemplate their utility in contexts other than that about which the theories were intended to engage, requires a determination of what aspects of the Birmingham School scholarship are unique to its original context—those must be left behind. What remains is not a description of the essential nature of subcultures nor is it a description of how subcultures relate to their parent cultures or to mainstream society. Rather, it is a useful analytical framework for exploring complex relations between cultural formations with very different means through which, and capabilities to, exercise power across a range of aspects of everyday life. In particular, these relations are made, maintained, and unmade in processes of *differential valuation*—in which a subset of society places more or less significance on artifacts, discursive forms, beliefs and ideologies, institutions, relationships, feelings and experiences than is generally accepted as the norm. That is to say, *subcultures are communities whose alterity is based in the fact that they value differently*. The

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[60] Barry Shank's work on the Austin, TX 'rock and roll' scene is an excellent example. Using a Lacanian framework, Shank investigates how individuals attempt to achieve "wholeness, mastery, and plentitude, but constantly fail to do so." The scene then represents a context in which individual subjects, through a series of 'temporary identifications,' foster a sense of productive anxieties that are resolved in the face-to-face formation of a scene. His approach specifically seeks to draw contrast between the transformative practices used by the subjects who constitute a scene and the dominant or mainstream culture (Hesmondhalgh, 2005, pp. 27-29).

following then, details the process of using the CCCS's subculture theories as a foundation for building a new theory of subcultures as *alternative valuing communities*.

Subcultures as Alternative Valuing Communities

Having established the general terrain of the literature on subculture, and in doing so articulated a stance on what remains valuable in the CCCS's theoretical formulation, I move to build a theory of subcultures as *alternative valuing communities*. Before beginning, it is prudent to address the question of why one would attempt to think subculture in terms of valuation—particularly when doing so leaves both this analysis and its author vulnerable to the accusation of economic determinism. That is, by centralizing valuation, this analysis might be accused of effectively reducing all relations in the context of subcultures to economic, and specifically, capitalist relations. I argue, however, that this formulation of subculture is put forth in the service of an opposing objective. This project occupies an empirical and theoretical space in which value and valuation do not *belong* exclusively to the domain of economics and in particular to capitalist economics. Valuation, as this project theorizes, rather, is a process of abstract commensuration that happens to have become largely coterminous with the logics of capitalism in the twentieth and twenty-first century U.S. The conflation of valuation as a cultural process and as capitalist wealth generation, which represents just one of many potential modalities of that process, is so naturalized and regenerative that it is difficult to see the potential for other expressions of value.[61] This project, however, takes the position that processes of valuation are not always expressed as market-driven economies. Subcultures, in fact, represent a

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[61] This is how a "regime of valuation" is defined in this project.

fruitful space to explore processes of valuation that are outside of dominant economic expressions.

In reframing subcultures as alternative valuing communities, I will address four questions that have become central to the theorization of subculture in its century of existence: the question of spectacular youth; the question of the utility of Bourdieu's (1984) construct of cultural capital and the subsequent theorization of subcultural capital by Thornton (1996); the question of the role sensory experience (sometimes understood as a modality of affect) in subcultural communities; and the persistently important question of subcultural authenticity.

Spectacular youth.

Subculture, since its first use as a sociological construct, has been largely synonymous with spectacular youth culture. I question here whether subculture is theoretically dependent upon the condition of youth and/or the presence of spectacle or whether subculture theories are theories of sociality that have habitually been applied to spectacular youth cultures, but need not be exclusively. Both the early Chicago School work on subculture and Post-subculture studies implicitly suggest that youth and spectacle are essential to the use of subculture as an intellectual construct. The Birmingham School's work on subculture and a handful of recent inquiries, however, provide the groundwork to challenge this assertion and expand the theoretical terrain over which theories of subculture might be fruitfully applied.

The Chicago School determined spectacular youth culture (wherein the description *spectacular* was less about style and more about criminally delinquent behavior) to be a social response unique to the condition of alienation among urban youth. These explanatory theories and their derivatives suggest that the formation of subcultural peer groups is a response to the uncertainty of adolescence, protracted by the urbanization and industrialization of modern society. With unclear positions of status, no clear rites of passage into adulthood, few automatic choices, and limited power to participate in adult culture, urban youth turned to forming order and hierarchy among themselves (Gottlieb, Reeves, & TenHouten, 1966). Subculture for the Chicago School, then, is explicitly formulated as a means of talking about the deviant sociality of urban youth.

Though Post-subculture scholarship is ostensibly less theoretically dependent upon the conditions of youth and spectacle, the work almost exclusively investigates social groups falling under both categorizations. This appears to be predominantly a product of the approach scholars take to using and formulating Post-subcultural constructs. Specifically, many of these scholars are profoundly invested in researching the groups for which youth and spectacle are primary components of membership: Goths (Hodkinson, 2002); Ravers (Ueno 2003; Thornton 1996); Gamers; Metalheads (A. R. Brown, 2003; Kahn-Harris, 1994); Breakers; B-Boys and more.[62] Though subculture literature is a necessary stop (often, one grounded in critique), those actively eschewing the subculture construct have little reason to contemplate the relationship between theories of subculture and the condition of youth or the presence of spectacle. Both appear to be taken to be as given, *a priori* characteristics of their objects of study.

The works of the CCCS and of a number of contemporary scholars however, suggest that the connections between subculture, youth, and spectacle have been normalized, but may not be obligatory. In an article that was a part of heated debates over the utility of subculture theory staged in the *Journal of Youth Studies*, Hesmondhalgh (2005) questions the naturalization of the

[62] Notably, there is far less work on urban post-subcultures heavily comprised of black members.

connection between youth and subculture vis-à-vis a connection between youth and popular music. His analysis turns upon the recognition of a three-way articulation that has long been assumed to be enduring and inevitable—between subculture, popular music, and youth. He attributes the cementing of this articulation to the work of the CCCS, whose scholars recognized music to be a formative component of subcultural style. The author observantly points out that the connection between youth and popular music are dependent upon specific understandings of popular music "which are derived from an era, that of the 1960s and 1970s, when popular music became tied commercially and discursively to youth" (Hesmondhalgh, 2005, p. 22). He goes on to suggest that popular music and youth continually met under the banner of subculture as a result of a group of other conditions: the persistent belief that popular music is predominantly made for and by younger people; a fledging field of popular music studies that created a tradition of borrowing from the CCCS; and the relatively young average age at which modern college and university students first consume courses about popular music and subculture. He concludes that the search for a master-term to unite the studies of youth and popular music should be abandoned as the connection between the two is more situational than essential, effectively freeing the study of popular music from the condition of youth—and perhaps inadvertently raising the question as to whether the connection between subculture and youth is similarly situational.

The CCCS scholarship suggests that *youth* functioned as a specific temporally, geographically, politically, and symbolically bound category rather than an abstract or arbitrary denotation of age in its investigations of British working-class subcultures. If the coincidence of popular music and youth in subcultural formations is taken to be an empirical recognition on the part of the Birmingham School, rather than established criteria for the constitution of subcultures, and if Hesmondhalgh is correct in questioning whether or not youth and popular music should be united under the banner of subculture (or any other), the door to questioning the necessity of any outwardly representative category is effectively flung open. That is to say, if *youth* was for the CCCS a condition of difference that mattered in significant and specific ways that were unique to the context that was the subject of the work, it is highly plausible that in another context *youth* could matter in different and more incidental ways or fail to matter meaningfully at all.

In a similar line of questioning, Hodkinson (2012) raises the question of relying upon spectacular specifics— the spectacular content and practices which most obviously distinguish subcultures. He attributes the origin of the practice of attending to the spectacular particularities of subcultures to the CCCS, by asserting that the thrust of the CCCS's work was to see what could be learned about 1970s youth subcultures in the UK from their spectacular specifics. I believe Hodkinson here, like others elsewhere, confuses both the goal and the scope of CCCS research, by assuming the subcultures themselves were the CCCS's central objects of study. There is ample evidence in the work collected in *Resistance through Rituals* (1976), that CCCS did not look to spectacular specifics to learn *about subcultures* per se, but to learn about subcultural relations—specifically, what could be gleaned from the nature of the relations between subcultures, their parent culture, and mainstream culture. Hodkinson's synopsis of the CCCS work on subculture (inaccurately in my estimation) portrays a body of scholarship committed to examining symbolic artifacts and discourses in the service of better understandings of subcultures in and of themselves. He contrasts this synopsis with contemporary Post-subcultural work as a body of scholarship committed to exploring the distinct identifications and affective and sensual experiences of individual members of a subcultural community. Ultimately, Hodkinson frames these approaches as two oppositional sides of the same coin—both detrimentally over-attuned to the spectacular elements of subcultures.

Though I agree with the general thrust of Hokinson's commentary and his conclusion that if we "over-privilege spectacular specifics as the primary focus for the analysis of youth cultural groups, we may underestimate features which are not discernible from the analysis of how the most distinctive features of the subcultures look, sound, or feel," I find his structuring of a resolution to be unsatisfactory (2012, p. 558). First, had Hokinson correctly assessed the goal of the CCCS's scholarship on subculture, he may not have settled with the critique that the CCCS overprivileged spectacular specifics at the expense of revealing 'content-neutral' differences and commonalities. He may have asked whether or not the CCCS's concern with spectacle (that embodied in clothing, artifacts, slang, etc.) was the product of a particular context rather than a condition for the application of theories of subculture. Again, I would argue strongly that the former is most consistent with what the CCCS articulated not only about subculture, but also about cultural studies as a political and intellectual project. Hokinson's line of questioning is ultimately productive, however, though it unfortunately works to reinforce the perceived polarity between Birmingham School thought and Post-subculture studies. In a subculture theory that is less about investigating subculture and more about investigating subcultural relations, the approaches championed by each group of scholars do not have to be mutually exclusive. If we acknowledge that these approaches, in effect, are attempting to describe different things, we might find productive ways for them to be used in concert.

To be sure, the kinds of production and consumption, ritual and performance that is associated with the subcultural continues to be located in among youth, but is also clearly observable among social groups of all ages. Common sense would seem to drive these descriptions outward and perhaps the mainstream press and more indiscriminate colloquial usage of the term subculture should be allowed to influence the engine of academic scholarship.

The CCCS undoubtedly theorized the significance youth, spectacular dress, symbolic artifacts, and popular music, because music and youth were found to be formative components of subcultural identity. That theory, however, was a way to understand those communities' relationships to their conjunctures—neither persist. Therefore, if any piece of the CCCS framework is to be left intact in regards to the question of spectacular youth, we might preserve the approach used to describe the unique relationality of communities that fail to conform to mainstream culture in particular ways. Age and spectacle need not be part of the equation. Subculture theory might simply address forms of solidarity that contrast with the dominant norms and values of society through relational systems of mattering (Grossberg, 2006).

The CCCS work then offers a number of avenues that might be formalized in subculture theory as means of examining a system of relations—rather than taxonomy of subcultural traits and qualities. Such a relational approach would acknowledge the specificity of the contextual content in a number of ways as well as how that body of specific content relates to the whole. Rather than taking youth and spectacle as requirements of a subculture, this theoretical approach would instead acknowledge how those categories are functioning in context and how others might come to serve the same function in different contexts.

Subcultural capital.

Pierre Bourdieu's theorization of *cultural capital* is, along with the constructs *habitus* and *fields*, one of the most influential contributions of his germinal work, *Distinction* (1984). Cultural capital refers to habits, tastes, and social practices that constitute practical non-economic resources capable of generating tangible advantages (profits). Not only are these resources subject to accumulation (wealth) and monopolization by people and organizations with the power to do so, but cultural capital can, like economic capital, be transmitted from person to person or from generation to generation.

For Bourdieu, cultural capital takes three discrete forms: 1) Embodied cultural capital includes aspects of the self (manners of speech, heritage), acquired over time through processes of socialization and habituation. Once acquired, embodied cultural capital performs much like economic capital, making it easier for an individual or organization in possession of it to acquire more. 2) Objectified cultural capital consists of material artifacts whose circulation can be productive of economic or symbolic profit. These artifacts additionally broadcast the possession of cultural capital to others who possess the requisite embodied capital to correctly interpret the significances of those artifacts. 3) Institutionalized cultural capital consists of formal recognition from respected institutions, largely conferred in the form of degrees and certifications and is the form of cultural capital assumed to be most directly translatable to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Developed and circulated just after the height of intellectual activity on subculture within the Birmingham School, the integration of Bourdieuian notions of cultural capital into theories of subculture is measured, but significant. Perhaps the most explicit example of this union is

Thornton's theoretical development of *subcultural capital* in her research, 1980s and 1990s dance club cultures among youth in the UK. By and large, Thornton keeps Bourdieu's formulation of cultural capital intact. In it, 'hipness' is identified as the primary medium of subcultural capital, as Thornton traces the circulation of influence, prestige, and power principally embodied by being "in the know," that is, knowing and naturally performing preferred modes of dress, dance moves, possessing a proper ear for underground music, and fluidly using slang and lingo. It is cultural capital objectified through the ownership of valued artifacts, in particular obscure records, fashionable articles of clothing, and recreational drugs. Finally, it is a cultural capital institutionalized via a system of booking and management for events, largely monopolized by DJs and promoters.

Though Thornton eschews the CCCS approach to subculture on the grounds that it is "empirically unworkable," she nevertheless seriously engages elements of subcultural style as articulated by Hebdige (1979), particularly in reference to the ways subcultural capital is objectified. In fact, she argues, much like members of the CCCS, that subcultural uses of material artifacts are creative of meaning in ways that are important to the cohesion of these groups. And though Thornton looks to the Chicago School for methodological guidance, her ultimate interest or goal for research is one that resonates clearly with a Birmingham school approach. She is interested in the ways members of a subculture make meaning in the service of power (though not in relation to the larger conjuncture).

Thornton's explication of hierarchies within subcultures offers an excellent platform to extend the CCCS's foundation. The Birmingham School approach to theorizing subculture is decidedly outward looking as these scholars situated subcultural formations in relation to other cultural formations, including other subcultures, a parent culture (working class culture in their case), and the dominant or mainstream culture. Though much of this work (in particular, Hebdige's (1979) examinations of subcultural style) include specifics of intra-group dynamics, they are primarily attuned to the ways intra-group dynamics are coordinated responses to extra-group relations. Thornton, in the development of subcultural capital, offers what is perhaps a more nuanced means of understanding struggles for position and power *within* subcultures that are clearly related to structures of and struggles for power outside the group's boundaries.[63] That is to say, members of 1980s and 1990s were not assumed to be performing coordinated responses to the dominant culture, rather intra-group relations were often revealed to be attempts to exercise power or resistance within a subculture that could not practically be wielded in mainstream culture. The members of this subculture   Thornton's theoretical work, then serves as something of a bridge between the outward looking macro-politics of the Birmingham School and the inward looking micro-politics of Post-subculture studies.

In further justifying a departure from Birmingham School approaches to theorizing subculture, Thornton asserts that the movement and acquisition of subcultural capital does not constitute a class-bound system. Though this claim appears to be more about revealing narrowness in Birmingham School approaches, it also implies that the role of non-economic processes of valuation in these relatively contained social systems is significant. Sharing the CCCS's wariness about reducing subcultural practices to ideological processes, Thornton provides a sketch of social groups that use valuation practices, structures and techniques for

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[63] The group's boundaries may be difficult to discern, fluid, immaterial.

making value, that do not coincide with the dominant social, cultural, and economic orders—and further suggests that these processes may be specific responses.

It has been argued and debated that what ultimately makes cultural capital relevant in a social system is its ability to be converted to economic capital (T. Bennett et al., 2009). Thornton reveals some ambivalence in regard to this claim, but does suggest that the process of translation does not flow as naturally from subcultural capital to economic capital as it does from cultural capital to economic capital. I believe this is Thornton's primary contribution to a theory of subcultures reframed as communities of valuation—the recognition of a greater friction or difficulty in the translation process between subcultural capital and economic capital in comparison to that observable between 'mainstream cultural capital' and economic capital, suggests that there is a greater difficulty in conceiving ways to commensurate these forms of wealth. Such difficulties, I argue, arise from the use of significantly disparate techniques of valuation in different social systems. Further, such difficulties reveal the cultural work performed by a thoroughly codified regime of valuation. That is, it performs an aggressive kind of normalization that delegitimizes and obfuscates other, non-dominant techniques of making and accumulating value.

Thornton's work demonstrates that the creation and translation of non-economic value plays an important role in theories of subculture. Attention to these non-normative, non-economic flows can help to reveal struggles for power within a subcultural community as well as power struggles in which a subculture is implicated as a heterogeneous unity. More importantly, viewing each of these struggles within the frame of valuation allows them to be viewed as part of a continuous system of relations in which they are likely to influence each other.

Embodied sensory experience and the turn to affect.

Extensive theorization of affect in critical humanities scholarship is a relatively recent phenomenon, but has heavily influenced Post-subculture studies. In this literature, affect is referred to as the capacity to affect or be affected, within the space of largely extra-conscious forces, intensities, and excesses. Theses capacities are often theorized to occur on the level of emotion experience, bodily sensation, and sensory input (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010). Thus, affect has become an important avenue for investigating feelings or expressions of belonging and pleasure that are not easily understood to be the result of representational affiliation (for example, usage of a common symbolic language) or shared experiences. Affect is in this sense taken up as a potential motivation behind more indirect (or illogical) formations and maintenance of subcultural membership. Moreover, subcultural activity that is located in the body, from symbolic representations of style to embodied subcultural capital, can be explored from the perspective of how non-cognitive, embodied experiences contribute to subcultural dynamics. Theories of affect have been utilized in exploring subcultural groups organized around the consumption and appreciation of music, in which the bodily manifestations of dance, rhythm, loss of inhibition (and slightly more peripherally, the recreational use of illicit drugs) help to structure member's experiences in important, and not entirely apolitical, ways (Duncombe, 2007).

Neo-tribes and scenes have been two particularly productive means of theorizing embodied sensory experience in subcultural groups (A. Bennett, 1999; Maffesoli, 1996; Straw, 1991). Both were put forward as parts of the Post-subculture studies project as candidates to replace subculture as a theoretical construct. Neo-tribalism describes forms of sociality grounded in aesthetic or experiential, proximate and bodily, sensorial and above all extra-discursive activity that cultivates feelings of connection or community (Maffesoli, 1996). Those who have gravitated toward neo-tribalism do so in order to explicitly engage the "more affectual or experiential aspects of what an involvement 'subcultural' formations can entail" (Sweetman, 1994, p. 85). Specifically, subcultural affiliation and or feelings of belonging are understood from this perspective as the result of largely unconscious recognitions among members that they possess similar capacities to affect and be affected in relation to the shared subcultural practices and artifacts.

Scenes too gesture toward an integration of a concern for affect, though not as explicitly as do neo-tribes. Scenes, rather, embrace notions of space (in particular the ways in which bodies win, make and move through space) and complexity in youth cultures.[64] Described as tool for apprehending non-normative musical life as it exists at the intersection of spatial relations and social praxis, the scene is keyed to considerations movement, multiplicity, dissonance and interconnectivity in and between the actors in a particular community.

The notion of *excess* factors heavily in a number of formulations of affect theory, and in the consideration of neo-tribes and scenes. Excess is defined here as that which occupies a physical, discursive, cognitive, emotional, or sensory space beyond boundaries of what is mapped as normal. Neo-tribes explicitly attempt to theorize extra-rational intensities, those that exceed common expectation in such a way that they inspire connection and senses of belonging. Similarly, music scenes are on a fundamental level understood as more than what mainstream

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[64] The use of scene as an interpretive tool, particularly for music centered communities maintains a close tie with communities populated by young people, but breaks from the necessity or tendency toward spectacle that remains in usages of the term neo-tribe. Stahl offers, the "an emphasis on the spectacular nature of subcultures obscures, rather than illuminates, the complexity of contemporary musical practice" (Stahl, 2004 p.52).

music consumption dictates. Shank, in a study of the Austin, TX rock and roll community, offers “a scene itself can be described as an overproductive signifying community: that is, far more semiotic information is produced than can be rationally parsed” (1994, p. 122). I believe a concept of excess is central to understanding embodied sensory experiences in subcultural communities and can be fruitfully extended to explore phenomena outside of senses of belonging and pleasurable experiences.

Excess, a construct that is central to Massumi’s (2000) theoretical formulations of affect, is identified here is not simply extreme personal investment or an accumulated quantity of feeling, sensation, or experience. Rather, excess emerges in the space between the performance and realization of the dominant (mainstream) culture and the performance and realization of subculture, such that the subcultural experience is retroactively owned and experienced as excess. Importantly, this normative and standardizing force of mainstream culture is recognized within a condition of social asymmetry—in the fact that the power to determine standards of normalcy overwhelmingly lies with mainstream culture, and that these standards, in an effort to contain police populations, create the situation for the recognition of excess, thus providing grounds for ‘abnormal’ sociality. The realization of these excessive capacity affect and be affected *in relation to accepted and contextually specific cultural norms and practices* is a means of understanding how embodied sensory experiences in the space of subcultural are personalized for members both socially and institutionally. In this way subcultures might be thought as unique sites for the production of cultural excess. Re-reading this notion of excess back into the varied attempts by scholars of subculture, youth culture, and popular music to theorize emotional, bodily, and non-cognitive experiences in subcultural communities, provides a means of understanding embodied sensory experiences as they relate to structures of power (and not simply as the locus of individual experiences of pleasure or belonging that inspire members of a subculture to maintain their memberships).

The persistent question of authenticity.

Perhaps more than any other aspect, descriptor, variable, or metric, authenticity has been a critical barometer with which to evaluate the constitution and nature of subcultures. Authenticity is often the axis upon which questions about the existence and efficacy of subcultures turn. More importantly, the political potential of subcultures is with regularity thought to be a function of the authenticity of their alterity. The concern for authenticity in investigations of subculture is one of the most productive legacies of the Birmingham School approach. However, the way in which authenticity was framed by Hebdige and CCCS scholars has drawn some of the most significant and arguably the most justified criticism of their pioneering work.

Since the Birmingham School brought authenticity to the forefront of subculture studies, the construct has been operationalized in five primary ways: 1) as the genuine performance of resistance or an opposition to that which is considered mainstream; 2) as the capability to sustain an organizational presence that is symbolically and experientially under or outside of the grasp of mainstream mass media; 3) as the possession of creative sincerity, independence, and purity; 4) as having been produced by and uniquely for a close-knit community; and 5) as fundamentally anti-capitalist. The discussion below briefly considers the merits of these understandings of authenticity and articulates what kind of authenticity construct would be most productive in a theory of subcultures as alternative valuing communities.

Criticisms of the CCCS's understandings of subcultural authenticity were formulated, as Huq (2004) quips, "before the ink was dry on the original works." Summarily, the CCCS is said to be guilty of fetishizing resistance, defining authenticity in subculture as the "cohesive and collective resistance to the dominant social order" (p. 10). Many neo- and Post-subculturalists' primary objection to this perspective rests in the assumed politicization of subcultures and a tendency to privilege symbolic ideological narratives about class position to the exclusion of more nuanced considerations of subcultural membership. While this criticism holds considerable merit, I believe the more problematic aspect of the CCCS's framing of authenticity is its assumption of cohesion and consistency in the numerous expressions of that authenticity among a subculture's members. The tendency of CCCS work to be outwardly focused (concerned with how the subculture functions as a totality) explains much with reference to its concern for power relations between subcultural groups, their parent cultures and the dominant social orders to which both are subjugated. However, authenticity is consistently recognized, as it was in CCCS work, as an important *internal* dynamic of subcultural membership—one that determines who is genuinely a part and who is not a part of a given subculture. The CCCS was too narrow in its framing of the condition of authenticity as belonging solely to the founding members of subcultural groups, when the determination and allocation of authenticity might be thought as a dynamic and ongoing process. The result was a vision of the authentic that was not only overly heroic, but too monolithic, too inflexible and too enduring when considering the lived heterogeneity and evolution of subcultural communities (G. Clarke, 1981; Huq, 2004).

The relationship of subcultures to mainstream media institutions and new media technologies is one that has embodied and continues to embody the dynamic contextual change that has characterized the relatively short history of subculture studies. Interestingly, the historical condition that allowed television, print, and radio outlets to collectively act as a metonym for the hegemony of the dominant social order in the work of Hebdige and others[65] has evolved almost beyond recognition, but the penchant to define subcultural authenticity on the front side of the underground/media binary persists. The rapid proliferation of media outlets, technologies, and cultural forms and the explosion of new media have produced subcultural groups with far more ambivalent relationships to media, far more creative capacity with respect to media, and in some cases a dependency upon media for their day-to-day existence (consider "Trekies" or subcultures that exist primarily in virtual or online environments). Still, something of a critical mass of institutional media attention continues to pose a threat to subcultural communities. Intellectual work by post-subculturalists provides guidance in approaching authenticity as it pertains to mediation, by drawing attention to the ways that subcultural groups use media in its various forms, as opposed to the ways subcultures are represented in and by media.

Perhaps the most difficult to apprehend and thus theoretically underexplored measures of subcultural authenticity are those rooted in subcultural groups' creative capacities as the authors of art forms, messages, artifacts, and practices. Significantly these forms are understood to be discernibly sincere, independent, and/or unadulterated, such that they are taken to be constitutive of a subculture's authenticity. Thornton, perhaps, puts it best when she describes the process of making such distinctions as one through which the members of a subculture envision social

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65 Mass media were theorized to be to stand in for hegemonic ideology to the extent that the were thought to be the primary instruments in the dissolution of subcultural groups via process of recuperation in which subcultures are ostensibly depoliticized and thus stripped of their authenticity.

worlds and discriminate between social groups. Though the clubbers and ravers that were the subject of *Club Cultures* (1996) were described as both elitist and separatist in distinguishing themselves from 'the mainstream,' her inclusion of world-making[66] (as a cognitive activity at a minimum) is significant—one I propose here is expressed in the original creations—the art, music, literature, style—of a subcultural community. Here again, Thornton offers what is, not only temporally, but a heuristically productive bridge between the Birmingham School and Post-subculture studies. Rather than fueling the oppositional discourses that indicts the Birmingham School for assuming the social worlds in which members of subcultures move to be predetermined, unchanging, and locked in (class-based) struggle and impugns Post-subculture studies for rendering all subcultures functionally apolitical as a product of their transient, imaginary, and fractured nature, Thornton's work allows these perspectives to be mapped onto a continuum. That is to say that a concept of authenticity that considers the creative activities of subcultures to function simultaneously as a means of distinguishing the group from presumably less authentic groups and an effort to bring alternative social worlds—for example, a folk song composed in the tradition of the sing-along that envisions practices of participatory democracy—into being, allows such activities to be understood as flexible, layered responses to a diverse range of social experiences and meanings.

The encroachment of capitalism—its ability to parley symbolic artifacts into the mass produced commodities that drive modern culture industries—is often framed as the ultimate negation of subcultural authenticity. In fact, the piece of the Birmingham School's founding mythology of subculture studies that remains most unmolested by revisionists, critics and

[66] This thread has been fruitfully explored by others including Skott-Myhre (Skott-Myhre, 2009).

detractors alike is the fact that capitalism poses a direct and nearly insurmountable threat to the integrity of subcultures. For some, the capitalist media-enabled, consumer product infrastructures that typify developed Western nations have foreclosed the possibility of authentic subcultures, announcing that what we might call subcultures today are little more than communities of spectacular consumption.

The tension between authenticity and capitalist appropriation has now become naturalized in academic and colloquial understandings of subcultures alike, as have a number of productive deconstructions of this binary relationship. The impulse to reflexively interrogate this dichotomy was, in fact, built in the original CCCS analyses collected in *Resistance through Rituals* (1976). The CCCS explicitly recognized that the subcultural formulations that were the starting points for their cultural studies depended on the existence of an "economic basis for a unique, self- contained, self-generating Youth Culture" (S. Hall & Jefferson, 1976). Thus, from the outset, a paradox has undergirded contextual explorations of subculture—an acknowledgement that leisure and access to disposable income have been just as generative for subcultures as have marginalization and productive necessity. What is interesting is that this struggle has largely been one over meaning—whether or not particular artifacts and practices should acquire meanings that allow them to circulate in commodity markets and whether the acquisition of those meanings place subcultural meanings under erasure.

The preceding discussion has drawn out a number of advantageous positions on the question of authenticity in consideration of building a theory of subculture as alternative valuing communities. Authenticity as a contributor to the cohesion of these groups cannot be assumed to be cohesively experienced or expressed by its members and must be acknowledged as a source of considerable internal heterogeneity that has real effects on the external relations for the group. Such an expression, moreover, may not be rooted in an ethic of oppositional resistance, but rather a more complexly understood space of difference. Insofar as subcultural authenticity is mediated to varying degrees in myriad contexts, the tension between mainstream mass media and the subcultural impulse to stay underground should turn from inquiries that focus on media representations to those that include uses of media by the members of a subculture. The marking of authentic creative processes in subcultures should be understood as both an act of distinction as well as an act of world-making, acknowledging a diverse range of cultural responses on the part of members of a subculture that extend beyond the role of communities of taste and into a communal politics of creation. Finally, this discussion concludes that the struggle over meaning waged between subcultures and the prevailing capitalist logics are at the core of subcultural existence. They cannot be written off in the effort to explore 'classless' formations, but the battle lines need not be definitively drawn. A theory of subcultures as alternative valuing communities, then, acknowledges that authenticity is less an ontological manifestation and more accurately a significant field of struggle on which subcultural relations are negotiated. As such, criteria for or markers of the authentic are not only situationally and contextually defined for a subculture, but also perpetually subject to contestation and revision. It has been said that authenticity operates rhetorically rather than descriptively for subcultures. I would add that authenticity is not an object, but a constitutive process for subcultures—one that is implicated in the recognition of a subculture's outward criteria for inclusion, the use and accumulation of subcultural capital, and non-representational experiences and expressions of community and belonging.

Valuation as solution.

The preceding discussions reviewed four theoretical questions that are asked most often in attempts to assemble contextually attentive theories of subculture—questions that have been asked since the intellectual paradigm on subcultures shifted from considerations of delinquency to contemplations of communal difference. Rereading each of these questions through a reframing of the CCCS's work on subculture yielded a set of requirements for a theory of subculture as alternative valuing communities that will allow this framework to structure context-specific theoretical inquires to contemporary subcultural formations. Significantly, this framework is neither a rehearsal of the CCCS's original work on subculture—an effort that would make little sense as that work was conceived of to tell the story of a specific conjuncture that has now passed—nor is it a wholesale abandonment of the Birmingham approach. Rather, what I present below is in essence a meta-theory, lifting via interpretation what can be lifted from the contexts in which Birmingham School studies were created—an extraction that is far from surgical. The theory of alternative valuing communities presented below, then, also borrows from Post-subculture as it addresses the aforementioned requirements drawn from the questions of spectacular youth, subcultural capital, embodied sensory experience, and authenticity.

From the question of spectacular youth, it was determined that a flexible theory of subculture cannot be fixated on developing a set observable characteristics said to determine the constitution of, or membership in, a subculture. Rather, such a theory must acknowledge that these aspects of subculture are context driven and represent part of the empirical fabric, the crosshatching of a specific time and a specific place, that defines a general milieu. Within this framework, then, a researcher is inspired to ask not "What are the characteristic that make one a member of this subculture?" but "Why and how are these characteristics significant in the everyday lives of the members of this subculture?" Such a theory pushes a researcher to ask how a particular group came to hold, maintain, and organize around a set of significances that set them apart from the dominant mode of sociality and becomes a means of deciphering relations between cultural groups without defaulting to the fetish of resistance or assuming such organizations to be response to the catastrophic uncertainty of the postmodern condition.

From the question of subcultural capital, it was determined that non-economic valuation might be tabbed as the *how* of subculture. This attention to non-economic valuation allows researchers to draw productive conclusions by attending to both the intra-group and extra-group dynamics of subcultural formations, drawing continuities, recognizing disjunctures, and assessing the relative impact of such flows of power. Moreover, a serious empirical engagement with subcultural capital (as a specific form of non-economic valuation) provides one potential avenue for exploring the interaction of non-economic, non-market,[67] and capitalist economies within a relatively closed system in which the primacy of capitalist valuation is held in question. Therefore, it is critical that a theory of alternative valuing communities does not characterize subcultural capital as cultural resources that behave like money—a position that appears to underlie most Bourdieuian approaches to subculture. Rather, this theory must see cultural capital as a process of valuation that follows an alternative path to expression—valuation that has economized a number of abstract cultural resources, but has in many instances refrained from monetizing them or subjecting them to a market-based logic or system of trade. That is to say

[67] This term refers to an economy that is economic in nature, but not oriented toward commodity or financial markets.

that subcultures may cultivate economies of worth that enable any number of actions and confer status, but that do not inspire or hinge upon the act of exchange.

From the question of embodied sensory experience, it was determined that structural realities and individual experiences can be read together through the lens of productive excess in subcultures. The realization of excess in the context of hegemonic normalcy offers a means of exploring power dynamics in relation to subcultures that is more subtle and fluid in application. By acknowledging that there are continuities between proximate bodily experiences and organized institutional forces one might resolve, in part, the micro/macro dichotomy at the center Birmingham School/Post-subculture studies debates with regard to approaching subcultural subjects.

Finally, from the question of authenticity, it was concluded that authenticity should not be measured as a quantity or effect, rather an ongoing process that is grounded in a number of significant tensions—over the process and products of mediation, about authorship and creative capacity, between belonging and separatism, and perhaps most significantly concerning subcultural sociality and the logics of capitalism.

The general theory of valuation proposed in this dissertation has two primary elements: a mapping of the socio-cultural processes that result in the production or assignment of *value* and a classification of the commodity form as a nexus of social meaning frequently implicated in those processes. The following framework for understanding subcultures as alternative valuing communities takes as its central assumption that what distinguishes a subculture is a relatively formalized and systematic means of pursuing alternative processes of valuation—those not codified as *normal* within the dominant culture—and represents a specific application of both aspects of the general theory of valuation presented here.

I begin with the recognition of *social mediators*. The definition of a mediator used here is borrowed from actor-network theory as well as Postone's rethinking of Marx's labor theory of value—that is, an object that necessarily changes another, its make-up or meanings, its trajectory or perception, by the accident of their interaction (Latour, 1993; Postone, 1996). Social mediators, then, are the myriad items, ideas, processes, people, and institutions that help to steer and structure our social interactions. In any culture, countless social mediators are acknowledged daily, from ideas like labor to objects like light bulbs (Marvin, 1988). Together, they constitute that which enables our everyday lives to hang together.

Because of their centrality to our everyday lives, select social mediators are routinely subjected to collective *abstraction*. That is, they are made abstract through the processes Deleuze and Guattari refer to as deterritorialization and reterritorialization (1977, 1988) and a parallel pair of processes that might be called detemporialization and retemporialization. These relatively few significant social mediators are first deterritorialized, made smooth, stripped of bearings, markings and systems of location that might enable them to be mapped onto a particular body or land. The neologism detemporialization is intended to demarcate a parallel condition, a similar smoothing with regard to temporal location, as the past and present and future are also striated with the marking of clocks and our habitual usage of linguistic timekeeping devices. The reterritorialization/retemporialization that contributes to the abstraction of social mediators, then, involves a technical intervention that results in the production of an *abstract social mediator* that is now definable by calculable quantities. This intervention or technical mediation by what I have called *techniques of valuation*, make social mediators non-specific and measurable. It is at this point in the process of valuation that subcultures begin to distinguish themselves from the dominant social order by routinely elevating certain social mediators to the point of abstraction that are not normally recognized by the dominant culture. I would hazard to argue that this move is also more intentional on the part of subcultures, while mainstream culture tends to inherit and take for granted the abstract mediators that are already in circulation and approved under persisting codes of normalcy.

With the capacity to quantify an abstract social mediator comes a host of recognitions: the recognition of equality and inequality; of scarcity and excess; of possession and dispossession; of advantage and disadvantage; and a subsequent impulse to crystallize abstract social mediators so that their effects might be accumulated or put to use in a future time or distant place. The collectivization of these recognitions and impulses is the heart of an *economy*—a system of interaction and exchange. Therefore, *economization* occurs when abstract social mediators are implicated in such a system as a result of having been rendered calculable. Here also, subcultures distinguish themselves from the dominant social order, as they may find worth and utility in abstract social mediators without economizing them, economize them without monetizing them, economize them into non-capitalist economies, or interpret capitalist economies in unexpected ways. In particular, subcultures seem to have a tendency to negotiate active internal economies (or unique recognitions of equality and inequality; of scarcity and excess, and so forth, that are indecipherable in the logics of mainstream valuation), particularly economies of qualities of tastes that actively avoid capitalist modalities of exchange.

Cultural capital is one expression of this kind of valuation, a process through which abstract social mediators have been economized, but not monetized. Again, this understanding is a departure from Bourdieuian approaches that, in my estimation, do not account for the ways cultural economies are built from the ground up. Rather, they assume the logics of cultural economies are adopted from the logics of capitalist economies, from the top down. The change in position put forth here opens one to seeing multiple lines of expression for subcultural valuation—some economic, some not, and of those that are economic, some that are capitalist and some that are not.

Capture is the process whereby abstract social mediators are economized in the service of radical equivalencies that allow the recognition, naming, and justification of differences in quantity as *excess*, in such a way that these excesses are available to be captured under a specific set of circumstances. The ability to dictate these circumstances constitutes a consolidation of power in the social order that defines capitalism as a social system. Capture, then, is crudely defined by profit making and wealth building and is a modality of economization that is constitutive of capitalism (Hardin, 2013). Capitalism, as the dominant regime of valuation of Western modernity, influences future acts of valuation by rendering techniques likely to terminate in capture more legible and obfuscating alternative pathways by coding them as deviant, frivolous, criminal, or unprofitable (perhaps the most damning label of all). The ability of subcultures, then, to persist in the pursuit of alternative process of valuation is undoubtedly a source of their cohesion, as it is a persistence that requires the investment of substantial collaborative cultural work. It is a persistence that I believe inspired the CCCS (much to the chagrin of critics) to render Teds and Mods and Punks and Skinheads in a heroic light. It is a persistence that I believe underwrites the romance and intrigue of scenes and neo-tribes and other Post-Subcultural formations. It is a persistence that believe ensures that resistance is always a modality of subculture.

Not only do subcultures value differently, they value *excessively*. I do not refer here to excess as profit—that which is strategically generated through particular techniques of valuation, for example, arbitrage (Hardin, 2013). Rather, I refer to those excesses brought into being in a subculture's encounters with the institutional normalcy of the dominant regime of valuation. The Birmingham School approach reminds us that even though a subculture may attempt to define itself in opposition to a parent or dominant culture, it remains a part of both. In the same way, conceiving of a subculture as a community of alternative valuation does not imply that a subculture is not also a part of the dominant regime of valuation or that its members do not engage in 'normal' valuation practices. It is more accurate to say that subcultures are communities in which individuals are recognized as those who collectively value more actively and in more diverse ways in relation to the mainstream.

If subcultures, as Thornton suggests, make meaning in the service of power, this meaning is made and realized in a system of seemingly arbitrary valuations. It is the very act of meaning making, within processes of valuation (not merely the consequences of those meanings) that rubs so uncomfortably against mainstream society. In this way, subcultural meanings may not be overtly subversive in reference to those held by mainstream culture (as we will soon find in the case of meanings surrounding beer as the central abstract social mediator for beer subcultures), rather it is the way these meanings are used in the determination of value that sets subcultures apart.

Commodities have been defined within this dissertation as nexuses of socio-cultural interaction that have 1) economized use and 2) perform affective enrollment in such a way that they come to serve as obligatory passage points[68] for processes of valuation across cultural-economic contexts. Economized use refers to utility in the service of creating or maintaining a system of interaction and exchange—most often expressed in capitalist economies as being easily implicated in accumulation via monetization. Economized use is generally brought to the fore in discussions of the commodity form. Discussions of the commodity's function as a node of affective enrollment, however, are more often relegated to contemplations of branding and creative industries. Subculture, however, is one case in which the affectivity of the commodity, or rather the commodity's ability to serve as an organizational hub of affective intensities, is paramount. Specifically, the artifacts and practices that constituted subcultural style for the Birmingham School, the rituals at the center of neo-tribal affiliation, the embodiments of subcultural capital, and the demarcations of a scene's spaces are all means of setting individuals and groups into systems of relation that do not rely upon notions of utility or representation. Commodities in this way are far more than symbolic objects or the means of reincorporation by the dominant culture *vis-a-vi* the normalizing logics of capitalism. Further, as nodes of affective enrollment, commodities are not merely repositories of affinity, nostalgia, or emotion. Rather, they serve as repetitive (and in this way, *predictable*) ways in which members of subculture challenge the standards of the dominant culture in non-representational terms. The collective experiences of emotional and aesthetic intensities are the makings of subcultures' internal sense

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[68] An obligatory passage point can be understood as a common path of enrollment or shared articulation that a multitude of actors in a given context (human and nonhuman) "pass through" in their respective mobilizations, no matter what their intention or investments (Callon, 1986).

of belonging and external sense of separateness. Specifically, repeated confrontation with the mandate to understand these artifacts in terms of *price* and *brand*, serves as the normalization that repeatedly generates subcultural value.

Having now articulated a theory of subcultures as alternative valuing communities, I move in the following section to demonstrate how this theory might be used to map out two contemporary beer-centered subcultures in the interest of assessing what they can reveal about valuation practices in the contemporary United States. My goal in doing so is not to conduct a detailed study of craft brewing subculture or black beer culture (these projects would require separate volumes entirely), but rather to begin to illustrate what might be gained in terms of understanding the broader cultural economy of American beer through a consideration of each as an alternative valuing community. Much of the work of the remainder of this chapter, then, is in locating and describing the alternative techniques of valuation at work within the contemporary beer subcultures. In doing so, I use Morris's (1998) "pedestrian journalistic observation" as a model methodological approach. As such, the remainder of this chapter heavily incorporates my own experiences as a member, observer, and thinker of the communities in question.

Alternative Valuation in Beer Subcultures

> *All tastes are expressions of belief.*
> - Zadie Smith

> *Well, Art is Art, isn't it? Still, on the other hand, water is water. And east is east and west is west and if you take cranberries and stew them like applesauce they taste much more like prunes than rhubarb does. Now you tell me what you know.*
> - Groucho Marx

Craft Beer Subculture

The selection of parking spaces available in proximity to the athletic park that is home to the area's minor league baseball team is impressive at 7:00am. By the time the first session of one of the region's largest craft beer festivals begins at noon, attendees will be walking from half a dozen city blocks away and beyond. I, however, am being rewarded for my willingness to wake early on a Saturday morning with an inconceivably good parking space within 25 yards of the ballpark's entrance.

Though there are a number of trucks and service vehicles lining the two-lane access road adjacent to the venue (the access road on which I have miraculously parked), I am looking for two specific trucks. A refrigerated 18-wheeler packed to the gills with kegs and cases of beer and a marginally smaller truck filled with nothing but bags of ice. The contents of these two trucks are what I, and 30 or so other 'brew crew' volunteers, will be tackling over the course of a very long day.

It's something of an honor to be part of the brew crew, as it reflects a certain level of insider status in the area's craft beer scene, the result of elbow rubbing with some local heavy hitters—in particular, an acquaintanceship with "the Hammer," long time homebrewer, regional craft beer mainstay, and perennial organizer of the festival's brew crews. In return for roughly 14 hours of heavy manual labor, brew crew volunteers get an invite to the festival's brewers party, a chance to mix and drink alongside some of the craft brewing industry's rock stars the night before the festival, free lunch, usually pizza and sandwiches, a T-shirt, a remarkably valuable testament to one's commitment to the craft beer community, and license to taste, albeit discretely, the festival's offerings. This will be my third stint on the brew crew and the third time I've come to the realization approximately two hours into a 14-hour day that this role requires an absurd amount of work. For the third time, I am the only woman on the brew crew and the only African American—though this year, another man of color joins me. I am comforted by this more than I expect to be.

I spend most of the morning in silence. Not only because the work is demanding, but because the faces (though familiar) are not attached to names I can recall with any degree of confidence, nor do I feel the kind of assumed familiarity that is shared between the rest of the men on the brew crew, who seem, without confirmation, to have much more in common with each other.

By the time attendees begin filing into the stadium, entering through what is normally right field, I have reached the point of physical exhaustion three times over and I am feeling relieved that my duties will now transition from difficult to disgusting. Each of the more than 100 booths has been stocked by the brew crew with a small plastic bucket that is in proximity to a brown water cooler. Ideally, attendees would rinse their 2 oz tasting glass after tasting each sample with a bit of water and discard it into these buckets before getting another taste. The "slop buckets," however, are an entirely different story. They are overflowing repositories, the size of a large margarine tub, of spit and cigarette butts, disliked samples and (on special occasions) vomit. During the festivals two, four-hour sessions, brew crew members, lugging five gallon buckets, snake through the crushing crowds to condense the smaller slop buckets into their own larger vessels, which are then emptied into strategically placed reservoirs—these are larger and exponentially more foul.

As the first session hits its mid-point and the brew crew enters its sixth hour of volunteer labor, I find myself wanting, on many levels, to strike up the kind of conversation that will allow me to share my credentials—to "put my junk on the table" as the guys have come to describe these types of disclosures: homebrewer, homebrew store manager, festival organizer, brewing instructor, provisional BJCP judge[69], Pink Boots Society[70] member; *I am writing my doctoral dissertation on the American beer industry for goodness sake*. But, the opportunity does not arise and, intimidated, I don't push the issue. Rather, I languish around the periphery, flashing frequent, if uncomfortable, smiles. Dipping politely in and out of conversations, mostly those of the younger contingent of guys, some of whom I recognize from campus as friends or acquaintances of former students.

* * *

The craft beer festival circuit is a productive context in which to observe the machinations of the American craft beer subculture, though it represents only one of a number of spaces and forums in which the members of this subculture congregate and interact. Countless bars, brewpubs, breweries, organizations, publications, stores, educational institutions and online forums collectively form a complex and heterogeneous geography of the craft beer subculture. Each of these terrains presents a particular combination of openings and barriers to members of the subculture in relation to their many subject positions and contingent identities, imbuing each space with a relative degree of navigability for those who move within it. As a number of my

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69 The Beer Judge Certification programs certify the judges who preside over all beer competitions recognized by the Brewers Association and the American Homebrewers Associaiton. The BJCP additionally maintains and published

70 The Pink Boots society is an international professional association for women in the beer industry. The organizations 900+ members are brewery owners, packagers, brewmasters, writers, famers, and purveyors of brewing supplies and ingredients. The organization works to advance the careers of women in the industry through educational initiatives and fundraising for educational scholarships.

own experiences recorded in this dissertation reveal, some spaces are more or less easily navigated by people of color, younger people, and women. The spaces demarcated by the event of the craft beer festival represent just one topology of this subcultural terrain, one that is a particularly lively intersection of subcultural and mainstream valuation practices. As such, it offers an excellent opportunity to explore what cultural-economic relations between the two communities—one operating wholly within the dominant regime of valuation and one struggling to produce and maintain alternative valuing practices—might reveal about the nature of cultural-economic valuation in the current American conjuncture.

The craft beer subculture, for those who are part of it, constitutes a tight community, a movement with clear and variously politicized goals. For those who are not members, craft beer drinkers and brewers constitute little more than a growing market segment for a ubiquitous food commodity that has a unique average consumer profile. Both descriptions are accurate, but the former offers a number of more nuanced ways to decode the latter. For the purposes of this analysis, I define the craft beer subculture to include four overlapping categories of activity: avid craft beer drinking, which typifies all members of the subculture; homebrewing, which constitutes an 'insider' group within the former; professional craft brewing, which describes a smaller number of high status individuals; and craft beer advocacy, which comprises a lively network of publications, social media forums, websites, lobbying groups, blogs, competitions, standards and certifications—in short, an internal media and educational infrastructure. The craft brewing subculture is not small or obscure. Its activities are not considered overly taboo by mainstream culture. Still, the social interactions that characterize the community represent a significant detour from dominant forms of sociality and can be as obtuse to those outside of it as hipsters, skaters, parkour free runners, or members of the black metal scene.

Though there are number of points of entry that might be taken into an analysis of the American craft beer subculture, I will start (as many subcultural analyses do) with the demography of its members. Drinkers, makers, and advocates of craft beer tend toward youth—though not the narrowly defined segment of youth historically associated with the study of subcultures. The majority of craft beer drinkers are members of Generation X and Millennials, the later group representing 46 percent of new craft beer drinkers (Jime Clarke, 2012). A recent Mintel survey of beer drinkers suggests that craft beers appeal to 49 percent of Millennials and 40 percent of Gen Xers, but only 29 percent of Baby Boomers and 22 percent of the Swing/World War II generation (Crowell, 2013). Craft beer drinkers additionally tend to be adventurous and omnivorous consumers of beer, rather than displaying traditional patterns of brand loyalty. As a consumer segment, craft beer drinkers display an expectation for breweries to produce multiple beers rather than a single iconic product. Case in point: seasonal beers and variety packs each accounted for a healthy 19 percent of the craft beer industry's double digit growth in sales in 2011 (Jime Clarke, 2012). Moreover, 84 percent of craft beer consumers report the preference to make different beer selections depending on the season (Crowell, 2013) and a similar percentage of craft beer consumers report the discovery of new beers as one of their favorite activities as beer drinkers. Craft beer drinkers are also overwhelmingly racially homogenous, with over 80 percent of craft beer by volume consumed by white, non-Hispanic consumers. These drinkers also tend to be part of an educated upper/middle class. More than 75 percent of craft beer consumers earn at least $50,000 annually and 43 percent are college-educated. The craft beer consumer, like commercial beer consumers, tend to be male, though the craft beer segment boasts a higher and growing proportion of female drinkers when compared to the commercial beer segment (Jime Clarke, 2012).

Rather than using this demography to draw conclusions about the nature of the American craft beer subculture or about who is definitively a member and who is not, a theory of subcultures as alternative valuing communities dictates that attention be shifted to questioning whether or not these demographic categories hold general significance in the broader context of American beer consumption or specific significance for individual members of the subculture. If members of the craft beer subculture are predominantly younger, white, well-educated, professionals who as consumers of beer are more diverse with respect to gender, more affluent, and more adventurous when compared to beer drinkers as a whole, this approach mandates asking if and how these particular differences matter. The answer to the first question is yes, the demography of the craft beer subculture matters with respect to the broader socio-cultural context, and the answer to the second, in multiple and somewhat unexpected ways for members of the subculture.

I use a conflict that recently played out in two mainstream media outlets to illustrate this. In September 2013, *NPR News* online published an article about the lack of people of color in craft beer production (Bland, 2013). The industry's disparity in this regard is pronounced and the *NPR News* report was somewhat restrained with respect to the severity and breadth of information presented. Nonetheless, a response piece was published the following day on the *American Conservative* website, lambasting *NPR News* for making an issue of what the author clearly interpreted to be a non-issue. This author, Rod Dreher, provided what was is in some ways the quintessential mainstream response by quipping, “Who cares about the color of the people who make craft brews? Who besides NPR, I mean? Come to think of it, I don’t know any women who are into craft brews, though I’m sure there are some..." (2013). The presumably tongue-in-cheek commentary piece drew heated responses in the article’s comments section, many from members of the craft beer community, who took great exception to Mr. Dreher’s comments.

In this exchange, a core aspect of membership in this subculture with respect to its demography was demonstrated. That is, the demography of craft beer subculture is not primarily significant in that it reveals who is a member of the subculture and who is not. It is significant in that it 1) establishes the expectation among those who are not part of the subculture that the subculture will be an effectively apolitical formation with respect to questions of difference and identity and 2) reveals an important way in which the subculture is, in fact, politicized—the demography of the craft beer subculture holds *more significance* for the members of the subculture than is generally expected or acceptable in mainstream culture. In this regard, members of the craft beer subculture are often aggressively policed for failing to maintain the mainstream fiction of a post-racial and gender-equal society, or for failing to dismiss issues of underrepresentation as insignificant.

Emily Engdahl, owner/founder of Oregon Beer Country,[71] National/International Chapter Liaison for the Pink Boots Society, and Events Director for Women Enjoying Beer,[72] was one of those who responded to Dreher’s piece. She begins by immediately defending *NPR News*

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[71] Oregon Beer Country supports travel and tourism across in Oregon. It looks to promote the state’s beer culture, by educating tourists and residents and works to establish Oregon as one of the US's premier beer destinations.

[72] Women Enjoying Beer (WEB) studies women and beer. Conducting qualitative research on women and their relationship with beer, in order to educate both consumers and professionals. http://womenenjoyingbeer.com

saying, “I sincerely appreciated the NPR story, and I know that many of my colleagues were happy for the mainstream conversation starter.” In this beginning, Ms. Engdahl explicitly establishes the subject of the original NPR piece as *outside* of the mainstream, being located within the space of the craft beer subculture, while simultaneously marking *NPR News* as part of mainstream media. This foray on the part of mainstream media in the world of craft beer, however, is not greeted with animosity, as is often assumed to be the requisite response of subcultural groups to the attention of mainstream media. The relationship between subcultures and media outlets, as Thornton observed in *Club Cultures* (1996), is often mutual and can support a subculture’s internal activities. Significantly, there is something of an implicit authorization of this particular media outlet on the part of Engdahl and other responders who took up the debate in the name of craft beer. Such an authorization is at least in part a product of NPR’s ‘edge of mainstream’ status as a media outlet. Further, NPR shares an overlapping demography with the average craft beer drinker (white, well-educated, progressive, and culturally omnivorous with respect to consumption habits) and the barely concealed scorn shot though the *American Conservative* piece reveals a tangible understanding of this positioning. More interestingly, the *NPR News* article is by no means a celebratory ‘sneak peak’ of a vibrant but hitherto unknown subculture (though one of these pieces seems to be published about craft beer communities almost daily). Rather, it is a candid statement about a structural inequality within the culture and business of craft brewing. However, Engdahl and many others hefting the subculture’s banner reacted favorably to NPR’s critical attention. She continues in response to Mr. Dreher:

> You must first understand that the craft beer industry thrives on inclusivity, mutual respect, collaboration, curiosity, and the strengthening of the fabric of our tribe through

> the multi-faceted backgrounds that bring people to craft beer. The incredibly diverse visions, views, experiences, and opinions brought to craft beer by those who love it are just what make it the polar opposite of the corporate homogeny of macro beers. There is a saying that when the tide rises, all the ships float – time and again, this comes to the forefront thanks to the myriad shared values those of us in the craft beer industry enjoy. We are all in it together, and the brotherhood/sisterhood of the industry creates a family unlike any other.
>
> To that end, those in the craft beer industry also understand that while many of the brewers may be "nerdy white guys," our experiences in creating and promoting craft beer are only enhanced by having women and people of different ethnicities bring their collective creativity, history, and thoughts on flavor to new beers. Innovation comes from new ideas – and the thinking that got us into the macro beer monopoly isn't the thinking that is getting us out.
>
> While you might not personally know many women in craft beer, we are out here – and we are standing in solidarity with our brothers and sisters welcoming all colors, ethnicity, gender preference, religious affiliation, and any other touchy feely, warm and fuzzy, politically correct label you can think of to craft beer. Therein lies the beauty—we understand that our industry will only be strengthened and enhanced by welcoming diverse participation in our craft…Your estimation that "nearly everybody—white, black, and everybody else—prefers Budweiser, Coors, and the like," is not only an oversimplified and sweeping generalization of the beverage industry, but a statement that does a great disservice to the successes of craft beer. You also fail to take into consideration the reason why those beers are as large as they are—it has more to do with heavy hitting marketing campaigns funded with millions of dollars and enormous shelf presence than in taste preference.
>
> We could go on and on about the disparity of economics, of the availability and encouragement (or lack thereof) for female and minority participation / education in mathematics and science, of the antiquated modes of thinking that people like yourself perpetuate with seemingly innocent observations and "who cares" attitudes. When you ask "Still, who cares about the color of the people who make craft brews? Who besides NPR, I mean?" you miss the point. Diversity in our industry will only strengthen our products, our camaraderie, our momentum, and our bottom line. If you think that diversity in brewing is inconsequential, you miss the boat completely – if for no other reason than simple economics of increasing our market share. (Dreher, 2013)

Engdahl puts an elegant voice to what might be considered a 'comment thread manifesto,' on the ethos of the craft beer subculture. As a nationally known craft beer advocate, she personifies what ostensibly should be a profound conflict of interest or internal tension for members of craft beer communities—a division between the interests of producer/industry members and consumer/craft beer enthusiasts. Engdahl, however, demonstrates the remarkable fluidity and collegiality that exists among those subject to such designations within the world of craft brewing, as she effectively straddles a number of lines. The fluidity of these roles is, in fact, one of the unique features of craft beer subculture—members navigate a flexible hierarchy of activities and roles that continually reshuffles the relative positions of status and centrality for professional brewers, advocates, homebrewers, and everyday enthusiasts.

Professional craft brewers are notoriously, and quite vocally, fans of their colleagues' products. In taproom conversations, blogs, and tweets they buzz with the same excitement about seasonal and special releases that infects non-professional enthusiasts. Similarly, the flimsiness of the boundary between professional brewers and homebrewers occupies a central space in the discourses circulating about craft beer culture. The story that constitutes the founding mythology of the microbrew revolution is repeated with almost incomprehensible fidelity—an adventurous beer lover turned to homebrewing and was consumed by the brewing bug. He (or far less often, she), with the encouragement of friends and family, and often with the assistance of a remarkably generous professional mentor, decided to take the plunge into the professional world of brewing. Professional craft brewers not only continue to nourish these roots by continuing to homebrew outside of their professional environments, but also by actively cultivating relationships with homebrewers. Many breweries open their establishments to homebrew club meetings. Some make homebrew scale recipes of their commercial offerings openly available and consult with homebrewers attempting to clone their beers. Many breweries host homebrew competitions, offering winners the opportunity to brew their own homebrew recipes alongside professional brewers on a commercial scale brewing system. Perhaps the most well known example of this kind of professional-amateur interaction is the Samuel Adams Longshot American Homebrew Contest. Though the Boston Brewing Company's flagship beer is the second largest selling craft beer in U.S., the company continues to tout the slippage between brewing for fun and brewing for work. Its Longshot American Homebrew Contest is promoted with the following pitch: "In 1984, Jim Koch, founder and brewer of Samuel Adams beers, brewed his first batch of *Samuel Adams Boston Lager* in his kitchen. Now you can follow in Jim's footsteps and have your homebrew nationally distributed" (The Boston Beer Company, 2013).

Examples of these flexible hierarchies abound. Craft beer writers rely upon and establish the legitimacy of drinker-generated sources of information, such as reviewing websites and homebrew forums. Homebrewers serve as a significant incubator of innovation in ingredient use, brewing and fermentation techniques, and brewing equipment technology development as their small scales of operation encourage experimentation that is not always financially justifiable for professional brewers. It is not uncommon to find gadgets developed by a resourceful homebrewer end up in a craft brewery. These examples point back to the ethos of craft beer that Engdahl articulated in her response. The craft beer subculture in many ways sets itself apart from mainstream consumers by way of its candid willingness to confront and actively work change systems of hierarchy within the community. Moreover, members of the community have found ways to reconcile these concerns with aesthetic economies of taste and the manufacturing, food services, and retail sectors of the American economy. Throughout her response, Engdahl fluidly shifts back and forth between ethical, cultural, and economic concerns—building a vision of a community that can invest in the financial success of the craft brewing industry within the capitalist regime of valuation, but seek to do so (perhaps idealistically) by relegating concerns for market share to a secondary, but no less compatible, position.

* * *

The festival circuit, for those of us who have been in it for years, is growing less and less attractive. Festivals are getting bigger with respect to attendance, less interesting with respect to beer offerings, and more aggressively attended by those I have come to call craft beer's 'hangers-on.' This last group is easy to spot, as they have come to be the majority of festival attendees. They are wide-eyed and overly enthusiastic, and see the hundreds of beers available to sample as somewhat inconsequential variables in a singular challenge—to consume as much as possible in the four hours allotted for each tasting session. Their comportment reflects the single-mindedness of this goal. The hangers-on do not stop to chat with the people who pour their samples. They crowd and jockey for position, pushing their way from booth to booth with little regard that they are in the presence of thousands who are holding open containers of liquid. They taste with speed, without pausing to consider appearance or aroma and do not bother to use the water at each station to clear their palates or rinse their 2 oz sampling glasses before filling them with the next selection.

With no small amount of condescension, I watch the hangers-on stumble from booth to booth with persistently outstretched arms, beggars, getting wasted—fast. Some are audibly boasting that they refrained from eating before they arrived to "save room for more beer". Others have donned the telltale sign of the festival hanger-on, necklaces made by stringing an entire bag of pretzels around one's neck—the lai of the subcultural tourist who has concluded that none of 240 minutes made available for unlimited beer consumption can be sacrificed to the cause of eating. Thus, a worn snack is preferable to the dozens of local eateries and vendors who have set up shop inside the festival and, much to my chagrin, one that is too often seen in a later incarnation—expelled in piles on the fringes of the festival grounds.

As I enjoy the respite that 'Session 1' brings—no kegs to move for a few more hours—I rehash a conversation I have had a number of times with a man who is my coworker at the homebrew shop, manager at a local craft beer bar, and something of a famous rater on Ratebeer.com.[73] "Festivals just aren't the same," we'd bemoaned with the kind of nostalgia generally reserved for decades and not years of removal. In contrast to this event, the first beer festivals I attended were substantially smaller, with hundreds and not thousands of attendees. Brewers and their employees were commonly in attendance, pouring a selection of beers generally unavailable to the public at the time of the event—new formulations and one-offs, seasonal beers and limited releases. Festival selections are now less likely to be special offerings. Here, for example, they are almost without exception flagship beers and year-round offerings that could be purchased in the upscale grocery store about a mile west of this venue. Here, with just a few exceptions, I deliver kegs to booths staffed by volunteers who know little to nothing about the beers they pour. They are here for more practical reasons, trading labor for the cost of admission and a day of behind the scenes access. My own attendance here might be seen

[73] RateBeer is an online forum for beer lovers to come together and share opinions of beers, and beer retailers. Established and maintained by volunteers, RateBeer is the premier resource for consumer-driven beer ratings. A community of hundreds of thousands of members, from more than 100 countries, have rated hundreds of different beers around the world. RateBeer aspires to be the preeminent provider of independent, unbiased, consumer-driven information about beer and breweries.

in the same way, though I understand it to be far more. As I sit considering the shape of my own commitments to the craft beer community, someone calls for more ice. I wipe my hands on the front of my brew crew T-shirt, already stained with sweat and beer, and quietly make my way with a dolly cart to the refrigerated truck outside.

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There are number of flows of subcultural capital that circulate in the craft beer subculture, but the most critical to the inter- and extra-group relations that structure members' everyday experiences as part of this subculture is knowledge. Whether they are drinkers, homebrewers, professional brewers or advocates, members of the craft beer subculture place a significantly premium on *knowing* beer. Knowledge of beer and not necessarily beer itself, then, is a significant social mediator for the members of this subculture, one that is made abstract in a number of ways. That is to say, craft beer knowledge is less likely to be understood within this subculture as an individual's subjective body of acquired and experiential knowledge. Rather, this knowledge is understood in terms that are disembodied and quantifiable. As an abstract social mediator of the craft beer subculture, knowledge of beer can be separated into and qualified as *experiential knowledge*, *craft knowledge*, and *access knowledge*.

Experiential knowledge is knowledge gained as a result of sensory engagements with beer. Subjectively, these experiences might hold any number of significances for an individual craft beer drinker: how well liked a particular beer is; the discovery of an interesting pairing of a beer with a meal; a realization of contrast in textures among a group of beers; deciphering of a unique ingredient; the experience of a sublime sourness; etc. Though members of this subculture are likely to appreciate each of these experiences and many more like them, experiential knowledge has also become a way to make distinctions between the subculture as whole and mainstream consumers, and between members of the subculture. These distinctions are made with two abstract, quantifiable criteria—the number of beers tasted and the relative rarity of those selections. Because craft brewing is an overwhelmingly local/regional economic activity, success in tasting many and/or rare examples of craft beer implies a number of things about the individual who achieves such success: possession of a disposable income large enough to purchase beers at a premium price with regularity (rare beers may cost upwards of $30 for 22oz bottle); proximity to specialty grocers and package stores; mobility enough to enter a number of different markets; adequate time and information access to keep abreast of brewery releases; and freedom and leisure to regularly consume intoxicating beverages without negative consequences or repercussions.

In this way, the space of the craft beer festival represents for members of the subculture a means of strategically expanding one's base of experiential knowledge. It is not uncommon to see some tasters at craft beer festivals keeping written records of what they are tasting as means of accounting that has both sentimental and practical value. The enormous popularity of Ratebeer.com and 'badging' social media outlets like Untappd.com[74] is due in no small part to the fact that they are objective systems for quantifying and comparing individuals via this abstract measure of subcultural capital.

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[74] Untappd is social media platform organized around the exploration of the world of beer. Users can share what they are drinking and where, and see similar information posted by other users in their network. Untappd offers beer recommendations based on the beers a user and their network drinks. Users also have the opportunity to earn badges for meeting a variety of different criteria—for example, drinking a certain number of beers from a particular state or nation, checking in at beer festival, event or bar, or trying a particular style of beer or seasonal.

Craft knowledge refers to the technical knowledge of craft beer production and the traits of the beers produced. Like many other subcultures this is often demonstrated in the acquisition and correct usage of a specialized vocabulary—a blending of technical jargon and culturally inflected slang. All members of this subculture demonstrate a kind of basic competency by appropriately using an entry-level descriptive vocabulary for describing the qualities of beer, such as 'hoppy', 'malty', 'high gravity', or 'session.' Homebrewers, having acquired a technical skill set, more actively use a far more developed vocabulary that ventures into the spaces of agricultural production and organic chemistry. The institutional apparatus of craft beer advocacy and appreciation offers a formalized means of measuring, comparing and accumulating this kind of institutional subcultural capital. It is quantified and regulated by a series of contests and certifications programs. The Beer Judge Certification Program (BJCP) uses a rigorous examination process and a point system for evaluating experience, professional development, and service activities to certify the Provisional, Certified, Master, and Grand Master judges that officiate beer competitions sanctioned by the American Homebrewers Association (AHA) and the Brewers Association (BA). The Cicerone Certification Program educates and certifies those in service roles, including restaurant and bar staff, who aspire to make knowledgeable beer recommendations to patrons. Established as the beer equivalent of the sommelier, Cicerones are educated about the history, production techniques, and characteristics of a wide variety of beer styles. These forms of institutionalized subcultural capital produce tangible advantages for those who acquire them, in the form of job placements in the industry, rewards for excellence in brew craft, invitations to serve as judges, as well as prestige.

Access knowledge is defined as the level of current and desirable knowledge members possess about the happenings of the subculture. Most easily defined as *who you know, what you know,* and *how quickly you know it*, access knowledge allows members to accumulate subcultural capital that has a significant capacity to grant access to restricted knowledge and spaces. These navigations in turn represent movements than are generative of more subcultural capital. For example, my service on the brew crew was a product of possessing a certain level of access knowledge. Brew crew members are not openly solicited, but informally invited through systems of acquaintanceship. The membership of the brew crew is therefore relatively consistent from year to year and its members enact performances of seniority in their work, often referencing past festivals and actively teaching newer members short cuts learned through former experiences. Having served on a brew crew subsequently generates more subcultural capital and provides access to even more restricted spaces for members. Though other festival volunteers also gain free entrance to the festival in exchange for labor and some degree of behind the scenes access, only the members of the brew crew are invited to the closed-door brewers' party, where professional craft brewers in town for the event mix and drink. The levels of subcultural capital both required and generated through service on the brew crew are therefore substantially higher than for other kinds of volunteer work at this event.

Though the craft brewing industry is undoubtedly profitable, touts an established infrastructure of media outlets, and features a number of formal pathways for education, certification and advancement, it is also undoubtedly a nexus of aesthetic, sensory, emotional and bodily experiences for its members. In this sense, the subjective, fluid, and experiential natures of this subculture are always at the fore. Though tasting acumen and the development of a objectively verified palate produces of subcultural capital, marks one of the more significant ways that members distinguish themselves from non-members, and serves as one of the most consistent ways members exercise power within the subculture; embodied sensory experiences related to the proximate senses of taste and smell also reinforce senses of belonging and commonality.

These embodied sensuous experiences also define one clear way this subculture performs the normalization of taboo and/or conceivably deviant behavior—drunkenness and the threat of alcoholism are necessarily part of this subculture's make-up. Since Prohibition, these threats have shaped an American attitude toward beer that can be described as ambivalent at best (Burns & Novick, 2011). Though certain contexts authorize periodic enthusiasm for beer consumption—for example, college campuses and large sporting events—the sustained intensity with which members of this subculture regard interactions with beer and other members of the subculture is a marked divergence from the mainstream. In fact, for members of the subculture, there is no *too into* beer. The recognition of these excesses in intensity is a product of interacting with the codified ambivalence of mainstream culture. Its recognition is often generative of feelings of pride and belonging for members.

In the same vein, members of this subculture unapologetically attach significances to craft beer and the culture organized around it that mainstream culture deems inappropriate and in some cases inconceivable. It is not uncommon for craft beer enthusiasts to associate the potential for widespread, progressive cultural and political change with the consumption and appreciation of 'good' beer. From this perspective, good beer is not merely allegorical, but a tool available to those seeking solutions to problems as varied as racism, sexism, environmental injustice, and economic inequality. Craft beer advocate, organic homebrew supply retailer, Director of Sustainability for American University in Washington DC and author of *Fermenting Revolution: How to Drink Beer and Save the World*, Christopher Mark O'Brien, believes that craft beer can be the vehicle through which Americans can come to understand the connections between sexism, environmental injustice, globalization, and the structural inequality of capitalist manufacturing practices. He writes:

> Beer has inspired mystical transcendence while also unlocking the secrets of nature's bounty. For millennia it has empowered women while nourishing the human body and spirit. But beer plays both sides of the fence, and when society shifts toward centralized authority and industrialized production, beer becomes a tool of exploitation and injustice. Organized religion, centralized politics, and industrial capitalism have all used beer as a tool of enslavement. Today, beer can be found serving the masters of corporate industrial capitalism as well as engendering community power, a shift toward sustainable production, and a return to healthful drinking. Small brewers are offering solutions while corporate brewers continue blindly the dead-end path of exponential growth. The world is undergoing two revolution, one with bad global corporate beer, and one with good, local beer. (O'Brien, 2006, p. 4)

Despite belief in the revolutionary potential of craft beer, the abundance of rituals and signifiers that uniquely define this community, and the existence of complex systems for the acquisition and accumulation of subcultural capital, there are, no doubt, those that will still be inclined to ask, *Why is craft beer a subculture and not simply a niche market?* While the economic activity that constitutes the production, distribution and consumption of craft beer fits the description of a niche market quite well, the community organized around craft beer far surpasses this strictly economic, market-driven designation. The flourishing of this niche market, however, is arguably the product of an enthusiastic cultural community. In this way, the production of the niche market is simply one economized outcome of the community's valuing activities that makes it open to the process of capture, or monetized profit making. Perhaps most interestingly, the overlapping of the capitalist industry of craft beer does not threaten the authenticity of the community, in as much as craft beers are made by craft breweries. This boundary however becomes strongly and aggressively policed when corporate breweries attempt to introduce craft-like beers. The breakdown for members, the transgression from authentic to inauthentic, comes not with the commodification of the culture's most revered artifact but with a commodification that is narrowly defined within the structure of mass production. Craft beers however are commodities that are easily implicated in the world-making activities of this subculture's members. They are hyper-valued in ways that are not solely economic or symbolic of taste and status, but in ways that allow members of this subculture to integrate the consumption of craft beer in visions of social worlds that defy the status quo.

Black Beer Culture

While the festival circuit is a geography that I have experienced difficulty navigating, those spaces marked out by the intellectualization and politicization of beer, I find highly navigable in contrast. These are the spaces occupied largely by craft beer advocates and homebrewers like myself. Like many of these members of the craft beer scene, I think extensively and, as a result write, about beer. In particular, as a woman of color, I find reason (and encouragement) to explore the implications of my subject position on my experiences as member of the craft beer subculture. The following is adapted from a series of blog posts I published in 2013 under the title, *The Unbearable Whiteness of Brewing* and is offered as a counterpoint to the preceding discussion of craft beer as an alternative valuing community. Driven by the persistent realization that I simply do not see many people who 'look like me' in the spaces in which I choose to spend a significant amount of my leisure and professional time, the following examines barriers to entry into the culture of craft beer for urban minority beer drinkers, in particular Blacks.

The reality of craft beer subculture is that it is remarkably white, from brewer to drinker, coast to coast. The following discussion suggests that this homogeneity is not entirely the product of racial exclusivity in the spaces that constitute this subculture. Rather, it is the existence of another racially and radically inclusive subculture that serves to prohibit entry to the culture of craft beer. The following examination of what I call *black beer culture* raises important questions about the formation of subcultures: *Is circulation in such a culture always entirely voluntary on the part of members? Can an authentic subculture be generated as the result of a forcible imposition from the dominant culture?*

* * *

I'll begin with a caveat about a key piece of terminology I intend to use in the paragraphs that follow—the phrase 'black beer culture.' Recognizing that the racial dynamics of beer culture or American culture at large cannot be compressed into a black and white dynamic, I concede there is danger and imprecision in using a term like 'black beer culture.' In reality, a better term seems impossibly outside my reach. I considered the phrase 'minority beer culture,' as it would appropriately attended to the diversity of brown-skinned racial minorities that participate in this social formation. However, this term is oddly sanitized of the kinds of common cultural references upon which I will be drawing. Furthermore, there is the stark reality that this discussion is in fact largely about blacks and those who perform *blackness,* regardless of ethnic origin. Similarly, I weighed using the term 'urban beer culture,' but I quickly realized that term is as effective in evoking the image of a chic gastro-pub on a gentrified inner-city block as it is in evoking the image of a convenience store where a cashier keeps a pile of small-sized brown paper bags on the counter (not unlike like Starbucks' keep cardboard sleeves). Finally, I deliberated the use of the term '40oz beer culture,' since that particular form for malt beverages is the central artifact of the subculture in question, but ultimately I found the term in one sense too narrow (since it leaves out rural areas in which the kinds of cultural phenomena I will be discussing thrive) and is in another sense too broad (since hipsters and frat boys drink 'forties' in conspicuous acts of subcultural appropriation). Ultimately, I settled with black beer culture; for all of its flaws, exclusions, and binary logic, it does the best job of referencing what I am attempting to evoke—that is, the idea of a beer subculture, largely made up by Blacks, in which convenience stores (not bars, brewpubs, or bottleshops) are the primary means of distribution for a 'beer' product that remains largely outside of mainstream beer consumption and certainly outside of craft beer consumption–that is, malt liquor.

While there are certainly a number of barriers in play, including income levels and the geographies of distribution, it is my assertion here that the existence of black beer culture is the most substantial barrier to entry into craft beer culture for people of color. I am not asserting that people of color are all a part of black beer culture and thus are not inclined to 'jump ship' for what is ostensibly a white beer culture (though that is certainly the reality for some). Rather, I mean to say that the notion of black beer culture alone has a tremendous impact on the shape of the brewing industry and beer consumption. This impact is part of the reason why status seeking ethnic minorities, in particular blacks, have shown such a conspicuous preference for consuming and endorsing premium liquors. It is an effort, in part, to create distance between black, cosmopolitan, upward mobility and the comparatively low status of black beer culture. This desire to mark distance, though it might not be one that individuals overtly recognize, is so great that upwardly-mobile blacks have largely abandoned beer entirely, rarely acknowledging the possibility of enjoying a 'good' beer.

* * *

Malt liquor was first developed in the 1930s. Though most Americans and breweries were following the trend of lightening lagers (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of this phenomenon), some brewers developed specialty brands to cater to the small population of consumers who complained that beers no longer carried their pre-Prohibition kick. From the early 1940s through the 1960s, a series of breweries, most based in the Midwest, released malt liquors. Each was marketed as a premium high-alcohol, champagne-like beverage for the country club demographic. In fact, Goetz Brewing Company's *Country Club Malt Liquor* and Peoples Brewing Company's *Olde English 600* were named with this demographic in mind.

National Brewing Company's Dawson Faber is credited with abandoning marketing malt liquor to the upwardly mobile white, middle class consumer. Faced with the encroaching presence of national breweries like Anheuser-Busch, in National's stronghold, Baltimore, MD, a city with a sizable African-American population, Faber not only targeted black consumers when he developed Colt 45*,* but in a fairly blatant violation of federal law, he emblazoned its packaging with the image of a kicking colt, a thinly veiled reference to the higher alcohol content of the product.[75] Malt liquor brands since then have frequently adopted names with wild and dangerous animals (bulls, cobras, pit bulls, etc.).

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75 The move, though never sanctioned was actually a violation of federal law. The Code of Federal Regulations, Title 27, Part 7, Prohibited Practices, Section 7.29 (g), states that a malt beverage's label "shall not contain any

With the precedent set by Faber and Colt 45, and the realization in the 1960s that black America was a viable market segment, marketers of beer turned their attention to new market research that suggested that blacks consumed a disproportionally high amount of malt liquor—30 to 33 percent the total volume of malt liquor brewed nationally, though blacks make up just 12 percent of the U.S. population. By the 1970s, nearly all makers of malt liquor advertised heavily, but more importantly almost exclusively, in black-owned publications and on radio stations that boasted predominantly black audiences.

The subcultural union of urban blacks and malt liquor was not complete until malt liquor brands found a voice in popular music—specifically the emerging freight train of cultural significance that was hip-hop in the early 1980s. In the late 1980s, Minott Wessinger, a descendant of Henry Weinhard, a German-American brewer based in Portland in the nineteenth century observed that hip-hop artists rhymed about malt liquor in their songs, referring to Olde English as 'O.E.' or St. Ides as 'the crooked I'. In what is regaled as a move of marketing brilliance, Wessinger not only referenced hip-hop culture in subsequent marketing efforts, he commissioned hip-hop artists with high levels of street credibility and popular appeal to represent his products in marketing campaigns and their own music. The combined efforts of King Tee, DJ Pooh, E-Swift, Snoop Dogg and Ice Cube—all West Coast 'gansta rappers'—rapidly increased sales of St. Ides by 25 percent and "incidentally made St. Ides the malt liquor of choice among white college students" (Winship, 2012).

What is most important to recognize in the history of its development is that the marriage between poor and working class, urban blacks and malt liquor was not accidental. It was the

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statements, designs, or devices, whether in the form of numerals, letters, characters, figures, or otherwise, which are likely to be considered as statements of alcoholic content."

result of social knowledge, practical business decisions, biases and stereotypes, complicity, and a fair amount of luck. The perpetuation of this relationship, however, is another story entirely. In particular, the brewers of malt liquor have adopted three practices since it was first targeted toward minority markets in the 1960s that have defined and solidified the nature of black beer subcultures as they exist today: first, producers of malt liquor have maintained *beer* and *malt liquor* as conceptually different products; second, malt liquors do not bear the names of their parent brands; third, producers have been remarkably narrow with distribution practices for these products. Though it is unlikely that producers of malt liquor have adopted these practices with any other intention than to generate profit, the consequence has been the establishment of a taboo American beer subculture that has served to restrict interest in and entry into the craft beer subculture for African Americans.

* * *

I am sitting at the bar in my favorite watering hole with a steno pad, my MacBook, and a 10 oz snifter of a seasonally released imperial chocolate stout from one of my favorite regional breweries. The establishment is as awkward and wonderful a place as I have ever frequented, part restaurant, part beer bar, part bottle shop. Newcomers often enter with confusion, wander helplessly, and ultimately asking, in what appears to be painful disclosure of ignorance, *How does this place work?* There is a method to its madness that is surprisingly simple. Like any other bar, a patron can simply walk in, sit down, and make a selection from the establishment's impressive draft list. Those who are hungry wait for a host to seat their party at a table and order from a surprisingly pricey and ambitious 'farm-to-fork' inspired menu. The bottle shop is like any other retail establishment, though those who choose to consume their purchases in-house pay a capping fee. The layering of what are essentially three different establishments, operating under three different models, into roughly 2,000 square feet of space in a small strip mall is odd, but surprisingly successful and comfortable for those of us inclined to camp out at the bar. Today, I am camped out, writing a blog entry about the paucity of blacks in the American craft beer scene. The bartender and owner, knowing that I write about beer, casually asks what I am working on. With my response, the conversation lights up like kindling and quickly the other patrons at the bar are weighing in. The talk is surprisingly easy and unsurprisingly frank. The others, all male, all White, all roughly 35-45 years of age remark that they have wondered about the same thing themselves.

Before it is even uttered, I know from the asker's sharp intake of breath and abrupt 90 degree turn away from the bar rail, that I am being confronted with a testing question. It is the kind of question that craft beer enthusiasts use to get the measure of others in the scene and to offer up a kind of introductory generosity. It is an open invitation to share…and show off. "So what's the difference between *malt liquor* and *beer* anyway?" And it is clear to everyone from the simultaneous contemplations of the ceiling that none of us really knows. Still, I respond by pointing out that in many states, laws governing the sale of alcohol mandate that beers above five percent alcohol by volume must be sold under the name malt liquor. My companion replies, with side cock of the head, "Are those laws still enforced?" I offer that I think not, with all the legislative victories won by craft brewers in the last 15 years. I then speculate aloud that it is the percentage of adjuncts (sugar, rice, and corn) used in the brewing of malt liquors that set them apart from 'proper' beers. But, I realize that this assertion is completely wrong even as it is coming out of my mouth. Traditional domestic brands, like Budweiser, Coors and Miller, contain

25 percent to 65 percent adjuncts (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005, p. 108). We are stumped. If the stuff inside a 40oz bottle has no higher a proportion of adjuncts than the 'silver bullet'[76] and has just as much a legal claim to the name beer as does the 10 percent ABV stout warming nicely against my hand, why don't we just call malt liquor beer?

* * *

The question regarding the naming conventions for malt liquor and beer brands cannot be answered conclusively, but it is likely that there is value for their producers in maintaining the current convention. Historically, American malt liquors, since the time of their introduction, have been marketed on the grounds of their potency—perhaps an affinity for the word liquor is consistent with those marking efforts. I am, however, less interested in the reasons behind the differential naming and more interested in what I believe to be the effect—a conceptual distinction that makes malt liquor simultaneously as beer and not beer, resulting in a 'separate but equal' economic positioning of malt liquor brands on the part of the commercial brewing industry.

The 40oz bottle has, more than any other artifact, embodied this conceptual difference. It is a packaging form used almost exclusively by malt liquor brands. Commonly made with clear glass (usually shunned by beer makers in attempts to reduce light damage to their products), the 40oz bottle presents the product inside as ostensibly beer-like. However, as a form of packaging that encourages specific uses and moments of the body, the 40oz bottle physically distinguishes its drinkers; the way that this container functions is directly opposed to the ways craft beer containers function. That is, as craft beer gravities (or alcohol percentages) begin to approach

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[76] The silver bullet is a nickname for Coors light often used in the brand's advertising.

double digits, packaging moves from six-packs to four-packs and pub and bar pours move from 16-ounce pints to 10-ounce snifters. These containment technologies discipline the body into performing restraint and, in some ways, decorum. However, malt liquors offer a high gravity product in a container that encourages rapid consumption in a single, portable sitting.

Enabled in part by the 40oz bottle, malt liquor has made its home in public life. The idea of someone taking a 40oz of malt liquor home to pour into a glass and enjoy with dinner is nearly inconceivable for most. Rather, the 40oz bottle of malt liquor is understood as a direct-to-mouth delivery method, oriented for largely public and social consumption. Whatever the causes for this understanding, the effect has been a very lasting stigmatization of malt liquor as a sign of abuse by the underemployed and vagrant among urban blacks. In this regard, it is understandable that commercial breweries reluctant to classify their premium light lagers and their malt liquors as the same product.

Not only do the producers of malt liquor reserve the name 'beer' for their mainstream products, they also fail to claim ownership of their malt liquors. Interestingly, another version of this practice has been in craft beer news as of late. When the Brewers Association released its *Craft vs. Crafty* statement, ripples shot through the craft brewing community. The statement, leveled by the organizational heart of the craft beer industry, points to the recent practice on the part of macrobreweries of marketing some of their newest offerings as craft beers (craft beers, however, are by definition produced by small independent breweries). The statement suggests that this practice is, at a minimum, strategic and conceivably, intentionally deceptive (Brewers Association, 2012). The outrage on the part of the craft brewing industry was palpable in this press release, but this practice is not new for commercial brewers. It has been rehearsed for nearly 50 years with regard to malt liquor brands and the move is no less strategic. Forgoing the question of whether or not this is simply smart business or something more sinister, an important consequence has been a lack of product movement among malt liquor drinkers.

Pabst (1980s) MillerCoors

MillerCoors

Pabst Brewing Company (brewed by MillerCoors)

Anheuser-Busch InBev

Anheuser-Busch InBev

MillerCoors


Pabst Brewing Company (brewed by MillerCoors)

Pabst Brewing Company (brewed by MillerCoors)

MillerCoors

Table 2: Ownership of top Malt Liquor Brands

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Those who are hopelessly in love with craft beer, generally have a story of courtship they tell and retell. Most of us, having experienced a fair amount of economic and educational privilege, begin in a beer soaked college culture, rife with keg stands and beer pong. From there we embarked on a slow process of discovery of better flavors among imports and large craft brands (Guinness, Bass, Sierra Nevada, Samuel Adams, etc.). And like my own experience, you may have eventually come to a watershed moment of discovery of the wonders created in regional breweries, local brewpubs, and Belgian monasteries.

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What is important to note here is that my own, and many others', processes of product movement from 'crap to craft' was aided, in part, by a series of smaller and horizontal moves. Many such moves are enabled by parent-brand familiarity. For example, a fan of the ubiquitous Samuel Adams Boston Lager may find their way to a Samuel Adams Imperial Stout and thus be introduced to a completely unfamiliar style of beer (and perhaps to craft beers in general). Malt liquor brands do not bear the names of their parent brands (and in fact take steps to conceal them), blocking a potential avenue of product movement for its drinkers. In short, malt liquors don't have way up to different (higher quality) products. This is, in some senses, odd, as most multi-brand corporations build portfolios that allow consumers a way to 'climb the ladder' to more costly products. Black beer culture, then, offers few ways out, being a conceptually different product than mainstream beers and offering few avenues for exploration.

Finally, the distribution practices currently used for malt liquor brands are tied closely to the entrepreneurial rise of Don Vultaggio and John Ferolito in the 1970s, two enterprising young black men from Brooklyn. The pair, first using a used VW bus, delivered beer to places avoided by the major distribution companies. They capitalized on the macrobreweries newfound urgency to reach black consumers by serving some of New York City's most notorious housing projects in Crown Heights and Bedford-Stuyvesant. After a decade in the distribution business, the pair owned 25 trucks and jumped into brewing malt liquors for themselves—capitalizing on the knowledge they'd gained on the streets. Distribution practices for malt liquor have changed little in the intervening years, though legal barriers to serving higher-alcohol products in bars and restaurants have been removed in more states. With kegs of high gravity offerings now gracing the tap handles of bars all over the country, there are few legal obstacles to potentially serving malt liquor brands like King Cobra or Hurricane from a tap handle in a bar, baseball stadium, or theme park next to Michelob Ultra Light, Bud Light, Rolling Rock, Natural Light, Shock Top and Land Shark—especially since, these are all Anheuser-Busch InBev brands.

Malt liquors, however, continue to be narrowly distributed primarily in convenience stores and gas stations—the kinds of retail establishments that characterize what the UDA classifies as urban food deserts.[77] Though the statement is not overtly made, most have come to understand that malt liquor is not legitimate enough, too dangerous, or too associated with a stigmatized population to be served in a self-respecting bar or pub. And through the reification of these attitudes, the stigmatization and isolation of black beer culture is reinforced.

There are, no doubt many more significant contributors to the nature and staying power of black beer culture. And I would be remiss if I did not mention again the powerful influence of hip-hop culture's adoption of the 40oz bottle as an icon of black masculinity. The degree to which people of color have embraced malt liquor as a very visible symbol of cultural identity cannot be minimized. Every young, dark-skinned, baggy pants wearing man clutching a 40oz bottle of malt liquor as a performance of his *blackness,* as well as every other young person who chooses to appropriate these gestures, have done just as much or more to solidify the nature of black beer culture as have the producers of the country's largest malt liquor brands.

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[77] Food deserts are defined as geographies in which it is difficult for residents to obtain to fresh, healthy, and affordable food, particularly without access to an automobile. Instead of supermarkets and grocery stores, these communities may have no food access or are served only by fast food restaurants and convenience stores. Many urban, inner-city areas are currently classified as food deserts.

Discussion

The previous chapter argues that subcultures—forms of sociality that diverge from the dominant values and beliefs in a society—might be understood as alternative valuing communities. That is, a subculture might be interpreted as producing challenges to, alternatives to, or rejections of the techniques that define the dominant regime of valuation, through subcultural techniques that incorporate ideological politics or affective experiences into their calculus. The cohesion experienced among a subculture's members, then, might be fruitfully understood as mobilizations through the performance of these shared techniques—whether expressed as elements of style or in what might be seen as explicitly economic practices. In this way, the craft beer movement's similarities and points of disjuncture with the subcultures of earlier intellectual work are legibly understood as belonging and responding to spatiotemporally distinct regimes of valuation that I argue do not necessarily foreclose the possibility of an authentic or resistant politics.

The subculture discussed in this chapter serves as an illustrative example of how a theory of subcultures as an alternative valuing communities might be put to use, and reveals the kinds questions this approach can productively generate and those it is equipped to answer. Craft beer subculture was demonstrated to be one that *over*-values beer. That it, it is a community of individuals who do not accept narrowly economic definitions of this commodity to restrict its valuation of a revered artifact. The Subculture is not at odds with the dominant means of valuating beer, but is distinguished by its systematic approach to developing and maintaining alternative means of valuation. These alternative techniques of valuation not only differentiate the subculture from mainstream society, but the degree and extent to which individual members are able to perform these acts of alternative valuation define struggles for power and status within the group.

As a counterpoint, I offered a narrative black beer culture. Its inclusion was intended to raise the question of whether a formation is effectively imposed upon a group function as a subculture. In some ways, the valuation of beer within black beer culture does involve the recognition of meanings not in circulation in the dominant culture. Though, as it has been demonstrated this ‘alternative’ valuation ultimately works to support the dominant regime of valuation by maintaining a profitable exclusion. This subculture’s relation to the craft beer subculture is significant, in that it performs the cultural work of discouraging or disabling entrance into craft beer culture on the part of American blacks. More than a simple exercise of marking and racial affiliation, black beer culture actively denies or obscures the technologies of valuation that are the heart of the craft beer subculture. Again, I am unable to reach a conclusion here whether such an act of obfuscation, the concealment of techniques of valuation can validly constitute a subculture.

A critical self-awareness of the subculture’s membership, knowledge of product and production processes, omnivorousness with respect to beer consumption, the willingness to imbue beer with ‘unwarranted’ social significances, and a refusal to be limited to corporate-generated valuations of beer are all principles that define the American craft beer subculture and that are not shared and, in some cases, are actively negated in the existence of black beer culture. In contrast, black beer culture can be seen as one in which valuation practices are particularly limited to those authorized, but not practiced by the dominant regime of valuation and those that reinforce the stigmatization and limit the mobility of its members in service of maintaining a (presumably commercially profitable) status quo.

Chapter 6: Drinking Local and the Politics of Valuation

"We didn't inherit the Earth from our parents; we borrowed it from our children"

- Kenyan Proverb.

In the midst of one of the worst economic downturns in American history,[78] beer drinkers, often thought to be synonymous with middle and working class citizens, are paying more for their beer. Over the past decade, the craft beer[79] movement has mushroomed from a small and dedicated population of homebrewers and beer geeks to an increasingly mainstream cultural-economic phenomenon that has resulted in an explosion in the availability and popularity of domestically brewed, artisanal beers. As of June 30, 2013, 2,538 breweries operated in the United States (Herz, 2014)—evidence of remarkable transformation when considering that in 1980, less than 100 breweries represented the entire domestic brewing

78 The financial crisis triggered by the collapse of American investment banking giants Bear Stearns, Lehman Brothers, Merrill Lynch, Morgan Stanley and Goldman Sachs is widely accepted to substantively and symbolically eclipsed in severity what cultural theorist and economists recognize to be episodic financial crises that have shaken capitalist Angelo-American economies since the 1980s (French, Leyshon, & Thrift, 2009). Though the crisis is too recent to make more than largely speculative generalizations about it's overall impact, at the very least, the crisis has been thoroughly embedded in the American public imaginary and has brought considerable shifts in both the symbolic material realities of everyday life in the United States.

79 "Craft" brewing is an American term, which refers to beer brewing by small, independent, traditional breweries. Craft beers are most often created in smaller batches, using traditional methods, high quality materials, and is crafted to be distinctive and flavorful rather than to mass appeal.

industry (Beer Institute, 2013; Brewers Association, 2011). This dynamic swing in the number of operating breweries does not, however, reflect an overall growth in brewing industry—per capita consumption of beer has in fact declined in recent years (Beer Institute, 2011)—rather, it marks the beginning of a transition from a market overwhelmingly dominated by relatively few and largely homogeneous products produced on a global scale to one supplemented by a robust infusion of independently-produced, highly diverse, regional and local products.[80] All but 55 of the total breweries in operation as of 2013 belong to the craft segment and, statistically, this trend is poised to continue. As of June 30, 2012, 1,300 breweries in planning (considered to be likely entrants to the craft sector) had at a minimum filed paperwork with state agencies—a considerable increase from the 725 and 389 breweries in planning documented the previous two years. Comparatively, only three breweries over the same period transitioned from craft to non-craft status, not as a result of growth, but via acquisition by non-craft brewers.

More than half of the breweries currently in operation in the United States are brewpubs[81] and another third are microbreweries.[82] In contrast to the large (non-craft) breweries that dominate domestic sales and have for more than a century dictated public perception of the brewing industry, brewpubs and microbreweries operate within relatively small geographies. They, along with homebrewing enthusiasts, have helped to ferment an emerging ethic of local

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80 Though the craft segment dominates the number of breweries in operation by the numbers, the craft segment accounts for less than 10 percent of total domestic beer sales. Still, this represents a substantive shift in the market.

81 The Brewers Association defines a brewpub as “A restaurant-brewery that sells 25 percent or more of its beer on site. The beer is brewed primarily for sale in the restaurant and bar. The beer is often dispensed directly from the brewery's storage tanks. Where allowed by law, brewpubs often sell beer "to go" and /or distribute to off site accounts. The Brewers Association re-categorizes such companies as microbreweries if its off-site (distributed) beer sales exceed 75 percent.

82 The Brewers Association Defines a Microbrewery as a brewery that produces less than 15,000 barrels of beer annually with 75 percent or more of its beer sold off-site.

and regional brewing and beer consumption. Though this ethic is rooted in notions such as *place* and *community*, it has not remained place-bound, being cultivated by geographically disparate communities. To this end, local and regional craft brewery openings have been accompanied by the explosion of a nationwide cultural and informational network that includes websites,[83] festivals,[84] books,[85] culinary innovations, magazines,[86] political movements, and television programs all explicitly dedicated to the enjoyment of American craft beer.

Such changes, however, are not simply the fruits of the successful cultivation of a niche market. They are part of larger cultural movements involving a politics of food and beverage in which the question of sustainability has become central. The craft brewing industry has demonstrably established such discourses as central to its operation. For example, the Brooklyn Brewery of New York's trendy Williamsburg neighborhood (craft brewing pioneer and one of America's top 40 breweries for the last decade) in 2003 became the first company in New York City to switch to 100 percent wind-generated electricity. In 1998, the Alaskan Brewing Company in Juneau, AK, became the first brewery to install a CO_2 recovery system that captures and cleans gas produced during the fermentation process for reuse in packaging (carbonation) and in purging oxygen from holding tanks, reducing their annual CO_2 emissions by an estimated 800,000 lbs. Great Lakes Brewing Company of Cleveland, OH strives to create a 'closed-loop' recycling program, reusing as much of its produced waste as possible—spent brewing grains are turned into baked goods, all of the brewery's packaging is 100 percent recyclable, and the

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83 See for example, http://beeradvocate.com, http://ratebeer.com, and/or http://craftbeer.com

84 Literally hundreds of craft beer festivals litter the US each year. Some of the largest—the American Craft Beer Festival, *All About Beer* magazine's World Beer Festival, the Extreme Beer Festival—draw thousands of festival goers each year.

85 Popular titles published within months of the writing of this chapter include *The Craft of Stone Brewing Company* and sprawling 900-page *Oxford Companion to Beer*.

86 See for example *All About Beer, Beer Advocate,* and/or *DRAFT Magazine.*

brewery's biodiesel distribution trucks are fueled exclusively by vegetable oil. Victory Brewing Company of Downingtown, PA generates approximately 82,000-kilowatt hours of electricity annually using 345 photovoltaic panels. A monitor in the brewery's restaurant displays live data about the power generated (Energy Business Daily, 2010).

The rhetoric of sustainability, however, has become largely clichéd, as it is increasingly used by politicians and corporations, advertisers and activists alike. More problematically, the project of sustainability has fallen victim to largely tautological rationalizations. That is, to state that a product or practice is sustainable no longer raises the question of precisely how it accomplishes this work; rather, the truth of such claims is established in the hollow act of deploying the term itself. The *how* of the rhetoric of sustainability is a question that merits significant interrogation, particularly as the term has economic, environmental, ethical, social and spiritual valences. Despite the proliferation of many fractured definitions, most notions of sustainability turn upon an inherent sense of futurity, predicated on an ethos of intergenerational justice—but to what, precisely, future generations are entitled, however, is rarely a point of consensus. Access to ecological resources and the right to an unspoiled natural environment are perhaps the most easily retrievable components of these visions of justice. However, another significant line of thinking privileges the continued ability to live profitability and comfortably in the current cultural-economic system. The 'livelihoods perspective' (Goodman & Goodman, 2007) finds sustainability in products and practices that contribute to the continued health and subsistence of a human population. And though such perspectives are often complementary to ecological preservation efforts and related social justice initiatives, they are not primarily galvanized by their pursuit. Thus, deceptively simple concepts such as 'permanent livability' and ‘combating scarcity’ deployed within the rhetoric of sustainability carry within them a profound internal tension between human capital growth and natural resource depletion. Attempts to resolve this dissonance on the part of individuals and organizations alike, range from accommodationist measures, amounting to little more than feel-good marketing strategies, to radical interventions that assume that the nature of capitalist economies foreclose the possibility of truly sustainable living.

Though local and regional craft breweries use diverse strategies to address the project of pursuing sustainability, their contributions can often be summarized in the imperative to *drink local*—a mantra that is more frequently gracing bumper stickers, t-shirts, and promotional materials for breweries and localities. An underlying question of this analysis—how contextually specific expressions of localism are articulated to specific cultural-economic practices in the craft brewing industry—is fruitfully explicated within the framework of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs).

Alternative Food Networks

Alternative Food Networks have been the subject of an expanding literature attempting to describe trends in the production, circulation and consumption of food commodities that appear to evade, challenge or subvert conventional agro-food systems. Farmer’s markets, Fair Trade, community supported agriculture (CSA), organics, and Slow Food are well-documented examples of the kinds of cultural-economic phenomena that have fallen under the aegis of AFN research (Goodman & Goodman, 2007; Goodman & Goodman, 2009; Jackson, Ward, & Russell, 2006; Parkins & Craig, 2009; Renting, Marsden, & Banks, 2003; Sage, 2003; Sonnino & Marsden, 2005). To this list, this chapter adds sustainable brewing practices.[87]

Based largely in the United States and United Kingdom, intellectual work on AFNs is concerned with the real and perceived contractions of geographic, social, economic, and affective distances between the production of food commodities and their consumption (Renting et al., 2003). The length of conventional food networks have, for proponents of AFNs, resulted in four interrelated and deleterious consequences: an environmentally hazardous global food system; a dangerous lack of transparency regarding the conditions of food production; food that is of poor quality and of low nutritive value; and a food system that does not support and often exploits the communities it depends upon via inequitable labor and trade relationships or the erasure of traditional/indigenous knowledge, rituals, and traditions. Not all AFN movements or AFN research attends to these points of critique with equal attention. Goodman and Goodman (2007) have effectively demonstrated that two distinct 'flavors' of AFN have emerged, particularly in the United States where AFN formation and research is observably more politicized. The distinction between sustainable agricultural movements (SAMs) on one hand and local food networks (LFNs) on the other will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. What is important at this juncture is to acknowledge that such differentiations are indicative of the internal tension embedded within discourses of sustainability and underwrite very different approaches to sustainability as a political project. Within the context of this analysis, such

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[87] Though this chapter represents the first known application of the AFN framework to the craft brewing industry, material connections between the two domains already exist. Case in point, craft beer expert and Brewmaster at Brooklyn Brewery, Garrett Oliver, was a founding Board member of Slow Food USA and later became a member of the Board of Counselors of Slow Food International.

ruptures reveal productive places to evaluate differences in the techniques of valuation in use in spaces that are intentionally crafted to be alternative or complementary to traditional economies.

Despite diverse approaches to analyzing AFNs and very different criteria for evaluating their worth, at the root of nearly all published work is an assumption that an AFN is system of relationships that produces value-added. Jackson, Ward and Russel (2006) effectively demonstrate that commodity chain analyses are conducted in highly variable ways, to various ends, in the service of a variety of agendas, but are nonetheless are attempts to frame the movement of food commodities from producers to consumers as a series of finite, connected intervals that may be intervened upon in order to maximize profit. Similarly, approaches to the analysis of AFNs making use of convention theory[88] (Sage, 2003), those drawing upon an economy of qualities (Callon, Meadel, & Rebeharisoa, 2002), as well as those that employ theories of affect and emotion (Parkins & Craig, 2009) are attempts to theorize the translation of cultural capital to economic value-added. In spite of this common ground, value, and more specifically, processes of valuation are rarely investigated within the AFN movement as spaces of diverse political strategy making or tactical expression of politics in everyday life. Rather, it is too quickly assumed that all AFNs share a unified and homogeneous progressivism (that is understood to constitute a fundamentally different practice of valuation) that is defined in opposition to the dominant agrofood system (ostensibly global capitalism). Further, though the added values attributed to commodities produced within AFNs are regularly realized in a capitalist marketplace, AFNs are unproblematically considered to be fundamentally resistant to

[88] "Convention theory focuses on the quality characteristics of information and the need for common understandings and not just rules and norms as the basis of social action. It defends the plurality of publicly justifiable actions based on a limited number of coherent systems of values that are culturally specific" (Wilkinson, 2011).

the logics of capitalist expansion. This chapter intends to present a more nuanced analysis of the politics of AFNs that acknowledges their varied material expressions. Further, it hopes to intervene in the tendency to construct alternative economic formations as external to a unified (and largely unassailable) capitalist totality, opting instead to theorize all economies (including the conventional agrofood system and AFNs) as continuously shifting and overlapping assemblages of institutions, artifacts, logics, subjectivities, and everyday cultural practices.

The objective of this chapter is to illuminate the often-divergent techniques of valuation that constitute AFNs and in doing so examining how valuation forms the basis of wide-ranging approaches to the pursuit of political ends. This chapter additionally intends to respond, in part, to calls for more cultural approaches to the study of AFNs (see for example Parkins & Craig, 2009). Far from assuming that AFN research must force a begrudging compromise between *economic* and *cultural* examinations of the production, circulation, consumption, and representation of food and beverages, it hopes to explore a ground that underlies both categories.

Capturing Value

It is difficult to evoke value without confronting the enormous discursive baggage that I argue tethers the term unnecessarily tightly to the domain of the economic. Value, as conceived in this chapter, does not cede to economic value (much less capitalist economic value) and is not intended to be analogous to price. The need to establish these conceptual separations and the difficulty in maintaining their gaps speaks to the success with which capitalist apparatuses capture value. Indeed, it is challenging for most to conceive of means of capturing value that are not fundamentally based on capitalist economic logics. Such logics have the power to bias—to overshadow—other domains of life that are no less involved in the cultural work of producing value. I chose, then, to look to processes of valuation, rather than the crystallized products of such processes (which too often imprison analyses within the conceptual frame of the commodity). Rather, processes of valuation include a vast array of collaborating phenomena, material resources, human intention, symbolic artifacts, and affective intensities. These phenomena are of course not specific to processes of valuation, but constitutive of the larger social field, whole ways of life (Williams, 1961), or the plain from which culture emerges. Attending, however, to processes on this level requires an analytical framework for making sense of which processes should be considered value producing and which should not. A number of scholars have offered *mediation* as a way of apprehending the (re)organization of the social field on the level of the everyday, specifically in relation to value. Postone's (1996) reading of Marx's critique of capitalism hinges upon an understanding of labor as a mediator of relations. Similarly, Latour, Callon, and Law, working within the actor-network theory tradition, characterize mediators to be entities that multiply difference—entities that in some manner transform, rather than simply transport, the force of other entities with which they interact (Callon et al., 2002; Latour, 1993; Law, 2004). Building upon these notions of cultural mediation, valuation is defined here as process whereby mediators of the social are objectified, rendered abstract, and thus made calculable (Amariglio & Callari, 1989; Muniesa et al., 2007). It is this abstract calculability that makes such processes ripe for economization (Muniesa et al., 2007). Nonetheless, the making economic of processes of valuation is held here to be the result of contextually specific articulations and not a causal inevitability.

To provide an example, Marx's labor theory of value might be reread into this theory of valuation. The crux of Marx's theory of value, labor, can be interpreted as an historically dominant mediator of Western social formations (Postone, 1996). Labor, in large part, structured human relationships with the land and other humans, contributed to specific forms of waged and unwaged subjectivity (as discussed in Chapter 3), defined public and private life, and helped to constitute organizations from the corporation to the state. It is the objectification of labor—the move recognized by Marx from embodied labor in particular to abstract labor in general—that allows labor to become a site of value production. Abstract labor, rendered calculable via the enumeration of labor-time, becomes a means of commensuration between commodities, wages, and the material investments of capital—a facilitator of economic action (exchange, arbitrage, etc) and one of the most familiarly understood manifestations of value, wealth. It is evident in this formulation that labor itself is not essential to the formation of value (though it has been one of the most widely established mediators of the social field in the short history of the United States). Rather, it is the role of mediator historically occupied by labor, through which processes of valuation emerge—a role that can conceivably by occupied by any number of cultural mediators.

I use the term techniques of valuation*,* then, to refer to the unique assembly of material artifacts, human agency, discourses and affects in contextually specific ways that facilitate the abstraction of mediators of the social field. In Marx's labor theory of value, the techniques of valuation in use are largely temporal in nature. That is, they are techniques of operationalizing labor into units of time. The hourly wage and the measuring of individual productivity as number of tasks accomplished per unit of time are illustrative examples. The familiarity of these techniques has lead to their naturalization. They are not, however, the products of necessary relations; they have instead coalesced from any number of historically specific contributors—technological innovations like the clock and personal time pieces; the premium placed on speed by competition born of the increasing mobility of products and peoples; the desire to codify a distinction between public and private life. Techniques of valuation are spatiotemporally specific, contextually unique, but may (as in the case of value-producing labor) be widely adopted, institutionally bolstered, and ritualized in the performance of everyday life. In these cases, a regime of valuation can be said to have emerged, marking a condition in which a set of techniques of valuation are thoroughly naturalized, functioning as a default means of not only producing but conceptualizing of value.

Alternative Food Networks are productively understood, then, as politicized efforts to imagine and put into practice innovative techniques of valuation in pursuit of the larger mission of cultivating a regime of valuation that attends to the wellbeing of future generations. Regional and local breweries that champion sustainable brewing practices are fruitful spaces in which to locate emerging techniques of valuation, to demonstrate how contextual specificities produce differing techniques of valuation within ostensibly similar AFNs, and to evaluate the efficacy of the politics of valuation that emerge in various sites.

Beer in Place

Over the past decade, the North Carolina brewing industry evolved as a time-lapsed prototype of the development of the craft beer segment nationwide. Until recently, a Prohibition-era legal relic restricted North Carolina brewers and beer-drinkers to the sale, distribution and purchase of beer containing six percent alcohol by volume (ABV) or less, greatly impacting the quality and diversity of beers available to the state's inhabitants.[89] In 2003, a group of grassroots activists led by Sean Lilly Wilson launched an education, lobbying and fundraising campaign called Pop the Cap, whose mission it was to change the restrictive gravity[90] laws in North Carolina. The organization was successful in 2005, when Governor Mike Easley signed a law raising the allowable gravity of beers produced and distributed in the state to 15 percent ABV. In the years since, North Carolina has become a hotbed of the craft brewing movement. The number of active brewers permits in North Carolina increased from 40 in 2006 to 54 in 2010. As of 2013 North Carolina was home to 84 breweries and brewpubs, with nationally prominent craft brewers Oskar Blues, New Belgium, and Sierra Nevada all locating facilities in the state since 2013. According to the North Carolina Brewers Guild, the state now boasts more craft breweries than any state in the American South. On the Western end of the state, the mountain town of Asheville has for three consecutive years won the honor of being named 'Beer City USA,' beating out large cities with long established craft beer industries like Portland and San Diego (Papazian, 2011). The eastern part of the state is experiencing a similar renaissance. The triangle region, which includes the capital city Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill is home to a bevy of craft breweries[91] and the nationally distributed *All About Beer Magazine*, which hosts

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89 For example, more than half of the 78 beer styles included in Beer Judge Certification Program (BJCP) guidelines by definition have average ABVs above this mark, including some of the most popular styles and a large proportion of commercially produced of specialty and hybrid ales. In response to such limitations, North Carolina developed a robust homebrewing community that for years carried the torch of the craft beer movement in the state.

90 Brewers measure the alcohol content of beer in units of specific gravity.

91 These include Aviator Brewing Company, Big Boss Brewing Company, Bull City Burger and Brewery, Carolina Brewery, Carolina Brewing Company, Fullsteam Brewery, LoneRider Brewing Company, Triangle Brewing Company, Top of the Hill, Mystery Brewing Company, Gizmo BrewWorks,

two major beer festivals in the triangle each year, attended by more than 10,000 craft beer enthusiasts.

The compressed timeframe with which the North Carolina craft brewing industry emerged onto the national scene and its well-documented successes provide an excellent opportunity to explore the dynamics of valuation with respect to regional and local brewing. The question of how the project of sustainability is expressed as a politics of valuation within emergent AFNs is addressed in a discussion of two case studies: Mother Earth Brewing located in Kinston, NC; and Fullsteam Brewery located in Durham, NC. The two cases were selected based upon several important points of similarity that allow the comparison of their more interesting disjunctures. The breweries each make particular definitions and practices of sustainability central to their operation and organizational identities and both make sustained efforts to respond to the critiques of the conventional agrofood system (which includes the tradition of American macro-brewing) that define AFNs. The breweries are recent entrants to the industry, both having opened for operation since 2009. Fullsteam and Mother Earth are additionally part of the same bioregion, drawing upon the same ecological community, environmental conditions, and cultural resources. Finally, the breweries are subject to the same conditions of federal and state taxation and are governed by the same state laws and regulations for the brewing and distribution of beer.

Rather than follow established methodological precedents for studying AFNs, I allow the political interventions that AFNs attempt to make—environmentalism, transparency, quality and community—to structure this inquiry and gravitate toward methodological approaches best

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Hosanna Brewing Company, White Rabbit Brewery, Trophy Brewing Company, Starpoint Brewing, Steel String Brewery, and Crank Arm Brewing Company.

suited to answer questions posed in context, a means of maintaining what Grossberg (2010) calls Cultural Studies' commitment to radical contextuality. The advantage of such methodological flexibility is the ability to attend to the breadth of cultural-economic flows. Commodity chain analyses, for example, heavily bias processes of production and distribution, privileging the actions of manufacturers and distributors. Similarly, discursive, symbolic, and affective analyses attend closely to spaces of consumption, but tend to neglect contributions made within domains of production. By addressing the imperatives of the AFN movement itself, this inquiry attempts to collapse circuits of production, distribution, consumption, and representation into a heterogeneous domain of cultural action where competing techniques of valuation emerge.

The discussions provided are the result of visits to each establishment, a review of each brewery's organizational discourse, and the evaluation of media coverage of each brewery by mainstream and industry-specific media outlets. In the first case study, I argue that the techniques of valuation that differentiate the AFN anchored by Mother Earth Brewing are characterized by a scalar conceptualization of localism. The successful *revision* of existing modes of conducting the business of brewing are, in this case, qualified via the codification of reduced environmental impact (for example, shrinking one's carbon footprint). In the second case study, I argue that the techniques of valuation defining the AFN anchored by Fullsteam Brewery are distinguished by a communal local imaginary. In this case, the successful *circumvention* of existing conventions in the brewing industry are qualified via the establishment of collaborative arrangements and the demonstrable formation of *community*. Taken together, the two cases demonstrate a range of possibilities and limitations of a politics of valuation in reference to contemporary product economies.

These case studies support the assertion that, "in the context of the evolutionary dynamics of alternative food networks, the conventional dichotomy between standardized and localized food does not thoroughly reflect the present reality of the food sector" (Sonnino & Marsden, 2005, p. 184). In detailing a more complexly politicized sustainable craft brewing movement, this analysis attempts to highlight the role of "everyday practices of learning to live differently [that] involve attention to feelings and affects which cannot be bracketed off from the economic, political, and intellectual domains" (Sonnino & Marsden, 2005, p. 184) in imagining economies based on more equitable and ethical distributions of power and resources.

Mother Earth Brewing

Kinston is serviced by North Carolina state highway 70. It is nestled at the end of a two-hour eastward drive from North Carolina's more populous piedmont region. The trip, made at a wooded 65 miles per hour, is broken by the particular gravities of small rural towns that intermittently slow the speed limit to 35 mph. These are the sorts of places that perplex urban dwellers like myself who (perhaps guiltily) wonder what exactly the residents of these kinds of places do all day. They do what we all do, of course, perhaps more often at well-known and familial destinations, in metal smelting plants or meatpacking facilities, swap meets and outdoor flea markets, or in any number of the churches that lean into the highway.

Kinston, NC is not unlike these other small highway towns, humbly announcing on a poster courtesy of the local chamber of commerce, "We're on the way"—the slogan, a double entendre that drips with uncomfortable modesty. On one hand, Kinston proudly references recent economic developments that include the 1.5 million dollar renovation of the abandoned

Super Saver grocery store into the Mother Earth brewery. Those from this region also know highway 70 to be the primary thoroughfare over which Kinston's western neighbors make the trek to the beaches at Wilmington, NC and Myrtle Beach, SC. It is very literally *on the way* to where presumably most travelers with tourist dollars are headed.

Mother Earth Brewing is a short distance from the highway, situated in downtown Kinston, an aged, agricultural working-class municipality undergoing visible revitalization efforts. Still, Mother Earth is something of an unlikely sight after traversing several blocks of crumbling abandoned buildings, small auto yards, scarcely marked train tracks, and the unsurprising announcement of vacancies at the 1960s-era Kinston Motor Lodge. The brewery's presence on the corner of North Heritage and West North streets is commanding, its logo painted in vibrant rust red on the noticeably restored brick façade of the building. Brick cedes to towering, boldly framed windows that flaunt the brewery's gleaming stainless steel fermentation tanks. Around the corner, Mother Earth merchandise, from t-shirts to Frisbees to Christmas ornaments, artfully fill an adjacent storefront, inviting passersby into the facility's taproom. It is here each Saturday where visitors congregate for hourly tours of the brewery's facility.

Mother Earth Brewing opened its doors on October 24, 2009. It is the brainchild of Trent Mooring and his father-in-law Stephen Hill, natives of Kinston, who together cultivated a vision to "make a world-class product, but keep the process local" (2009). The brewery, as its name suggests, endeavors to make environmentalism a foundational part of its organizational identity. Much of this effort is realized in the architecture and mechanization of the brewery itself. During the renovation, builders repurposed as many usable materials from the original structure as possible including bricks, fixtures and lumber. The resulting product is a sprawling and compartmentalized space embodying what might be described as a ‘squatter-chic’ aesthetic, a spatial configuration that valorizes the material legacy of the existing structure while simultaneously introducing elements of urban modernity and technological innovation. Yawning from a corridor leading away from the brewery’s taproom is a cellar-like barrel conditioning room and just beyond, an expansive packaging area where the brewery’s bottling line is housed. These spaces and the adjacent cold storage room, brewing floor, and yeast laboratory were renovated to minimize energy consumption, using an insulation manufactured from recycled denim. An outdoor seating area, nestled between a small parking lot and the rear wall of the brewery, is tucked below a six-kilowatt solar array that generates enough energy to power the taproom entirely. Few details of the building’s design were not capitalized upon in the effort to reduce the environmental impact of the brewery—eco flush valves on toilets and low output faucets reduce water consumption in the bathrooms, low VOC[92] paint covers the walls, and even the brewery’s custom tap handles are made of highly renewable bamboo.

The significant attention given to environmental measures here is consistent with a vision of sustainability espoused by a sustainable agriculture movement (SAM). SAMs typify early examples of AFNs, particularly in the United States, evolving primarily from concerns regarding food safety. Exemplified by the surge in certified organic foods, this variant of AFN relies heavily upon institutionally established criteria for standardization, certification and labeling. The ‘allowable inputs’ paradigm that underwrites USDA organic certification is largely manifest in efforts to make existing production practices greener via the introduction of new technologies or replacing problematic links in the production chain with safer alternatives (Goodman &

[92] Volatile organic compounds.

Goodman, 2007). Such an approach to conducting sustainable business is highly compatible with the vision of community revitalization that is woven throughout Mother Earth's organizational discourse and serves as a means of reducing the dissonance engendered by many of the stylistic choices in the brewery's consumer facing spaces.

Visitors recently disembarked from cars wedged into the brewery's few parking spaces or lining one of Kinston's narrow and pitted downtown streets experience something of a sensory shock when walking into the airy taproom. There is little approximating sleekness within miles of this room, save the anachronistic modernity of a vintage Airstream trailer rusting among a number of other vehicles some 20 minutes away. But this room's impressive stainless steel bar, under-lit with blue neon light; metallic finishes, cocktail tables and stools; walls adorned with abstract art; molded mid-century modern chairs scattered around the floor; and frosted glass pendant lights hanging from high ceilings are more reminiscent of a big-city lounge than a working-class neighborhood bar. At the rear of the room, floor to ceiling glass windows are covered with a gauzy white fabric that defuses afternoon sunlight to a soft glow. Were it not for the wide-planked, rough-hewn boards repurposed into flooring, one might completely forget the kind of naturalist discourse that seems to permeate all other elements of the brewery's operations. Though at risk of clashing with Mother Earth's nature-infused, environmentalist identity, the visual rhetorics of this space are acutely attuned to founders' mission to economically serve this community. The brewery's bohemian/urban gloss and premium products—seemingly at odds with the roughly 22,000 residents of Kinston who draw on average 65 percent of the per capita earnings of and reach markedly lower levels of educational attainment than the average American citizen—are legible within the logic of small-town economic development.

Local media coverage of the brewery's impact does not paint a picture of city residents congregating to enjoy a craft beer after shifts manufacturing building materials and processing meats.[93] Rather, it heralds the brewery's ability to bring jobs, tourist traffic, and outside money into this rural/industrial community. To this end, the brewery operates largely within the traditional three-tired structure of the brewing industry (producer-wholesaler-retailer). Through a distribution partnership with Tryon Distributing Company, one of the largest distributors of craft beer and fine wines in North Carolina, Mother Earth's flagship beers grace the shelves of dozens of high-end grocers and specialty retailers and are served in a number of bars and restaurants across the region.

It might go without saying that Mother Earth Brewing, like Fullsteam Brewery, when regarded as a space of valuation, makes significant use of the techniques of valuation naturalized within the current capitalist regime (waged labor, commodity exchange, capital improvement). Emphasis, however, is placed in this discussion on techniques associated with the brewery's efforts to frame its operating practices and organizational ideology as alternative to an unsustainable status quo. In the case of Mother Earth Brewing, these techniques can be summarized as those intended to make scalar revisions to traditional brewing networks, quantified by the degree to which measurable reductions in the brewery's environmental impact

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[93] According to Lenoir County Economic Development, some of the areas largest employers include Associated Materials, Inc., Electrolux Home Products, Masterbrand Cabinets, and Harmony Hall Health Care, manufacturers of vinyl windows, dishwashers, cabinets, and medical supplies respectively; as well as Sanderson Farms, poultry processor, and Smithfield Foods, processors of ham.

(fewer volumes of water and kilowatt hours of electricity consumed) are made and the degree to which profitable economic impacts are realized within a tight geographical radius of the brewery.

The kinds of environmental measures taken by Mother Earth have the potential to help AFN-oriented producers like it to reduce start-up and operating costs—the inflated price of sustainable building materials and renewable energy technologies, at least in part offset by numerous state and federal incentives.[94] Such measures—and the strategic education of a consumer base regarding their inclusion in Mother Earth's business model—additionally circulate in economies of sentiment (Paxson, 2006), operating on one level to justify a premium price for Mother Earth beers and on another to expand a kind of 'literacy of localism' into the market. The efficacy of these techniques rest in their ability to quantify the *beneficial smallness* of Mother Earth in ways that are commensurable with existing lines of abstraction (small=cost savings=increased profit or small=proximate=immediate impact). At a minimum, these alternative processes of valuation have the ability to motivate the act of choice, which is readily economized into notions like brand loyalty.

Fullsteam

Visitors to Fullsteam likely come across none of the (in all probability, very few) things they might expect to see and experience on a warm fall Wednesday evening at a brewery. The unexpected nature of the encounter is not the result of a lack of eventfulness; in fact, the contrary is true. The renovated 7-up plant, arranged in a row of warehouses in downtown Durham's

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[94] The US Department of Energy's Database of State Incentives for Renewables and Efficiency (http://www.dsireusa.org) details dozens of financial incentives for North Carolina businesses including loan programs, tax credits, rebates, fee exemptions, and utility rate reductions.

Central Park district, pulses with activity. A towering red metal door with a backwards F (the brewery's logo) shines behind a small front patio decorated by one circular plastic table that looks as if were taken from 1970s-era fast food chain—though 'widened sidewalk' might more accurately describe the crowded slab of concrete, as 'patio' seems overly generous. A group of men and women—college students, young professionals and other 30 and 40-somethings—dressed in athletic shoes and short shorts spill out from the open door onto small squares of adjacent grass and sit on the curb hanging their feet into Rigsbee Road with pints of beer in hand. Though the legality of their actions is somewhat suspect, the ease and familiarity with which the drinkers roam (and the presence of the Durham Police Station less than two blocks north) communicates with a quiet certainty that this is simply the way things are done.

Behind the great metal door is the community space of Fullsteam's on-site tavern. A makeshift game room was fashioned in the front with a ping-pong table, a few vintage pinball machines, and a fuse ball game that rarely goes unoccupied. Visitors in the main seating area are protected from errant ping pong balls by a wall covered with obsolete analog controls—a quirky relic of the building's history and just one of the many markers of Fullsteam's agrarian steampunk aesthetic.[95] The main seating area is an enormous concrete floored space. A raised wooden stage is tucked in the corner, crowded with A/V equipment and a now defunct mechanical bull that was donated while the brewery was under construction. Bright orange

[95] Steampunk surfaced as an offshoot of cyberpunk, a movement ushered in by William Gibson's (1985) speculative dystopic novel, Neuromancer. Responsible for coining the term cyberspace, Gibson's (1986) science fiction has had a tremendous impact on popular culture. The steampunk subculture which includes elements of fashion, architecture, literature, and art that draw upon a Victorian aesthetic, and celebrate the age of steam power. Steampunk objects are generally modified or "moded" with leather, wood, brass, clockwork machinations creating anachronistic technologies or manifestations of the future as it might have been conceived by Victorians. Many of these objects still function in their contemporary capacities, however, function is secondary to form with regard to the steampunk ethic, which champions the creation of "misapplied technology."

plastic and wooden picnic tables stretch across the room inviting small groups and individuals to intermingle. This part of the tavern, separated from a tap room by a 30-ft tall half barrel that has been crafted into sliding doors, has the feel of a well-worn recreation room or community center—something Wilson (who spearheaded Pop the Cap), founder and 'Chief Executive Optimist' of Fullsteam, states he was looking for in a location for the brewery. Chris Davis, the brewery's resident Zymologist, joined Wilson in founding Fullsteam. The brewery opened for operation on August 13, 2010, on the fifth anniversary of the day the gravity laws in North Carolina changed.

Defining itself as a 'plow to pint' brewery, Fullsteam's approach to doing business is largely consistent with a Local Food Network (LFN). In the evolution of American AFNs, LFNs followed and sought to ameliorate many of the perceived flaws and limitations of SAMs. With their focus on regulation, standardization, and certification, and high levels of integration with government bureaucracy and regulatory institutions, SAMs and the model of sustainable operation they espouse, are regarded by many to be impractical, inaccessible, or fiscally unfeasible for smaller entities.[96] In most cases, it is easier for a large conventional food producer to adopt certification measures than for a small-scale artisanal producer. In the trajectory of alternative food movements, localism has largely eclipsed the importance of certifiable measures like organics and Fair Trade that in many circles of activists have lost their political purchase. "Continuing a long tradition of ideological agrarianism, the [locus] of artisanal production is figured in neo-populist LFN rhetoric as the repository of moral values of community and the site of socio-cultural resistance to the anomic forces of distantiated agro-food systems" (Goodman &

96 For example, certification under the USDA Organics label required minimum levels of agricultural production that many small farmers do not reach.

Goodman, 2007, p. 30). The investment in the space of Fullsteam as a realization of an idealized notion of community is palpable, and made collectively by producers and consumers alike.

Nearly a dozen dogs roam the brewery, skipping from one to another water bowl that has been randomly laid on the floor. It is only with some difficulty that one can discern dogs that regularly come along with their owners to drink and dogs that have been brought by representatives of the Animal Protection Society of Durham, who are on site with a group of adoptable pets. The dogs are eager to socialize, particularly with the groups of people who have taken to the floors between tables to stretch. Members of the Fullsteam Ahead! Run Club, who disembark from the brewery each Wednesday evening, have returned after several miles to share a few well-earned pints. The diversity of this Wednesday throng is no anomaly. Over the course of my visits to Fullsteam, I witnessed a silent auction fundraiser for a local non-profit, a Baliwood movie night, a burlesque show, and a baby shower. The brewery is an accurate distillation of this up and coming part of Durham, wedged between two Universities, a new skateboard park, the farmer's market and a thriving arts district. Like the Mother Earth brewery, Fullsteam undertook the renovation of an abandoned building in a part of town undergoing economic revitalization efforts. In contrast, Durham, which is ten times the size of Kinston, has benefitted from large-scale revitalization that has been enthusiastically embraced by locals. Many of the dilapidated structures surrounding Fullsteam have been renovated into artist's studios and galleries, trendy restaurants, and nightspots.

The vision of sustainability materialized at Fullsteam brewery is less concerned with specific environmental measures and more with manufacturing a particular notion of local community, though attention to environmentalism has not been entirely excluded. The environmentalism here, however, is more focused on the reuse of existing material than on introducing new green technology. Thus, an old steal dairy tank has been repurposed into a fermentor, all of the furnishings are constructed of reclaimed materials or enjoying reuse, and the bar that stretches the expanse of the small tap room is faced with cast off materials purchased at the Scrap Exchange, a local "creative reuse center" that gives new life to discarded materials.

Fullsteam's mission is to craft a unique identity for Southern beer (much like that enjoyed by the signature West Coast IPA). Specifically, the brewers' endeavor "to create a distinctly Southern beer style that celebrates the culinary and agricultural heritage of the South" (2011). Ironically, this thoroughly urban brewery makes agrarianism the heart of its organizational identity. Plow to pint, for the brewers at Fullsteam, means incorporating as many locally produced and ecologically native ingredients into their beers as possible. The brewery's El Toro cream ale, a style that commonly uses non-barley adjuncts and thus is shunned by many craft brewers, is brewed here with a significant contribution of corn grits. The Carver lager celebrates North Carolina's role as the largest domestic producer of sweet potatoes, using 250 locally sourced pounds in each batch. The fullest realization of this ethic, however, is in the brewery's Forager series. In just over a year of operation, Fullsteam has invited community members to bring foraged ingredients from backyard fruit trees, gardens, forests, and small farms to be used in the production of two special release beers. As a result of calls for ingredients made almost entirely via Fullsteam's formidable social media presence, the brewery received 75 pounds of wild native persimmons that were used in the production of their First Frost winter persimmon ale and 75 pounds of paw paws (the largest edible tree fruit native to North America) that were used in crafting their Paw Paw Belgian-style golden ale. Foragers are offered market prices for their goods.

It is worth noting that Fullsteam's Forager series are some of the brewery's most expensive products and the only individually bottled beers they sell. In largely eschewing traditional 12ozbottles, however, the brewery has not avoided the retail market; rather, it has largely taken a direct-to-consumer approach in distributing its products. Locals of Durham and surrounding areas are not unused to seeing 'the mullet' moving around town, the brewery's restored WV bus with which it self-distributes most of its beer. The rest of its compact distribution radius is reached through agreements with businesses that come to Durham to source beer directly from the brewery. Packaging choices not only support Fullsteam's self-distribution efforts, but are another means by which the organization pursues sustainable operation. Apart from kegs that are distributed to area restaurants, Fullsteam beers are largely distributed in reusable half-gallon growlers that may be purchased at local retailers, on-site at the brewery, or at the Durham Farmer's Market.

In the case of Fullsteam, techniques of valuation with respect to the brewery's efforts to forge alternative brewing economies can be summarized as those intended to subvert traditional brewing networks, quantified by the degree to which collaborative relationships with the brewery's immediate community are fostered. Sustainability here is operationalized by the number and quality of linkages the brewery is able to locally substitute for more traditional avenues of doing businesses. One example is the relationship Fullsteam has fostered with locally operating food trucks. Far from stereotypical hot dog stands, Durham's food trucks include a variety of well-respected culinary ventures—from purveyors of Chinese dumplings to traditional

Indian food, handcrafted sausage to artisan pizza, slow ice cream to fusion Korean Barbeque. On most evenings, visitors can find one or more food trucks parked outside of the brewery. In this arrangement, the food trucks enjoy a predictable customer base and visitors to Fullsteam's tavern enjoy a nearby variety of foods that can be enjoyed in or outside of the tavern. In addition to avoiding the need to serve food on-site or enter a relationship with a wholesaler, Fullsteam's ethic of sustainability is further supported as several of these trucks focus on serving locally sourced sustainable foods. The manufacture of community around the Fullsteam brewery, a contagion of affect, contributes to the solvency of the brewery by often eliminating costly middlemen from a range of the breweries activities, including sourcing raw materials, marketing, and distribution.

Discussion

The material, discursive and spatial politics of Mother Earth Brewing and Fullsteam are (co)constitutive with techniques of valuation attempting to realize sustainable local economies. Such a politics of valuation can be seen to contribute to both the economic successes and political efficacy of local and artisanal food producers more broadly. It has been acknowledged by scholars that AFN research tends to overstate the autonomy of alternative food networks, failing to recognize the ways that they maintain relationships (some of dependence) with the conventional agro-food system (Goodman & Goodman, 2007; Goodman & Goodman, 2009). These two cases demonstrate how the alternative is not always oppositional and is often in functional ways compatible with mainstream economies, as both Fullsteam and Mother Earth use techniques of valuation uncommon within the dominant regime, but that ultimately contribute to the success of dominant techniques. I contend that these compatibilities do not foreclose the possibility of authentic or effective alternative politics; they, however, do raise a number of important questions.

The tenants of sustainability to which AFNs attend—environmentalism, transparency, quality, and community—are encountered in substantively different ways in the cases discussed in this chapter. Environmentalism is figured as a greener standard of largely traditional business practices at Mother Earth Brewing, those that require capital investment and find an ethical and symbolic partnership with a conception of the local as a measurably smaller scale of operation. At Fullsteam, environmentalism is figured more loosely, the basis for an emotional and affective connection with the unique aspects of the bioregion and a penchant for cost-saving reuse. The environmentalism practiced at Kinston's brewery actively mediates the social sphere of beer consumption and is readily abstracted and easily economized in the terms of traditional business practices. In contrast, the more nebulous environmentalism at Fullsteam does not factor as directly into the brewery's processes of alternative valuation; rather it serves to support its more direct focus on community.

Both of the breweries discussed appear to make partial efforts to address the AFN movement's concern for increasing the transparency of food production. Both offer tours of their brewing facilities, however, it should be noted this practice is not uncommon for large (non-craft) brewers and does not necessarily give consumers greater knowledge of the production of the beverages they consume. Fullsteam's commitment to the use of local ingredients does cultivate something of a sense of transparency regarding the production of their beers, but it is important to note that most of the locally sourced ingredients used by the brewery are adjunct and flavoring additions to the beers and not the bulk of core ingredients. Mother Earth Brewing appears instead to have leveraged transparency of the design of their brewing facility for that of their products. It does not appear that in either case, a lack of transparency is detrimental to the progressive politics advocated, as each brewery's expression of localism appears to reduce consumers' desire for transparency—proximity stands in for knowledge. The craft beer movement at large additionally serves to intervene in consumer desire for increased transparency by championing the role of quality—by definition, the craft beer producer operates with elevated standards for quality as well as an appreciation for creativity, innovation, and traditional brewing methods. It should not be underestimated how significant the knowledge/perception of craft beer as a superior product factors into processes of alternative valuation. In this sense, both of these breweries are invested in negotiating the power to define what characteristics of beer define quality. Where large commercial brewers have for decades formulated quality in terms of consistency (the ability to reproduce an identical product on a large scale), both of these breweries (and craft brewers in general) strive to reconfigure quality in terms of small-batch innovation and flavorful products.

Mother Earth and Fullsteam take fundamentally different approaches to constructing community within their visions of alternative business, though for each the relationship to community is foundational. Though located in downtown Kinston, Mother Earth serves its immediate community from a distance. Its performance of local community in this sense is primarily geographical. Demographically, the average drinker of craft beer and the residents of Kinston could not be further removed. Fullsteam, in contrast, benefits from a larger population and demography more closely aligned with typical consumers of craft beer. Within the space of these human resources, a construction of local community emerges as an important mediator of the social and thus, a locus of valuation. That is, the social interaction in the space of Fullsteam Brewery is structured by patrons' willingness and ability to perform community (for example, by sitting at communal tables or using the space for civic and domestic functions that are unrelated to the operation of a brewery or bar). Importantly, community must be recognized as a performance enabled within the particular space of Fullsteam brewery. Goodman and Goodman suggests, "the reification of the local obscures the contested socio-spatial processes involved in its construction" (2007, p. 32). Problematically, many AFNs celebrate the cultivation of community with little recognition of their reliance upon consumers sharing particular conditions of privilege. For some, the purportedly revolutionary politics of AFNs are often little more than a narrow and weakly politicized expressions of white middle- and upper-class angst (Goodman & Goodman, 2007). I stop short of drawing this conclusion about the AFNs discussed here, but find the homogeneity of the craft brewing communities I encountered in each site to be worthy of further interrogation. Specifically, researchers and proponents of AFNs must turn additional attention to the challenge of extending these networks to populations they have traditionally excluded.

As alternative food networks continue to grow in popularity, increased attention must be given to everyday practices that constitute alternative processes of valuation. This analysis has demonstrated that contextually specific mediators of everyday life are regularly implicated in the politics of valuation. Such politics demonstrate great variability across similar economic conditions and in service of similar political goals. The challenge, then, of realizing a new or significantly modified regime of valuation that speaks to the problem of sustainability and related social justice issues, lies in naturalizing alternative techniques of valuation while remaining attentive to the contextual specificities that underlie their efficacy.

Chapter 7: Sensing the Brewing Body

I have been homebrewing beer for nearly a decade. It is a hobby that forecloses the possibility of arriving at social gatherings empty-handed. Stepping through a door, growler of homebrewed beer in hand, I consistently draw the curiosity and enthusiasm of lovers, friends, acquaintances, and strangers alike. These interactions are always nearly identical. They start with a pause, a thoughtful stare, and then a statement in the guise of a question, "*you made that*?" The use of italics here is intended to mark more than vocal emphasis; it reveals a number of fundamental openings in which theory might productively illuminate the cultural practice of homebrewing. *You* summons the individual, in her singularity and in all her bodily and creative capacity. *You* sets *I* into a field of relations, with lovers, friends, acquaintances, and strangers, with a contextual time and space, and most notably with *that*—a growler of handcrafted beer. *That* too reveals a kind of relational polysemy. It is the material product of *you's* labor and creative capacity, the object of an imminent sensory encounter, as well as the abstract commodity beer—a kind of *beer-in-general* that for most Westerners resides almost wholly within the domain of commercial production. Finally, *made* characterizes the relationship uniquely as the result of labor and carries the suggestion of movement and transformation. Ironically, this verb also calls into focus the ubiquity of contemporary capitalism (wrapped up in the incredulity and disbelief that an individual *you* might *make* something like *that*) as easily as it does the biological and spiritual processes associated with creation of all kinds. Thus, an innocuous statement/question brings to bear an understanding of homebrewing beer as an articulation of the individual, a set of cultural processes, an economic apparatus, and a material artifact. Further, the cultural practice of homebrewing is an articulation (like countless others) that conceals complex relations of power and harbors what might be called an everyday politics of valuation. It is an articulation, I argue, that can be fruitfully explored via a consideration embodied sensory experiences.

This locate and enumerate the potential of a theoretical engagement with of embodied sensory to be a productive tool in practical inquiries of cultural phenomena. To some capacity, these kinds of investigations of sensation and sensuous experience been carried out under the aegis of affect theory. While some of this literature will be referenced here, I stop short of classifying the cultural-economic phenomena described in this chapter as manifestations of affect.[97] In turning to embodied sensory experience, this chapter searches for a holistic and nuanced understanding inspirations to act that do not rely upon two of cultural theory's central axes of motivation: *causation* and *representation*. Embodied sensory experience, is thought here to be capable of provoking cultural work that is not the direct effect of predictably sequential causation and not reliant upon a system of representational stand ins—ideology, dogma, discourse, etc. Specifically, this chapter contemplates the relationship between valuation and sensory experience, not only as it occurs within the individual body but as it is collectivized and

[97] This is not to suggest that I do not believe the cultural-economic phenomena described in this chapter do not belong in discussions of affect. Rather, it suggests that the theoretical terrain of affect (particularly that espoused by the author) is so contested that deliberation as to whether the discussions in this analysis 'belong' to affect theory obfuscate the thrust of the chapter's argument.

coordinates action. This question is drawn specifically from the context of this project, but also more broadly from the contemporary Western conjuncture. Finally, locating these inquiries within questions of power (a move indicative of critical scholarship in general and cultural studies in particular) I ask, *how can embodied sensory experiences describe and be mobilized in an effective politics?* I cannot hope to provide satisfactory answers to these questions in the space of this chapter, however, I hope to illustrate where consideration of the function of non-representational sensory experience might be put in service of culturally sophisticated understandings of valuation and the economies such processes bring into being.

A Return to Homebrewing

This dissertation is concerned with the nature of valuation, understanding valuation as a process that importantly straddles and complicates the boundary between what have come to be understood as largely discrete domains—the cultural and the economic. Spanning roughly 150 years of American history, this work has chronicled developments in the brewing industry, largely focusing on the contemporary commercial production of beer in the U.S. The rest of this chapter considers the practice of homebrewing or brewing in domestic settings for familiar consumption. Homebrewing (or its absence) has been a critical cultural practice at every stage in the emergence of beer as a ubiquitous American commodity. Homebrewing, much like other kinds of cultural activity that specifically entail the manipulation and consumption of food and drink, heavily engages the sensory apparatus. A theory of embodied sensory experience, then, is a particularly good tool for investigating the role of homebrewing in the historic and contemporary narratives of the American brewing industry and how these are implicated in processes of valuation.

It is important to note that the dominant contemporary understanding of beer—as predominantly a mass-produced retail commodity—is a relatively new development in the cultural history of beer. Archeological and written records suggest brewing beer has been an overwhelmingly domestic activity for nearly four millennia, largely practiced by women tasked with a broad range of food processing, storage, and preparation duties. In seventh-century Anglo-Saxon Europe, beer was brewed in nearly every household by a woman or 'ale-wife,' who, inspired by any number of ancient mythologies, maintained a complex spiritual relationship with deities who blessed her brewing vessel (P. Brown, 2003).

Beer has been traded, bought, and sold since some of the earliest recorded histories of its manufacture and has historically been a powerful bargaining chip in gift, bartering and proto-capitalist economies—used to acquire goods, pay fines, tolls, rents and debts. Yet, for the majority of this history, the distinction between domestically and commercially produced beers has not been clear. For example, inns represented one of the most significant makers and distributors of beer in Europe between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Yet the beer produced for sale in these establishments was less likely to be sold in standard quantities (i.e. by the pint or glass), and more likely to be understood as an amenity expected to be provided with the cost of accommodations (as was a bed, a meal, stable space and fodder for one's horse). These beers, particularly in smaller inns, were likely to have been brewed by an innkeeper's wife and daughters as something of an extension of the household stores. In yet another example, the history of popular communal celebrations, known as 'ales,' in thirteenth-century Europe further illustrates this blurring of the boundaries between the commercial and domestic production of beers. ‘Bride-ales’ (the origin for the term ‘bridal’) were celebrations that took place in the days preceding a wedding ceremony. A bride-to-be’s mother brewed a batch of beer for the wedding and took a portion to be sold in the village green during a special reception. This beer was sold to travelers and passers-by at a common rate, but friends, family, and guests of the wedding paid an exorbitant price for the beer, thereby helping the family to meet the bride’s dowry (P. Brown, 2003).

Like a number of agriculturally based household goods—breads and other pastries, cheeses and meats, jams and pickles—the production of beer was largely removed from the home, centralized and industrialized over the last few centuries. However, the path taken to reach this status, first in Europe and then in the Americas, was rather unique to the history of beer, as mercantile capitalist enterprises were not the only kinds of organizations that consolidated control over the production of beer. Moreover, the degree to which this change involved an unprecedented cultural and ideological masculinization of this commodity sets beer apart from any other. Mercantilism, colonialism,98 and industrialization in major urban centers under British and German control were familiar engines of change for agricultural products as European life began its steady march from the homestead to the factory. The Catholic Church, however, dramatically altered the course of industrialization for beer, by largely wresting jurisdiction over brewing from women in domestic spaces, and controlling its production and distribution through a system of independent monasteries prior to the entrenchment of industrial

[98] Ale is a staple of solder’s rations.

capitalism. The Church, in fact, seems to have provided the model for the secularized large-volume commercial brewing that would follow (P. Brown, 2003; O'Brien, 2006).

To say that the medieval Catholic Church maintained a complex relationship with beer is a profound understatement. Alcohol was of profound importance scripturally, with more than 200 references in the bible. However the beverage that is mentioned over and over in the bible as an offering, blessing from God, or symbolically embodying divine power is wine, the alcoholic beverage most common at the seat of the Church's power in Rome and in other southern climes. The Church expressed more ambivalence for beer, the preferred beverage of Europeans in northern climates and in particular in England. Given that wine was significantly more intoxicating than beer, beer escaped the Church's condemnation on the grounds that it contributed less to the vice of drunkenness. Further, as the Church sought to expand its power across the European continent, it commonly took on local and regional customs, imbuing them with new church-driven ideological significance (P. Brown, 2003).

The Benedictine Order of monks, particularly those based in England, France, and Germany, were particularly instrumental in consolidating the manufacture of beer under the centralized and heavily patriarchal power of the church. As monasteries spread across Europe they established themselves as purveyors of beers of a higher order, painstakingly crafted under the supervision of men whose lives of solitude dictated that their brewcraft reflect the perfection of one performing service to God. The Church did much to cement itself into the foundation of daily life in northern Europe by actively displacing the ale-wife and becoming a more exclusive source of a beverage that was consumed by medieval and Renaissance era Europeans with more frequency than water. Consequently, the Church used more than the promise of good favor in

God's eyes to persuade townspeople to source their beer from a nearby Abbey. Ale-wives and brewing women were actively condemned by the Church and often accused of practicing witchcraft. Brewing as a feminine ritual was closely tied with pre-Christian mythologies, made heavy use of medical herbs (hops were not regularly used in the brewing of beer until the fifteenth century), and was steeped in the elemental alchemies performed by fire and water and grain (P. Brown, 2003; O'Brien, 2006).

Monasteries were large communities, with vibrant internal economies and enabled brewing on a large scale. The monastic tradition of brewing spawned, then, a new instrumentation of brewing and brewing vessels and, importantly, a scholarly and scientific approach to brewing beer that would henceforth dictate that only those who were educated, and thus necessarily male, could competently produce beer of quality. It was an order of Bavarian monks who re-discovered[99] the hop plant and began its cultivation for the express purpose of beer production, thus inventing and meticulously recording techniques for the production of modern beer.

By the nineteenth century, domestic brewing was essentially a lost art across Europe and in the U.S. As the Roman Catholic Empire lost ground on the European continent and the state secularized, turning its attention to matters of trade and empire, control over the production of beer changed hands once again, this time, from the centralized patriarchal control of monasteries to the centralized patriarchal control of capitalists. Though remnants of the domestic brewing tradition were revived by North American colonists, the trend toward industrial brewing was soon mirrored in the American colonies. In the centuries that followed, leading up to federal

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[99] The archeological record suggests

Prohibition (discussed in Chapter 2), Americans witnessed the slow eradication of homebrewing and a near total shift in the understanding of beer as a foodstuff made by women and consumed by everyone to a commodity manufactured and overwhelmingly consumed by men. Thus, when Prohibition was ratified, the loss of the ability to legally brew beer at home was scarcely of issue. Consequently, the fact that homebrewing was not legalized when Prohibition was repealed was considered little more than a policy oversight that presumably had little bearing on the way beer was produced and consumed in the U.S.

Though the case cannot be definitively made, I believe it is no coincidence that the years over which American beer became the homogenous, mass-produced product of an enormously consolidated capitalist industry (a transition documented in detail in Chapter 3) were precisely the years during which homebrewing was illegal. The intense mystification of brewcraft, at least in part, allowed the macrobreweries to unilaterally define Americans' tastes and definitions of beer for almost 50 years. With the legalization of homebrewing, however, came an intense interest in the diversity of traditional European beer styles, fueled by increased international travel (the result of wars, globalizing business, and tourism) and demand for imported goods of all kinds. This resurgence in homebrewing did not however return it to its position as an item of household subsistence, and certainly not to its place in the hands of women. Homebrewing became a leisure activity for men who generally had the means to travel, purchase imported products, and expend the time and energy to pursue a time-consuming and equipment-intensive hobby. Chapter 4 described how this leisure activity took on an entrepreneurial tenor for the pioneers who inaugurated the microbrew revolution in the 1970s and 1980s, which in turn kicked off the contemporary craft beer industry.

Though the differences between commercial brewing and homebrewing today are much more distinct than those in previous centuries, the relationship between the two activities remains important. Homebrewing as a leisure pursuit remains intimately related to the commercial valuation of beer, though it is not overtly connected to the commercial market for beer in any way that would readily allow economic value to be captured directly (homebrewing for profit remains illegal). Yet this relation endures on a number of levels and is generative of a number of economic and non-economic values. Those values that are generated in strictly economic ways have been recognized and documented by brewers, marketers, and industry professionals of every kind. For example, homebrewers, as beer enthusiasts, are more likely to buy more expensive craft beers more frequently than the average individual. However, I believe homebrewing is implicated in the valuation of beer in ways that are far more expansive and nuanced than simply being predictive of more direct sales. These implications, I argue, have much to do with the deployment and function of sensory experiences in spaces where beer is produced and consumed. Specifically, the negotiation of relations in systems or networks in which beer is implicated commonly takes place at the intersection of the sensate world and the sensing body—significantly engaging the proximate senses of taste, touch and smell.

Cultural theory (and Western modernity for that matter) is notoriously ocularcentric, owing to a number of related epistemological biases that I will not rehearse here). What is important is that such biases result in the subjugation of other sensory experiences (Coff, 2006; Korsmeyer, 1998, 1999, 2005), particularly, when it comes to perceiving the connections between seemingly unrelated phenomena. de Certeau laments, “From TV to newspapers, from advertising to all sorts of mercantile epiphanies, our society is characterized by a cancerous growth of vision, measuring everything by its ability to show or be shown" (de Certeau, 1984). Given then the epistemological biases of Western thought and the reality of taste as an experience that does not permit the distancing of subject from object, it is perhaps the most undertheorized of the human sensory processes. In relation to beer; however, taste represents a critical channel of human interaction that is productive of a range of embodied relations that are significantly implicated in the valuation of beer, both culturally and economically.

These sensory relations may be directed inward, drawing connections between a sensing body and previous experiences of sensation (for example, when an olfactory encounter with a pint of IPA, raised to the lips, forges a relation between the present geography of a darkened pub and the remembered geography a darkened restaurant where steaming bowls pho where shared on a second date, producing a feeling of contentment).[100] The may be directed (for example, when an olfactory and gustatory encounter with a pint of IPA, raised to the lips, forges a relation with other patrons in a darkened pub who subconsciously perceive the momentary eye-widening that is part of the physiological response to the perception of bitterness as docility and as a result feel more at ease and comfortable, contributing to 'friendly vibe' circulating a pub). The nature of these relations are such that they originate from individual experiences of taste, however, their significance to processes of valuation lie in how they are experienced collectively and thus motivate coordinated action.

One example that is central in the valuation of craft beer involved the connections forged between the experiencing of (lower case 't') taste and (capital 'T') Taste. The embodied sensory

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[100] Hops, whose use is pronounced in India Pale Ales (IPA), and Vietnamese coriander, which is a spice commonly used in pho, are both naturally occurring sources of α-humulene a volatile compound that contributes to the aroma and flavor of both items though they are not readily perceived as similar. Finding foods that share high concentrations of the more than 80,000 known volatile aromatic compounds

relations that constitute this conflation of language and meaning are strategically supported and reproduced to great advantage by the craft brewing industry. Therefore, the move from (t)aste to (T)aste is a kind of politics that involves the abstraction of individual experience by means of the systematic control of (sometimes-arbitrary) aesthetic judgments, operationalized through the workings of palate.

The movement from (t)aste to (T)aste among homebrewers and other beer drinkers, or rather their being put into relation such that their meanings are conflated, is dependent upon an array of sensory experiences that are recursively enacted on the part of homebrewer—proudly reveling in the flavors in one's homebrewed goods, the surprising softness of freshly crushed barley malt rolled between the fingers, the resinous pungency of hops that sticks to clothing after handling, the hypnotic bubbling of airlocks as carboys ferment away in basements, closets, and dark cool corners. The sheer volume of sensory encounters, makes homebrewing an enormously productive opportunity for the forging of embodied sensory relations—the physiological impact of intoxication as a fundamental alteration of the sensory apparatus, not being the least of these. There are, of course, any number of commonly negotiated relations open for discussion. But here, I will specifically discuss the homebrewers' experience of (t)aste and the cultivation of (T)aste as it is involved in the valuation of craft beer.

(t)aste is a sensory experience, though what we describe as flavor or the 'taste of things' is actually a combination of an olfactory, gustatory, and haptic integration—smell, taste, and texture all contribute to what we experience as the flavor of foods. In fact, it is suggested that smell, the perception of volatile aromatic compounds, accounts for roughly 80 percent of the experience of flavor. In this sense, relations that emanate from experiences of taste make use of three channels of sensory information at the least. (T)aste, in contrast, is an objective system of abstract measurement that allows for the comparison and evaluation of individual experiences of (t)aste. In short, it is a technique of valuation that can be nimbly used in both economic and non-economic economies. The craft brewing industry, being formed around a premium product, is dependent upon (T)aste, so that its consumers are able to distinguish between that which is craft and not craft,[101] thereby justifying the prices that make such business viable.[102]

In the context of homebrewing, the relation between (t)aste and (T)aste has been repeatedly forged, such that the two are unproblematically rendered synonymous. The result is that homebrewers have come to organize their subjective experiences of (t)aste in response to the mandates of (T)aste, and (T)aste rather than being perceived as elitist and alienating (much as it is in the case of wine) is understood within the collegial space of the average homebrewers' leisure. The (re)forging of this relation is supported in three critical ways that support favorable valuations of craft beer: first, homebrewers repeatedly validate the authenticity of craft beer as small and anti-corporate (which is increasingly not the case); second, homebrewers as grassroots experts corroborate the use of palate as a standard toward which one should work in order to fully enjoy beer; and third, the materiality of homebrewing helps to constitute the ethos incubates the entrepreneurial and experimental impulse for the craft brewing industry.

In Chapter 5, I demonstrated the significance of valuation as a cultural and economic activity in the American craft beer subculture, in which homebrewers are frequently able to

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[101] This gets to the heart of the anxiety experienced by the craft brewing community in response to "craft-like" beer production on the part of macrobrewers briefly discussed in chapter 5. Such production erodes the ability to distinguish between craft beer and what craft brewers now call "crafty" beer for the average beer drinker.

[102] Without these higher price points craft beer would be subject to the economies of scale that define commercial brewers.

acquire subcultural capital and negotiate positions of status based on high levels of experiential, access, and craft knowledge. In this way, homebrewers often function as decision makers and trendsetters in the subculture, who mediate between its industry members and consumer members. The importance of this role is plainly on display in the way homebrewers serve to validate the authenticity of craft breweries. The subcultural authenticity of the craft brewery is, as mentioned in Chapter 5, not a product of its perception as anti-capitalist, but its being perceived as anti-corporate. By in large, craft beer is a subculture whose members do not take issue with its central artifact being commodified and made available to mainstream culture at large. A crisis of subcultural authenticity would arise, however, if a producer did not reflect the anti-corporate ethos of craft brewing.

One of the ways that craft brewers perform this ethos is by outwardly investing significant amounts of effort in their roles as (T)aste-makers, rather than those as owners, investors, managers, accountants, marketers, etc. Homebrewers also have an intimate understanding of their hobby as (t)aste-making, literally the making of beer-centered opportunities to do taste. The ability to read the (T)aste-making activities of craft brewers (activities that establish the aesthetic standards for distinguishing a quality, beautiful, or sublime product) and the (t)aste-making activities of homebrewers (activities that manipulate ingredients to evoke particular experiences of flavor) as one and the same activity, underlies in one significant way the perception of openness and accessibility that surrounds craft breweries and their beers, and lends them a decidedly non-corporate feel. The relation fashioned between (t)aste and (T)aste via the activities of (t)aste-making and (T)aste-making is a product of a number of sensory encounters with the materiality of the beer and brewing.

As alluded to previously, brewing is much like cooking, as it involves the protraction of rich sensory encounters with ingredients, with tastes and smells and textures, with the transmutating forces of heat and cold, with movement and sensations of all variety, all distilled into the intention of producing a singular taste experience. Packaged foods, in general, move through the world divorced from these sensory histories, or rather, its prior sensory relations no longer influence the perception or reception of these goods—they have taste, but not *a history of intentionally or artfully constructed* taste. Homebrewed beer, in contrast, is implicated in a number of relations that carry such histories, with those who brew it and those who consume it at a minimum. By implicating themselves and their products (intentionally or unintentially) in the web of relations that bloom from the sensuality of homebrewing, the (T)aste-making of craft brewers is perceived in a manner that validates its subcultural authenticity, cultivates loyalty, helps to distinguish their products as fundamentally different from macrobrewed products, and ultimately justifies their premium price-point.

For instance, when the Stone Brewing Company, one of the craft brewing industry's, largest and most well-respected voices, freely shares recipes for arguably their rarest and most coveted limited release beers, they are not simply employing a counterintuitive marketing gimmick. The brewery is supporting the habitual conflation of (t)aste and (T)aste. Beginning in 2002, the Stone Brewing Company started an annual series of beers released under the name Vertical Epic. Vertical tasting, an inheritance from wine appreciation, involves the exploration of different vintages of the same wine type from the same winery.[103] Thus, Stone's Vertical Epic series—the first beer of which was released on January 2nd, 2002 (02.02.02) and the last of

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[103] This is opposed to horizontal tasting where wines of the same vintage, but from different, wineries are sampled. Vertical tastings emphasize differences in vintage; where as horizontal tastings emphasize differences in winery.

which was released on December 12th, 2012 (12.12.12)—was brewed to be tasted in a 10-beer vertical flight. For consumers, it was to be the product of a decade of collecting and cellaring, anticipation and desire. Though each beer was released in a single small run, the brewery also freely published homebrew-scale recipes of each beer on their website, inviting homebrewers to create their own Vertical Epic flights. The publishing of these homebrew recipes did not diminish the rarity or, subsequently, demand for the beers. On the contrary, a complete set of Vertical Epics currently garners more than $2,000 on consumer-oriented trading platforms like mybeercellar.com.[104]

A homebrewer who visits stonebrew.com, downloads the recipe for a Vertical Epic Ale, and than stands in their backyard over a propane fired stainless steel stockpot, fastidiously measuring water, grain, hops, temperature, pH, and mash times, in the company of friends and over a couple of bottles of homebrew, is collectively making the opportunity to (t)aste Vertical Epic. And in this, they are manufacturing the sensory encounters that will produce the relation between Vertical Epic^{t} and Vertical Epic^{T}. Moreover, in the communal act of making and tasting, craft brewers and homebrewers collaboratively author and reinforce the abstracted measures of (T)aste implicated in the development of an expert palate, within the parameters of subculturally valued activities (those that are non-corporate, DIY, and/or grassroots). Homebrewers, as mediators of the craft beer subculture, in this way willingly engage in a kind of palate training activity under the direction of the craft brewery, undertaken from the ingredient level up. The homebrewer brewing Stone's Vertical Epic recipes, experiences the bombardment

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[104] Interestingly, websites like mybeercellar.com and others are expressly self-identified as places to buy sell, and trade *collectible beer bottles* and memorabilia, since reselling beer in this manner is illegal. "Sealed" bottles however, tend to draw the most interest on such sites.

of sensory interactions that is the ritual materiality of making a batch of beer, and continues to act as the nexus of uncountable sensory relations. Now, however these are relations into which a technical vocabulary, a system of measurement, and a standard of commercial excellence have been included—vocabulary, measurements, and standards that homebrewers can use to evaluate their own experiences and products of (t)aste-making within acquired standards of good (T)aste.

The degree to which homebrewers engage in these activities collaboratively and value commensality[105] (hallmarks of homebrewing communities), provide ample opportunities for embodied sensory relations to extent beyond the individual homebrewer and their beer. The making and sharing of homebrew is not only a shared sensory experience, an opportunity for the creation of broader relations, but also a means of sharing craft knowledge and systems of discernment. The discernment to which I refer here can be differentiated from that recognized by Bourdieu (1984) in that it is not born of pre-existing class relations. Sidestepping the Bourdieuian concept of discernment or distinction; however, does not disavow the workings of power in such formations. Far from a straightforward training process, the development of the palate is inextricably linked with certain types of access and privilege, subcultural and beyond.

Despite the fact that craft beer culture touts a kind of aesthetic populism, not everyone who enjoys craft beer or makes homebrew comes to possess a skilled palate. This acquisition, or failure to acquire, an informed palate is not always an issue of desire, education, or the lack thereof. More often than not, the question that drives these distinctions is not, “How does one develop an expert palate?” but, “Who is allowed to call their palate expert?” Culinary (T)aste, particularly expressed through the consumption of beer in the U.S., has largely been relegated to

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[105] The term commensality refers to the act of fellowship through eating and drinking together.

realm of leisure activity. Rojek (1995) notes that leisure activity continues to be a part of human sociality about which most Americans are ambivalent with regard to its high levels of self-segregation, disproportionate levels of accessibility, and arbitrary expressions of non-democratic power. (T)aste, then, in significant ways, introduces a level of hierarchy to the experiences of (t)aste that represent an aspirational pathway, particularly for those who engage in homebrewing as a form of serious leisure. The reproduction of broad systems of inequality is a profoundly unfortunate consequence.

The material and sensual landscapes that produce the relations between (t)aste and (T)aste in brewing communities are not restricted to the backyard homebrewery, they apply to the space of the craft brewery as well. Insofar as professional craft brewers and homebrewers are understood to be born of the same pedigree, the material trappings of their shared passion are important components of the architecture of the craft brewery. Again these objects can be understood beyond the confines of symbolic similarity (e.g. that mash paddle looks like my mash paddle and so I feel a sense of similarity). Rather, a critical mass of these objects help to compose a climate—in the micro sense—that helps to define homebrewing as a cultural practice and thus, (re)define craft brewing in the same terms. The craft brewery is more observably influenced by the materiality of homebrewing than by large scale commercial brewing—a tendency that is most observable on the part of nanobreweries that operate with brewing systems of a size that would not be out of reach of the ambitious homebrewer—their tasting rooms and brewpubs anchored by exposed brewing vessels in modest volumes, their beer distributed in growlers filled at the time of purchase, their taps pouring beers in development and occasional experiments, are drawing heavily upon the archeology of the homebrewers. As the small staffs, who seem to openly revel in the 'dirty-work' of brewing, wearing wet or dusty coveralls and knee high boots, circulate throughout their breweries without the concern to conceal a 'behind the scenes' aspect of their organizations, they not only present as particularly well-provisioned homebrewers, but also model what I argue is the most significant consequence of the unique material architecture of the craft brewery. The interactions between the homebrewing body and these brewery landscapes are those whose influence depends upon the residue of previous interactions in homebrewing landscapes. The geography of the craft brewery, then, is evocative of a particular way of moving through space, of composing the homebrewing visitors' angle of arrival, though this is not a line of experience accessible to every patron of a local brewery. It is one that cultivates an experience of being familiarly oriented—that recruits a group of individuals who tend to serve as very effective (and consequently unpaid) ambassadors of a brewery.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have endeavored to give shape to embodied sensory experiences that are not dependent upon the logics of symbol-driven representation or causal dependency, but rather they are negotiated between the human sensory apparatus and the material world. These relations directly affect the internal states of individuals, groups, and the complexion of the external environments through which they move. This chapter suggests there is heuristic value in following the forging the relations that are coincident with particular sensory experiences as one way to better understand processes of valuation—particularly those that take place outside of formalized markets.

In the example provided here, the relations negotiated through embodied sensory experiences served to conflate two fundamentally different processes, allowing subjective individual experiences to be put in service of abstract techniques of valuation. I believe this theorization of sensory relations is a more satisfying solution to the mystery of how capitalist economies seem to "skim value off the top" of a pool of collectively and individually experienced sensations, emotions, and desires. This line of thinking further expands this dissertation's previous discussions of the commodity as a locus of affective enrollment, as it adds depth to explanations of how these enrollments serve to recruit actors into the valuation process that may not have an investment or logical commitment to the techniques of valuation in use. In this way, this approach might productively complicate product analyses, for example commodity chain analyses that are less attuned to non-economic aspects of valuation.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

I began this dissertation with a story of my introduction to the world of American craft beer. From the outset, this story revealed two things. First, that my involvement was one of earnest commitment, enthusiasm, and (it might even be said) love. And second, aspects of my particular subject positions have given me a multifaceted perspective on beer from the start. I have, over the course of what I have come to refer to as a career in craft beer, modestly penetrated enough boundaries and circles to have established something of an *insider* status in a regional community of brewers and enthusiasts and a national community of craft beer writers and advocates. At the same time, I have embodied, and will no doubt continue to embody, for the foreseeable future, an *outsiderness* that is both consciously and subconsciously attached to female bodies of color in an industry/subculture that 100 years ago explicitly anchored its value to its whiteness and masculinity, and later to practices of privilege that ostensibly maintained the same boundaries, albeit more implicitly. While personally a source of occasional angst, frustration, alienation, and emotional turmoil, I believe this multifaceted perspective has been central to my ability to successfully complete this project.

To be clear, this was not intended to be a story about race, or gender and sexuality. However, it was story that I believe was better told as the result of a greater ability 'to see the forest for the trees,' an ability I directly attribute to a complicated position with respect to the socio-cultural circles that intersect with contemporary American beer.

This *is* a story about valuation, set off by my introduction to a burgeoning cultural-economic formation that is striking in the ways it complicates, confuses, and outright violates some of the assumptions and tenants (both colloquial and scholarly) held about the way we determine things to be valuable, how valuable things circulate, and how these processes are implicated in the allocation and exercise of power in our everyday lives. This dissertation has attempted to expand and capitalize upon my entry into this formation by examining its conditions of possibility. While woven in a complex system of interdependencies, several significant threads provided direction to this dissertation.

Most significantly and independent of any methodological perspective, it is clear that over the last 100 years, beer came to have highly specific and ubiquitous meanings in the American setting, such that changes to those meanings were and still are experienced as significant ruptures, bringing attention to the fact of their dominance and assumed permanence. This orthodoxy of beer has produced two critical determinations over the last century—the dominant understandings of beer have been recursively, if not religiously, performed across varied arenas of American everyday life, and they are intimately related to the economic performance of beer in capitalist market economies. Based on these observations, the following has emerged as a central claim of this work; the economic performance of American beer in the century cannot simply be seen as the result of responses to pre-existing meanings as they circulate in everyday life (essentially, the logic of supply and demand). Rather there is both incentive for and evidence to confirm that industries, firms, and individuals (both intentionally and unintentionally) engage in struggles over these meanings and attempt to structure everyday cultural practices as a means of establishing and maintaining the value of commodities in the marketplace. Second, that labor, distribution, and consumption are not the only 'economic' behaviors in which Americans regularly engage. Insofar as everyday actions—for example, accepting that watching a football game is an occasion at which beer consumption is expected or failing to question why bars and pubs remain some of the most persistently racially segregated spaces in America—represent a performance and reification of the meanings to which economic performance is so tightly bound, almost any kind of social practice might be implicated in a process of valuation. That is to say, it is not an activity or discourse in and of itself that is productive of value (e.g. value is derived from labor), *regimes of valuation are productive of context specific values* and it has been the goal of this dissertation to contemplate the diversity and mutability of these various regimes' central objects.

The preceding chapters have illustrated these struggles over meaning and practice over time and in a number of American contexts. Chapter 2 demonstrated how, at the most formative historical juncture for American beer, the years during and bookending federal Prohibition, the battles to determine the meanings associated with this commodity where openly and aggressively fought. The debates over weather beer (or any other alcoholic beverage) should be legally manufactured and sold in the U.S. were part of larger discourses on race, class, and gender, and served as the foundation for future meanings associated with this cultural artifact. Moreover, the association between alcohol consumption and these conditions of difference were not merely rhetorical, but directly contributed to the legal standing of this commodity, so radically disrupting the everyday practice of consuming beer (by effectively eradicating the practice) and so dramatically disrupting the economic landscape of the industry that it created a condition in which the struggles over meaning with respect to American beer were tectonically shifted in favor of a handful of firms. These firms, the iconic American beer brands, would successfully pick up and tightly control the power of definition for more than half a century—in the process becoming some of the largest and most economically successful brewers worldwide and forever changing what it meant for an American to sit and have a beer.

Chapter 3 closely documented the decades over which large American breweries—the macrobrewers—tightly controlled the meanings associated with beer and became remarkably savvy with regard to manipulating these meanings in order to align with, and at times consciously shift, several aspects of American everyday life. I argued that these alignments and shifts were conflations of valuation practices. In particular, they represented the ways macrobrewers successfully in conflated non-economic processes of valuation with profit-generating, capitalist valuation practices. Having moved away from the logic of supply and demand that tethers product value to price, this chapter considered how changes in the practices of valuation used by the country's largest brewers served not only as catalysts for purchasing behavior on the part of the consumer, but also as the means and justification for important economic decisions in production, distribution, and corporate structure on the part of brewers.

Chapter 4 explored the beginning of the contemporary ruptures in the orthodoxy of meaning with regard to beer that was established during Prohibition and expanded and solidified during the mid-century consolidation of the American brewing industry. Importantly, the orchestration of this rupture, the microbrew revolution of the late 1960s and 1970s, was only feasible for those with the means to successfully navigate the existing power structure and translate some of its core tenants into an alternative expression. Far from a directly oppositional movement, the microbrew revolution was a heterodoxy whose narrative performed significant cultural work in authorizing and motivating the more progressive and confrontational formations that would follow.

Chapter 5 took up what is ostensibly the outcome of the microbrew revolution, the 'genie's life out of the bottle.' It revealed a contemporary landscape in which meanings, practices, and associated systems of valuation not only proliferate but also gain substantial traction in realms that are often narrowly defined as economic. Unsurprisingly, the proliferation of meanings and social practice as they pertain to beer necessitated a methodological turn to the cultural. As such, this chapter made use of the subculture theory to make sense of increasingly complex interconnections between non-economic, non-market, and capitalist valuation. Chapter 6 provided a case study of this phenomenon, a glimpse into the politics of a contemporary cluster of valuation practices organized around the discourses of sustainability. The specificity of this case illustrates the degree to which the meanings of beer have multiplied, specialized and decentralized.

Finally, Chapter 7 investigated how the struggle to dictate the nature of beer extends into pre-cognitive spaces, understanding that these forms of mattering are and historically have been important contributors to the complex of symbols and representations that are generally the focus of discussions of the material and economic alike.

In each chapter the processes of valuation were seen as an important way that Americans make sense of material culture, draw connections between the circulation of bodies, ideas, and objects, and ultimately wield power. Collectively they provide answers to the research questions that guided this inquiry. The first--*how might we understand the disarticulation of labor and the commodity from value, money, wealth, and the most powerful economic institutions?*--was asked in the context of considering the contemporary financialization of the American economy and can be answered relatively briefly. The second--*how have techniques of commodity valuation changed over the last 100 years and how are everyday practices of valuation implicated in workings of power?*—requires a more extensive response.

Pursuant to the first question, Postone's (1996) distinction between labor and *labor in capitalism* has provided a critical launching point. *Labor in capitalism*, which Postone recognizes to be time and space bound and commodity-determined, is an example of what this project calls a regime of valuation—a collection of techniques of valuation that are so normalized and institutionally supported that alternatives are rarely successful, if acknowledged at all. The techniques associated with a dominant regime of valuation permeate and constitute many of the everyday practices of those who live within the regime. The disarticulation, then, to which I have referred above, can be understood as the emergence of a new regime of valuation that does not make labor its central tenant. It has been documented in this project (and in a number of other works referenced throughout) that commodity-determined labor has lost significant ground to other phenomena as the engine of capitalist valuation, as progressively more sophisticated means of economizing and monetizing socio-cultural valuation are developed. However, the marginalization of the regime of valuation organized around commodity-determined labor does not announce the end of the commodity form as a cornerstone of the American economy or of everyday life as we live it. Rather, it reflects the arrival of a regime of valuation where techniques that involve speed, computation, information, risk, and an abstraction of time that allows for 'objective' speculation, now occupy a central position. Though there is significant evidence that food commodities of all kinds, including beer, are subjected to and valued with these emergent techniques that ostensibly privilege digital and digitizing objects (Beckham, 2012), perhaps more important to the case of the American craft beer industry is an inspiration to produce alternative or counter-valuation strategies in response to the emerging finance-centered regime. These alternative and oppositional strategies have cultivated profitable circles and systems of valuation that in many ways base their viability on the degree to which they do *not* resemble, or directly challenge, the status quo. Like many other domains in which the struggle between resistance and appropriation plays out, the craft beer industry is rife with movements that might be seen to simultaneously embody a resistant politics *and* reveal a creative and/or 'compassionate' application of capitalist logics.

In answering the second research question, *How have techniques of commodity valuation changed over the last 100 years and how are everyday practices of valuation implicated in workings of power?* I point to four major themes running throughout this project. The themes discussed below collectively summarize the answer derived from the interdisciplinary inquiry conducted here.

Theme 1: The Nature of Assemblages

Contemporary American beer is an assemblage. In each of the preceding chapters, it was functionally necessary to conceive of beer as more than a combination of water, barely, hops, and yeast, but as a complex assemblage of diverse determining factors. Without such a perspective, it would have been difficult if not impossible to explain many of the turns in the cultural, economic, political, and material history of this commodity. The historical analysis of Prohibition and the years immediately following conducted in Chapters 2 and 3 reveals with some clarity that defining beer narrowly as a food commodity would have been aserious mistake. In a context far removed from the contemporary illusion of a gender egalitarian, post-racial, equal opportunity America, the conscious effort to forge articulations to the assemblage that is American beer were plainly evident. These kinds of efforts and in particular, the manipulations of popular discourse that are often central to these efforts, today more tastefully circulate behind the veil of economic rhetoric—as is the case in marketing the 40-ounce beer to an urban demographic who 'tested well' in market research. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, advocates and opponents of prohibition alike did not hesitate to openly support and at times manufacture preferred meanings with regard to beer.

The *beer* that ultimately fell victim to federal prohibition was articulated to the many 'problems' associated with rapidly urbanizing cities including excessive drunkenness, poverty, and exploding populations of both immigrants and Blacks migrating north. Anxiety about the loss of a recognizably white, Christian American identity, a host of public health concerns (these two ideas were not unrelated), and American political isolationism (along with growing anti-German sentiment, and a first wave of anti-Bolshevism) were all part of the assemblage that functionally operated as *beer*, and ultimately why it did not escape the legislative reach of Prohibition. The *beer* that was made legal 14 years later was a different entity, having suppressed many of its more damning articulations and having forged new connections, the most important of which were to a kind of material patriotism and desperately needed revenue during the Great Depression.

This brief summary represents just one example. Each chapter of this dissertation has demonstrated how discourses and dogma, subject positions and identities, geographies, spaces and technologies, physiological impulses and sensory experiences, and more have in no small way shaped how we define and value beer, and how we integrate it into our daily lives. To exclude these significant, heterogeneous elements from the totality that comes to function as *beer* in any given place and time not only denies centuries of history that could only be alluded to in this project,[106] but it also obscures much of the explanatory complexity of the contemporary life of beer.

Theme 2: From Value to Valuation (Revisited)

The valuation of an assemblage like American beer cannot be thought of as a finite process that results in a stable value. The choice to focus on valuation (as a process) as opposed to value (as an object) was a methodological one, the resuls of which have been fruitful and at times unexpected. The choice presented a challenge with regard to the use of supporting literature. Value is so often conceptualized as an endgame, the result of distinctly *other* processes, that the approach espoused in this project was often at odds with other literatures—even that which took the some of the same theoretical commitments, questions, and types of empirical data as a starting point. I did not, however, choose to abandon the use of supporting literature or alter my research question. Rather, I was forced to rethink how I searched for answers.

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[106] I refer here to the histories of beer that predate Western industrial capitalism. In which beer was understood as anything from evident of divine approval, an object of ritual, a subsistence beverage, a family heirloom, a rite of passage into manhood, to a manifestation of service to God etc.

To offer a meteorological analogy, to ask what the 'value' of beer is at a given point in time and in a given place would most likely produce a result akin to looking to a thermometer to assess the current temperature. In this instance, one uses a widely accepted and virtually unquestioned piece of technology (a thermometer) to provide an indicator within a system of measurement (degrees Fahrenheit or Celsius) universally accepted to represent an objective truth. This is the way product price and firm value are most frequently assumed to operate in the brewing industry's economic literature about itself (Tremblay & Tremblay, 2005), as well as many less industry-specific literatures on beer (P. Brown, 2003; MacIntosh, 2011; Mittelman, 2008; Ogle, 2006).

In keeping with this extended metaphor, to ask how the 'value' of beer has changed over time would produce different, but not dramatically unrelated results. The fluctuation of weather over time (be it short or geological) draws attention to the conditions that produce a specific air temperature in any given time and place—specifically, the meteorological systems of wind, water currents and temperature, atmospheric pressure, and more contribute to the fluctuation of air temperature over time. Similarly, more sustained analyses of the brewing industry that consider changes in the value of beer over time, contemplate factors that correlate with fluctuations in product price and firm value—marketing efforts, raw material costs, innovations in technology that allow for increased capacity for mass production, fuel costs, transportation infrastructure, and more. Importantly, however, these approaches continue to take as a given the necessity to use the accepted technology (market analytics) and a system of measurement (dollar value) that is widely assumed to represent the objective truth.

This project, however, is analogous to an inquiry of the weather that acknowledges the primacy of the thermometer (and the institutionalized system of support that ensures its continued position of centrality), but does so in the light of the fact that, historically speaking, the thermometer is a relatively recent invention—and the fact that alternatives continue to exist. That is to say, the measurement of temperature is not new or native to the instrument (nor even to the term *temperature*).[107] Alternatives to the thermometer serve to provide compelling stories about the way temperature as a concept functions in our lives and helps illuminate ultimately how and why the thermometer came to be so widely accepted. In this way, this dissertation is a story not about the value of beer, or how the value of beer has changed over time, but about how technologies or techniques and the systems of measurement that we have used in efforts to quantify/qualify the value of beer have changed. It is also a story focused on 'the alternatives' and the perspective they offer on the more common territory defined by much of the supporting literature on commodity valuation.

This approach is consistent with the nature of beer observed as an assemblage. As the many heterogeneous constituent parts that comprise the assemblage *beer* constantly evolve, so have the tools and standards that we use to determine its value. Many of these tools were conceived and put to use in the determination of capitalist economic values, as they are firmly part of the dominant regime of valuation. Others, alternative and oppositional processes of valuation, have maintained varying degrees of separation from the dominant regime and are

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[107] The word temperature derives from late Middle English (1530s), from French *température* or Latin *temperatura* "tempering, moderation," from *temperare* "to restrain or moderate" The word originally denoted the state of being tempered or mixed, later becoming synonymous with temperament. The modern sense, "degree of heat or cold," was first recorded in the 1670s ("Temperature [etymology]," n. d.).

often engaged in a struggle for autonomy amidst the palpable gravitation pull that is capitalist appropriation.

What is clear from taking this methodological perspective on commodities is that valuing a commodity such as beer cannot be thought to be a finite process that results in a stable value. That is to say, value (as an object) carries relatively little explanatory power for inquiries intending to reach holistic, culturally aware understandings of 'economic' phenomena. Starting from the assumption that beer is an assemblage and following the imperative to focus upon the changes to the processes of valuation in which Americans engaged to value this assemblage, two significant findings surfaced.

The ways in which Americans value beer are multiplying. I began this project with a hypothesis that the ways that Americans valued beer as a commodity today are substantively different in comparison to the ways that beer was valued at other important junctures in American history. Looking back, I speculated that systems and techniques of valuation used historically had been abandoned and replaced by more modern techniques of valuation, and that the contemporary moment, in which craft brewers and macrobrewers wrangle over competing definitions of beer, represented what might be another changing of the guard. Having reached the conclusion of this project, I recognize my initial hypothesis to be incorrect. That is, rather than substituting techniques of valuation—abandoning an old way of valuing beer and adopting a new—Americans are observably *accumulating* techniques of valuation with reference to beer and finding creative ways to reconcile diverse systems of valuation (or in many cases, collapsing them within the dominant regime of valuation).

In the process of accumulation, techniques of valuation may carry differing degrees of significance that fade or strengthen over time. Therefore, prohibition era and mid-century techniques of valuation have not been entirely put aside; rather they continue to operate (albeit more subtly) in conjunction and sometimes inharmoniously with more recent additions. For example, contemporary craft brewers often position their products as oppositional to mass-produced commercial beers while simultaneously making use of the tropes of white, patriotic, working class masculinity that were so central to techniques of valuation used by macrobrewers in the 1950s, 60, and 70s. Take for instance North Carolina's Fullsteam Brewery, used in the case study offered as Chapter 6. The brewery positions itself as a 'plow-to-pint' brewery producing uniquely Southern craft beers from local ingredients. In doing so, the brewery associates itself with discourses surrounding sustainability, artisanal foods (adapting the 'farm-to-fork' moniker to beer), and local food movements—cultural formations that are decidedly upper-middle class and tend toward non-gendered or even eco-feminist sensibilities. At the same time, the brewery's year-round flagship beers are referred to as its 'American Progress,' line, defining its offerings as iconically American, and it regularly features seasonal selections bearing names like the 'Working Man's Lunch'—making use of beer's more established patriotic and working class tropes.

The proliferation of techniques of valuation with regard to American beer is accelerating. Though the narrative arc of this dissertation has progressed toward specificity—moving from a description of broad cultural conditions in Chapter 2, to an examination of industry structure in Chapter 3, to an exploration of a sub-section of the brewing industry in Chapter 4, to the unique cultural character of that sub-section in Chapter 5, to a specific case study in Chapter 6—it does not reflect a narrowing of techniques of valuation in use over the last 100 years. Rather, the organization of this dissertation is a progression down one path in a system that is branching out from its origins with increasing speed. Like other aspects of American life in which our increased capacity for information sharing, instantaneity, and mobility result in the practical proliferation of meanings, so too has beer been substantively affected by the expansion of mediation in the digital age. The consequences for inquiries of valuation are substantial, as they suggest that there will not only be more alternative and oppositional techniques of valuation in circulation with respect to beer and other commodities, but that there will also be more and more complex interactions among these systems of valuation and between them and those espoused by the dominant regime.

Theme 3: The Social is Central

Third, the social functions of American beer are paramount to its valuation. This study has offered a topical account of the ways that beer has reflected changes in the process of valuation in the U.S. over approximately the last 100 years. Those processes, it has been shown, belong equally to the categories most commonly marked out as the 'cultural' and the 'economic'—or rather, trouble those categories by revealing the degree of their interdependency. Value is an important conceptual category because it serves as an engine of human sociality. Concretely, and in the most 'economic' sense, it is has structured the distribution of resources we come to rely upon for sustenance, comfort, entertainment, and the wielding of power and influence. Consequently, the crux of the cultural work of value is the facilitation of movement—of things, of people, of ideas.

Within the paradigm defined by capitalist regimes of valuation, this movement is most 'naturally' characterized as exchange; and following exchange is most 'naturally' motivated by the establishment of equivalence or inequivalence. It has been shown in this project that equivalence can be operationalized through the abstraction and individuation of objects, but also by parallel moves in human subjectivity (Amariglio & Callari, 1989). The cultivation of a profoundly individuated and commensurable human subjectivity allows for an economizing of the self that results in tangibly 'economic' identities—such as the *waged subjectivity* discussed in Chapter 3 and the ethos of *entrepreneurial leisure* discussed in Chapter 4. This suggests that Americans cannot only act as 'economic agents,' but also as 'economized agents,' being subject to patterns of social organization that are expressible as processes of valuation.

It follows that if the logics involved in the dominant determinations of value are put to use or shared by those involved in the social organization of life, that logics utilized in non-dominant process of valuation may also reflect the logics of non-dominant forms of sociality. This was demonstrated in Chapter 5's exploration of subcultures as alternative valuing communities. Though it would be easy to see such an argument as an extreme act of economic determinism, it is intended to suggest the opposite: that the mirroring of these logics might just as easily be understood as an enculturation of the economy—or preferably a perspective in which value and valuation are not exclusive to either category.

Theme 4: Valuation is an Exercise of Power

The process of valuation inherently involves exercises of power and is therefore political. The final theme I highlight is a natural extension of the three I have offered thus far and defines this project as Cultural Studies. Thus far, I have described how this project has used American beer as means of investigating the nature of commodity valuation. The changes observed to techniques and regimes of valuation are not only relevant to the circulation of commodities, organization of industries, and distribution of wealth, but also the performance of everyday life and patterns of social organization. In this way, valuation is a process that inherently involves exercises of power, whether in terms of practicing complicity or performing resistance. Insofar as valuation is understood to produce values that are subject to change as the result of purposeful manipulation, intentional and coordinated attempts to manipulate value for personal or organizational purposes represent a politics of valuation in which performances of power factor heavily.

As a piece of Cultural Studies scholarship, this project has taken understanding and describing these practices of power and the politics of valuation to be central objectives, which necessitate both macro- and micro-level approaches to scholarship (though putting the two in balance is far from an easy task). For example, though seemingly incongruent, the psychologically inflected approach to understanding valuation in Chapter 7 and the broadly sociological approach used in Chapter 2 attempt to describe the same phenomena—the former providing a theory of how subconscious sensory experiences help to structure the climates in which conscious acts of valuation are carried out and therefore influenced; the later providing a theory of how broad cultural discourses thematically organize individual acts of valuation by authorizing particular sets of tools and techniques in acts of valuation.

In Closing

I close by pointing out that beer is emblematic of ongoing conversations about the nature of American food systems in the emerging area of critical food studies. Food systems are systems of valuation, in the broad sense used in this dissertation. As such, work in this relatively new intellectual tradition is intimately concerned with various politics of valuation as they are defined here. Moreover, researchers working in this capacity do so in the attempt to diagnose and/or craft interventions to what are generally considered to be inequitable systems of valuation that are at the heart of the U.S.'s epidemic levels of food insecurity among the urban, rural, and working poor.

Beer is not key to subsistence and is a product that often complicates conditions of poverty by adding alcohol abuse and stigmatization to the equation. Still, this inquiry contributes to these conversations in a number of ways. First, it suggests that a food system does not have to be narrowly defined by the circulation of foodstuffs in the marketplace (which is the prevailing means of talking about food systems—defined as collections of farms, processors, wholesalers distributors, and retailers). Rather, a food system may also, and perhaps more productively, be defined as a complex of techniques of valuation that are commonly put to use in regards to food by a particular group of people, in a particular region, or in response to a particular cultural event or moment. Second, it suggests that food systems are not external to or separate from those who participate in them; rather, everyday practices, identities, and organizations of social life are co-constitutive with food systems, suggesting that interventions that merely shuffle the elements of the dominant food system do little to change the power relations that make the dominant systems inequitable to begin with. This has been made abundantly clear in the case of urban farmers' markets that have largely failed to substantively change the situation of food insecure populations in urban areas (Alkon, 2012). Finally, it suggests that we may be viewing non-economic valuation in the wrong ways. Rather than assuming that non-economic or non-capitalist valuation represent a panacea to inequitable food systems structured around a capitalist profit imperative, we might consider them to be more contingent process that produce a range of results, from serving as fodder for some of the most successful expansions of capitalist logics to often neglected ways that communities with limited access to 'economic' resources make creative, and often unrecognized, moves toward defining their own food systems.

Afterward

Fairly early in the writing of this dissertation, I found, like many engaged in this process do, that there are issues and questions that I could not easily pursue within the scope of the project. These, coupled with the impulse/need to have a creative outlet for those moments when ideas want to come, but refuse to be written cogently, resulted in the development of an artistic project. *PINT: Values Lost* is a series of artwork developed to compliment/complicate this interdisciplinary dissertation project. Though created to stand independently, the five mixed-media projects together tell a multi-layered story about contemporary American culture, capitalism, power, everyday material artifacts, and the raced and gendered subjectivities that emerge in relation to such fraught and overdetermined formations.

The first piece, *A Thinking Man's Game*, takes up the historically messy interconnections between the brewing industry, baseball, American identity, and black masculinity in an installation of deconstructed and re-contextualized baseball cards. It contemplates the economic reliance of pervasive American industries, such as beer and baseball, on black male bodies and these industry's simultaneous efforts to conceal that reliance.

The second piece, *Bottles*, explores beer consumption as a site of meaning with reference to urban blackness. It introduces rarely posed questions about gendered interaction in these sites of meaning making through textile-based explorations of the brown paper bag and 40oz beer bottle. By using the same materials that circulate urban everyday life—paper and glass—in a formal engagement that makes use of a traditionally feminine art, *Bottles* seeks to dislocate and thus question the meanings that circulate with this object.

The third piece, a collection of currently untitled photographs, raises questions about the pervasive narratives that characterize America's founding fathers as patriotic homebrewers of beer. Given the general understanding of brewing as women's work in the colonial era, and fact that domestic labor was organized within the apparatus of American slavery for privileged families, these photographs envision a probable (but undocumented) tradition of brewing among African-American women.

The fourth piece, an unhinged polytych, charts the brewing process as a creative interpretation and subversive response to the recipe, as an organizer of brewing practice. Conceived simultaneously as exploratory recipe cards and archival documents of actual brewing experiences, *Gravity and Other Measures* contemplates the brewing process as a space of confrontation with convention as it operates within the world of brewing and beyond.

The fifth piece is a collection of homebrewed beers designed to compliment the four pieces of visual art in the series. "All-American Pastime Pale Ale", "Belgian Blue Malt Liquor", "Brew House Negro Colonial Ale", and the "Divine Red Ale" were brewed to be tasted in concert with the visual experience of each piece—making use of brewing techniques and experiments that are intended to extend or provide further commentary on the themes broached in the visual work.

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