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## **Selling White Masculinity: An Analysis of Cultural Intermediaries in the Craft Beverage Industry**

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Selling White Masculinity: An Analysis of Cultural Intermediaries in the Craft  
Beverage Industry

by

Erik Tyler Withers

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of Sociology  
College of Arts and Sciences  
University of South Florida

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## **Dedication**

For Vanessa, Harper, and Ellison. Thank you for believing in me, telling me that I am smart, and being next to me the whole time through this journey. I love you.

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A huge thank you to the participants of my study. Your passion and dedication to your work and the craft beverage industry at large is truly inspiring. You have been some of the most personable, kind, and charming people that I have had the pleasure of working with. Please understand that my goal with this dissertation was not to talk bad about anyone or the industry at large. Rather, I hope I have shed light on some of the oftentimes taken-for-granted ways race, ethnicity, and gender work in our day-to-day lives. My hope is that this work serves to help bring attention to these issues in order to make the craft beverage industry and culture the best it can be for everyone who wants to participate and imbibe.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to use the craft beverage industry as a case study in which to investigate how white masculinity is reproduced within consumer spaces. This study explores the roles that cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry play in the reproduction and contestation of white masculinity. Cultural intermediaries can be understood as tastemakers who play a large role in assigning value and legitimacy to products, practices and people within consumer industries. Intermediaries such as marketing and advertising firms, industry writers, and critics have been widely studied in the past. However, the day to day interactional work that many cultural intermediaries do has gone understudied. I use in-depth/semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations with 32 craft beer, specialty wine, and craft spirits sales people, marketers, and event specialists. I find that through the creation of spaces, marketing and selling of products, and modes of self presentation, cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry center and normalize white masculinity by using it to add value and legitimacy to their products, practices, and themselves. This work contributes to the understanding of how racial, ethnic, and gendered inequalities can act as a form of currency that consumer markets trade in and structure the seemingly mundane and benign corners of our everyday lives.

## **Chapter 1: Breaking Out of the Producer vs. Consumer Binary: *How* Race and Gender are (Re)produced within Consumer Industries**

Consumer practices and consumption heavily shape the identities of people in the U.S. and the Global North at large (Sassatelli 2007), and are a means through which social actors negotiate membership to different groups and economic/political systems (Murphy 2017). Scholars have found that social identities such as race (Chin 2001), class (Grazian 2010), and gender (Barber 2016) are forged within the practices of consumerism and consumption. However, it is important to note that these racial, class, and gendered based categories and identities do not exist in a vacuum, they operate within existing power hierarchies. In this dissertation, I set out to use consumer culture contexts as a site through which to explore how race, gender, and class are established, re-produced, and maintained.

The problem is that existing scholarship on racial, ethnic, and gender based inequalities within consumer contexts tends to focus on either the producer or the consumers roles in contributing to the re-production of inequalities. This consumer vs. producer binary ignores the vast amount of work that is done in between the two entities, particularly in regards to the shaping of tastes and desires for certain products. One conceptual ‘way out’ of this binary is to shift the attention towards those who are responsible for manipulating tastes within consumer industries. Bourdieu (1984) coined these market agents as “cultural intermediaries.” Cultural intermediaries are actors with a heightened level of agency in the assignment of value to cultural objects, and

assign legitimacy to products, practices, and people within consumer contexts. Examples of cultural intermediaries may be sales people, marketers, brand ambassadors, and event specialists. Investigations of cultural intermediation expose a new layer in how power and agency operate in consumer markets by uncovering the cultural ‘work’ done in-between producers and consumers.

The craft beverage industry will be used as a case study in which to interrogate how racial and gendered hierarchies are reproduced within consumer markets through the work of cultural intermediation. The craft beverage industry refers to a segment of the larger U.S. alcoholic beverage industry that focuses on small batch, traditionally made, and place focused products—which are sold and marketed in opposition to large scale producers. This industry is a ripe arena in which to study this subject matter for three reasons: (1) white masculinity structures the industry both demographically and culturally; (2) The industry intersects with a diverse array of other consumer arenas; (3) For legal reasons, cultural intermediaries are relied upon heavily because of the legal make up of the industry. A grounded theory/qualitative approach serves as the methodological foundation of this study. Methods for this study include semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observations with participants who sell, market, and/or organize events surrounding craft beverages. The overarching research question of the dissertation is: How are certain forms of racial and gendered privileges constructed and reproduced within the culture and industry of specialty beverages? This lends to the greater insight of how these hierarchies structure the seemingly benign or mundane corners of everyday life.

In this dissertation, I focus my analysis on the “cultural intermediaries” of the craft beverage industry. According to Bourdieu (1984), cultural intermediaries are tastemakers and taste legitimizers in consumer industries. Cultural intermediaries can occupy many types of positions

where they perform a range of cultural taste-making work. For instance, marketers and advertisers (Cronin 2004), music producers (Balaji 2012), and large scale food critics (Johnston & Bauman 2014) have been widely studied. People who work at the macro-level such as YouTubers, bloggers, and television program hosts are also considered to be cultural intermediaries. I chose participants for this study who perform taste-making work on a more micro-level scale. I find that it is at the ground level where the interactional work of raced and gendered power differentials can be uncovered and challenged. The participants who I worked with are sales representatives, marketers, and event specialists who represent products in a face-to-face manner with their potential buyers and consumers. The people I studied would drive from location to location, represent certain products at festivals and events, and/or make decisions on what types of marketing campaigns would be implemented in different locations for different customer bases. I found that intermediaries in this industry wear many hats, therefore it is important to note that many of my participants did all of these tasks and not just one. It was not uncommon for my participants who sold and marketed their products to different restaurants, bars, and retailers to also be involved in the decision-making process for the brands they represented (such as label designs and product recipes). In some cases, my participants both made the products and sold them. By working with this understudied type of intermediary, I was able to capture the everyday interactional processes of how taste-making intersects with race, ethnicity, and gender.

Throughout this dissertation, I often refer to my participants' "accounts." A representative's "account" is a bar, restaurant, or retailer where they sell and market their products. The account basically is a company, but at each account there can be a number of individuals that a cultural intermediary does business with (such as buyers, managers, and owners). Throughout

this manuscript I refer to these people as “customers.” They are the individuals that my participants interact and build relationships with most directly.

In this introductory chapter I first provide some background information on the craft beverage industry and the methodology I used for the study. I then provide a review of the literature that is pertinent to all the chapters of this dissertation, and close with a “road map” that explains the format.

### **The Craft Beverage Industry: A Case Study**

The craft beverage industry is used as a case study for this project, which is comprised of craft beer, specialty wine, and craft spirits. The National Brewers Association defines craft beer as a beer that comes from: a brewer that is small (produces less than 6 million barrels a year), independently owned, and that uses traditional methods to brew their beers. On the other hand, macro-beers are the mass-produced, corporate owned beers such as Budweiser, Miller, and Coors. Specialty wines are the more niche and small production brands of wines, which are typically thought of as higher quality than the low cost wines that are sold at mainstream grocery stores and alcohol retailers. Craft spirits are generally understood as spirits (such as whiskey, vodka, and rum) that are small batch, traditionally produced, and higher quality than the larger brand name spirits (such as Jack Daniels and Bacardi). I argue that these products encompass a shared culture (which will be explained below), which provides an interesting arena in which to study how whiteness and masculinity proliferate through consumer products and practices.

This culture and industry is a compelling field to study how race and gender are reproduced through consumer culture for three reasons. First, whiteness structures the industries

both demographically and culturally. There is a lack of official market data on the nation-wide racial/class-based/and gender makeup of the consumer markets, but most accounts of the demographics of the market conclude that Whites heavily over represent involvement within the culture and consumption of the product when compared to non-whites (Herz 2016; Murray & O'neill 2012; Thach et al. 2014; Thach et al. 2016). However, recent studies by the national brewers association have found that Latinos/as represent one of the fastest growing demographics of the craft beer industry (Herz 2016). Furthermore, consumers tend to have a higher educational and income level than the national average (Murray & O'neill 2012; Thatch et al. 2014). The culture of the industries is also structured by whiteness. For instance in my past research (Withers 2017), I found that the culture relies heavily on connections to white European culture, the ethnicizing of the other within marketing and branding techniques, and the promotion of white practices and aesthetics as the normative benchmark.

The second reason why this industry is a compelling case study is because the products span across many different consumer spaces such as sporting events, grocery stores, and country clubs. Therefore, the industry may offer a vehicle in which to demonstrate how whiteness spans across different class-based, gendered, and racialized spaces. Thirdly, cultural intermediaries are heavily relied upon in the industry due to its three-tiered distribution system. The three-tiered distribution system is a post-prohibition alcohol law that prevents producers selling directly to consumers. Producers must go through a third party distributor in order to sell their products to consumers. This means that producers and consumers rely on cultural intermediaries who promote the products. Because of these three reasons, this culture and industry offer fertile ground in which to study the active construction of tastes across different consumer-based settings.

Beer, wine, and spirits are typically considered to be separate genres of the alcohol industry that come along with distinct cultures. However, in this study I will make the case that—although the product markets offer distinctions from each other (particularly in the gendered make-up of the consumers)—they occupy many of the same cultural spaces and in many cases are part of the same culture. Craft beer, specialty wine, and craft spirits are often distributed by the same third-party companies and are typically merchandised together by retailers. It is not uncommon for sales representatives or brand managers to have to be involved with all three at the same retail account. Furthermore, these genres share many of the same cultural spaces. Joint festivals are common happenings in urban areas (for instance: the Ft. Lauderdale and St. Petersburg food and wine festivals combine both craft beer and specialty wine events), and increasingly craft beer and specialty wine are featured for sale alongside craft spirits at restaurants and entertainment venues. Because of these reasons, this culture could offer a unique angle into how genres can be combined to co-produce discourses and practices of whiteness in regards to race, gender, and social class through a shared culture. This may also shed light onto how cultural intermediaries work across these genres to reproduce whiteness and masculinity, rather than working within only one cultural genre.

Very little academic scholarship has been directed towards how race and gender are constructed within the craft beverage industry (for exceptions see Darwin [2017] and Chapman et al. [2018]). Works that do address race and craft beer or wine are typically geared towards more demographic reports of the market (for examples, see Martin & O'Neill 2012; Thach et al. 2014). These reports treat race as a static category, and measure different wine trends among races. For instance, Thach et al. (2016) have found that wine consumers of different racial identities report

different reasons as to why they drink wine. According to their survey Whites tend to report that they drink wine because they like the taste, Asians tend to report that they drink wine for the health benefits, and Black Americans tend to report that they enjoy the romantic aspect of drinking wine with their partners. Studies such as this may uncover interesting trends about the industry (Thach et al. 2016). However, they do not uncover *why* these groups of people report this, or *how/why* these differing trends exist. In short, the small body of scholarship that addresses race and craft beer/specialty wine does so in a manner that measures racial outcomes and taste preferences. These studies do not address the process through which tastes become racialized and how racial identities are produced through interactions and consumption of these products. With few exceptions (Withers 2017) whiteness is overlooked in this scholarship as well. I contend that this culture provides a rich field in which to study how certain forms of gender and whiteness are reproduced across cultural genres and social settings.

### **Literature Review**

In this section I provide a review of the literature that is pertinent to the dissertation project at large. I organized this section by a number of sub-sections. I first provide an overview of how race has been examined by scholars in consumer cultural settings. I then offer a review of the scholarship on whiteness, arguing that a broader understanding of racial and gendered inequalities can be achieved by studying privilege, rather than only focusing on disparities. Lastly, I provide evidence that shows how the cultural intermediary can be a useful concept through which to explore racial and gendered identity construction and the reproduction of hierarchies in consumer cultural contexts.



One prominent vein of research on race and consumer culture focuses on how racial inequalities persist in consumer markets. This structuralist strand of research is typically geared towards investigating how racial minorities (particularly African Americans) are faced with unequal access to goods and services within consumer industries and markets (Reskin 2012). For instance, it has been found that Black Americans pay higher interest rates on car loans (Charles et al. 2008) and higher prices for new cars (Ayres 2001), and pay more for small business loans than their white counterparts (Hu et al. 2011). Black Americans on average have less access to quality and affordable financial services (Stegman 2007), and are faced with limited consumer choices, and pay more for inferior products (Larsen et al. 2009). In general, Black Americans face disadvantages in consumer markets due to their lower buying power relative to Whites (Williams & Collins 1995). These disadvantages may lead to a lower ability to invest in productive assets (Moav and Newman 2010; Rayo and Becker 2006), and lead to less access to necessary goods and services for racial minorities.

The structuralist approach is positioned against ideas that different racial trends in spending are due to individual level explanations. For instance, some scholars have argued that Black Americans devote a greater portion of their resources to visible/status increasing goods in an attempt to combat racial stereotypes and micro-aggressions (Charles et al. 2009; Lee 2000). However, these individual-level analyses may not offer a broad enough picture of the larger factors behind different consumer patterns among racial groups. Charron-Chenier et al. (2017) have found that across all income levels, Black American households have lower levels of spending than Whites on important goods and services (such as utilities, housing, and health care). Instead of

attributing this to micro-level factors, the authors offer a more structural explanation. They argue that this difference in spending among racial groups is a reflection of the constraints that Black families face when trying to acquire vital goods and services. These constraints are: retail desertification in racially segregated neighborhoods, restricted access to affordable credit, and consumer racial discrimination (Charron-Chenier et al. 2017).

In sum, this structuralist approach is primarily concerned with the disadvantages that minority racial groups face within consumer markets based on their race. This perspective takes racial inequalities as a known fact about the world, without interrogating how culture serves as a space in which these inequalities are actively constructed.

#### *Race and Consumer Culture: A Constructivist Approach*

Unlike structural approaches, the constructivist approach sees consumer culture as a social space where the very ideas of race and racial inequalities are actively constructed. This constructivist lens looks at how the construction of race takes place through consumer culture rather than seeing race as an independent variable, which then operates within consumer culture. Race becomes an active process that is negotiated and contested within everyday activities of consumption. For instance, Lamont and Molnar (2001) have found that Black Americans use consumer culture to construct collective identities, enact a positive vision of their cultural distinctiveness, and to defy negative stereotypes. Lamont and Molnar (2001) suggest that Black Americans attempt to authenticate their position in society through purchasing items (such as clothing and housing decorations) typically associated with mainstream American culture. Therefore consumption may be a means through which group position is contested and

confronted. Pitcher (2014) also suggests that Black citizens of the U.K. partly use consumption techniques to combat negative stereotypes (such as aggressiveness and sexual deviance). Pitcher (2014) offers an analysis of the current trend of “Black nerd fashion,” in which he suggests that the clothing genre (typically associated with Whites) is used by Blacks to counteract stereotypes of violence. Other constructivist works have investigated how mediated images and marketing tactics work to construct negative perceptions of non-white and disadvantaged groups’ consumption practices (Chin 2001; Davilla 2001). The constructivist approach to research on race and consumer culture is mainly concerned with how race and racial identities are constructed and contested through consumer culture.

The constructivist approach differs from the structuralist approach in that it does not approach race as a fixed category, rather it approaches race as an accomplishment (which means it is an active practice rather than a fixed status) that takes place within consumer arenas. The structuralist approach tends to focus on racial disparities or outcomes connected to consumer culture, where the constructivist approach focuses on how consumer culture is involved in the process of race. However, the constructivist approach to race and consumer culture may give too much agency to the consumer, which may draw much needed attention away from racial inequalities within consumer markets. On the other hand, the structuralist approach may view race as too static, which draws attention away from how categories of race and racialized identities are constructed, contested and destroyed through cultural practices. Both of these perspectives also tend to focus on racial minorities. Therefore, when they are talking about race, it is automatically assumed that they are talking about Blackness, or the experiences of the racial other. In doing so, these approaches position whiteness as the normative center of a racialized society.

Both the perspectives above tend to position whiteness as the normative center. One way to address this issue is to use an approach that interrogates and makes visible whiteness as a cultural construction as well. The term whiteness generally refers to a state or condition of white racial domination where white values, ideas, aesthetics, preferences, and privileges are made to appear as the normalized, taken for granted basis in which to navigate the social world (Garner and Hancock 2014). Focusing on whiteness is a way to account for the fluidity of racial categories and identities, while at the same time, it addresses the fact that race is always grounded in a foundation of unequal power relations. For instance, Lewis (2004) has argued that if we are setting out to understand the impact that race has on the experiences and outcomes of people, then we must also pay close attention to Whites as racialized actors. Similarly, McDermott and Sampson (2005) have posited that racism and racial inequalities cannot be fully understood without paying serious attention to the formation and maintenance of white racial identity.

Some works that fit within the constructivist framework have explored how whiteness is reproduced and contested through consumer culture. For example, scholars such as Desmond and Emirbayer (2010), Hancock (2013), Pitcher (2014), and Slocum (2007) have explored the multitude of ways that whiteness is experienced and produced within consumer cultures such as fashion industries, farmers markets, and dance halls. Hancock (2013) has shown how many Whites use color-blind discourses (such as referring to non-racial reasons for racial disparities) to articulate their involvement in the historically Black dance of the “Lindy Hop.” Desmond and Emirbayer (2010) contend that certain clothing lines (such as Abercrombie and Fitch) sell whiteness as a lifestyle that is only truly obtainable by very few. Slocum (2007) shows that healthy

food discourses build on white ideas of healthful foods and bodies. These studies have found that, even in the most seemingly benign daily events, whiteness is positioned as the normative standard. However, there is more work to be done in order to uncover the mechanisms, interactions, and material ways through which this happens.

### *What We Know About Whiteness*

A number of axioms have developed over the past few decades of whiteness studies. First, whiteness is a shared racial experience, and a position from which to view the social world (Frankenburg 2001; Bush 2004; Hartigan 2010). Secondly, this shared position that whiteness inhabits comes along with advantages and privileges (McIntosh 1988; Roediger 1991; Anderson 2003; Doane & Bonilla-Silva 2003; Hartman et al. 2009; Lewis 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2014), which are made to appear as the benchmark of normativity (Hyde 1995; Bell & Hartman 2007). Thirdly, whiteness is a situated identity, which means that not all Whites experience white privilege in the same way (for overviews see McDermott and Sampson 2005, and McDermott 2010). For example, poor Whites (Hartigan 1999; Buck 2001), gay Whites (Berube 2001), white women (Daniels 1997; Blee 2002; Frankenberg 1993) working/middle class Whites (Lamont 2000), rich Whites (Sherwood 2010), white immigrants (Flores-Gonzalez et al. 2014), and multi racial Whites (Rockquemore & Brunsma 2002) all navigate whiteness and experience white privilege in different ways. Most importantly, what the large body of past scholarship on whiteness has uncovered is that whiteness is not a fixed individual trait or quality, rather it is a system of racial power, which is in a constant state of working and re-working.

It is important to historically situate whiteness studies in order to view this area of scholarship as a response to unique social conditions. France Winddance Twine and Charles Gallagher (2008) argue there have been three general “waves” of whiteness studies. These waves provide a useful framework to historically situate whiteness studies, drawing attention to the changing and fluid nature of whiteness.

The first wave of whiteness scholarship took place in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and was grounded in the works of W.E.B. DuBois (1935). Scholars in this wave were mainly concerned with challenging white supremacy and institutional racism by making them more visible. The second wave took place throughout the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century and was led by critical legal theorists, historians, feminists, and Black Studies scholars. The second wave of whiteness studies was a response to the popular notion at the time that racial prejudice was a pathological individualistic quality rather than a systemic and institutional issue. This wave focused on the institutions (such as legal, educational, and employment systems) that created, reproduced and normalized white supremacy. The second wave set out to demonstrate the various ideological ways that whiteness is craftily made to appear as a normative identity.

Twine and Gallagher (2008) argue that we are currently experiencing a third wave of whiteness studies. This third wave is concerned with the “nuanced and locally specific ways in which whiteness as a form of power is defined, deployed, performed, policed and reinvented” (Twine & Gallagher 2008: 5) Scholars in this current wave are focused on various forms of ‘whitenesses’, and pay close detail to the historically classed, gendered, and politically specific ways in which whiteness functions as an invisible or masked system of power.

The third wave of whiteness studies is a response to a current racial climate in which racial discrimination is carried out through more subtle and indirect ways such as everyday activities and interactions. Studies that have emerged out of this wave contribute to the interrogation of the insidious ways in which whiteness operates and how it creeps into our everyday lives. Whiteness is—in large part—a latent process, which devalues that which does not map onto, or follow its structure. As one author states: “whiteness is deeply embedded in the routine structures of economic and political life. From ordinary service at Denny’s Restaurants, to far greater access to bank loans to simple police-event free driving—all these things have come unreflectively with the territory of being White” (Duster 2001: 114). This diverse body of scholarship is connected by a common factor: an examination of how power and oppression are produced and reproduced through various forms of often discrete cultural practices and institutional discourses that privilege whiteness.

#### *How Consumer Culture and Whiteness have been Addressed Together*

Many studies within the third wave have included elements of consumer culture in their analyses. It is necessary to engage consumer culture when investigating the latent ways that whiteness proliferates in many aspects of social life, because we are surrounded by consumer culture in almost every aspect of our daily lives. Consumer culture can be understood as a condition in which people engage and interact within social life through consumption. Consumption can be understood as “a wide variety of practices that involve our engagement with a range of objects, products, services, stories, images, texts, styles, spaces and places” (Pitcher 2014: 3).

For instance, research has explored a range of ways in which meanings of whiteness are cultivated through consumer cultural practices and products such as: skateboarding (Brayton 2005), shopping (Chin 2001), snow skiing (Coleman 1996; Harrison 2013), sport playing and spectating (Fusco 2005; King et al. 2007; Long & Hylton 2002), dancing (Hancock 2013), and wedding ceremonies (Ingraham 2008). Together these studies demonstrate how even the most (seemingly) benign consumer rituals and practices can be imbued with whiteness, and participation within them can perpetuate an unequal racial hierarchy. For instance Harrison (2013) critically examines how processes of everyday racism work to secure the leisure activity of snow skiing as predominantly white, which in turn restricts non-white participation. Harrison (2013) shows how marketing strategies, racialized representations of skiers, and exclusionary real estate practices lead to the exclusion of non-whites from the sport. Similarly, consumer cultural objects such as food (Johnston & Baumann 2015), fashion elements (Pitcher 2014), sustainable coffee (Cole 2008), craft beer (Withers 2017), suburban houses (Harris 2013), music (Mann 2008), art (Desmond & Emirbayer 2010) and plant life (Pitcher 2014) can be assigned and transfer white racialized meanings. For instance, in order to connect with a mostly white consumer base craft breweries routinely rely on cultural connections to white European countries, promotion of white historical events, and marketing imagery that paints non-whites as racialized others—a practice that normalizes white supremacy (Withers 2017). In this sense, products and practices become the mechanisms through which whiteness is enacted, and interactions around and with material culture become intertwined with the reproduction of a white racial power hierarchy.

Other third wave whiteness studies have explored the connections between consumer culture and whiteness by viewing whiteness as structuring consumer spaces which results in a



conditioning process that upholds white-normative behaviors and beliefs (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Bonilla-Silva et al. 2006; Bonilla-Silva & Embrick 2007; Bourgois and Schonberg 2007; Emerson 2006; Horvat and Antonio 1999; Perry 2012; Sallaz 2010). This type of research is aimed at uncovering the ways in which whiteness becomes part of the structural environment. Many of these works reference the white habitus, which refers to a “racialized uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates white racial tastes, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters” (Bonilla-Silva et al. 2006: 233). Whiteness becomes embodied from within these settings, and this process of embodiment becomes a means for racial capital. Whiteness becomes a set of racial tastes, preferences, and expectations. Furthermore, whiteness is also practiced through racialized dis-tastes where practices that are associated with non-whites become undesirable or discredited.

For instance, the white habitus has been studied in consumption settings such as racially homogenous neighborhoods (Bonilla-Silva et al. 2006), racially diverse neighborhoods (Burke 2011), corporate settings (Sallaz 2010), and religious philanthropy organizations (Perry 2012). In these settings whiteness pervades day-to-day operations as a result of interaction and institutional structures. Samuel L. Perry explored this idea from within interracial evangelical organizations (2012). Perry found that within these interracial organizations white cultural norms tended to take precedence and structure moral standards and conflict resolution techniques. For instance, the ways in which members were trained to pursue donations led to moral conflicts among racial groups, and white cultural standards were then used to resolve these conflicts. This process leads to the hegemony of white moral standards within the organization, which provides a glimpse at how the racial habitus can operate at the organizational level and produce institutional cultures. Jeffery

Sallaz (2010) also employed the concept of the racial habitus in his study within South African post-apartheid marketing companies. Sallaz (2010) finds that that racial habitus “predicts that individuals who came of age in one racial formation will tend to generate practices that simultaneously preserve entrenched racial schemata and obey letter (if not spirit) of new, nonracial paradigms” (p. 296). Sallaz (2010) finds that in both front stage and backstage settings within a large-scale marketing firm, historically embodied racial frames structure the way new projects are developed. Empirical studies using the concept of the racial habitus highlight the cultural threads of race and provide useful snapshots into how embodied racial dispositions can influence organizational and institutional practices.

Other works rely on the concept of white space, which can be understood as spaces where whiteness goes unnoticed and unquestioned. White spaces are areas where Whites do not have to face or notice their own racial identities. The concept has been applied to consumer spaces such as: cities (Hargrove 2009; Anderson 2015), gated neighborhoods (Low 2003), country clubs (Sherwood 2010), tourist destinations (Carter P. L. 2008), elite law schools (Moore 2008), the commercial airline industry (Evens 2013), and shopping districts (Austin 1994; Lee 2000). These spaces act as zones where whiteness operates as the unquestioned norm of social engagement and where racial oppression is normalized. Studies that have incorporated elements of consumer culture into analyses of whiteness have exposed the many ways that whiteness can pervade our daily lives through consumption. These studies shed new light on the reproduction of whiteness within seemingly benign everyday activities.

However, many of these studies do not sufficiently explain how whiteness ‘works’ between producers (institutions) and consumers (agents) within white-normative consumer settings. Many

of the studies on whiteness and consumer culture discussed above over-emphasize either the producer's, company's, or institution's role in producing whiteness (Evans 2013; Evans and Moore 2015; Moore 2008; Mayorga-Galo 2014), or they overemphasize the consumer's or actor's role in enacting whiteness within consumer settings (Burke 2012; Sherwood 2010). This tendency overlooks the interactive process through which producer discourses, practices, and narratives are translated to consumers of whiteness.

For instance, Moore (2008) finds that elite law schools are up-kept as white spaces through a myriad of institutional and cultural practices, which negatively affect non-white students. However, much of the work being done between the institution and students (for instance, the roles of administration, faculty, resource representatives, and alumni) is left unaddressed in Moore's work. This approach does not fully explain how the relationship between elite law school institutions and law degree seeking students is refereed. In a similar fashion, Burke (2013) argues that a racial ambivalence can form in which color-blind beliefs that down play the significance of race can be present along side a commitment to racial diversity even in multi-ethnic neighborhoods. Burke found that for many residents, the desire to live in racially diverse neighborhoods was structured by white-normative behavior and beliefs. For instance, many residents liked living in diverse neighborhoods because of the greater options in food, art, and music. Burke argues that this consumption of diversity only works to preserve white advantage. Burke's analysis may see the white consumer as having full agency in how they consume diversity—a viewpoint that does not take into account how that ideology is an active construction between the producers of goods, spaces of consumption, consumers, and those in between. Lastly, Sherwood (2010) argues that upper-class country clubs are important locations where capital (both

social and cultural) and social networks are created and maintained through the exclusion of others. Sherwood finds that the members in her study often use color-blind discourses to explain why the clubs remain racially homogenous. Sherwood's argument is another example of work that focuses on just the consumers of a consumer space, and falls short of capturing the integrated relationships between white institutions and the consuming agents of whiteness.

These examples reflect a tendency within third wave whiteness studies to get stuck in a producer vs. consumer dichotomy. This dichotomy results in the overlooking of the complex ways in which relationships between the producers and consumers of whiteness are rendered. There is a need for further work that investigates the complex relationship between institutions and actors of whiteness. Such research can shed further light into who is between these two entities, and the mechanisms that are used to enable the relationships between producers and consumers. Such work could produce insights into how whiteness acts similarly or differently across different social settings, and how white and non-white communities absorb or reject whiteness.

#### *How Consumer Culture, Whiteness, and Gender have been Explored in Tandem*

Scholars have also carried out investigations into how whiteness and gender are operate together in consumer culture settings. Some have studied perceptions of consumers in racial/gender homogenous consumer spaces. For instance, Sherwood (2010) investigated patrons of high-end country clubs and uncovered ways in which they justified these spaces being predominantly white and male. She found that patrons tended to be much more dismissive about the lack of racial diversity than gendered diversity. Other researchers have geared their investigations towards the production of gendered identities through consumerism. Kristen

Barber's (2016) work uncovered how women's labor in male beauty salons is used to produce the white masculine identities of the patrons. She finds that women are relied upon in these salons for their aesthetic, emotional, and physical labor; thus uncovering how masculinities are produced not only in opposition to femininity, but also as a result of feminine labor. Others have studied how inequalities in regards to race, gender, and class are reproduced in consumer industries. Ingraham (2009) argued that the wedding industry of the U.S. produces both racial and gendered inequalities. She found that advertising and marketing companies use imagery and narratives that center the white, heterosexual experience in the U.S., which leads to the marginalization of racial and sexual minorities. Similarly, Harris (2013) turned to the housing market of the mid-twentieth century to show how physical spaces are constructed in ways that re-inscribed white gendered normativity. She showed how houses were constructed to promote gendered divisions of labor (such as closed off kitchens that kept women's labor out of sight), and promoted the interests of Whites in the U.S. (such as division of living spaces which promoted individuality rather than open living and neighborhood spaces that promote communal living). Together these works offer a brief snapshot into how race, gender, and consumer culture have been studied together.

#### *Cultural Intermediaries: A Way Out of the Producer vs. Consumer Dichotomy?*

Studies on structural hierarches and consumer culture do not fully capture the relationships between producers (institutions) and consumers (agents). This relationship is an important and understudied element in how whiteness and masculinity (for example) are reproduced and enacted through consumer cultures. Explorations of cultural intermediation work shift questions of agency away from the individual consumer (or actors in a racialized/gendered

setting), and at the same time it shifts questions of power away from producers (or institutions), allowing for new angles in how power and agency are conceptualized within consumer culture. The cultural intermediary is an important mechanism in assigning meaning and value within industries and markets. These individuals may be important cogs in the process through which white masculinities materializes through consumer cultures.

The concept of the cultural intermediary originated in the scholarship of Pierre Bourdieu. In his seminal 1984 piece *Distinction*, Bourdieu was concerned with how social stratification is reproduced and legitimated through expressions of consumption and notions of taste. Tastes, he argues, are social; and they are mechanisms through which inequalities are reproduced. People gain capital by developing “good taste,” which is strongly due to their social positions—and this process results in material advantages. Cultural intermediaries are key actors in the production and maintenance of social inequalities. According to Bourdieu (1984), current westernized economies require the production of consuming tastes and dispositions. Bourdieu contends that cultural intermediaries are the people who do this taste-making work within economies that require it. Bourdieu (1984) argues that these individuals are those who “perform the tasks of gentle manipulation of taste” (365). Through this gentle manipulation they are both shaping tastes for particular consumer products and practices, and defining and defending group position. Thus, to Bourdieu, cultural intermediaries are an integral aspect of the reproduction of social inequalities.

Recently, researchers have focused on sites such as the fashion industry (Skov 2014), fitness industry (Smith Maguire 2001), and food and beverage industries (Ocejo 2014) to explore the impacts of cultural intermediaries and how they shape tastes and negotiate value. The concept has been utilized widely in cultural studies (Bovone 2005; McFall 2004; Negus 2002; Nixon & Crew

2004; Smith Maguire 2008), however, it also provides a useful analytic view within sociology (e.g. Entwistle 2006; Moor 2008; Wright 2005). Cultural studies-based accounts of cultural intermediaries tend to focus on their involvement in culture work within creative industries, whereas sociologists have recently started to critically investigate these actors' role in the production and maintenance of inequalities.

For example, Johnston and Baumann (2015) demonstrate how mediating actors in the specialty food industry—such as food critics and food TV network stars—can perpetuate social divides (particularly relating to social class and gender). In a similar fashion, Ocejo (2014) questions the extent to which cultural intermediaries work to reinforce existing social class relations. The author asserts that tastemakers in the specialty foods industry demonstrate hegemony over taste by including and promoting certain kinds of tastes and rejecting others. In Ocejo's (2014) work on upscale New York City butcher shops, he shows how workers at these venues use certain aesthetics and service techniques to teach consumers good taste—which in turn may uphold social divisions.

Although this concept arose from questions surrounding social inequalities, there is a dearth in research dedicated to how cultural intermediaries are involved in racial meaning making and more so how they contribute to the production of gendered meanings of whiteness within consumer cultures. Aside from a handful of studies that touch on race, gender, and cultural intermediaries (Barber 2016; Johnston & Baumann 2014), these identities are almost absent from the picture. These actors play a large role in telling the stories and negotiating the meanings of consumer products across large consumer bases. They are actively involved in constructing how a product is consumed, why it is consumed, when it is consumed, and who consumes it. They

influence the value of consumers and consumer practices. As authors have put it, “cultural intermediaries impact upon notions of what, and thereby who, is legitimate, desirable and worthy, and thus by definition what and who is not” (Smith Maguire, and Matthews 2014). However, the extent to how much this practice is gendered and racialized has gone vastly understudied. The gendered and racialized nature of cultural intermediaries can be uncovered by studying those who perform micro-level face-to-face cultural work. It is through these interactions, the extent to which gender and race plays a part of assigning value and legitimacy in consumer markets can be further investigated. The question now stands: to what extent do cultural intermediaries advocate the reproduction of gendered whiteness through consumer culture? And, how do they do this?

### **Positionality and Methodology**

I was uniquely positioned to conduct research in this industry because I worked as a cultural intermediary in the craft beverage industry before I entered graduate school at the University of South Florida. This prior experience in the field equipped me with some of the tools I needed to navigate the industry. I understood the nature and demands of the job. I know that the job can be high-paced at times, and representatives are constantly on the go. This is why I made sure that I was a mobile researcher, and I would schedule interviews at places and times that were convenient for my participants. I also know how seasonal the job can be, particularly in the state of Florida where many vacationers and part-time residents (or snow birds) flock to certain areas of the state during winter and other vacation times. This pattern significantly affects how busy the workers in this industry are, and how much money they make. Because of this, I would reach out to my participants during off season times such as the summer months or the months



directly following the winter holiday season. Lastly, I was able to be more efficient with my interviews because my participants did not have to educate me on the verbiage and phrasing of the industry. For instance, I know what it means if a representative talks about “on premise” or “off premises” accounts (bars and restaurants or grocery stores and liquor stores respectively), and I understand the difference in how those types of accounts are worked by the representative. Because of my prior experience in the industry, I understood some of the unique demands that my participants faced which informed how I acted in the field.

My time in the field prior to entering it as a researcher led to a greater understanding of how the industry works, and it also influenced how I performed during my research. In their popular text titled *Analyzing Social Settings*, Loftland et al. (2006) use the terms credibility and approachability to refer to behaviors that one can intentionally perform in the field in order to give them a better rapport with their participants. For instance, I would perform credibility, which is the notion that I as a researcher was worth spending time with, by choosing how I dressed in different settings. If I knew that I was going to be going to a more expensive restaurant or bar to meet my participant, I would dress in a more business casual style. Whereas, if I was going to a brewery to meet a participant, I would dress down and let the tattoos on my arms show. I felt that by performing credibility in the sense that I knew how to dress for the occasion, my participants would be more willing to open up to me. If I were overdressed or underdressed, they may have been put off by my appearance and may not have spent the time they did with me in the field.

I would also perform approachability, or ways to establish myself as non-threatening and safe to be with, during my time in the field. One of the ways I did this was to be very clear and transparent when it came to the anonymity of my study. I know that the craft beverage industry is

a small world where word can get around quick, and it is very important for representatives in the industry to uphold themselves as good characters and not to talk bad about the industry or others in it. This being so, I would reinforce that my study was completely anonymous and that anything said during interviews would not be reported back to their employers nor others in the field. I would do this to be transparent about my ethical research practices, but also as a way to establish myself as a safe person to talk to in hopes that they would not hesitate to open up to me about their concerns about the industry. Following Lofland et al. (2006), I would consciously perform in ways, such as the ones I mentioned above, which (I hoped) would establish me as a credible and approachable person to spend time with.

In an attempt to further the conversation on credibility and approachability in qualitative research, Mayorga-Gallo and Hordge-Freeman (2017) argue that these categories are not only performed by researchers, but are also placed on researchers' bodies by participants. Furthermore, this process interacts with race, ethnicity, gender, and other social identities on both the researchers and the participants' sides. My social positions as a white, heterosexual man, presumably from the continental U.S. played a large role in how I was viewed as credible and approachable during my time in the field. For instance, me being a man very well could have influenced the way some of my participants who were women thought of me as approachable or not out of concern that I may try to make unwanted advances on them, particularly when they had never met me before and we were meeting at a restaurant after they had gotten off of work. Much of the industry, and my sample accordingly, is comprised of white men. Therefore, the fact that I am a white man may have influenced how my participants thought of me as fitting in or belonging in the spaces of the craft beverage industry, which may have not been the same if I were a person

of color and/or if I identified as a member of the LGBTQ+ community (for example). It is important to note that the responses and data that I will be presenting throughout this dissertation were influenced by my un-stigmatized positionality.

However, being a white man does not mean that I was always given credibility and/or approachability by my participants—even by other white men. In her work on race and research methods, France Winddance Twine (2000:27) calls for researchers to explore the ways in which their research fields are “raced” sometimes in unpredictable and unexpected ways. She went into her fieldwork in Brazil thinking that her positionality as a light-skinned Black American would help her connect with some of her non-white participants. However, she found that many of her non-white participants expressed openly racist language directed towards her because of the difference in how race was thought of in Brazilian culture. In another similar case, Charles Gallagher (2000) found that his racial identity as a white man did not gain him the access he thought it would when he was studying lower S.E.S. Whites in Philadelphia. Gallagher (2000:69) states: “while the majority of Whites enjoy many privileges relative to other racial groups, one must nevertheless critically assess where one’s social location, political orientation, religious training, and attitudes on race fit into the research project.” In short, shared racial identity does not always automatically translate into how researchers are perceived as either credible or approachable in their research fields.

I may have looked like I belonged in the spaces and places of the craft beverage industry, but other identity assumptions such as my perceived political affiliation and status as a Ph.D. student at the University of South Florida may have affected how my participants responded to me. For instance, I am white and I also have a beard, tattoos, and (sometimes) wear a Mohawk

hairstyle. These physical characteristics are often times not associated with those who ascribe to a more conservative political stance (which I do not), and are often associated with those who engender more liberal political views (which I do). I did not divulge my political stances to my participants while in the field, but I may have been looked at as a liberal by my participants, which may have affected how they spoke to me about issues surrounding race and gender. I was very open with my participants about being a Ph.D. student in Sociology, which also may be associated with a more liberal or critical stance on subjects surrounding race and gender. This may have led to some of my participants to feel comfortable talking with me about these subjects, but others may have been apprehensive or careful in fear that I was not going to be receptive and/or offer retaliations to their responses. Overall, even though I shared the same racial identity with many of my participants, it should not be assumed that other identity markers did not affect the data that I collected during my research.

When my field work concluded in the summer of 2019, I had conducted interviews with 32 craft beverage cultural intermediaries and conducted over 75 hours of observations. I took a grounded theory approach when analyzing and organizing my data. Grounded theory is an approach to social research that allows for theories to arise from data rather than applying theory directly to data (Charmaz 2014). I gave priority to forming analytic categories directly from data, and did not rely fully on preconceived concepts or theories when analyzing my data (Emerson et al., 2011). According to Charmaz (2014), a grounded theory approach allows for new theoretical advances to be derived from research projects, invokes iterative strategies of going back and forth between data and analysis, uses comparative methods, and keeps researchers engaged with their data and emerging analysis throughout the duration of the project. Grounded theorists bring an

open mind into their research environments so that they can learn about the people and worlds that they are studying (Charmaz 2014). This does not mean however that researchers go into projects as a completely blank slate. Rather, researchers can actively employ existing theories throughout the different phases of their projects in order to add depth and scope to the study. In this way, grounded theory offered me a way to constantly engage with my data throughout the entire research process and let themes arise as the project developed.

I started coding and organizing my data as soon as I conducted the first interview. As I conducted more interviews and observations, I would find new trends emerging and see old trends disappear. I took a comparative approach by using both my interview transcripts and field notes from observations as I collected them to confirm or dis-confirm some of the findings I had made earlier on. I did not view data collection as separate from analysis. As I was finding themes arising in my data, I would then go out into the field and often times see these trends happening in real time. I did go into the project with assumptions particularly about race, ethnicity, and gender, but I was open to the possibility of finding new ways these social identities intersected in the settings of my study. For instance, the finding of the “dumb blonde female sales representative” caught me by surprise as it was brought up by many of my participants. I was surprised to find that women in the field were often times critical of this form of femininity rather than critiquing masculine control of the industry (which is discussed in detail in chapter 4). In another example, I was excited to find how my participants seamlessly wove narratives of ethnicity into how they understood themselves as ideal agents in their markets (which is discussed in detail in chapter 3). These findings (and many more) arose during my fieldwork because of the inductive approach I took during data collection and analysis.

### Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured around three stand-alone chapters. The chapters are formatted to be separate from one another, however they all address the overarching theme/question of how cultural intermediaries act to reproduce certain forms of racial and gendered hierarchies in the craft beverage industry. Each chapter has its own literature review that is specific to the topics of the chapters. Each chapter also has its own methods section where I provide the details as to how I collected and analyzed the data for each chapter. The second chapter explores how these market actors work to structure the spaces of the craft beverage industry around whiteness. The third chapter focuses on the role of ethnicity in the industry. And lastly, the fourth chapter investigates the gendered experiences of my participants within the craft beverage culture. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of contributions, limitations, and directions for future research. Together, these chapters offer new insight into how race and gender operate through the cultural work of consumer industries.

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## Chapter 2: “Info Tells, Stories Sell”: Cultural Intermediaries and the Reproduction of White Space in the Market “Place”

It’s 4 pm on a Saturday afternoon; and a subtropical storm is about four hours away from pummeling the west coast of Florida. I find myself sitting alone with my participant “Stephen” in a broken down 1960’s era Airstream RV that is parked in the backyard of a local brewery in a small rural Central Florida town. I am visiting the brewery that day to shadow Stephen who does the media relations for the brewery and gives customer tours every Saturday afternoon. Today the tour consists of just Stephen and I—apparently nobody else wants to visit a craft brewery right before a subtropical storm? Stephen sits comfortably in the back wrap around style bench seat of the RV. He has one arm draped around the back of the seat and he holds a pint of beer in the other. We hear the sound of distant thunder coming from the rapidly approaching storm. Stephen takes a swig of his beer and says: “Well, let’s get started before this storm rolls in and we are stuck back here.”

He asks me if I want him to go through the tour as he normally would, or if I want to just ask him a series of questions seeing that it is just him and I sitting there. I tell him I want the full experience. He takes another swig of his pint of beer, takes a deep breath, and launches directly into a story about the owners of the brewery and how their path to starting a brewery all began with an old Airstream RV (similar to the one we were sitting in). He tells me that this is why he always starts out the tours outside in the old broken down motorhome. The RV is equipped with a

beer bar, DJ booth, and a vintage 1950's refrigerator that Stephen tells me "still works." The motorhome seems to be kept up well, but over the years that it has been parked in the backyard of the brewery, it has picked up an old-musty smell. I take a deep breath in through my nose. The smell takes me back to my childhood when my cousins and I used to play around in an old motorhome that my grandparents had parked in their backyard. I feel a sense of nostalgia; I feel comfortable.

Stephen, like many of my other participants, is a professional storyteller. They draw in audiences and customers in part through telling them stories about their products, practices, and selves—forging connections between products and histories, values, and places. My participants are what many consumer culture scholars consider cultural intermediaries (C.I.s). C.I.s play a large role in assigning meaning and value within consumer spaces. Examples of C.I.s are sales representatives, marketers and event specialists, and brand ambassadors. These market agents attach meanings to objects, spaces, products, and practices in order to construct value and legitimacy within markets. In this sense, they turn consumer "spaces" into market "places" by co-creating an environment along with producers and consumers that is meaningful and attractive to clients and customers<sup>1</sup>. As Pierre Bourdieu (1984) contends, C.I.s cannot enforce desire or purchases; rather, they create the conditions for consumers to identify their taste in goods. By using the craft beverage industry as a case study, I will show how C.I.s draw on certain cultural elements to reproduce environments where histories, values, and aesthetics centralize and normalize a white experience of the social world. I explore how C.I.s use sales tactics, product branding, and the built environment to imbue consumer spaces with whiteness.

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<sup>1</sup> A space is generally conceived as a physical location, it becomes a social space or "place" once social meanings are attached to it (Tuan 1977).

Even though the original concept of the C.I.s was developed to address how social inequalities are reproduced through taste construction, there is a lack of work that addresses how C.I.s reproduce dominant class structures and how they draw on traditional strategies of maintaining power to do so (Negus 2002, 3). Furthermore, research that is directed towards exploring the racial impacts of marketing and advertising tends to focus on how non-whites are disadvantaged (Foster Davis 2018), or how racial identities are forged through consumption (Jamal 2003). In this chapter, I add to this body of work by exploring *how* whiteness—a state or condition of white racial domination where white values, ideas, aesthetics, preferences, and privileges are made to appear as the normalized, taken for granted basis in which to navigate the social world (Garner and Hancock 2014)—is positioned as the normative standard in certain consumer contexts. My analysis reveals some of the ways that the craft beverage industry works to normalize whiteness within the larger narrative of the U.S. beverage market.

On the other hand, critical race scholars have developed the concept of white space to understand the environmental elements of whiteness—which can be understood as spaces where whiteness goes unquestioned (Anderson 2015) . However, much of this scholarship relies on a producer vs. consumer model, which does not fully capture the cultural work being done in between those two entities. On top of providing empirical evidence showing how C.I.s can imbue consumer spaces with meanings of whiteness, I also advance the theoretical understanding of how white spaces are reproduced beyond the producer (institution) vs. consumer (agent) binary.

That day with Stephen at the rural brewery, I was treated to a number of stories about the brewery, the products, the people, and the town. Stephen was a fantastic tour guide. He told me jokes, put on funny hats, gave me demonstrations of brewing practices, and introduced me to

everyone at the brewery. He was funny, knowledgeable and charismatic. I established a friendly relationship easily with Stephen, which very well could have been because our shared positionality as white, middle aged, (presumably) straight men. In the end, I would go back to that brewery in a heartbeat to grab a pint. But, I realize that this is not because of the beer. Although the beverage in my glass was fantastic, I would return because of the nostalgia that I felt there, the stories that I related with and the experiences that I had there that day with Stephen on the tour. These nostalgic stories resonated with me because of my socialization and position within white masculinity. As Geoff Mann (2008) would suggest, I was being called to my whiteness through the organization and presentation of the narratives, aesthetics, and tastes that were used to sell beer to me that day. In this sense, taste is never completely about the actual taste of a product; rather, tastes are preceded by a system or constellation of events that have made it possible for the product to be in front of the consumer in the first place.

### **Literature Review**

White space can be understood as spaces where whiteness goes unnoticed and unquestioned. These white spaces are settings where Whites do not have to face or notice their own racial identities. The concept has been applied to consumer spaces such as: cities (Hargrove 2009; Anderson 2015), gated neighborhoods (Low 2003), country clubs (Sherwood 2010), tourist destinations (Carter P. L. 2008), elite law schools (Moore 2008), the commercial airline industry (Evens 2013), and shopping districts (Austin 1994; Lee 2000). These spaces act as zones where whiteness operates as the unquestioned norm of social engagement and where racial oppression is normalized. Studies that have incorporated elements of consumer culture into analyses of

whiteness have exposed the many ways that whiteness can pervade our daily lives through consumption. These studies shed new light on the reproduction of whiteness within seemingly benign everyday activities.

However, many of these studies do not sufficiently explain how whiteness works between producers (institutions) and consumers (agents) within white-normative settings. Many studies on whiteness over-emphasize either the producer's, company's, or institution's role in producing whiteness (Evans 2013; Evans & Moore 2015; Moore 2008; Mayorga-Galo 2014), or they overemphasize the consumer's or actor's role in enacting whiteness within consumer settings (Burke 2012; Sherwood 2010). This tendency overlooks the interactive process through which producer discourses, practices, and narratives are mediated to consumers.

For instance, Moore (2008) finds that elite law schools are up-kept as white spaces through a myriad of institutional and cultural practices, which negatively affect non-white students. However, much of the work being done between the institution and students (for instance, the roles of administration, faculty, resource representatives, and alumni) is left unaddressed in Moore's work. This approach does not fully explain how the relationship between elite law school institutions and law degree seeking students is refereed. In a similar fashion, Burke (2013) argues that racial ambivalence can form into color-blind beliefs that downplay the significance of race which can be present alongside a commitment to racial diversity even in multi-ethnic neighborhoods. Burke found that many residents' desire to live in racially diverse neighborhoods was structured by white-normative behavior and beliefs. For instance, many residents liked living in diverse neighborhoods because of the greater options in food, art, and music. Burke argues that this consumption of diversity only works to preserve white advantage. Burke's analysis may see the



white consumer as having full agency in how they consume diversity—a viewpoint that doesn't take into account how that ideology is an active construction between the producers of goods, spaces of consumption, consumers, and those in between. Lastly, Sherwood (2010) argues that upper-class country clubs are important locations where capital (both social and cultural) and social networks are created and maintained through the exclusion of others. Sherwood finds that the members in her study often use color-blind discourses to explain why the clubs remain racially homogenous. However, the structural and environmental conditions that foster this colorblind discourse go unaddressed. Sherwood's argument is another example of work that focuses solely on the consumers of a consumer space, and falls short of capturing the integrated relationships between white institutions and the consuming agents of whiteness.

One conceptual way out of this producer vs. consumer dichotomy is the cultural intermediary (Smith Maguire & Matthews 2014). Examples of C.I.s are marketers, sales people, and brand ambassadors within consumer cultures and industries. These folks act as tastemakers and taste legitimizers within these cultures, and they referee relationships between producers and consumers. C.I.s expose a new layer in how power and agency are theorized in consumer markets. It shifts questions of agency away from the individual consumer (or actors in a racialized setting), and at the same time it shifts questions of power away from producers (or institutions), allowing for new angles in how power and agency are conceptualized within consumer culture. The C.I. is an important mechanism in assigning meaning and value within industries and markets. These individuals may be important agents in the process through which whiteness materializes through consumer cultures.

The concept of the C.I.s originated in the scholarship of Pierre Bourdieu. In his 1984 work titled *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Bourdieu explores how social stratification is reproduced and legitimated through expressions of consumption and notions of taste. Tastes, he argues, are social; and they are mechanisms through which inequalities are reproduced. People gain capital by developing good taste, which is strongly due to their social positions—and this process results in material advantages.

C.I.s are key actors in the production and maintenance of social inequalities. According to Bourdieu (1984), current westernized economies require the production of consuming tastes and dispositions. Bourdieu contends that C.I.s are the people who do this taste-making work within economies that require it. Bourdieu (1984) argues that these individuals are those who “perform the tasks of gentile manipulation of taste” (365). Through this “gentile manipulation” they are both shaping tastes for particular consumer products and practices, and defining and defending group position. Thus, to Bourdieu, C.I.s are an integral aspect of the reproduction of social inequalities.

Recently researchers have focused on sites such as the fashion industry (Skov 2014), fitness industry (Smith Maguire 2001), and food and beverage industries (Ocejo 2014) to explore the impacts of C.I.s and how they shape tastes and negotiate value. The concept has been utilized widely in cultural studies (e.g. Bovone 2005; McFall 2004; Negus 2002; Nixon & Crew 2004; Smith Maguire 2008), however, it also provides a useful analytic within sociology (e.g. Entwistle 2006; Moor 2008; Wright 2005). Cultural studies-based accounts of C.I.s tend to focus on their involvement in ‘culture work’ within ‘creative industries’, whereas sociologists have recently started to explore how these market actors work in connection with broader social structures such as the

changing meanings of work (Ocejo 2018) and the construction of value (Smith Maguire and Zhang 2017).

There is a lack of work that addresses how the work of C.I.s is connected to social inequalities, even though this was the initial task that Bourdieu set out. One exception comes from Johnston and Baumann (2015) who critically explore how mediating actors in the specialty food industry—such as food critics and food TV network stars—can perpetuate social divides (particularly relating to social class and gender). In another example, Ocejo (2014) questions the extent to which C.I.s work to reinforce existing social class relations. The author asserts that tastemakers in the specialty foods industry demonstrate hegemony over taste by including and promoting certain kinds of tastes and rejecting others. In Ocejo's (2014) work on upscale New York City butcher shops, he shows how workers at these venues use certain aesthetics and service techniques to teach consumers good taste—which in turn may uphold social divisions. However, virtually no work on C.I.s addresses their roles in connection to systemic racial hierarchies and the reproduction of racial meanings through consumer culture.

These market actors play a large role in telling the stories and negotiating the meanings of consumer products, practices, and consumers. They are actively involved in constructing how a product is consumed, why it is consumed, when it is consumed, and who consumes it. They influence the value of consumers and consumer practices. As authors have put it, “cultural intermediaries impact upon notions of what, and thereby who, is legitimate, desirable and worthy, and thus by definition what and who is not” (Smith Maguire and Matthews 2012: 552). However, the extent to how much this practice is racialized has gone vastly understudied. The question now

stands: how and to what extent do C.I.s reinforce and challenge racial stratification through their work?

### **Methodology and Description of Research Site**

Data for this chapter comes from in-depth semi-structured interviews I conducted with 32 craft beer, fine wine, and craft spirits C.I.s. These participants were sales representatives, brand ambassadors, marketers, and event planners for craft beverage companies and/or craft distribution companies. I pair this interview data with observational data that I collected during interviews and at craft beverage focused events. Overall, I spent more than 75 hours in the field with my participants. During this time, I was able to “go along” with many of my participants during their day-to-day activities. Kusenbach (2003: 455) argues that “going along” with participants as they go about their daily activities exposes “the complex and subtle meanings of place in everyday experience and practices”, which brings greater phenomenological sensibility to ethnography. These ethnographic observations included, but were not limited to: ride alongs with participants while they went on sales calls, brewery shadows, winery visits, visits to my participants’ accounts, and craft festivals. By pairing in depth interviewing with ethnography I was able to capture both what my participants do and how they work in conjunction with the places and spaces of the culture.

Participants were recruited using purposeful snowball sampling. Twenty nine identified as white (90%), and 3 identified as non-white (10%). Twenty seven identified as non-Hispanic (84%) and 5 identified as Hispanic (17%). Twenty-one identified as men (65%), and 11 identified as women (35%). Only one of my participants openly identified as a gay female; the rest either identified as heterosexual or did not reveal their sexual identity. My sample mostly aligns with the

racial and ethnic make up of the industry at large. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of 2018, the category of “Alcoholic beverage wholesale merchants” consists of 89.3% white employees, 6% Black or African American, and 1.6% Asian. In addition to these racial categories, 13.9% of the employees in this category identify as Hispanic. However, the women participants of my study outnumber the national average. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that 17.9% of the industry is comprised of those who identify as women. The Bureau collects no data on sexual identity at the time of this research.

Participants for this study worked mostly in West and Central Florida. However, it was not uncommon for me to find that they covered territories much larger than these specific areas. Because of the vast geographies that many of my participants traveled, I found some challenges in researching this community. Aside from a handful of my participants who worked in one location, most were constantly on the go. Giseline Kuipers (2014: 62) refers to doing work with C.I.s as “trying to hit a moving target”. This is because these people are typically not stationed in a specific place, they work late into the night, they are traveling a lot from account to account, and sometimes their best work doesn't look like work at all. Kuipers (2014) also notes that they are working the most when it does not seem like they are working at all. The author notes that “their professional encounters and activities look deceptively casual: sipping lattes in Starbucks, having lunch in hip venues, flipping through magazines, browsing stands at festivals and fairs, and most of all: talking to people” (Kuipers 2014: 53). I found this to be true. Much of my time working with my participants was spent visiting restaurants, chatting over coffee at cafes, or hanging out with them while they poured samples to customers at festivals. On multiple occasions my participants would randomly call me up to chat on the phone while they were driving on long trips between

their sales calls, on their way home from out of town meets, or when they were on parent duty and their kids were taking naps on the weekends. For these reasons, my research site was not a centralized one. Rather, it was spread out over the many spaces and places in which these folks do their cultural work. This allowed me to capture the real life of many of the people in this industry.

The interviews resulted in over 1000 pages of typed/double spaced transcripts. Transcripts went through two rounds of coding. The first round consisted of open or descriptive coding where I identified instances where my participants rhetorically engaged with themes of whiteness discussed in the above literature review. I then conducted a second more detailed round of coding where I combed the transcripts for the themes that are discussed in this chapter. The field notes from my observations served as a secondary data source, and after themes emerged from the coding of my interview transcripts, I reviewed the notes from my observations and looked for overlapping themes.

It is important to also note that I myself worked as a cultural intermediary in this industry prior to entering graduate school. Between the years of 2004 and 2014 I worked in the beverage industry both as a buyer for a large scale natural foods retail company and a beer/wine/and spirits sales representative for a large scale distribution company in Florida. The time I spent in the industry provided me with the experiences that this research is based on. This prior experience equipped me with the knowledge of how to navigate the industry, and the language used. This made it so that my participants did not have to spend much time explaining the basics of their positions to me, because I came into the conversation with much prior knowledge. I was able to engage in industry talk with them, and converse about flavor profiles and pairings of their products. Also of prime importance is my positionality as a white, heterosexual, cis-gendered,

middle-class, male. This industry is white/male dominated, so there is little doubt that I experienced the privilege that comes with these social locations while in the field. I was able to navigate fancy restaurants and bars, talk with representatives of country clubs, and visit nearly all white festivals all while being in the presence of people who looked exactly like me. I felt at home during my research to the point that many moments provided me with a sense of nostalgia. Both my prior experience in the industry and my positionality as a white male work as privileged positions for me to conduct this research, but also may have sometimes given me an insider edge in which to critically explore this world.

However, in other instances (as discussed in Chapter One), my positionality may have led me to miss some things while in the field with my participants. My participants may have held back from disclosing certain things from me if they did not buy into white hegemonic masculinity. For instance, being perceived as a white man may have led to some of my participants to not disclose certain topics regarding race and gender because they may have thought that I would not be able to understand or that I would not be interested. When my participants were telling me about certain white histories and stories of their products, they may have told me certain things because they thought that I would be interested in them as a white man—which may be seen as a co-production of whiteness between both my participants and I. It is important to note that my whiteness did not always give me access to all the spaces and perspectives of the industry. Rather, I may have not been able to reach certain perspectives, such as those that contested white masculinist hegemony, due to my positionality.

## Findings

C.I.s in the craft beverage industry use different mechanisms of cultural mediation to imbue consumer spaces with whiteness. These mechanisms of mediation can be understood as ways that intermediaries transfer cultural meanings. Shrum (1991: 352) states that: “(t)he hypothesis of cultural mediation holds that the reception of cultural objects is not individualistic, direct, and unassisted. Instead it consists of an influencing process...”, and this influencing process is carried out, in large part by mediators. I found the C.I.’s of my study using three mechanisms of mediation during their work in the industry: 1. Sales tactics (such as storytelling, reinforcement of tastes, picking locations, and education); 2. Product branding (such as naming products and themes of product lines/companies); 3. The built environment (aesthetic themes of establishments). It is important to note that these mechanisms are interconnected. They do not operate in isolation from each other, rather each mechanism is used in tandem with one another.

In this section, I will outline how elements of whiteness are used to construct value during the mechanisms of cultural mediation outlined above. I will show how these elements (white histories, family values, and aesthetics) are used in a way that centralizes and normalizes an ideal white experience of the social world. These elements work together in a way that turns whiteness into a consumable product and are used as ways to legitimize or construct value in the industry. Whiteness thus becomes the “defining principle of social organization by which white values, ideas, aesthetics, preferences, and privileges are made to appear as the normalized, taken-for-granted basis of interacting and engaging in social reality” (Garner and Hancock 2014: 456). I use critical race theory to support my analysis and interpret my findings. Specifically, I rely on Joe Feagin’s (2013) theory of the white racial frame, Patricia Hill Collins’ (1999) ideas surrounding



family values, and Desmond and Emibayer's (2010) theory of the white aesthetic as frameworks in which to understand how these elements centralize the white experience. Overall, my findings illustrate how whiteness becomes the centralizing organizing theme of the craft beverage industry.

### *History and the White Racial Frame*

In the summer of 2017 I was invited out to a local brewery in the Tampa area to shadow "Todd" for the day. The brewery is located in a historically Black neighborhood of my research area, but has recently become gentrified and caters to an upper-middle class/white resident and consumer base. As of the 2010 census, the demographics of the city that the brewery is located in were approximately 60% Black and 32% White (2010 U.S. Census).

Todd (head of sales) is a proud man. He looks at you straight in the eyes when you talk and he grins with assurance at everything you are saying. He listens sharply to my questions that day, and takes his time to thoughtfully answer everything I ask in great detail. He walks me through the brewery and shows me the beers that are currently undergoing the fermentation process. We walk through the narrow gaps between the two story tall fermentation tanks. The tanks are humming and some are steaming out of the top as the grains inside are being boiled down into a mash. Todd warns me over and over again to "watch your step around all these hoses buddy. Last thing I need is for you to trip and hurt yourself." He takes me around and shows me bubbling brews at every stage of the brewing process. Todd is in his element; he is engaged as sweat drips from his forehead. It's hot in there, but he seems unfazed. It is a very paternal moment; these beers, these tanks, this place are like his loved ones. You can tell he genuinely loves them.

Earlier that day when I arrived, the first thing that I noticed was a large bronze statue of a Native American woman at the entrance. She is placed at the bank of a spring that wraps around the front and side of the building. The spring is lined with tables and seating areas where customers can gather and enjoy a cold brew that was made just steps away in the brewery. The statue of the woman and the spring act as the centerpiece of the establishment, and her story is both engraved into a plaque at her feet and printed in the menu inside the brew pub. The stories that Todd told me that day about how the history of the area, the symbols they use to represent the brand, and how they name their products all align with Feagin's (2013) concept of the white racial frame.

The white racial frame helps bring forward the idea that whiteness operates through cultural elements such as: shared outlooks, belief systems, worldviews, preferences, narratives, and emotions. To Feagin (2013: 3) the white racial frame is "a dominant and foundational frame from which a substantial majority of white Americans--as well as many others accepting or seeking to conform to white norms and perspectives--view our still highly racialized society". These frames glorify narratives of white conquest, superiority, hard work, achievement, rags-to-riches, and heroic actions all while attaching negative narratives such as poor, unintelligent, and villain to minorities. Within Feagin's argument, these frames become the dominating mechanisms through which individuals then operate within. The elements of the frame include belief aspects (racial stereotypes and ideologies), cognitive aspects (racial interpretations and narratives), visual and auditory (racialized images and accents), feelings (racialized emotions), and an inclination to action (to discriminate). This white racial frame has become hegemonic--meaning, it has "been part of a distinctive way of life that dominates major aspects of society" (Feagin, 2013: 11).

After a long while in the brewery I got the chance to sit down with Todd and ask him some more directed questions about his role there. We take a seat at the community table in the bar area and he orders us some char grilled oysters fresh from the kitchen. I ask him some questions about how they connect with their customers. Todd responds:

T: We do a lot of work in conjunction with the (local) university to keep the spring on the site in pristine order. You know that that's a lot of work. You have to dig out that non-indigenous growth. You have to always keep an eye on the cleanliness and purity of the spring. Because it's a spiritual thing too you know. It's very deep. There is something special about a place that transcends generations, you know? We've got a spot here where human beings have been since before the dawn of Western man.

E: Here you mean?

T: Yeah. I mean, you've got Totabogin Indians, you've got the antebellum pre-civil war, and you've got industrialization. You've got all those things put together. You've got so many different stories. Not just the story of [name of Native American woman], although she is the most important factor. She was an Indian who lived here. Her story is true. She saved the life of a conquistador. And that happened 80 years before Pocahontas. There are a lot of things that have happened here. When you got that history, it really ties to what you are doing. And it gives you perspective, you know, you're not just another Tom, Dick and Harry joint that's up and down the drag. We've got something to uphold, something to be proud of. So that's what [name of brand] is all about. At least I believe that.

Here Todd explains how the story of the Native American woman really encompasses who they are as an establishment. This story is what they stand for, and what they are proud of. It is a story that the establishment is named after, it is printed into their menus, it influences the names of their products, and how they are sold to their clients and customers. This story is their identity. Todd is using a narrative to add a sense of legitimacy or authenticity to his products, his establishment, and himself. However, whose history is it? Who does it glorify, and for what? Who does it leave out? It is common for brands to invoke a sense of authenticity or nostalgia in order

to draw in consumers (Autio, et al. 2013; Zukin 2008). But here, Todd is relying on a whitewashed story of a Native American woman to construct a sense of value and purpose. Whiteness scholar John Gabriel (1998: 5) uses the term whitewash to describe the process of “cultural bleaching” through the “construction of White racialized identities-processes which are sometimes implicit and concealed behind the racialization of others” (p.4). Such is true for the many historical narratives that I heard throughout my time in the field. Todd’s story ignores the rape, murder, and slavery many Native American communities experienced throughout decades of white European conquest and colonialism. Furthermore this story centers the experiences of Whites, a narrative strategy that has been shown to conceal the stories of non-whites (Bell 2010). Past scholarship has addressed the connections between the use of Native American cultural themes and systemic white supremacy. For instance Jessyca Murphy (2014) found that hipster fashion culture uses and consumes Native American imagery in an attempt to manifest revolutionary identities and assuage white imperialist guilt. Murphy (2014) argues that this usage of Native American culture by white subcultures (such as hipster culture) perpetuates hegemonic ideologies about race, conquest and otherness, despite and sometimes because of its counterculture aesthetic. What’s ironic about the story that Todd told me that day is that the brand and brewery he represents could—in fact—be considered as the “non-indigenous growth” that needs to be “dug out” of the land to ensure “purity” and “cleanliness.”

My day with Todd may have been one of my first field interactions, but some of the themes that emerged from that day were consistent throughout much of my fieldwork. Todd is a meaning maker. As a C.I. he plays a large role in attaching meanings and values to his brand. However, he (and many of my other participants) does this by connecting their brands and

products to a sense of history. By and large, I find that the histories the brands are attached to are white histories that glorify the white experience of the world and ignore the very real histories and stories of non-whites. This is a process that perpetuates white hegemonic ideologies by turning the history of the other into a consumable product.

During our conversation that day, I ask Todd for more examples of how history is tied into their brand, and the ways that they convey these histories. He goes on to explain that he does this when naming specific beers:

The first thing is that we try and name our beers according to a historical perspective. For example, [name of beer] is named after [a historical figure]. He was the original owner of this property in the antebellum. So he was... This was before the civil war... He was a writer of the constitution, the Florida constitution. He was a judge in Tampa. He was a noted drunker, and he was a scalawag. So this is a guy who came out for the confederacy but when the tide began to turn, he changed his tune. Which bred a lot of resentment among the local populace at the time.

So, he was the type of drunk that was the kind of fall down drunk type of guy. But, being a judge, he got away with murder. They would arrest him, and he would present himself in front of himself in court, and he would free himself. That's the kind of power he had. A lot of people didn't like him... So you have to say to yourself: there may be some bad things about the dude, but there were some pretty good things too. So, why not name a beer after him? Right?

Todd offers me another example of how he names his products according to certain historical events:

But like once or twice a year, I'll make a Scottish style smoked beer. And I call it the [name of beer], because out there in the river, somewhere close by, (points out the window to the river) there is a civil war sidewall steamship vessel that was sunk by the union. And it was scuttled and burnt. And, it was called the [name of beer and vessel].

So I said, I want to make a beer and I want to call it the [name of beer and vessel]. What kind of beer style should it be? Well, they burned it and scuttled it, so I guess we'll make a smoked beer. So I take some malt and I go into the back... We have a smoker, we've got apple wood. So I'll make an apple wood house smoked beer. You know?

It is obvious to me that day that the brand Todd represents has a strong commitment to the rich history of the area. Furthermore, during our chat he tells me that they are extremely committed to the community around them. However, the beers named after confederate warships and self serving drunkard judges, and the statues dedicated to a Native American woman who saved the life of a white Spanish conquistador seem to revere the histories of white men in the area. I am left to wonder where the histories of the 60% Black demographic of the community is? During the Spanish American war, the banks of the river (where the brewery is located) had served as a camp for African American infantry units called Buffalo Soldiers who were named such by Native American tribes because of their fierce fighting spirits. In the 1960s, the area suffered from great urban white flight when racial bias grew and automobiles became more accessible—similar to many urban areas across the US (Wilson 1987). This white flight produced high rates of racial isolation, segregation, lack of economic opportunities, and crime (Wilson 1987). Where are those histories? Ignoring these very impactful experiences of past communities in this area only serves to reinforce whiteness as normalcy (Feagin 2013).

Dedicating brands and naming beers after histories that highlight and celebrate the experiences of white men and the exploitation of non-whites recurred throughout my fieldwork. For instance, in a conversation with “Jim”, a salesperson for a local rural brewery, I was told how he draws customers in by educating them about the history of the brand and the area where his brewery is located. I ask what turns people on to his brand, and Jim tells me:

The whole [name of brewery] aspect of it. You learn that when people are like, “Are you one of the [name of brewery].” I go like, “No. But, do you want an education trip?” And you just pretty much go from there, and they are like, “Oh, ok... now I understand.” And they start to remember things. I start to go, “We do it this way because of Henry Plant and Henry Flagler, and just kind of give them an education

on Plant City. And, you can roll into somebody that way. It may not be the story, but you can tell them about [Plant and Flagler], and that is just another aspect if having a story to tell people to get them to try your beer. They are already sitting there thinking about it. And the more you get somebody interested in a story, it's a little easier. Like I said, getting to know somebody on a personal level is a lot easier to sell to somebody than it is to just go "buy my beer."

Henry Flagler and Henry Plant were two entrepreneurs in the mid to late 1800s who are credited with much of the early development in the state of Florida. They built hotels, railroads and cities through the state, and many museums, high schools, cities, colleges, and breweries are named in their honor. It is true that these men were heavily involved in the early modernization of the state. However, what is also true is they did all this on the backs of modern slave labor (Bowman and Forde 2018). Flagler in particular built his empire from Jacksonville to Key West by taking advantage of exploitative post Civil War labor laws called "convict leasing" and "debt peonage" (Shofner 1981). These labor laws were geared to allow wealthy white businessmen to exploit the labor of low income Blacks in the South after slavery was abolished. This practice was overtly justified around the theme white men have to stick together (Roback 1984, Shofner 1981).

Similarly, during a field visit with one of my participants named "Julie", I was told about how one of her favorite beers to sell is a tribute to the city where it comes from. We were sitting at the bar of her account, having coffee, and waiting for opportunities to chat with the managers and decision makers of the bar. Julie was hoping to eventually get the establishment (which is located in the same neighborhood as Todd's establishment) to bring in one of her beers. She tells me that she thinks that the beer is just a "good fit" for the bar. As we sip our coffees and wait, Julie runs through her line up of beers with me: "[Explaining each beer one by one to me] And our third beer, which we consider the first time we kind of found our identity as a team. [Name of beer] was built out of a 6 and a half hour meeting..."

Julie explains how the beer that she is referring to was a result of a day-long meeting between many different staff members of her company. In the end, they walked away with a concept for a product that would slowly become their identity as a company, and has won a number of very prestigious national awards. Julie explains how they came up with the name of the beer:

So by the time that we were finally working towards the final version of the liquid we were trying to name it. And I can't remember who found it, but [name of beer] was almost what Lake Plant was called in its founding. So that was a very feel good kind of thing for us. The flamingo is the bird of Lake Plant, and this design is a mimicry of a local downtown landmark in Lake Plant. So we took all of these Lake Plant motifs and rolled them into one. And everyone got to taste panel it, and everyone got to help vote on the name, everyone got to help pick the design. So it was really like an all team, all hands involved beer.

Julie also explains to me that the beer is brewed with a “citrusy” flavor profile which is meant to reflect the endless citrus groves of the area. The name of the beer, the flavor, and the picture of a flamingo on its label all invite you to experience a sense of place and history. Julie is telling this history to her customers one by one. She uses this history to connect people to product during her sales calls and educational events. These themes are meant to speak to her customers. However, this is not just a delicious frothy beverage, it is a taste of whiteness. It is a taste that revolves around beautiful flamingos, deep blue lakes, and endless sunny citrus groves— a visual story that diverts attention away from the deep historical roots of racism past and present that have occurred in the same area that this beer claims to be a tribute to.

If one were to travel a couple of blocks west from the flamingo landmark that is represented on the label of this beer that Julie sells, they would walk into an area that was once called “Moorehead.” Moorehead was a nearly all black neighborhood as a result of 17th century



Jim Crow segregation laws (Moore 2018). Many African Americans called this place home for generations, and it became a thriving community and business area. Black leaders such as Booker T. Washington and Mary McCloud Bethune came to the area multiple times to promote equal access to resources for the community. However, the area was never granted a high school, so as education grew more and more important starting in the early 1900s, many residents had to leave the area and go to cities like Tampa, Jacksonville, and Miami in order for their children to get a proper education. The neighborhood slowly deteriorated and was handed a final blow in 1967 when over 200 homes were bulldozed to make room for what is now a sports complex built to attract tourism to the area. It is not unreasonable to think that the sounds of the bulldozers destroying the houses of Moorehead could have been heard if one were to be standing next to that flamingo statue located only a few blocks away; the same flamingo statue that is represented on Julie's beer in reference to the rich (white) history of the area.

The craft beverage industry is replete with historical references and narratives that engage deep interplays between people, place, and product. This is the general theme of the genre of products—to re-forge the lost relationships that people have with their products they buy and consume. However, only certain histories and narrative are being told, and they are being told through a white racial frame. This reinforces whiteness, thus turning the craft beverage project into a racialized practice.

*"All in the Family:" Family Values as Means of Legitimacy*

History is intertwined in ways that reproduce and normalize white experiences of the family in the US. I argue that this aligns with Patricia Hill Collins' (1998) ideas surrounding family

values in connection to gender, race, and nation. Hill Collins argues that the “traditional family ideal” serves as a “gendered system of social organization, racial ideas and practices, and constructions of U.S. identity” (1998: 62). For the purpose of this chapter, however, I will concentrate mostly on how ideas of the family are used in a way that positions the “traditional white family” as normative—making it a racialized symbolic boundary marker. In this section, I will illustrate how the notion of family values structures many aspects of the craft beverage industry. I will show how C.I.s deploy the idea of family values across many aspects of the industry as a means to create value for their products and practices.

One of my first times noticing this trend was during a field visit to a local beach town craft establishment. The brewery is small and the building it occupies used to be an old refurbished automobile repair station. Upon pulling up from the road one can see the large garage doors on the front of the building, a loading dock, and what used to be a carport that has now been remodeled into a beer garden. I was going there that day to visit with “Vicky” who is the marketing specialist for the up and coming brewery. She invited me to the brewery that day to work with her on her daily tasks before the tasting room opened.

It’s about 10 o’clock in the morning, and the door is locked since it does not open for another two hours. I knock and wait for a minute as Vicky walks out of the back room and opens the door for me. Upon my entrance into the tasting room section of the brewery, the first thing that I noticed were multiple large old fashion portraits in antique wood framing hanging on the wall behind the large vintage looking bar. The old pictures appeared to be family portraits, and seemed to be from around the mid-eighteenth century. Some were single portraits, and others pictured large groups of people posing. Like the statue of the Native American woman at Todd’s

establishment, these photographs seemed to be the centerpiece of the establishment. They seemed to be positioned in a way that grabbed your attention the moment you walked through the door.

I take a seat next to Vicky at the empty bar and we open our laptops. A faint hum can be heard coming from the brewery, which is separated from the bar by only a thin glass window. The only other noise is a faint chatter from the TV hanging on the wall that is playing news coverage of the rapidly approaching hurricane, which is about to wreak havoc on the coastline of Western Florida (side note: why am I always at bars right before tropical storms and hurricanes are about to hit?). We engage in small talk about how the owner of the brewery is going to be securing the premise with sandbags later that day to prevent storm flooding from entering the building. Vicky clicks away on her laptop and I start to ask her some questions about what she does in her position and why she got into the craft industry to begin with. As she politely and thoughtfully answers all of my questions, I cannot help but to keep looking up at the old pictures of people that are hanging behind the bar. I eventually ask about their identity as a brand, and she responds:

V: So you see that we have all the old family photos and people constantly ask like, "Oh, which [name of family] family tree is this?"

E: Yeah, I was actually going to ask about the pictures.

V: Yeah, people constantly ask about the family ties and the family photos. So that is a huge part of our identity...we are adopted as employees because we have to be able to answer those questions and sound knowledgeable about the entire family. Because it is a huge part of the identity, and the family, the [name of family] family is such a key part of the [city's] identity. Because it's... Like there is the [family name's] bar in downtown [city] that has been there for 80 years. There's [family name's] bait and tackle, and [family name's] engine and marine shop. There's like a dozen businesses around town with the [family name]'s name.

I am told that the brewery is in dedication to the owner/head-brewer's grandmother, who was a long time resident of the area. She was explained to me as a strong woman who followed her

dreams and left the area when she graduated high school to pursue her passion as a performer. After her career in show business, she moved back to the Florida area and decided to make her home there and spend her life giving back to the community. It is explained that she had an entrepreneurial spirit that is the inspiration behind the brewery, which symbolizes what they stand for. Vicky goes on to tell me that all the employees of the brewery are considered “adopted family members” and to work there they must be able to recite the entire family’s history.

The themes of history and family were very present throughout my time in the field. Many craft brands build their identities around family values and histories. Here, both Vicky and the owner were tapping into deep feelings about the significance of ideas about the family. These ideas were built into the environment, embedded in their stories about the brand, and structured how the employees were expected to carry out their jobs. The presence of family values in the bar that day produced a sense of home. After all, the pictures hanging on the wall looked like the type of photographs that could be hanging up behind a mantle or on the wall in someone’s living room.

Another example came when I was visiting Todd back at his brewery. About halfway through my day at the brewery Todd told me that brewing was in his heritage and that his grandfather was a brewer who immigrated from Germany. At one point he told me to “hold on a second” and went back into his office to grab something. I watched through the windows of his office as he pulled a framed picture down from the wall behind his desk. He brought it over and showed it to me. He said, “I show this to all my brewery guests.” It was a picture of his grandfather; it was old and in black and white print. It was an image of a seemingly middle-aged man standing in front of a large wooden doorway to what appeared to be a warehouse. The man in the picture was wearing a white coat and a long white apron which resembled a butcher. Next to the large

door was a faded sign that read “Brewery.” Todd explained that the building was his grandfather's brewery that he owned and operated many years back in an industrial region of the Midwest. He explained that “back-in-the-day” a brewer was a notable profession and many men took much pride in the job. He stared at the picture for a couple of seconds after he explained it to me. He seemed proud of the picture, almost as if it provided a sense of legitimacy to himself and his brewery.

Many of my participants also highlighted how their companies and brands are “family owned.” They oftentimes referred to this as a benefit to their job. For instance, one of my participants “Amy,” a sales representative for a large craft brand, talks about the owner of her company and how important it is for her to work for a family owned operation:

A: Uh, well, [company name] history is pretty in-depth and interesting. There's a [owner's name] book called [book title] that's kind of like about his, the building and growth of [company] as a whole. Um...

Yeah, it's a good book. Um, and he was one of the craft pioneers here in the United States. You know, [name of product] is largely credited with being like, The American Craft, because it was, nobody was really doing it and nobody—surely nobody was producing it on the mass market, as like [company name] started to grow, a lot of people, their first craft was [name of beer]. Because it was one of the only ones they could get a hold of and, um, I think that [name company] has done an amazing job staying relevant in this ever-growing craft industry. You know, we still are family owned and operated just because we're large and we're in all fifty states and fourteen countries, it just does not mean that we're not as independent as the brew pub down the street.

E: And that's important to you?

A: It's extremely important to me. It's one of the reasons why I left [old company]. [old company] was purchased by Miller-Coors last summer.

Amy tells me that the reason that she left her old company was because the family that owned it sold to a large company and the “climate just changed.” Amy credits family ownership with the success of the company and her happiness there. She also focuses on the owner of the

company and positions him as one of the main reasons for its success. Similarly, Don and Vicki credit owners and managers during their interview. Don in particular, a fine wine salesperson, centers the family friendliness of the company as one of the main reasons he likes it:

The benefits, it's a family-owned company, so they like to take care of their own, and, for instance, my boss who he runs all of sales in the state of Florida... He is a very nurturing type. So he likes to look out for everybody. He gets to know everyone's family situation as much as will allow.

But, no, very good stability. They like the customer service. Mr. [owner's name], who he's our owner and our boss, he's 102 [years old] in two weeks. He still goes out to the restaurants.

Don tells me how the owner of the distributing company that he works for still goes around to accounts and provides customer service at 102 years old. The 102 year-old owner seems to be a role model for Don. When asked about her experiences in the industry, Vicki responds in a similar fashion:

You know, I have not had any negative experiences. I would say that [owner] is incredible to work for. He is a great boss as far as... he has run multiple businesses before this one. He is great at finding the skills on his team and empowering people to do that. And I think that is what happened with me. He was like: "Hey, here's this person in need. This person has this skill. Why don't you take on this extra stuff?" Because that is not what I was hired to do, but I was capable of doing it. So it's like, "Here go do this."

The same thing just happened with our assistant brewer. He had worked in brewing operations at another brewery previously. He had left that brewery because he didn't like it. He came here as a bar back and then moved up to 'beertender'. And he was just promoted to our assistant brewer because he was capable and we needed it, and he just moved over there. And that is one thing that [owner] is very good at.

By highlighting the theme of family, these cultural intermediaries were attempting to establish a sense of value to their brands. On one hand, this technique offers their consumers a connection to the people and stories behind the products that they are enjoying. Families are an

extremely important social institution. We all have families in one way or another, so it is a powerful means of connection for a lot of people. But, on the other hand, on the structural level, the family has been a means of preserving whiteness throughout the history of this country (Lipsitz 1995). By focusing on how white women were able to travel the world in pursuit of their dreams and start businesses draws attention away from the fact that non-white families (mothers in particular) were demonized and under attack during the same time frame for being morally inferior and unfit to raise children. The success of Whites in the U.S. is because of structural factors that propelled *us* (I am white) to the forefront, which in turn crippled and broke apart non-white families. However, this success is rarely attributed to structural factors. Rather, it is often times inaccurately attributed to the superior family values of Whites. The examples that I have presented above illustrate how this materializes through culture.

### *The White Aesthetic*

The themes of history and family values are also woven into the aesthetic environment of the craft beverage industry. Aesthetics provide a sense of connection, they are meant to reflect the realities, histories, and promote values that are deemed important to consumer audiences. C.I.s use these visuals when selling, marketing, and branding to tell the story of the product or producer, and invoke a sense of place. However, in this section I will argue that aesthetics, such as visual themes of establishments and product labeling, are used in a way that sears whiteness into the spaces of the craft industry by ignoring people of color, and/or representing them without representing their full humanity. These aesthetics reflect a white lived experience of the world, one which Desmond and Emirbayer (2010) would argue is a representation of a white aesthetic. These

authors state that the white aesthetic is an unraced representation of the social world; one that desires to speak, not just for white people, but for all people. By representing certain histories and values through aesthetics, C.I.s in the craft world promote the realities of the privileged.

During my fieldwork at a beach side craft establishment, “Mike” (director of sales, and co-founder/co-owner of the company) told me about how his dad was and is one of his biggest role models when it comes to business. Mike plays a large role in marketing for the brand and company. He has a large say in how the tasting rooms are decorated and also helps design many of the company’s labels for their products. Not only does Mike use these stories when selling and promoting the brand to his customers; he also injects them into the space through aesthetics. I asked him to tell me about his dad, and what he learned from him:

He’s from [a Midwestern state]. He was up there and got his high school sweetheart pregnant, so he didn’t get to go to college even though he got accepted to [highly regarded Midwestern university] for avionics. So he didn’t do that, so he ended up working his ass off. Just working and saving, working and saving you know, until he had enough money to buy his own business. By that time he had left his first wife and met my mom and they had me. It was a carpet cleaning business up north. And then again, it was saving and buying another truck, saving and buying another truck, and eventually that wore him out. He was there doing it himself and it was sweat sweat sweat, work work work. And then we moved down here and that is when he got into the gift shop business. He bought one of those, and then another one and saved, and then another one and saved and eventually he got the one here that is in that first section by that crane machine down there. And eventually he was able to take over the other stores next door and we were able to buy the property, get a loan to buy the property. And it just snowballed to where we are big enough now you know?

I went on to ask him if he pays tribute to him in any way:

He doesn’t even drink beer. The closest thing to that would be some of our art work upstairs. Because he is from Indiana and Kentucky, you know that area use to be big with the booze runners and stuff. So, and then in this area, it was big on the smugglers. So we tied them together and you got... On the bus, there is actually a scene that starts with pirates, and then goes to the guy by the old bootlegger car, like the 1930s style car. So that ties into



the whole Indiana booze runners running down here. And then the next scene is of the square grouper bales floating around.

We have family members that at some point in time were rum runners and bootleggers. We have a cousin that comes down here, an old retired guy who comes down and he talks with him [his dad] from time to time. And one day he came down here and it was cool to listen to stories about their grandfathers, and their involvement in the mafia and stuff like that. They had to share territories and stuff. And we tie all that in here. People love the bad guys, or at least the good bad guys. Those were the kind of people that, you know, everyone wanted alcohol, so they were providing a service. They were criminals, and they were against the man. Or against the city, you know against someone trying to take something that they don't deserve.

Not only does Mike use his family history when selling and marketing his beers, this history also adorns the walls of the establishment in the form of artwork and murals. In this artwork the criminal acts of white mafia member and pirates are depicted in a way that turns them into enduring cartoon figures. Beneath the surface, this seemingly harmless depiction provides an interesting environment in the tasting room. Mike tells me how the customers of the tasting room often express to him that they find the decor entertaining. However, these seemingly harmless pictures turn the white criminals into excusable characters; characters that have become normalized and, at times, idolized.

I was fortunate enough to spend time on a few occasions with Mike. He was very hospitable, and open to my inquiries, always willing to chat, or to let me come by and visit to observe his day-to-day operations. Again, Mike's intentions were not racist—at least not that I could observe. Mike is very committed to, contributes to, and believes in the craft industry, and what struck me the most about him was his savvy-ness as a businessman. He, like many of my participants, tells interesting stories with their products. These stories grab people and draw people in to their products. I know they did with me. However, the power of these stories and their

portrayal through imagery lies not in what they say, rather it lies in what they don't say. In this sense, selling whiteness becomes omitting and forgetting non-whiteness. Whiteness is turned into a consumable product when the tactics used to promote products glorify white conquest and white entitlement, all while ignoring the very real racial histories of violence.

On another occasion, Mike told me about one of his favorite products that the company sells. It is a product that he played a large part in developing. It is a special release beer:

E: What is your favorite product that you carry today?

M: Um, probably... (looks at bar and says): I'm going to yell at someone if it's not in stock [name of product]. It's the only one we've bottled, it's an imperial brown ale that is aged in bourbon barrels. I like the darker beers and I really like stuff that is aged in barrels. The artwork was done by a local tattoo artist at [name of tattoo shop] in downtown [city name]. And he did the artwork and I liked it, so I actually had the artwork put on my arm. That's how much I like the beer, I actually put the label of the beer on my arm. So... That's my favorite that we do.

E: What draws you to it?

M: ...that story plays behind my experiences with women, and unlucky with love and all that kind of stuff.

E: So [name of beer]. What does that mean?

M: Some women have [ill motives] sometimes. You have the mermaid who is the siren of the sea that brings in the Pirate. And, now you can see that he is a skeleton because she has taken everything. You know. Just a little play on relationships. (pointing to the image on the bottle).

E: So does that connect with your own relationship experiences?

M: Pretty much yeah. And that label and that bottle is what came of it. You know, this cute little Spanish chick that you probably shouldn't have been with to begin with (laughs). It happens.

These examples show how C.I.s in the craft beverage industry work history and family into the aesthetic environments of the industry. Here, Mike builds his brand around a "look" that

represents his past relationships and family histories. They picture “cute little Spanish chicks” [sic] with “ill intentions”, and idolize white criminals in a way that turns crime into enduring acts. This represents a white aesthetic that depicts the ethnic female other as a seductress, and turns white criminals into notable subjects. This may have also been an example of how white masculinity was co-produced between my participants and myself. If Mike did not read me as a heterosexual white man, he may have not have engaged in this type of conversation with me.

This white aesthetic is also present on the labels and advertising materials that C.I.s use to sell and promote their products. I experienced one of my participants using the visuals on wine labels to support the historical stories that he was using to sell his products. I accompanied “Brian” to one of his accounts. As we waited for the buyer of the account to arrive, he walked me down each aisle of the wine section and showed me each one of his wines there, oftentimes using the label as a visual reference when explaining the wines. Brian starts by telling me how important he thinks wine labels are:

This is what the old school [name of wine] use to look like. They use to look like this. Um... And they are converting over to this. So this is what they will all eventually look like. I’ve had 50/50 people say they like it or they hate it. I prefer this one, but this one stands out more on the shelf... Well that goes with what I’m saying, you know? 70% of wine is just picked up based off of the label...

We start walking down the rows of shelves lined with hundreds of bottles. Brian picks up one of the bottles, moves closer so that we are standing shoulder to shoulder, and holds up the bottle so that I can read the label:

Oh yeah. This one is [name of wine] named after Jan Van Riebeeck who was the leader of the Dutch East India trading company that founded Cape Town. So a lot of history in the name. In the... A little bit later, a corporal of his went north and founded a valley and they named it [name of valley]. And so the winery was established in 1941 in the valley and they named it after all that history. That’s their core, but they also have a number of other varietals as well.

The bottle pictures a beach side winery and rows of grape vines. Off in the distance is an old tall ship that seems to be sailing towards the shore—which is meant to signify one of the ships of the Dutch Trading Company. As it turns out, Van Riebeeck is credited with colonization of South Africa hundreds of years ago. He is also credited for bringing the first African slaves to the region as well as the displacement of indigenous peoples of South Africa. This part of the story is left out. I am left to wonder if the ship on the label is supposed to be a slave ship, bringing the next round of African slaves to the region?

We walk on to the next wine a little ways down the long aisle. Brian picks it up and hands it over to me to look at the label. It is a picture of a stamp with a picture of a white lady on it who looks like royalty. Brian tells me:

[Name of wine] is another one of ours. This is an actual post office in Stellenbosch. This is the first post office ever in that region. It is still in operation. All of their wines are named after specific stamps. It use to be a tobacco farm and in the 80's they uprooted and replanted so all their wines have this kind of tobacco-y spice to them.

The area of Stellenbosch was the birthplace of the South African Apartheid—which enforced decades of legal racial segregation. Tobacco was also a crop in that region with a long history of immigrant and slave labor. Again, that image is replaced with stamps picturing British royalty and monkeys. Brian keeps bringing me down each aisle showing me dozens of wines, each with entertaining (yet troubling) stories, and interesting labels. We enter into the South America section and Brian grabs a bottle off the middle shelf. It's a \$20 Malbec:

B: This is a great brand for us from Argentina, [name of wine] is what the indigenous population called the [name] constellation. A lot of people say it looks like the xBox logo. All their stuff is 100% Cab Franc or 100% Malbec. Their wine is grown over 12,000 feet elevation. 100% French Oak and sustainably farmed.

E: So this is named after the indigenous population?

B: The indigenous population is what they call the [name] constellation. They call it [name of wine] (Matt says this in a fake accent).

That day at the wine shop, Brian treated me to story after story and showed me bottle after bottle, each with its own unique pictures on it that the story was based on. One like the last example that gains value through the ethnicizing of the “other” (in this case a romanticized story of the indigenous population); ones that depicted whitewashed histories of racialized pasts; and ones that glorified the achievements of white male winemakers. Brian goes on to tell me that “Info tells, and stories sell”; meaning, in order to sell wine, one must tell a good story about the product. But whose story is told and represented? Desmond and Emirbayer (2010) state that to interrogate the white aesthetic, one must ask what/who is missing from these pictures? In this case, un-ethnicized racial minorities and accurate histories are ignored and replaced with whiteness—a trend that I experienced throughout most of my fieldwork.

In another example, I met a participant named “James” out during his sales route. That day James was working selling a seasonal beer that had just hit the market, and he was trying to get it placed in his accounts. James tells me the importance of telling a story with the product. And he references the beer he is working with that day. Both the beer label and the marketing material that he uses has the story printed directly on it. James tells me:

So people can go to a story rather than, “Hey, we’ve just opened up. We really don’t have a past.” So if you can get their attention on a story, you can be good there. Like our blueberry vanilla wheat. We are getting the blueberries as fresh as can be, right from our farms. During blueberry season. Which is about to start happening. So we are going to get as much as we can, and get them as fresh as can be for the year. If you get a story like that, especially with farm to table and how popular it is... Exactly right there, the farm to table aspect really turns on people’s minds and then they

taste the beer and they are like, “Wow! That’s really...” And then you almost have hook line and sinker. (Laughs)

The story printed on the side of the beer can about the blueberry farm summons up images of ripe blueberry bushes on warm sunny days. But who’s missing from the story are the workers who pick and process those berries in order for them to be added into beer. The people who fill these jobs are disproportionately non-white. Racial minorities are largely absent from the images that structure the craft industry. From decorations in craft establishments; to pictures on labels; to stories visually printed on the sides of beer cans; the image that is presented is one of white conquest and white ownership. These images become universal as they permeate throughout the entire culture. As Desmond and Emirbayer posit: “by treating “white” as the unexamined artistic default category, the white aesthetic tries to lay claim to “the universal”” (2010: 363). With just a quick look around, one can conclude that this is what has happened in the craft industry.

### **Discussion: Rethinking White Spaces as White Places**

My findings suggest that C.I.s in the craft industry draw on histories, values, and aesthetics that normalize the lived experiences of Whites. They do this through mechanisms of cultural mediation such as sales tactics, branding, and the built environment. This process imbues the consumer spaces of the industry (such as restaurants, bars, retail shops, breweries, wineries, and festivals) with whiteness. One could argue that these processes construct these spaces into white places. This research shows that white spaces become white not only through the number of Whites vs. non-whites that occupy the space (such as Anderson 2015 has suggested), and not only because of overt and covert acts of racist practices that non-whites experience in spaces (such as Chou, et al. 2015 would suggest), but also by structuring the space with meanings and narratives

that glorify and centralize white male experiences of the social world. Space can be understood simply as physical location; space becomes social space, or place through an experiential process (Twan 1977). Space is empty and becomes a place when meanings and experiences are attached to the space. The spaces of the craft industry are not empty; they are full of meanings, histories, stories, and experiences that center whiteness and the history of white supremacy. This makes the craft beverage industry an example of a white place.

C.I.s are key actors in the reproduction of white place in consumer spaces. Whiteness is not only passed down through a top-down model by producers or institutions, nor is it only constructed through the interactions of consumers or agents. C.I.s tell these stories day in and day out; their job is to attach meanings to the products and places of the industry. Because of this, they are a key area of investigation of racialized space in the marketplace.

My findings also suggest that these histories, values, and aesthetics are drawn upon by C.I.s in a way that constructs a sense of nostalgia. From sitting in the back of a broken down RV, to hearing stories about distant relatives, to listening to my participants tell histories of old buildings and farmlands they seemed to be referencing and creating an image of a romanticized nostalgic past. Nostalgia has been discussed in connection to whiteness in the past. For instance, bell hooks (2000) argues that throughout many consumer cultural realms, ethnicity is used in a way that adds a sense of “spice” or “flavor” to otherwise tasteless white culture. Furthermore, Geoff Mann (2008) has used the example of country music to argue that whiteness is produced and reproduced through the construction of an idealized past-ness, or ‘used to’ be. Cultural forms such as country music “call Whites to their whiteness” by portraying them as victims that have lost the sense of past identity (Mann 2008: 76). Desmond and Emirbayer (2010: 362) refer to this as racist

nostalgia, which is a “yearning among Whites for a time when their domination over non-whites was surer than it is today”. White nostalgia becomes a means of currency in the market. Products are valued by how much a nostalgic story can be connected to it, and C.I.’s play an often overlooked role in the transmission of this story.

### Conclusion

The goal of this chapter is two pronged. First, my aim was to show empirical evidence of how C.I.s can imbue consumer spaces with meanings of whiteness. The second goal was to advance the theoretical understanding of how white spaces are constructed beyond the institution versus agent binary. By use of sales tactics, marketing, and the built environment, C.I.s imbue this industry with whiteness, thus reproducing it as a white space through connections to white places and histories. It is necessary to mention two possible limitations to this research. First, this research was conducted in one area of the United States. Although the greater western/central region of Florida did provide a diverse setting in which to carry out this research, it is also true that results may be different if this study had been conducted in a different part of the U.S. However, this possible difference in findings may lead to greater depth in understanding how whiteness structures the craft beverage industry, rather than countering the findings in this study. For this reason, future research on this genre should include cross-geographical comparisons.

Secondly, this research was only conducted on one industry. Although the craft beverage industry does offer an important site for this type of research, it may have unique features that are not transferable to other industries and markets. For instance, the industry does only cater to those who drink alcohol, and it also caters to a middle-upper class consumer. For these reasons, future



research on the broader craft industry should include comparative models of other genres of craft markets in order to find similarities and differences. Despite these limitations, my aim has been to provide a snapshot into the very active process through which whiteness is constructed and re-produced.

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### **Chapter 3: “Why Would You Have a Coconut Rum With a Palm Tree On It Made In Canada?”**

#### **Ethnicity and Value Construction in the American Craft Beverage Industry**

The shop is rather slow that morning. Isabella tells me that it is probably due to the gloomy weather. I am visiting with my participant Isabella that day who is a fine wine and spirits sales person for a small scale craft beverage company, and she has invited me to visit her account to show me some of the products she sells. In between random customer visits, Isabella walks me down each aisle of the bottle shop slowly and explains each one of her products in great detail. It almost feels like she is a proud parent walking me down a hallway lined with pictures of her children, stopping at each one, recalling the details of every picture. We start with the whiskeys and gins, then move over to the dessert spirits and wines, and end with the olive oils and balsamic vinegars. Isabella concocts pistachio oil and lemon infused balsamic vinaigrette on the spot with two white plastic mini-spoons. Per her instruction, I first taste the pistachio oil, which coats my palate with a rich nutty taste, and then I taste the lemon balsamic vinegar that cuts through the oil like lighting. The marriage of the two ingredients is amazing. It’s delicious and vibrant. She tells me that the products are traditionally used over salads throughout regions of the Mediterranean.

Her knowledge of each product is vast. Without hesitation, and with detailed precision, she explains every product to me. She tells me about the parts of the world that the products come from, the varietals (types of grapes) of their ingredients, the soil compositions of the farms where the ingredients were grown, the different methods that are unique to the regions where the

products were made, and even the elevation of the crops. She tells me about the people who own the wineries, the names of their children, their love stories, and the family histories behind the products (Flack 1997).

Stories such as these largely define the American craft beverage industry. By this, I am referring to the industry that revolves around the marketing, production, and sales of craft beer, craft spirits, and fine wine. Generally speaking, beer, wine and spirits are three different genres of the craft beverage industry, but they can be thought of in connection to one another because: 1. Each of the genres focuses on small batch and traditional production methods; 2. Each of the genres is marketed and sold by the same third party distribution companies; 3. The genres rarely appear separate from one another within food and beverage markets (such as restaurants, bars, and food and beverage events). In short, the many genres of the craft beverage industry share similar ideologies, economics, and markets—which is why they should be studied in tandem. The larger goal of the craft beverage industry is to counter the “macro” industry, which is in reference to large-scale beverage companies (such as Budweiser [beer], Yellow Tail [wine], and Jack Daniels [spirits]). One of the main ways that the craft beverage industry does this is through the connection of products to specific places, people, and production methods. Just like how Isabella was doing that day at the bottle shop.

Isabella is a sales person in the craft beverage industry, which qualifies her as a cultural intermediary. According to Bourdieu, cultural intermediaries are “taste makers and need merchants, whose work is part and parcel of an economy that requires the production of consuming tastes and dispositions” (1984:101). Examples of cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry are sales people, marketers, and event specialists. Basically, those whole jobs it is

to connect consumer with product. These market actors connect consumers to products through both explicit and implicit tactics to shape and reproduce certain tastes for consumable goods. According to Bourdieu (1984) social stratification is reproduced and legitimated through ideas around tastes. Tastes are social, and they are acquired through socialization and conditioning. Furthermore, taste is a mechanism of social reproduction (Smith Maguire 2014:16), which enables hierarchies among social groups. In the case of Isabella, despite whether she knows it or not, her work is reproducing ideas surrounding social groups and taste.

In the craft beverage industry, “good” and “bad” tastes are often times connected to narratives of ethnicity, place, and culture – which makes it an excellent cultural arena in which to explore the eminence of ethnicity throughout our everyday lives. Many scholars have explored these connections (such as Chapman et al. 2017 [beer], Campbell and Guibert 2007 [wine], and Kline et. al 2017 [beer, wine, and spirits]) and have illustrated a number of ways through which social environment, place and culture interact within different drinking cultures. However, much of this body of work does not take into account the power differentials intertwined among different ethnic contexts globally or in the U.S. I address this gap within this paper and explore the extent to which ethnicity is used in creating a sense of legitimacy and value within the craft beverage industry. I am mainly interested in the dimensions through which cultural intermediaries in the industry use ethnicity to construct value, and how they do so. My findings suggest that cultural intermediaries use narratives of ethnicity to legitimate themselves as market actors, and to add value to products and practices within the industry. This is done so in a way that glorifies Europe and the U.S., and positions non-white ethnicities (or the Global South) as exotic and/or

ethnic others. This uncovers the saliency of ethnicity within the work of my participants and interrogates the way that value is constructed within the American craft beverage industry.

What was most memorable about my time with Isabella that day at the bottle shop was the poetic fashion of her stories. She seamlessly weaves cultures, places, and individuals together in a symphonic narrative that transformed her products into something more than simple bottles filled with different tasting liquids. She used her stories to attach value, legitimacy, and authenticity to her products, which in turn, make them more sellable. Her stories offer a sense of authenticity to not only her products, but to herself and her practices. Her products become linked to different areas of the world, and they become a means to explore different places, people, and cultures around the globe. But, at the same time, these stories become excellent avenues to uncover the proliferation of global hierarches that persist through the often taken for granted corners of our everyday lived experiences—such as having a glass of wine.

### **Literature Review**

The concept of ethnicity historically refers to the cultural aspects of individuals' lives. This may include a group's religion, tradition, language, ancestry, nation, geography, history, beliefs and practices (Coates et al. 2018). Over recent decades however, the study of ethnicity has drifted away from static cultural or biosocial models, into understandings that stress ethnicity as a social boundary marker, which is relational in nature (Lamont and Molnar 2002). It is now widely recognized that feelings of community are defined in opposition to the perceived identity of other racial and ethnic groups (Blumer 1958; Barth 1969; Hechter 1975; Horowitz 1985). In short, ethnicity always operates within larger social/global power differentials. This has led to an

argument that studies of ethnicity should not look at groups at all (Brubaker 2009). Instead, the focus should be on how ethnicity works instead of who ethnic groups are and what they do (Brubaker 2009).

One way that ethnicity works is through advertising, marketing, and consumer culture. For instance, Davila's (2012) work explores the role that the Hispanic marketing industry has played in the making and marketing of contemporary Latinidad (her term for Latino/a identity). Davila shows that through marketing in the U.S., the ethnic category of Latino is re-inscribed with meanings of authenticity and marketability, but also as a foreign rather than intrinsic component of the U.S. population. Comaroff and Comaroff's (2009) work offers another angle on the merger of ethnicity and consumer culture by exploring the "triangulation of culture, identity, and the market" (p. 20), which has led to group "ethnopreneurialism" or group self-commodification. The authors argue that the global neoliberal economy has led to the necessity for natives to perform themselves in a way that makes their indigenous identity palatable to the consumer of otherness (p. 142). In this sense, ethnicity and the market engage in a constant reproduction of one another.

In recent years, researchers have turned to the craft beverage industry to further explore connections between ethnicity and consumer culture. For instance, in her 2018 article on legitimation in the fine wine industry, Smith Maguire found that major industry publications rely on connection to place as a primary way to add value to products. Her findings suggest that articles and advertisements over-rely on connections to France and French methods to construct value for both new and old wine brands. Sarita Gaytan (2017) turned to Tequila as an illustrative example of how national identity and consumer culture connect. She shows how Tequila has been transformed from a product that was historically considered a low class beverage that caused



hangovers, to a fine spirit to be sipped and enjoyed in both the U.S. and in Mexico. Ties to national identity in Mexico, changing perceptions of Mexico in the U.S., and state-backed support and legislative protection all lead to the elevation of the product to the mainstream in both countries. Similar to studies done on wine and spirits, it has been found that craft beer producers market their products using ethnicity as well. Matthews and Patton (2016) found ethnic references were used on craft brewery websites as a form of brand identity—with most referring to western European traditions. This growing body of literature exposes the connection of the craft beverage industry and ethnicity. However, the lines between ethnicity, marketing, advertising, and the craft beverage industry have not been clearly connected to the operations of racism and racial power differentials in the U.S.

One issue with conceptualizing ethnicity as strictly a symbolic boundary marker (Lamont and Molnar 2002) or as not associated with groups (Brubaker 2009) is that the focus may be diverted away from the very real consequences that ethnicity and ethnic identity have on social groups or communities (such as lack of resources and capital). In response to this debate, scholars have set out to chart the ways in which ethnicity and structural racism work in tandem (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil 2004; Aranda 2017; Valdez and Golash-Boza 2017). Valdez and Golash-Boza (2017: 2203) argue that racial and ethnic paradigms should be considered together to uncover “how group and structural-level processes shape ethnic and racial dynamics”. They posit that ethnicity sometimes helps certain groups transcend structural racism (Mexican-origin middle class communities for example); whereas race sometimes stands in the way of the success of certain ethnic groups (deportation of Black immigrants for example).

Moreover, some scholars (Bonilla-Silva 2000; Grosfoguel & Georas 2000; Aranda and

Rebollo-Gil 2004; Aranda 2017) argue that the definition of racism must be expanded to include ethnic classifications. Aranda & Rebollo-Gil (2004) contend that ethnicity, culture, national origin, and the historical relationship between minorities' country of origin and the country of settlement have been racialized. The combination of these factors results in a matrix of racial domination, which the authors refer to as ethnoracism. In other words, certain ethnic groups in the U.S. are racialized because of ethnic factors, and not just because of their perceived racial categories or phenotypical traits. The goal of this chapter is to add to this scholarship by exploring how ethnicity is actively deployed in the sales and marketing of certain products in ways that reinforce ethno-geographic hierarchies.

### **Methods**

Data from this chapter come from in-depth semi-structured interviews with 32 cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry. All of my participants worked as salespeople, marketers, and/or event specialists in the craft beer, wine, and/or spirits industry. My participants were given the option to do the interviews at a place and time most convenient for them. Being a representative in the beverage industry is a very demanding job, which often requires long workdays with a lot of travel between accounts. With that being the case, many of my participants opted to meet me in the field during down times of their day, which made the interviews ethnographic in nature. Many took me to their accounts and showed me their products and places to which they sold. This made my interviews observational, and in a sense, I was able to go along with my participants during account visits.

Along with the in-depth semi-structured interviews and field observations, I conducted observations at three craft beverage focused tasting events and seven brewery and winery tours. All

events and tours were publicly accessible, which gave me the opportunity to observe my participants while they interacted with the public in different spaces of the craft beverage industry.

The interviews resulted in over 1000 pages of typed/double spaced transcripts. Transcripts went through two rounds of coding. The first round consisted of open or descriptive coding where I identified instances of my participants mentioning ethnicity or national origin. I then conducted a second more detailed round of coding where I combed the transcripts for the themes that are discussed in this chapter. Overall, I spent over 75 hours in the field with my participants. During my time in the field I would take short hand written notes or jottings to help me remember some of the key details that were happening. Shortly after (usually within 24 hours) I would write out more detailed accounts or field notes of the key findings from my observations. The field notes from my observations served as a secondary data source, and after themes emerged from the coding of my interview transcripts, I reviewed the notes from my observations and looked for overlapping themes.

Participants were recruited using purposeful snowball sampling. Twenty nine identified as white (90%), and 3 identified as non-white (10%). Twenty seven identified as non-Hispanic (84%) and 5 identified as Hispanic (17%). Twenty-one identified as men (65%), and 11 identified as women (35%). Only one of my participants openly identified as a gay female; the rest either identified as heterosexual or did not reveal their sexual identity. My sample mostly aligns with the racial and ethnic make up of the industry at large. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of 2018, the category of “Alcoholic beverage wholesale merchants” consists of 89.3% white employees, 6% Black or African American, and 1.6% Asian. In addition to these racial categories, 13.9% of the employees in this category identify as Hispanic. However, the women participants of

my study outnumber the national average. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that 17.9% of the industry is comprised of those who identify as women. The Bureau collects no data on sexual identity at the time of this research.

It is important to note that my positionality as a white/heterosexual/cis-gendered/able-bodied/man very well may have affected my time in the field with my participants. Because of my social identity markers, I generally felt like I belonged in the spaces of the craft industry. I could also meet up with participants (whom I did not know) at bars, restaurants and coffee shops without worry of sexual harassment or ill treatment. I was generally treated as one of them while in the field. I also have experience as a craft beverage cultural intermediary. In the years prior to my graduate research I served as a sales representative and a buyer for large-scale beverage companies and retailers. This prior experience equipped me with the knowledge of the industry. I could speak the language of my participants, which may have affected the way that they opened up to me during interviews.

However, in other instances (as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation), my positionality may have led me to miss some things while in the field with my participants. My participants may have held back from disclosing certain things from me if they did not buy into white hegemonic masculinity. For instance, my participants who identified themselves as Latino/a may have been hesitant to talk to me about their experiences regarding their ethnic identities due to the fact that they read me as a non-Hispanic white man. They may have not gone into detail about their ethnicity because they may have thought I would not be able to relate or that I may have not been interested. This brings me to think about Isabella who (at the time of the interview) had recently migrated from Venezuela to start a career in the craft beverage industry. She seemed

hesitant to talk to me in detail about her experiences from her country of origin. This may be because she thought I could not connect with her on those topics due to my positionality as a U.S. native. It is important to note that my whiteness did not always give me access to all the spaces and perspectives of the industry. Rather, I may have not been able to reach certain minority or gendered perspectives due to my positionality.

### **Findings Part 1: Personal Connections**

According to Bourdieu (1984), cultural intermediaries rely on their “good manners, good tastes or physical charm”; “Familiarity with the culture of the dominant class and a mastery of the signs and emblems of distinction and taste”; and “aesthetic dispositions” and appropriate forms of “self-presentation” (Pp. 152, 141, 362) when engaging in their work. They are ‘proxy consumers’ (Ennis 2005) who typify their markets by serving as exemplars. Investigating the ways in which they understand themselves as connected to markets can uncover dominant trends and expectations of the markets they represent (Smith Maguire and Matthews 2014). In this section, I explore the ways that my participants understand themselves as connected to the craft beverage industry. I use three cases to highlight how intermediaries weave their ethnicity into the narratives of who they are in relation to the work that they do.

My participant Isabella (A white Latina woman), whom I mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, is a first generation immigrant from Venezuela. She explains to me the salience of her ethnic history in the work that she does as a fine wine and craft spirits salesperson. When asked about her background in craft beverages, she centers her European upbringing. Isabella explains to me:

My grandma is from France. And so, every celebration, we have wine at the table.

In Christmas time, we always have the Kir Volare, which is a mixed mutation of wine and Crème de Cassis. So, I have the cassis here, in the store today and people look at me like I'm crazy when I have mixing things, especially [customers] looking at me like that and for me, so natural. It was like a kid's drink. And you're growing in the European environment, when you're a kid, they put some in 7-Up and Sprite.

Recounting her French influenced upbringing in Venezuela brings a smile to her face. She tells me about her Grandfather, who grew up in Russia and Germany, and how his immigration efforts set the foundation for how she thinks of herself in the industry. She explains that he set out many years ago to migrate to the U.S. from Germany. However, his plans got diverted, and he ended up in Venezuela where he became a practicing physician. Although he loved raising his family in Venezuela, he always wondered what life would have been like if he had made it all the way to the U.S. as he originally set out to do. Isabella told me that day that her work in the U.S. craft industry is “finishing his trip, his journey—because it was our time to come to the States.”

Isabella symbolically completing the journey that her grandfather once set out to achieve aligns with Schweingruber and Berns' (2005) idea of narratives of the self. In their work on door to door book sales people they found that one way the sales people contextualized the work they did was to identify an emotional other. An emotional other is someone for whom the salesperson did their job. Not necessarily someone who they supported with their wages from the job, rather their emotional others were people they symbolically dedicated their work to. The sales people commonly referred to characters such as their parents, people who doubted them, and God to drive them to make more sales. Isabella and many of my other participants used this reference as well to explain why they do the work that they do. Many mentioned their parents, their teachers, and old bosses who they disliked as the reason for their involvement and dedication to their industry. In the case of Isabella, her Grandfather served as her emotional other.

Isabella commonly deploys these stories when selling her products to her customers, which makes these stories a means through which she constructs herself as a valid actor. It is evident that her ethnic ties to Europe are central in how she understands herself in relation and in connection to the work she does. Ties to Europe become ways in which she gains value and legitimacy. Her knowledge becomes tied to the traditions and histories of her family, and through these ties she becomes imbued with value. Isabella tells me that—because of her thick Venezuelan accent—her customers frequently ask where she is from. I ask her what she tells people when they ask her where she is from. She responds:

I use more my family background. Not everybody knows where Venezuela is. Or [that] Venezuela is going through a bad time, so I don't want people just looking in what's going on. And when you have somebody who they understand the situation, they just get stuck in, "I'm so sorry that the country, your family, is going through that." So I use more my heritage like my grandma, my great grandfather's story, my father's side because I don't want to feel sorry. Venezuela is a country with a lot of traditions. In meals, it's huge into the culinary part, not huge in wines. We as a country, we have great beers. We have great rums, but not wines. It's something that the industry is trying to build up. The soils in Venezuela are not as rich and haven't been worked as much as Chili or Argentina maybe...

Despite growing up in Venezuela and spending the vast majority of her life there (she is in her 40's and moved to the U.S. just 3 years prior to my interview with her), Isabella uses her European styled upbringing to divert negative attention away from the fact that she is from South America. In this sense, her ties to France and other parts of Europe bring her value that her connection to South America does not.

In another example, Anthony (a Black American man of Puerto Rican decent), tells me how he went for a long time early in his wine sales career hiding the fact that he is very knowledgeable about wine. He hid this fact in order to not come across too conceited while he was selling wine to convenience stores in a low-income county of Northern Florida. I ask him about

the sales techniques he used when selling wine in his early career. He responds:

Well I didn't let anyone know. I didn't need to let anyone know how much I knew about wine because: 1. No one there cared, and; 2. I was brand new. I didn't want to come off as conceited or pompous or something like that. So I was actually with my boss in the office one day and [another colleague]... sees me with my boss [name] and he's like, "What is he doing here?" And he's like, "Oh he's with us on the chain side." And he's like, "We need to get him out he knows about wine." And that's when my boss is like, "You know about wine?" I was like, "Yeah." I was like, "I used to work in the wine warehouse and stuff like that."

Anthony now works as a fine wine salesperson in an extremely affluent community in Western Florida. On Fridays Anthony wears a Guayabera (a traditional men's summer shirt worn throughout the Caribbean and Latin America) and a Fedora hat. When he attends sales calls at bars and restaurants, he typically finds a space at the bar and positions all of his sample bottles of wine and spirits up on the bar before the buyer of the establishment comes out to meet him. Next to the bottles, Anthony places his Fedora. He tells me that he does this to drum up some attention by the customers and other workers of the establishment so that when the buyer does come out of the back office to meet him, it looks like people are interested in him and the products that he has. He also enters the establishments through the back door when he can. This way he can greet the Hispanic chefs and service people of the bars and restaurants in Spanish as he walks through. He tells me he does this because you have to sell yourself to everyone at an account, because "You never know who's watching" and who is making decisions on you.

These performative measures add value to Anthony. Anthony constructs himself as the ethnic other by speaking Spanish and wearing traditional Caribbean shirts in the nearly all white elite spaces of his sales territory and this lends to his desirability as a market agent. He tells me that he has "the X factor" and that is the reason behind all of his success in the industry. "I just have



IT,”” he tells me, “some of us just have ‘It’ and some don’t.” He goes on to tell me how even after knowing his customers for a long time, some are still surprised to learn about his vast knowledge about fine wine and craft spirits. He recalls a recent example of this:

I just did a staff training for an account that I’ve had for about a year and a half, called [name of account]. But, they just started this wine education seminar stuff, and so I went in and did it. And the owner, after I’d set up and did the training with the whole staff and everybody, was like: “Man, you were really surprising out there.” It’s like, “Yeah, bro, this is what I do.” I was like, “I know I just come in and shoot the shit, but it’s more than that, too.”

Being a person of color, Anthony is not expected to know about fine wine and craft spirits. As he explains in the excerpt above and during other conversations that we had during my time with him, his customers (who are bar and restaurant managers) are typically shocked to find out that he is extremely knowledgeable about his products. I ask him what it is like to be a person of color working in the white spaces of the industry. He responds:

I think it adds to some of the “Wow, he really knows his stuff.” Yeah. I think it adds to that, but I still know where I’m from. I’m from [name of lower SES county in Florida]. That’s my ‘hood. I love [name of county] for life. I made an effort to get out of there. I wanted to kind of (takes a long pause and scans the room while he thinks to himself)... my wife calls me fake fancy. She says I’m fake fancy (we both laugh).

Anthony’s understanding of himself as “fake fancy” suggests that, as a Black Hispanic man, he feels like an imposter in the white spaces of the craft beverage industry. His past self from the lower SES county in Florida seems to be Anthony’s emotional other, or the person/place/community that he keeps in mind while he sells wine and spirits to multi-millionaires. He is commonly perceived as unknowledgeable about the products he represents, even though he has an advanced sommelier license and has traveled the world to learn about fine wine and spirits. On one hand, Anthony’s racial/ethnic presentation and identity may work

against him. However, on the other hand, it makes him more interesting and desirable to some of his customers.

It was interesting to observe how Anthony performed his racial and ethnic identity in ways that seemed to distance himself from whiteness, but at the same time gain him symbolic capital in the mostly white spaces of his sales territory. For instance, Anthony would often go by a nickname [Moscato Daddy], which seemed to align him with a certain form of Latino masculinity. At one point during a long drive between his accounts, he told me that if he ever were to stop selling wine, he'd just say "F it" and open up a taco stand on a corner of his sales territory. He told me (with a loud booming laugh) that he would call the stand "[nickname's] Tacos." He reminded me that he was "fake fancy" though, and he would make sure to have an upscale wine list to compliment the street food he would sell out of his stand. In a very interesting way, these sorts of class/racial/ethnic performances of self seemed to give him ethnic capital in an extremely white space. This may be because these performances aligned with the stereotypical expectations of his white clients and counterparts.

In a final case, Alexis (a white American woman who is the child of European immigrants), is very keen to connect the work that she does to ideas of country and ethnicity. Alexis, who referenced politics often throughout my day with her, sees her work as a main contributor to the economy of the United States, and made references to the benefits that a free market economy gives to the craft beverage industry. She too, just like Isabella, tells me about her mother and father's migration stories from Europe, and explains them as central to her understanding of who she is and why she does what she does. She tells me that she comes from an "old world" mindset, and that she insists on individual merit and hard work, just like her mother and father relied on

when they immigrated from Greece years before her birth and built a life in the U.S:

I think personally that my mother was a great immigrant into this country. My dad was a GI. My mom was a waitress. She worked two jobs. My parents filed a divorce after 20 years of marriage. I'm an only child. My mom has alimony and is well off. My dad found great opportunity in this country. She took every opportunity. She used it not only to sustain a great retirement, but also used it to give back to people who need that money. That's all I want to be able to do in my life. I want to be able to provide myself an income so that I'm not a burden to anyone else. And I want to be able to give back to the people that can't support themselves.

She is very adamant about finding overlap between the craft industry and the benefits it brings to the U.S:

And another thing to keep in mind, as far as economically, not only does [the alcoholic beverage industry] reduce tax dollars, single-handedly, this industry—and I didn't know this before I started, I didn't even think this way... It pulled us out of the Great Depression. Period. End of story. Bottom line. [Ending] prohibition took us out of the Great Depression.

It is very important for Alexis that the work she does goes back into benefitting her country. She keeps explaining:

It's a lot of money that's being collected by the US government for licensing and tariffs, which is great because guess what? We live in a free country. We get to drive our cars. We have beautiful roads that we can live on, I'm sitting here eating lunch for work and drinking a beer [laughter]. So I think often that [workers in the beverage industry] are misunderstood.

Alexis constructs herself as a worker doing good for her country through her stories that day. It also seems to be important for her to connect her self-narrative to her parents' migration from Greece to the U.S. Through these stories, Alexis positions her and her family as "ideal immigrants" who don't put any burden on others. Furthermore Alexis' family can be seen as her emotional other. Her family did/does good for the U.S. and does not put a burden on others despite their national origins. This is the main frame through which she describes herself to me and others in the industry when she is connecting to them. Alexis' case and the cases of Isabella

and Anthony provide a quick glimpse into how cultural intermediaries draw on ethnic identities and narratives to position themselves as valid agents in the craft beverage market. Their emotional others are connected to ethnic narratives, and serve as the reasons why they engage in the work that they do.

### **Findings Part 2: Products and Practices**

Cultural intermediaries are professional tastemakers and “authorities of legitimation” (Bourdieu 1990: 96). Through their cultural work, they designate products and practices as worthy and valuable. One way in which they do this is by “transposing the hallmarks of established authority” onto cultural forms (Smith Maguire 2016:10). In this case, ethnic references and links are the “hallmarks of established authority” that the sales people of my study figuratively stamp onto products and practices of the industry.

Scholars have explored practices of legitimation by cultural intermediaries within many various markets. For instance, Smith Maguire’s (2001) work shows how personal trainers act as brokers for the fitness industry at large. Through their own buying and fashion practices, personal trainers create value for fitness equipment, athletic shoes, and workout apparel. Ocejó (2014) shows how upscale butchers in gentrified areas of New York City create legitimacy for their meat products by displaying them in butcher cases in certain ways. These workers use functional aesthetics such as displaying the heads and feet of the dead animals in their butcher cases—which sets the butchers products apart from those at traditional homogenized grocery stores. Balaji’s (2012) work on Atlanta’s underground hip-hop scene uncovered the many cultural gatekeepers (such as media management teams, street teams/guerilla marketing agents, strip club managers, and disc jockeys) work in tandem to co-construct street-cred for rap performers. A growing body of

work, such as these, shows the vast tactics of legitimation that intermediaries use in their work.

In this section, I explore some of the ways that my participants use ethnicity to construct value for products and practices in the industry. I find that narratives that connect products to Europe serve as value markers that infuse products with notions of history, uniqueness, and superiority. American ties are used by my participants to instill products and practices with a sense of progress and service to the country. Non-white ethnic references rarely came up in my time in the field, but when they did, they typically were used to stress the exoticness of products, or the cultural deficiency of their customers. These findings suggest that within the craft industry European and American ethnic markers serve as the “hallmarks of established authority” (Smith Maguire 2016: 10)—which may suggest the devaluation of the Global South and East within the craft beverage industry of the U.S.

#### *“The Old Fashion Way” European Connections*

European ethnicities are attached to products and practices in a way that highlights rich histories, uniqueness, superiority, and dedication to craft. As the photo below (see Figure 1) of a classic wine advertisement from the 1980s suggests, by consuming a lovely glass of this Bordeaux, consumers are invited to be ethnically French for just a short moment. In this case, being French seems to be connected to class, sophistication, and quality. This advertisement ran in some of the most popular print magazines for over a half decade in the 1980s. My data suggest that European references are used in a way that positions products and practices as the normative standard rather than in a way that makes products and practices abnormal. For example, Europeanness is attached



Figure 1. Mouton-Cadet Wine Advertisement

Mouton-Cadet Wine Advertisement. Copyright Mouton-Cadet 1987. From vinepair.com. Retrieved 5/30/19 (<https://vinepair.com/wine-blog/12-wine-ads-show-america-love-wine/>)

to products in ways that deem the product to be worthy and high quality due to the time that is spent in producing them. Here, Roscoe (a fine wine salesperson) explains to me some of his favorite products to sell, and why:

I like to sell scotch based off of the craftiness of it. Where it is not a mass produced scotch. Where the ingredients they are using are from local farmers. Either it is all land that they own, or it comes from small farmers in Scotland that they get their grains from. You know, they are doing it the “old fashion way.” Whether it’s letting the grains dry in the sun, or they are smoking it. You know, doing it the old fashion way that takes a little bit more time. But it shows the dedication to quality. And they are going to sacrifice expediency and at a risk of having a higher price, but they know that it is worth it and they stand behind their product.

Roscoe explains that the quality of Scotch comes from its connection to the land of

Scotland. Through this connection to a specific European country and culture, the product takes on the specific value that seemingly cannot be achieved elsewhere. He is careful to highlight the small batch nature of the product, and the time it takes to make the product—which in turn leads to higher quality. Notice how Roscoe does not name any specific products in this example, which insinuates that all products from Scotland have these qualities regardless of the producer. The value is in the geographic connection to Scotland, and not in the product itself.

Connecting products to European countries is used as a sales tactic to sell products to potential customers. For instance, during a field visit with Matt (a fine wine salesperson), he shows me how he sells wine to his customers. We walk down the wine shelves of a large-scale wine store, and he explains his products to me one by one:

M: And then you got [name of wine] Gewurztraminer. Um, [name of family] is a family that has been making wine since 1895, so a very young winery in French standards (laughs). And, they are from the village of [name] which is kind of smack dab in the middle of Alsace. It's got that leech, honeysuckle, rose petal style that Gewurztraminer have. [Name of wine] is from [name of area] this is a basic QBA Riesling...

This one, [Name of wine] is from Burgundy, this one here. And... This is from [name of winery]. This one is pretty cool it is a Precetto Precuto blend. Which I never heard of that grape till I started to work for [name of company]. It's like Tempranillo's cousin. So they're kind of similar but it is a little more rustic and dirty.

E: I've never heard of it.

M: This is a very dry earthy dusty wine.

E: Oh, I may have to pick up a bottle.

M: Yeah, it's super unique. And that's actually one that we import directly.

Matt's sales tactics in this case rely on highlighting the connection of his products to Europe. Here, ties to European regions (Alsace and Burgundy) imbue the product with flavors that

are unique to the regions. Earth, dust, rose pedal, and honeysuckle become uniquely attached to these areas, and the wines take on these desirable flavors through their association to the area of their production.

Originality is another quality that products take on when connected to European countries. During an interview with Collin (a craft beer sales representative), he tells me why craft beers are better than mass produced/name brand beers (such as Budweiser and Miller):

It all goes back to the way that beer was originally brewed in Belgium and Germany where it's kind of provincial. And, going back to Belgium, each monastery had its own unique style and each part of the country did things a little bit differently. In Germany it's so pronounced where you go to Cologne and you literally only drink Kolshe. You go to Dortmund and you are there to drink Dortmunder. That sort of thing. And, I think that is a great way...

Craft beer (even if it is an American craft beer) is often associated with parts of Europe such as Belgium and Germany. In this case, Scott glorifies the European way of drinking beer. The tradition of connecting specific beers to regions in Europe makes for a richer beer drinking experience—according to Collin.

European connections are not only used to construct quality for products; they are also used to construct superiority of production methods. For instance, during a visit with my participant Tom (a sales representative for a small scale beer company who is also involved in the brewing of the beer), I am told that the reason why his products stand out above the rest is because of their adherence to the “German method” of brewing. He then explains to me what that means:

T: When you practice German method brewing, you tend to kick the tire around the recipe. Always asking yourself: “How can I make this better?” “What do I like about this beer, what do I not like about this beer?”

E: That is the German Method?



T: Oriented. Prussian/German oriented. Always asking how do I improve upon the product. Consistency, all the time, repetition. Practice you know? And that's what makes great quality beer. In my opinion, but that's what I counsel... Clean brewing habits. Flushing your beer lines. Keeping your equipment sanitized. Those are the things that are standards. But you know what? It's like they are core standards. They are non-negotiable(s).

Tom's products take on value through his company's commitment to the German brewing method. Qualities such as cleanliness and consistency are attached to his products through the association to Germany. This is part of Tom's sales pitch, and connections to Germany are ways that Tom constructs his product as buyable and worthy. In summary, within the craft beverage industry, ties to Europe (particularly western Europe) are deployed in ways that construct ideas of value, history, and superiority for products and practices.

*"Go West Young Man" American-ness and Progress*

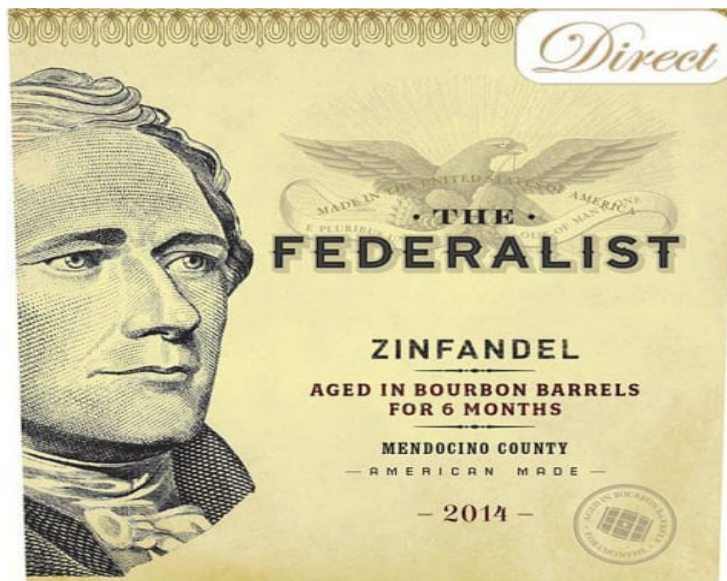


Figure 2: The Federalist Zinfandel Wine Label

The Federalist Zinfandel Wine Label. Copyright Federalist Wines. From institutionwine.com.  
Retrieved 5/30/19  
([https://www.institutionwine.com/products/2201595?gclid=Cj0KCQjw\\_r3nBRDxARIsAJljlEYih\\_nTomsyTsGFScTIEvfAwm5M2rfFyI1LHExZr3A\\_3sCaJ13HL7UaAqxdEALw\\_wcB](https://www.institutionwine.com/products/2201595?gclid=Cj0KCQjw_r3nBRDxARIsAJljlEYih_nTomsyTsGFScTIEvfAwm5M2rfFyI1LHExZr3A_3sCaJ13HL7UaAqxdEALw_wcB))

Connections to the U.S are attached to products and practices in ways that deem them as progressing, on the rise, the underdog, and/or contributing to the country. Take for instance the image above of the popular U.S. wine brand “The Federalist,” which pictures an image of Thomas Jefferson (a Virginia slave owner, and the third president of the United States). Presumably, this product symbolizes a tribute to the U.S., and offers the consumer a taste of America. In their work on consumer nationalism, Castello and Mihelj (2018) identify two styles of how consumers tie in ideas of nation to their consuming practices: first, political consumer nationalism, and second, symbolic consumer nationalism. Political consumer nationalism is the fostering or obstructing of certain consumer products that are thought to benefit or harmful to the nation’s economy. Symbolic consumer nationalism is the purchasing, using, buying, or wearing of products that are recognized as national. According to Castello and Mihelj (2018) discourses of consumer nationalism can take on different communicative forms such as advertisements, packaging, product design and direct social interactions. The image above shows an example of symbolic consumer nationalism, because the images on the label are symbols of patriotism in the U.S. In the cases below, I show some examples of how my participants understand and sell products along American consumer nationalism lines.

My participants would often bring up if their products were American made as a sales technique. This was often done in ways that highlighted the progressive notion of American-made craft beverages. For instance, George (a fine wine, beer, and spirits sales representative) told me

about some of his favorite products to sell:

G: Spirits-wise in this company I love the craft vodkas. Especially the flavor ones we have [name of product] and [name of product]. They are both from Texas and I am really on to them. We have great bourbon portfolio so I am really into bourbon now. There are some great American whiskeys. So that is some of my favorites.

E: So when you were talking about your favorite products you mentioned all American made spirits...

G: Yeah, now that I am in this world. And now that I have access to stuff I really didn't know about before, I'm finding a lot of cool stuff. You know what I mean? And I live here in this country, so if I find something cool from this country, I'm always going to push it.

But I do enjoy the American spirits we have. A lot of people are doing the craft spirits now. It's just doing really well here in the states. Even Florida! We are producing some really good stuff that is better than the big boys, the big brand names. It's just a matter of selling it...

I mean... I think it's an added tool to have when you are selling stuff. Especially because we are in this country (laughs). I mean, if I have to sell something that is American made, and if I have an angle to get that sold by mentioning it, I'll do it. Do you know what I mean?

The way that George explains his favorite products as American made drums up a sense of surprise. George talks about these products as if they are not supposed to be good, but surprisingly, they are. George tactically mentions the states where his favorite products are made (Texas and Florida), which offers a deeper sense of surprise. These states are not typically known for producing spirits, but in this case they are producing some "really good stuff"—according to George. So good (according to him) that they are even better than the "big brand names" which offers another layer in his narrative. By positioning his products as "better than the big boys" he constructs his products as underdogs. Also note how the American made nature of his products is an "added tool" for George. Ethnic ties to America become a means to sell products. These value markers come from connections to the U.S. and specific states that they are from, rather than specific practices or producers. Ethnic place and U.S. nationalism is used to add value in this case.

During an interview with Scott (a craft beer salesperson) I am told that the most important part of selling craft beer is telling the story behind the product. Collin tells me that craft beer must first and foremost have a good story behind it for it to be able to be successfully sold on the market and that the market itself is one big story. I ask him what that story is. He explains:

I think like that sort of “go west young man” that American entrepreneurship. Building something that you believe in for the craft and not for the money. Most breweries that chase the money run out of it before they succeed. And those who follow it for their own personal love affair and if they are skilled enough, they typically rise to the top.

Collin’s explanation of the craft beer industry connects with the grand narrative of the American dream. In Collin’s example, craft beer becomes a glorified capitalistic venture, which he aligns with the ideology of manifest destiny and the idea that American colonialists were destined to expand their settlements westward. His story highlights the importance of rising to the top, which is achieved through passion and not money. Both George and Collin’s accounts align with the concept of symbolic consumer nationalism as outlined by Castello and Mihelj (2018) where symbolism is used to connect products to a sense of American values and beliefs.

My participants also used American references to connect their products to a sense of political consumer nationalism. This tactic, as explained by Castello and Mihelj (2018), uses consumption of certain products as a way to benefit the country’s economy and to contribute to the success of the nation. For instance, when asked about his favorite thing about the craft industry, Ron (a salesperson for a large craft beer distributor) tells me:

I think it’s what some of the craft beer sales people are doing out there every day, end-to-end combat selling. All the work and the effort that goes into it. I think there’s a lot that goes into it, and to get people to understand that and realize why it’s better to drink good quality beer from family-owned companies, not just a corporation that’s based in whatever country. It’s about keeping dollars here in the United States, or at least in the family-owned companies. I like that.

Ron's response invokes a sense of political consumer nationalism in this example by insinuating that by purchasing craft beer, the consumer is supporting the U.S. Also, by supporting craft beer companies, consumers are helping American families and not companies in other countries. Through Ron's narrative, craft beer is also connected to associations with the military. He compares the everyday selling techniques of the people in the industry to "combat" which instills the industry with a sense of battle and struggle, which are also core principles within the grand narrative of the American dream. Ron then connects this with the broader idea of what the current president (at the time) of the U.S. is attempting to do:

R: It's kind of a big thing, especially with what [President] Trump is trying to do in certain ways. Some of that translates.

E: How so?

R: It's keeping the dollars here and promoting local businesses and manufacturing, especially. But, I know he's touching on a lot of things that are on a much bigger scale than just start a brewery for 20 grand though [laughter].

Ron connects the craft beverage industry with the larger message of the current U.S. president to "keep the dollars here" (meaning in the U.S.). Ron seems to find this an important aspect of the industry. By buying craft products, money is directly going to the economy of the U.S. and not to other countries. This is an example of political consumer nationalism as outlined by Castello and Mihelj (2018). Overall, cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry sometimes use American references to connect their products to a sense of progress and service to the country. Products are attached to the ideas of the underdog that is rising up against big market powers, and practices (such as buying American made products) are connected to the sense of doing good for the U.S. This boosts the value for some products, and is used as an added tool

with which to sell products. Through the stories and sales techniques of cultural intermediaries, products and practices of the craft beverage industry are transformed into nationalistic symbols and ways to help the country's economy.

*"The Basic Stuff?" Non-white Connections*

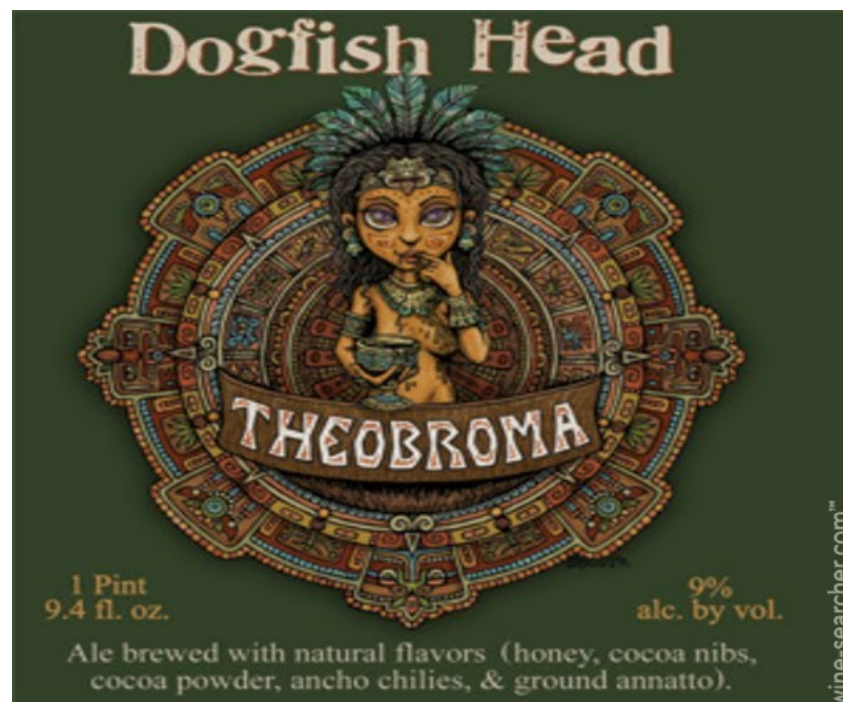


Figure 3: Dogfish Head Theobroma Beer Label

Dogfish Head Theobroma Beer Label. Copyright Dogfish Head Brewery. From wine-searcher.com. Retrieved 5/30/19 (<https://www.wine-searcher.com/find/dog+fish+head+theobroma+ale+beer+delaware+usa>)

Curiously, when assigning value to products or practices, non-white ethnic connections rarely came up. When they did however, they were attached to products in a way that highlighted their exoticness or outsidership and/or positioned the non-white customer as culturally inferior. For example, the above image is a beer label from the popular American craft brewery Dogfish

Head. The label pictures an exotic non-white woman and lists the flavors and spices of the beer below the image. This imagery symbolizes how certain ethnic identities are exoticized in the industry, and when they are present, they are used as a way to add spice or exotic flavor to products and practices. bell hooks (2000: 344) contends: “from the standpoint of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy, the hope is that desires for the “primitive” or fantasies about the Other can be continually exploited, and that such exploitation will occur in a manner that re-inscribes and maintains the status quo”. By connecting products to non-white ethnicities in a way that focuses on the exoticness of the people, white American/European ethnic connections become centered as the normative standard. Non-white ethnicities from other parts of the world are then positioned as the other rather than being represented as vital aspects of the industry. These ideas also align with Stuart Hall’s (1991) arguments that sameness within nations is constructed through capitalist manipulations of difference. Images like the one presented above may be seen as proof of these capitalistic manipulations of difference. In this section, I show how non-white ethnicities are used in the craft beverage industry in a way that establishes a sense of ethnic difference.

For instance, during an interview, George uses ties to Puerto Rico to boost the authenticity of his product. I ask him about some of the sales tactics he uses to sell his products, and he tells me about a specific example of how he sells a certain brand of rum to his customers:

G: But then I am pitching such shit sometimes. I’m pitching [name of product] to get rid of Malibu. Malibu is made in Canada...

E: Malibu is made in Canada?

G: (Pause) Yeah. That’s my big selling point. “Why the fuck would you have a coconut rum with a palm tree on it that is made in Canada?”

E: I didn’t know that. (mutual laughing)

G: [Name of rum]... You think Puerto Rico. You think about the islands for rum. This shit is made there. The Puerto Ricans are drinking that. When I'm pitching it I tell them that the Puerto Ricans are drinking [name of product], they're not drinking fucking Bacardi. Because [name of rum] is better, and less expensive.

Here, George uses ties to Puerto Rico and its inhabitants' consuming patterns as a way to boost the value of this product. He identifies the product as "shit"—meaning that he doesn't think of the product as quality to begin with. But, through the association to Puerto Rico the product is instilled with the notion that real Puerto Ricans are drinking it. This gives the product more cultural capital, desirability, and instills it with a sense of authenticity. George also attaches a sense of exoticness to the product. By associating Malibu (a popular brand of rum) with fakeness, George positions his product as legitimate because it comes from a land where "real" palm trees grow.

In another example of using non-white ethnicities to exoticize products, Matt (a fine wine sales representative) tells me about one of his favorite products to sell. As we walk down the aisle of one of his best accounts, he picks up a bottle, shows me the label, and starts to explain it to me:

M: This is a great brand for us from Argentina, [brand of wine] is what the indigenous population called the Southern Cross constellation....

E: So this is named after the indigenous population?

M: The indigenous population is what they call the Southern Cross constellation. They call it "[name of wine]" (Matt says this in a fake Argentine accent).

In both examples from George and Matt, non-white ethnic cultures are addressed in ways that constructs them as the others. This attachment to otherness does give the products a sense of value, but it is done in a way that positions both Puerto Rico and the indigenous population of Argentina as exotic consumables rather than central to the culture and industry. These non-white ethnic cultures are not centered and normalized as both European and American ethnicities are. This practice, as bell hooks argues, is done in a manner that re-inscribes and maintains Europe and



the U.S. as the ethno-national status quo.

When my participants brought up non-white ethnic groups, most were talking about their customers as outsiders and not necessarily integral actors within the industry. For instance, when explaining their non-white customers', my participants would often describe them as uninterested in craft products, which they attributed to their cultural differences or lack of sophistication. Here is George explaining his "Black" and "Mexican" accounts:

G: I only have one Black account really. It's a—not to be cliché or anything—but it's a fried chicken place that has a bar. Yeah, the chicken's amazing, and the collard greens are amazing. They have this fucking full liquor bar in this fried chicken restaurant. It's so funny. But the food is great. That would be my only Black account really.

E: What kind of products do you sell there?

G: I sell liquor. That's the... I came to that account late, so my competitor got their wells, but I'll get them eventually. But, the basic stuff, the Cuervo the Fire Ball.

E: The basic stuff?

G: Yeah, the basic stuff. Nothing outrageous or different.

When describing his Mexican account, George tells me that he does not try and sell them much more than the "basic" stuff like Tequila. He explains how he would not try and sell craft products there because of the account's financials and lack of interest:

I know that certain accounts are strapped for cash. So I'm not going to pitch them something that is a lot of money unless I have a killer deal that is going to save them a lot. I can't go into a Mexican restaurant and start pitching [the name of a craft liquor]. They would look at me like I'm crazy. And a bottle would sit on the shelf probably until they close.

Omar, a craft beer sales person, tells me how his non-white customers are just not interested in craft products. I ask him why that is, and he explains how it comes down to their culture. He relates it to African Americans and Hip Hop:

Because they don't really relate to it much. I mean, it's kind of like the hip-hop thing. I mean, that's what they do or they did. And not to say that there's not white rappers or there is a lot of good ones. But it's just they were kids or whatever. A lot of my African American friends do the same thing. They had a mike in their house and they would just rap.

Both George and Omar's explanations of their non-white accounts are examples of how non-white communities (in this case African Americans and people from Mexico) are often times positioned as outsiders within the industry. These race-based explanations are also interacting with their economic status. In these cases, both George and Omar seem to be associating both Mexican customers and African American customers with lower class statuses. Both of these sales people are suggesting that the reason why there is a lack of non-white interest in craft products is because of their lack of cultural sophistication and or lack of taste form the products, rather than examining the lack of representation of non-whites in the industry.

Jayson, a fine wine salesperson, tells me that he earned the nickname the "Patel Whisperer" because of his knack for selling wine to Middle Eastern and Indian owned accounts. Patel is a common surname that has origins in India. Jayson explains to me how he got the nickname:

We always call them the Patel account because the Indian's last name is Patel, and they own the business, so they're all Patels. So I had a lot of those accounts, and I made a lot of friends, I had a lot of friends that were from Jordan or from Egypt, they were Palestinian or whatever. And so it was interesting because a lot of them weren't familiar with alcohol so you had to train them.

Jayson goes on to explain how he would train these accounts on how to buy and sell wine:

I would go find a large wine rack and take it to their store and say: "I'll fill it, I'll maintain it, I'll price it, all you need to do is take the profit and pay for the bill when the wine comes." And, I would show them on their first bill, how much they sold and I would just run it. And so I literally was running my own little wine rack in every one of these stores and they loved it and they kept the competition out because the competition would come in and say, "Hey, can I have some room on

that rack?" And they would go, "You need to bring in your own rack. You need to do what this guy's doing."

On one hand, Jayson's actions may seem like a win-win where everyone involved benefits. But, on the other hand, Jayson's actions did not necessarily lead to his customers being able to autonomously run their own wine programs. Rather, he acted in ways that made non-white accounts dependent on him to be able to profitably sell wine. Jayson (a white man) took control of these accounts rather than teach them the skills to sell these products. Jayson's account aligns with some of the findings of Sarah Mayorga-Gallo's (2014) research on multi-racial and ethnic neighborhoods. Mayorga-Gallo found that white residents of a multi-ethnic community acted in paternal ways to other non-white residents—such as constantly checking in on them, offering to take care of their animals, and giving them rides to their destinations. Mayorga-Gallo argues that through actions like this Whites maintain control of non-white bodies and reproduce the racial status quo even though white residents did these gestures with good intentions. Jayson's actions can be seen as similar paternal attempts at controlling his non-white accounts even though he may have acted with good intentions.

### Findings Part 3: “Cross overs”

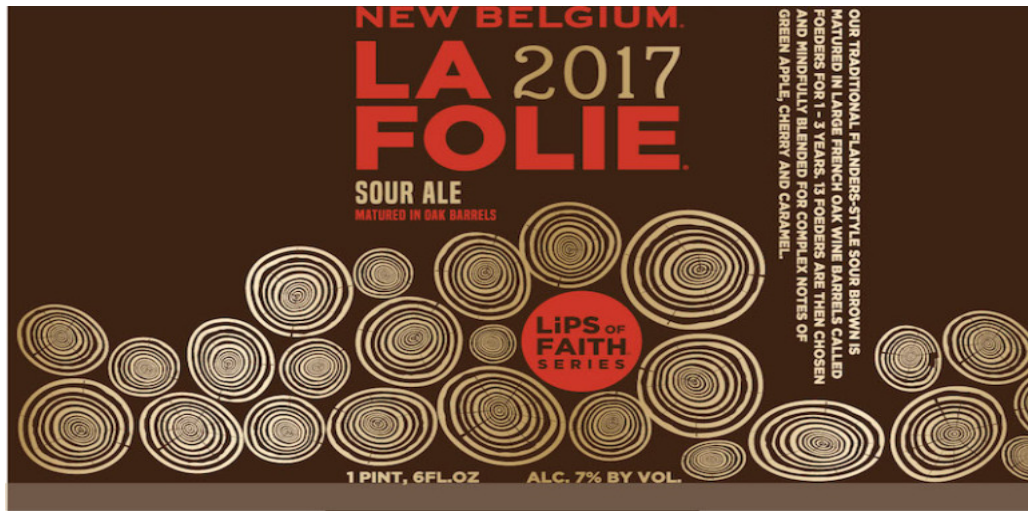


Figure 4: New Belgium La Follie Beer Bottle Label

New Belgium La Follie Beer Bottle Label. Copyright New Belgium Brewing Company. From Mashing-in.com. Retrieved 5/30/19 (<https://mashing-in.com/2017/02/27/new-belgium-brewing-celebrates-20-years-of-sour-beer-with-release-of-2017-la-folie/>)

So far in this chapter, I have shown some of the various ways in which ethnicity is used throughout the work of cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry. Cultural intermediaries use ethnic narratives to situate themselves as legitimate actors within the industry, and they use ethnicity to add value and authenticity to certain products and practices in different ways. However, during my fieldwork I found that ethnicities were not always used on their own to construct value. In some cases, my participants would blend different ethnic narratives together to achieve different outcomes. In other words, European, American, and non-white ethnicities were occasionally mentioned by my participants in tandem or in connection to one another. Take the above image for example. This is a popular beer from the American craft brewery New Belgium called La Folie (which is Flemish for the folly). The story behind the beer goes: the American head

brewer of New Belgium once worked overseas for a famous Belgian brewery. While working there, he gained the knowledge of the superior Belgian tradition of brewing sour beers. He eventually moved back to the United States, and after a number of failed attempts (or follies) he was able to make a sour beer that rivaled even the best Belgian sours. This was done against all odds because many thought (and still think) that real sour beers could only be brewed in Belgium. The beer is a tribute to his American never say never hard work and grit, and the classic rich historical styles of Belgian beer making. In this section, I illustrate some cases where ethnicities were combined in ways that illustrate the value that some ethnic meanings hold over others.

In some cases ingredients from non-white regions of the world achieve value when sent to Europe where they are produced into fine products. In this example, Isabella explains one of her products to me. She tells me how the grapes for a product she sells (in this case a fortified balsamic vinegar) is grown in the Philippines, but only achieves its value after being sent to Germany where it undergoes a process that turns it into a valuable commodity:

This is a fruit from the Philippines that after its harvest it's sent to Germany and made into a balsamic, and this is interesting... It's a [brand] balsamic. The fruit by itself cannot become a wine so it cannot become vinegar. You need to just push. So this has been pushed with brandy, so it has a brandy base in order to become a vinegar that is 7% acidity, so it's in the highest of acidity. Really nice."

When explaining this product, Isabella illustrates how the fruit takes on value when sent across seas from the Philippines to Germany and it undergoes a practice where it then becomes a "really nice" product. In essence, the fruit has no worth until it is sent to European land, then it becomes something special. In another case, Matt illustrates how one of his Argentinian products gains value through its French influenced production methods.

[Showing me the bottle at one of his accounts] This is a great brand for us from Argentina. [Brand of wine] is what the indigenous population called the Southern

Cross constellation. A lot of people say it looks like the xBox logo. All their stuff is one hundred percent Cab Franc or 100% Malbec. Their wine is grown over 12,000 feet elevation. 100% French Oak and sustainably farmed.

In this case, Matt chooses to focus on the French grape varieties and the French oak barrels that the wine is aged in to boost the credit that his product has. Cab Franc and Malbec are traditional grape varieties used in wines from the classic French appellation of Bordeaux, and being aged in “French oak” is used as a value marker as opposed to oak barrels that may come from other parts of the world. Through his narrative, his product from a country in the Global South becomes touched by European practices, which gives it a boost in status.

American and European ethnic narratives are also blended together in ways that inscribe meanings of American hard work combined with Europe’s superior traditions. Here, Isabella explains how one of her favorite wines is a combination of both American made grapes and French practices, which she explains as a perfect combination of “both worlds.”

Well I can see this is again from the state, I’m going to tell you the ones that I personally like the most and the story I told you a couple of times already about it. We like [brand of wine]. This is the Willamette Valley so I have the pinot gris and the pinot noir from [name of producer] who is a sister of the winemaker. He comes from a family of French winemakers, from Burgundy, so Pinot Noir, that’s why he chose that. He hated making wines. He left France to come to the States. He became an engineer and worked in [a company] as an engineer for years until he realized that he liked better doing wines. So he started in Willamette Valley years ago to do just pinot noirs, then he added the pinot gris, and he is a French winemaker in American soil so he’s in between both. You have a flavor of how the French will do their wine with American soil, their casks, and everything. So it’s really interesting in taste because it’s the perfect combination of both worlds. He’s actually selling this estate because their kids don’t want to go into wine industry just like him. So the story repeats and but the flavors and how it’s produced between both worlds I think that it’s really, really cool.

In this example, the wine maker’s French roots seem to provide the wine with a traditional flavor, and America provides the soil and foundation for the story. Isabella’s story seems to paint

America as the land of opportunity where this wine maker from France could follow his passion and—in the end—return to winemaking. This “perfect combination of both worlds” reflects the stock stories of America as a land of freedom and opportunity where European traditions can be continued.

In another example of American and European ethnicities being blended, Collin tells me one of his favorite stories that he uses when selling beer from one of his favorite breweries:

When they first opened up they had chains on the door, the bank was foreclosing on them after years of brewing like an amber, a wheat ale and a brown. And they literally got an angel loan and said, “Fuck it. We are going to brew beers that we are going to drink,” and they put out [name of beer] which is an aggressive Scotch Ale which was a hit. You know, here we are 25 years later and they are an industry leader because they decided to take that kind of maverick course and go. So that sort of sets an example...

Collin’s story focuses on an American craft brewery that stopped trying to please everyone with their beers, and brewed a European (Scotch) styled beer. This return to the European tradition seems to stand for a rebellious return to what the producers wanted to make, and not what the public wanted of them. Ironically, by brewing a European style beer, they then pleased everyone, which was an opposite outcome that they originally set out to do.

The cases that I have discussed illustrate how intermediaries in the craft beverage industry combine ethnic narratives in ways that add value to certain products and practices and devalue others. These cases show how single ethnicities are not always used as value markers. Rather, in some cases, ethnicities take on value when combined with one another.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

Now the question is: what can ethnic themes in the craft beverage industry tell us about ethnicity at large? One take away is that there is an ethnic component to cultural capital. In the

examples I have provided above, cultural intermediaries in the industry use ethnicity in certain ways to boost the cultural capital of products, practices, and themselves. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital consists of a set of socially rare and distinctive tastes, skills, knowledge, and practices (Bourdieu 1984; Holt 2000: 216). In this case, the participants of my study (and throughout the craft beverage industry at large) use their own stories of cultural knowledge about ethnicity (i.e. European ties to tradition, American ties to progress, and non-white ties to exoticness) and attach it to their products to make their products more marketable and valuable. Thus, products take on symbolic capital, and ethnic ties become a way to express the qualities of the products.

European ties are used to construct value related to tradition, sophistication, and superior taste. Take for instance this advertisement for Masi wines that infers that their wine is comparable to the taste for music that a Maestro has (or a distinguished conductor of an Italian orchestra), all while paying homage to the art of Italian wine making:





Figure 5: The Taste of a Maestro Masi Wine Advertisement

The Taste of a Maestro Masi Wine Advertisement. Copyright Antigua Nice Ltd, 2012.  
 From Antiguanice.com. Retrieved 5/30/19  
 (<http://www.antiguanice.com/v2/client.php?id=1146&cat=146>)

American ties construct value by associations to progress and nationalism. Take for instance the label of Rogue brewery's Amber Ale, (one of the most popular craft beers on the market) which encourages the drinker to "Dare, Risk, and Dream" all while the proceeds go towards U.S. military veterans:



Figure 6: Rogue American Ale Beer Bottle Label

Rogue American Ale Beer Bottle Label. Copyright Rogue Ales & Spirits. From Beerpulse.com.  
Retrieved 5/30/19 (<https://beerpulse.com/2014/04/rogue-ales-launches-armed-forces-cans-with-american-amber-ale-2797/>)

When non-white ethnicities are mentioned, they are usually done so in a way that makes them mysterious, exotic, or even sometimes erotic. Take for instance this beer label which reduces a presumably Latina woman to a seductress (see Figure 7).



Figure 7: Aye Que Rico Beer Bottle Label

Aye Que Rico Beer Bottle Label. Copyright J. Wakefield Brewing. From [jwakefeildbrewing.com](http://jwakefeildbrewing.com). Retrieved 5/30/19 (<https://jwakefeildbrewing.com/beer/ay-que-rico-blue/>)

These images just serve as illustrative examples of the themes that came from my data. My participants did not render them, however, images such as these serve as a reflection of the craft beverage industry. They reflect many of the same narratives that are used by cultural intermediaries during their daily cultural work as they sell and market their products. These images are the figurative water that the agents in the craft beverage industry swim in. These taken for granted representations of race, ethnicity, class, and gender serve to legitimate products. However, they represent images of ethnicities in a way that supports the dominance of Eurocentric ethnicities and American nationalism, and exploits non-whites in a manner that re-inscribes and maintains the ethnoracial status quo. Ethnic representations such as these support the status quo in the U.S.

where white Americans and Europeans are positioned as normative and all others are not (Bonilla Silva 2000).

Furthermore, according to Bourdieu (1984), cultural capital exists in three primary forms. These forms were all present during my research. First, it is embodied as implicit practical knowledge, skills, and dispositions. This occurred when my participants made personal connections that forged their ethnic histories and identities to the cultural work that they do. They deployed ethnic narratives in ways in which cultural capital was gained for themselves as legitimate experts in their fields. The second way that cultural capital takes form is when it is objectified in cultural objects. This took place when cultural intermediaries used ethnic narratives throughout their sales techniques to bolster the value of their products. The beers, wines, and spirits they sold gained value when a connection to a specific place and culture was made. Lastly, cultural capital is institutionalized in official degrees and diplomas that certify the existence of the embodied form. Although my data does not reflect any of the specific certifications or institutionalized degrees that are used to boost the value of products, it can be concluded that specific forms of production were used to informally certify products as worthy. For example, German brewing standards and French production practices were relied on to certify a product as worthy despite the actual taste of a product. The way that my participants wove ethnicity and nation into their work shows how cultural capital and ethnicity are connected in the craft beverage industry.

This research uncovers some of the ways in which ethnicity works (Brubaker 2009) through consumable products. The products, practices, and people of the craft industry become the scripts through which ethnic cultural capital is constructed and reproduced. However, not all ethnicities are used in the same way to construct cultural capital. Non-European and American ethnicities are

used for cultural capital, but in a way that positions it as the other, and not an integral aspect of the industry—which connects with some ideas surrounding ethnoracism. According to Aranda and Rebollo-Gil (2004: 917): “Ethnoracism has cultural manifestations; expressions of national identity through culture invoke ethnoracism. Thus, aspects of culture such as language, accent, and other cultural forms of expression racially mark ethnic minorities.” In the cases that I have presented throughout this chapter, cultural manifestations and expressions of national identity are carried out in a way that racially privileges the ethnic majority (white American and European ethnic groups) within the cultural spaces of the craft beverage industry.

Thinking back to that day with Isabella at the bottle shop; the one thing that sticks with me the most is the image in my memory of a small Venezuelan flag that was craftily placed in an empty bottle of wine on a shelf in the corner. Isabella told me that it was there to remind her of where she came from, and why she does what she does. Tomorrow she will most likely arrive to work early in the morning. I wonder if she will look at that flag as a reminder and think back to her grandfather and his voyage from Europe many decades ago. As I write this, it is a Thursday night, which means that soon it will be Friday, and Anthony will most likely be going to work wearing a Guayabera and a Fedora. He will probably enter through the back kitchen of his accounts and talk loudly and proudly in Spanish to the Latino and Latina cooks and servers of the establishment as he passes through on his way to the all-white dining room to meet the managers. Isabella may drive from account to account down the roads of her sales territory tomorrow, and she may think to herself about how that case of Chardonnay that she just sold could very well contribute to the roads she is driving on. With this in mind, there is little doubt that our ethnic ties to place,

country, and history structures our lives almost every step of the way. But the manner in which they structure our lives may work to privilege some, and work against others.

My findings show how ethnic connections to place can be used to add value to products and practices, but at the same time, can be done so in ways that center certain places as the norm, and distance some as the others. The consequence of these practices is that ethno-national hierarchies are reinforced and maintained. Through exploring the role of the cultural intermediary in this process, I have shown how these processes take place. This research also shows how ethnicity works in ways that give legitimacy to people, and acts as an important ingredient in the self-construction of cultural intermediaries as exemplars who embody their cultural markets. In this sense, tastes—which are social in origin—never operate outside of the gendered, racial, and ethnic structures of our lives.

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#### Chapter 4: “Sorry if My Period Cramps are Going to Make this Difficult for You, Jerry:” The Gendered Experiences of Cultural Intermediaries in the Craft Beverage Industry

She did not seem happy... After I asked the question, she paused, sat back in her chair, and took a long sip of her coffee. She slowly placed the coffee back on the table in front of her and looked back up at me—directly in the eyes—and took a deep breath. My heart stopped. “Oh my God,” I thought to myself, “Have I just offended her?” I was sitting with my participant Amy outside of a coffee shop on a busy downtown street in St. Petersburg, Florida that day. Amy is a craft beer brand manager and area sales manager for one of the most popular craft beers in the nation. She is very powerful and well regarded in the industry. I’ve asked her about her experiences as a woman in the beer industry, which has been traditionally dominated by men. After the pause, she responded very directly:

It’s funny how everyone says that it’s traditionally—that it’s traditionally that way because, like, beer was primarily brewed by women for hundreds of years [laughs]. Uh, it was solely women’s work, at one point. Uh, women were some of the first tavern owners ever... So. Like, yes, it is, uh, in a modern sense, it’s traditionally looked at as a man’s world and it still very much is...

Amy (a white woman) seems annoyed at the notion that craft beer is traditionally a male dominated culture, and she assures me that she has a lot to say about the gendered division of the craft beverage industry. I’ve obviously struck a chord with her, but she says she is glad to share her experiences with me. While she goes on in detail, it dawns on me that well accomplished women (like Amy) face disadvantages in an industry that oftentimes bills itself as inclusive and diverse.

Amy explains to me that: “The beer industry in general hasn’t necessarily, historically, done a very good job trying to market to women to make this a desirable business to work in.” She goes on to explain:

Like, you know, we’re, in this industry, we’re expected to accept that this is a man’s industry and, “You just need to be one of the boys and just accept it,” you know. “Don’t be on your feminist soap box. Don’t-don’t look uncool in front of your distributors!” Or like, “You can’t hang with the boys.” Like, and sometimes it creates very dangerous environments where, you know, women have trouble doing their jobs.

During my time in the field with my participants it became very clear to me that cultural intermediation in the craft beverage industry is a gendered process. According to Bourdieu, cultural intermediaries are “taste makers and need merchants, whose work is part and parcel of an economy that requires the production of consuming tastes and dispositions” (1984:101). Examples of cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry are sales people, marketers, and event specialists—just like my participant Amy; basically, those whose job it is to connect consumers with products. These market actors connect consumers to products through both explicit and implicit tactics to shape and reproduce certain tastes for consumable goods. According to Bourdieu (1984) social stratification is reproduced and legitimated through ideas around tastes. Tastes are social, and they are acquired through socialization and conditioning. Furthermore, taste is a mechanism of social reproduction (Smith Maguire 2014: 16), which enables hierarchies among social groups. However, with a few exceptions (Sherman 2011; Smith Maguire 2011; Barber 2016) the gendered aspects of cultural intermediation have gone largely under-explored.

By studying the ways that cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry talk about and perform gender, I show how cultural intermediation and cultural work in general is ultimately a gendered process. I show how in the craft beverage industry, gender must be presented in certain

culturally appropriate ways in order for my participants to establish themselves as legitimate experts in their fields. My findings suggest that sales people, marketers, and event specialists enact gender in certain ways in order to validate themselves in relation to the industry at large. This process is also informed by intersecting categories of identity such as race, class, age, and body type. This research adds to the field by providing empirical evidence on the interconnection of cultural intermediary work and gender.

### **Literature Review: Gender and Cultural Intermediaries**

Cultural Intermediaries are more than just workers in different occupational categories. They are well-positioned to construct and legitimate tastes for particular consumables because of their personal investment in markets and cultures of their work (Smith Maguire 2014). There is a strong link between their occupations and their *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984); which is their learned cultural knowledge and embodied dispositions. Cultural intermediaries are able to shape tastes because they embody and typify exemplar agents within markets and industries (Smith Maguire and Matthews 2014). Their mastery of the aesthetic dispositions and appropriate forms of self-presentation within markets makes them legitimate experts in their fields (Bourdieu 1984: 362). Bourdieu attributes this to social class, and argues that the cultural intermediary is ultimately involved in the reproduction of social class inequalities. This is because of their abilities to assign qualities such as good taste to the upper class, and bad taste to the lower classes. In short, cultural intermediaries embody the tastes and dispositions of the upper class, which allows them to manipulate tastes in favor of those with social capital.

But, what about gender? How do cultural intermediaries deploy certain gendered aesthetic dispositions and forms of self-presentation to position themselves as valid experts in their field?

Except for a few examples, there is a lack of research that uncovers the connections between intermediary work and gender. One of the most explored areas within these topics has been in the cases of advertising agents. Advertising agents have been considered to be cultural intermediaries because of their active role in shaping messages about products (Cronin 2004). Some studies have explored how advertising agents' views on gender impact the gendered messages that they construct in their advertisements (Grau and Zotos 2016). For instance, Shao et al. (2014) and Zayer and Coleman (2015) found that Chinese advertising agents believe that they reflect the dominant gendered viewpoints of society rather than curb advertising images to represent their own viewpoints on gender (such as women being portrayed as more subordinate than men). Van Hellemon and Van de Bulck (2012) found that both advertising agents and consumers found certain gendered images in advertising to be unfriendly at the same rate. However, agents were more tolerant of these images than consumers (Van Hellemon and Van de Bulck 2012). In short, the small body of research that explores advertising agents as cultural intermediaries calls into question the role that the agents play in constructing gendered advertisements. What this research does not do, however, is explore how gender is deployed in the day-to-day, face-to-face interactions of cultural intermediaries within their markets and industries.

Another small segment of research has focused on how cultural intermediaries use gender during their daily interactions while assigning value to products and practices. For instance, in their study of intermediaries in the lifestyle management industry Sherman (2011) found that gender is commonly used to establish the idea of a natural inclination towards good taste. Sherman's participants were concierges in the lifestyle industry who performed tasks such as event planning, remodeling, and redecorating for elite customers in New York City and southern

Connecticut. Sherman found that her mostly female participants established value for themselves by consistently reassuring their clients that women are naturally more inclined to do organizational work than men, and that men are more needy which makes them less able to do lifestyle management for their customers. Along these lines, Kristen Barber's (2016: 79) work on women in the men's grooming industry uncovered how women deploy "culturally approved markers of femininity" while selling grooming products and procedures to men in Southern California salons. Barber found that these salon workers were often hired based off of their looks, and engaged in types of emotional labor with their clients, which are typically associated with hetero-femininity. Lastly, Jennifer Smith Maguire's (2011) work on personal trainers shows how female personal trainers reproduce dominant ideals of the female body through training and personal practices even if they are personally critical of these ideals. These examples constitute a small but necessary segment of research that investigates how certain forms of gender are used to market and sell products and practices in different consumer markets.

However, there is much more work to be done. This chapter adds to this line of research by showing how cultural intermediaries navigate gender in ways that positions themselves as experts in an industry that is typically thought of as masculine. Furthermore, I show how certain gendered discourses are rejected in ways that establish credit for cultural workers in the craft beverage industry.

### Methods

Data from this chapter come from in-depth semi-structured interviews with 32 cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry. All of my participants worked as salespeople, marketers, and/or event specialists in the craft beer, wine, and/or spirits industry. My participants

were given the option to do the interviews at a place and time most convenient for them. Being a representative in the beverage industry is a very demanding job, which oftentimes requires long workdays with a lot of travel between accounts. With that being the case, many of my participants opted to meet me in the field during down times of their day, which made the interviews ethnographic in nature. Many took me to their accounts and showed me their products and places to which they sold. This made my interviews interactive, and in a sense, I was able to go along with my participants during account visits.

Along with the in-depth semi-structured interviews and field observations, I conducted observations at three craft beverage focused tasting events and seven brewery and winery tours. All events and tours were publicly accessible, which gave me the opportunity to observe my participants while they interacted with the public in different spaces of the craft beverage industry.

The interviews resulted in over 1000 pages of typed/double spaced transcripts. Transcripts went through two rounds of coding. The first round consisted of open or descriptive coding where I identified instances of my participants mentioning their gendered experiences in the field. I then conducted a second more detailed round of coding where I combed the transcripts for the themes that are discussed in this chapter. Overall, I spent over 75 hours in the field with my participants. During my time in the field I would take short hand written notes or jottings to help me remember some of the key details that were happening. Shortly after (usually within 24 hours) I would write out more detailed accounts or field notes of the key findings from my observations. The field notes from my observations served as a secondary data source, and after themes emerged from the coding of my interview transcripts, I reviewed the notes from my observations and looked for overlapping themes.

Participants were recruited using purposeful snowball sampling. Twenty nine identified as white (90%), and 3 identified as non-white (10%). Twenty-seven identified as non-Hispanic (84%) and 5 identified as Hispanic (17%). Twenty-one identified as men (65%), and 11 identified as women (35%). Only one of my participants openly identified as a gay female, the rest either identified as heterosexual or did not reveal their sexual identity. My sample mostly aligns with the racial and ethnic make up of the industry at large. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of 2018, the category of “Alcoholic beverage wholesale merchants” consists of 89.3% white employees, 6% Black or African American, and 1.6% Asian. In addition to these racial categories, 13.9% of the employees in this category identify as Hispanic. However, the women participants of my study outnumber the national average. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that 17.9% of the industry is comprised of those who identify as women. The Bureau collects no data on sexual identity at the time of this research.

It is important to note that my positionality as a white/heterosexual/cis-gendered/able-bodied/man very well may have affected my time in the field with my participants. Because of my social identity markers, I generally felt like I belonged in the spaces of the craft industry. I could also meet up with participants (whom I did not know) at bars, restaurants and coffee shops without worry of sexual harassment or ill treatment. I was generally treated as one of them while in the field. I also have experience as a craft beverage cultural intermediary myself. In the years prior to my graduate research I served as a sales representative and a buyer for large-scale beverage companies and retailers. This prior experience equipped me with the knowledge of the industry. I could speak the language of my participants, which may have affected the way that they opened up to me during interviews.

However, in other instances (as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation), my positionality may have led me to miss some things while in the field with my participants. My participants may have held back from disclosing certain things from me if they did not buy into white hegemonic masculinity. For instance, women seemed fairly open to discussing their gendered experiences within the industry with me. However, they may have talked to me about gender in ways that they thought would be ‘digestible’ for a person who would never have to experience what they go through first hand. Furthermore, the women participants may have been hesitant to bring up certain things in fear that I would have been resistant or challenge them because of my positionality. It is important to note that my positionality as a white man did not always give me access to all the spaces and perspectives of the industry. Rather, I may not have been exposed to certain perspectives due to my social identities and statuses.

### **Findings Part 1: Gender Discrimination in the Craft Beverage Industry**

It is important to note that there is a long history of gender segregation in the food and beverage industry in the U.S., particularly surrounding the occupation of bartending and other serving jobs (Detman 1990). Until the 1970s there were laws prohibiting women from working in the alcoholic beverage industry. During that time working around alcohol was considered unsafe for them. On top of legal restrictions there was also a long-standing social stigma attached to women who worked in and went to bars because it was considered morally wrong for women to be around drunk men. For many decades food and beverage worker labor unions worked to preserve alcohol related jobs as predominantly occupied by men, citing that women lacked the physical and emotional strength needed to work behind a bar or serve alcohol in other drinking establishments. It was not until 1971 that laws restricting women from working in the food and beverage industry



were lifted and women were allowed full participation in this often-lucrative line of work. In the 1940s only 2.5% of alcohol serving jobs were occupied by women, whereas by 1988 half of these jobs were occupied by women (mainly this is due to the 1960s civil rights laws which prohibited gender discrimination). Even though the amount of women working in alcohol related jobs has increased over the history of the U.S., it is important to understand this exclusion of women still happens in other ways, which is connected to the historical discrimination women have faced in the industry.

One of the most prominent themes that arose in my data during this project was the prevalence of gender discrimination in the craft beverage industry. While I was in the field interviewing and observing my participants, gender would often come up as a talking point and as a way that many cultural intermediaries of my study understood themselves in relation to the industry at large. I would ask my participants both directly and indirectly about gender during my interviews with them. I would ask them indirect questions such as: what types of people they worked with and what types of customers bought their products. My participants would often bring up gender as a descriptor when explaining to me the types of people they engaged with. Oftentimes in response to these questions they would explain that the majority of people they worked with and sold to were men. I would also ask them direct questions about gender such as: does your gender ever play a factor in your experiences in the industry? These direct questions would often warrant more detailed accounts by my participants.

Gender came up in every interview both directly or indirectly and my participants, both men and women, were generally open to talking about it. Many participants would want to refer me to other folks in the industry who had strong views about gender biases in the craft beverage

market place. It is also important to note that (when asked) both men and women recognized the obstacles that gender presents to many in the field, however, my participants who were women would go into much more detail than men. Throughout this first section, I highlight three of the main themes that arose when my participants addressed gender in the field: the obstacles it presents, the ill treatment that many face based on their gender, and how men and women are understood as having innately different skill sets when it comes to selling craft beverages.

### *Gender as an Obstacle*

Because of the gendered practices within the industry (such as expectations of the inferiority of women and ill treatment that many women face in the industry), it may be considered an arena of *hegemonic masculinity*. According to Connell (1995), hegemonic masculinity is the collection of gendered cultural practices that legitimize patriarchy. The idea that women cannot do the job properly because of biological differences and the ill treatment that many women face while selling and marketing their products offer examples of how masculinity is actively constructed as the hegemonic norm. In other words, masculinity is sustained as the leading position and identity through practices within the craft beverage industry. Many of my participants (both men and women) recognized the obstacles that women had to constantly overcome. For instance, Lori (a white female craft beer sales representative) thinks of gender as a big problem in the industry:

It is honestly something that I think is the biggest problem that is not really talked about too much. And I hate to say it, because my significant other doesn't really understand it because he doesn't have to be talked to that way, he doesn't have to as would any other male in that role. They have only been talked to this certain way. They only get respectable or nice treatment.

Here, Lori explains how she sees a difference between how she is treated versus how her boyfriend (who is also a craft beverage sales representative) is treated while they are together during work events. She reflects on how she notices how men get respectable and fair treatment, where women oftentimes do not. Similarly, Amy discusses how if she were a man, she would probably get more respect while doing her job:

I feel like, you know, if a bearded man in flannel shows up and says, “Hey, I work for this brewery.” Like, they’re automatically accredited for like, “Okay well you’re obviously knowledgeable and have the ability to do your job!”

Amy explains to me that oftentimes she and other women in the industry are automatically questioned about their product knowledge by customers. This provides an obstacle that many women have to overcome, because—according to Amy—they are not taken seriously all the time while doing their jobs. Julie (a white female craft beer sales representative) also explained to me another obstacle that is presented to her in the industry because of being a woman:

J: Maybe if the distributor reps would sell my beer I wouldn’t have to worry about it too much. But I don’t want to go out on a Tuesday night and drink shots with Jerry till 1 am just to get him to favor me so he’ll sell one line in. I don’t want to do that, that sounds awful. Also, it’s kind of inappropriate. You know, when the male reps go out with the other male reps and they are just getting twisted, It’s kind of a whatever thing. If I ‘m like: “Hey babe, I’m going to go out to the local dive bar with all my male dude rep friends! It’s going to be super cool, We are going to be taking shots.” He’s always like (eye role gesture).

You know, that’s a thing. I’ll bring [her partner] out pretty often and it’s incredible... how all the male reps just gravitate to him, and start asking him about Brew Hub and I’m just standing there.

E: He works there too?

J: No! He doesn’t work in the industry at all!

Julie explains that many men in the industry hang out at bars after hours where they forge working relationships with each other. These relationships may result in them doing favors for one

another, like selling certain products into accounts because they know the guy who represents the product. Julie does not feel like she has access to this practice because she feels like it may be inappropriate for her to go out drinking with a bunch of men until 1 am. Which seemingly is due to the fear of being harassed by men. What is also interesting is how Julie explains that her boyfriend gets a lot of attention from men in the industry when he accompanies her to industry events. This happens even though he does not work in the beverage industry or knows much about the products.

Curiously, men also admit that gender is an issue in the industry. Here, James (a white male craft beer sales representative) tells me about how gender differences are very apparent:

J: Gender is an absolute complete, just bullshit way that some people treat females.

E: Where do you see that mostly?

J: Just like, not so much in the industry side, just like if a female would have my job and go into the same exact bar, I would say that if there were a guy back there who thought he knew everything about beer and talked to me about it, I think that I could get a better shot at than a female could just for being a male. Which is bullshit. Some of the girls that I know in this industry know more about beer than almost all the other bartenders that I've met. It is just incredible on some of the knowledge that a ton of these females know; it's incredible, absolutely incredible.

James was one of the most passionate about gender differences among the men in my study. He was very displeased with how women are often treated in the industry throughout my interview with him. James sees gender as an obstacle in many cases, noting that men can be more successful in the industry just because of their gender. Similarly Matt (a white male craft beer sales representative) explains how he would not let his daughters work in the industry:

M: My daughter is not allowed to work in the beer industry.

E: Alright, so you have a daughter?

M: Yes I have two.

E: How old?

M: 21 and 18.

E: So how come they are not allowed to work in the beer industry?

M: Because I see the way that they are treated. I see it in our industry, but I know that it goes on everywhere. But I can just speak for the industry. I just say that they can't work in it because I see it first hand. The way that women are treated. It just disappoints me.

It is unclear if Matt's daughters want to work in the industry or not. But what is clear is that Matt sees gender discrimination in the industry, and expresses dislike for it. Matt continues to tell me about how disappointing it is to see women being mistreated in the industry. I seemed to have struck a chord with him:

Yeah, you definitely notice it when you have daughters. I mean, I see the way that guys treat them, and I don't want my daughters treated that way. It's just ugh... And you see the way that when you are out with a female counterpart you see the way that guys talk to her and you are just like: "Dude." And I'm talking about my counterparts. Like if there was a female counterpart and a guy counterpart, and they just start talking to her and I'm like: "What the fuck is wrong with you dude?" Ugh... Makes me want to choke someone out.

Matt, like many other participants in my study, seems to understand gender as an obstacle for many women in the craft beverage industry. My participants consistently explained the obstacles and disadvantages that women face while selling and marketing craft beverages. These ranged from being thought of as unintelligent, not being able to forge relationships with colleagues due to gender differences, and not being taken seriously by their customers (examples from my data will be provided in the following sections). Along with understanding gender as an obstacle to many women in this business, it was also well understood that women face outright harassment and ill treatment while doing their jobs.

### *Ill Treatment*

To Connell (1995: 68), masculinity and femininity are “gender projects”, which consist of collective and re-occurring practices that construct the idea of gender. Similarly, West and Zimmerman (1987:125) conceptualize gender as an “accomplishment” where gender is actively “done” in ways that establish patriarchal differences. During my time in the field my participants would tell me often about practices of ill treatment that they had to endure because of their gender. These practices can be considered part of a larger gender project of the craft beverage industry that reproduces masculinity as the taken for granted norm for the cultural intermediaries of my study. For instance, when asked about some of her experiences as a woman in the industry, Amy tells me:

A: I’ve been told that the only reason I’ve been so successful in the market is because I have a pretty face... is because I have a “nice billboard”, is something I’ve been told, too...

E: And this is by...? Friends or customers or...?

A: By buyers, customers...

E: Buyers?

A: Other people in the industry...(yeah) Um, I had a distributor call me a fucking idiot in front of a bunch of people once, which I really don’t feel would have happened if I had been male. Uh, I have had, uh, customers send me dick pics. I’ve had...I’ve been called a slew of names that, you know, from like, as small as like “that bitch from [name of brewery]” to you know, “angel tits”. That was one of my favorites.

I found that accounts such as Amy’s were not uncommon during my time in the field with my participants. I was often told about times when women received ill treatment by their customers and in some cases, their counterparts. These instances of harassment can be seen as ways that men (and masculinities) are upheld as the dominant position in the industry. These are

not individual cases according to many of my participants. These instances build up over time and are consistent in nature. These aggressive tactics against women create a toxic environment where their gender is looked at as inferior, just like in the documentary *Killing Us Softly* (2016), where Jean Kilbourne argues that imagery in advertisements portray women as inferior and submissive to men. By putting down women, and by using objectifying comments, some men in the industry work to position masculinities as superior. By commenting on women's looks and questioning their abilities men distance themselves from femininity. This positions women as the others and upholds a hegemonic masculine norm. For instance, Julie explains a recent instance where she was put in an uncomfortable position based on her gender and sexuality:

J: And that's a joke that I made over the weekend. Like two local brewers came up to each other and started playing with each other's man tits...

E: Playing with their what? (confused)

J: Playing with their man tits. Like juggling each other's man tits... And I was like: "Well this is awkward. I don't feel like I can participate in this." And they were like: "You can juggle my tits whenever you want." And I was like: "Yeah, but you can't juggle my tits, so what are we going to do about this?" He was like: "Well if you were single it would be different." And I was like: "No, if I were single it would not be different because it would be wildly inappropriate. But thank you for saying that because you understand where I am coming from on the same level."

Two grown men playing with each other's "man tits" is far from the professional behavior that many might expect in a workplace. This behavior not only made Julie feel uncomfortable and disgusted by the action and the implication, but by telling her that if she were single she could participate in the action, this is also an example of sexual harassment as well. I was told that these outright actions create an uninviting atmosphere for many of my participants who were women. Lori gave me another example:

And I've seen bar managers be so respectable and friendly and shake hands and do that whole thing. And then I come in, and... Like I've even had a bar manager tell me: "Yeah, I've never bought product from you, but I don't forget a pretty face." It's like: "Oh..."

Here Lori explains how she notices men's behaviors change when she enters many work situations. She notices that men become less respectful to her, and (in this case) comment on her looks, which she attributes to being a woman. Many women in my study reported being reduced to their looks, which diverts the attention away from them as valid experts in their industry and onto their physical appearances. This is something that the men in my study did not report happening to them.

It is important to note that some women in my study reported facing ill treatment based on other intersecting identities in addition to gender. Some women told me that it was not necessarily because their gender alone that they experienced ill treatment. But also because of factors like age, race, and ethnicity. For instance, Vickie did not think she was treated differently only because she is a woman, but rather because she is perceived as a young woman:

Yeah. So if I go into a meeting alone; or if [name of co-worker] and I go into a meeting together; I am going to be regarded as the 20 year-old with no experience, when I know more about this industry—not the beer industry—but the marketing and events side, what we are trying to accomplish... And I think that has been the most surprising thing to me.

She explains that when she walks into a meeting with her co-worker (who is an older white man) she feels like customers treat her like she doesn't know anything because of her appearance as a younger woman. Vickie attributes ill treatment (in her case being dismissed) to her age and gender intersection. Desiree (a Black woman who works as a craft beer event specialist) described often being treated like she does not know anything about the products that she represents. She



described having to go through great lengths to prove that she is a knowledgeable craft beverage marketer and event specialist:

I've definitely had some challenges where I've had to throw my card out in front of people's faces like: "Don't ask me about stuff like I don't know what the heck I'm talking about." I actually noticed that a lot. I don't know if it's necessarily because I'm woman or because I'm black or because [whatever else], but if I don't go out and I don't wear a t-shirt that says something like, "Buds don't let buds drink Bud," or something that says, "Hey, I love crafts," or, "Craft beer enthusiast," or something on my shirt or something in my apparel or up front when I walk in to kind of show you that I know about my beer, I feel like people will treat you like you're dumb whether I ask you about it or not.

Desiree tells me that she has to constantly prove herself as a legitimate craft beer expert by wearing certain craft beer shirts, giving people her business cards, and even walking around events with a beer mug that has her business and name printed on it. These are steps that she has to take to overcome the stereotype that she in is not an expert because she is a Black woman. Isabella (a white woman of Hispanic heritage who works as a craft wine and spirits sales person) tells me that she feels like she is disregarded not only because of her gender, but also because of her accent. She tells me that in certain public situations she feels that her accent discredits her more than her gender:

Yeah, I saw that more in Venezuela [discrimination based strictly off of gender], in the health field. Here, I'm still new to the country, so I'm going to say I'm very shy, when I go outside to try to connect with people... Because, not everybody understands me. If I try to speak faster, I will make so many English mistakes and grammar, that is going to be terrible. But yeah, I feel like I'm going to say something that people are not going to understand. Here in the store, I use my store, my products. I use my hands, to talk with people and to communicate. When I'm outside and I don't have a subject that I feel comfortable about, I feel a little shy. So, yeah, those events outside of the stores, with different vendors, are a little tricky for me.

These examples show how my female participants experience ill treatment and discomfort not only because of their gender, but also because of intersecting identities such as age, race, and

ethnicity. Women's body types and features also compounded how they experienced ill treatment (such as being considered as incapable of doing their jobs because they were petite in stature). So far, I have provided instances where both women and men in the craft beverage industry acknowledge that gender can be an obstacle and a basis for ill treatment, which establishes the industry as an arena of hegemonic masculinity. An environment that favors men is created and maintained through these constant and ongoing gendered practices.

### *Difference*

In her book *Masculinities* (1995: 67), Raewyn Connell posits that "gender is social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, it is not social practice reduced to the body". In many realms of social life, from families to workplaces, the difference between men and women is often times reduced to differences in bodies. Connell (1995: 68) argues, "reductionism presents the exact reverse of the situation". That is, the social construction of gender is what reproduces perceived differences in bodies. In short, differences in the gendered structure of the work place for example, are oftentimes reduced to the idea that women are just built and wired differently than men (and visa versa), so they have different abilities that help and restrict them in certain occupational positions.

Similarly to Sherman's (2011) account on how women in the lifestyle management industry were marketed as more able to do organizational work than men because of perceived natural inclinations, my participants often reduced the gendered make up of the craft beverage industry to different abilities between men and women. For example, Annabelle (a white female

fine wine sales representative) told me about how in some cases she likes being a woman in the beverage industry because she can offer something that men don't have:

I think, because I can add a different perspective being a female. I think that God built us differently for a reason. I like being the minority in the sense that it's a challenge. That I can see there are things that I have to overcome, especially when it comes to physical things.

Throughout my time with Annabelle that day, she was very insistent on spelling out the differences between men and women. According to her these differences are god given and biologically based. And in her case, it was interesting to hear how she thought that these differences provided her with opportunities to lend a different insight into situations. Annabelle went on to tell me how she thinks women just complicate things too often, and that she likes working around men because they just see things in "black and white." Annabelle's case was unique because she seemed to embrace the perceived differences between men and women in the industry. She seemed to like the challenge that being a woman presented in the field, which on one hand indicates that she does not see it as being negative, but on the other uncovers that she does understand that there are gender biases. Her embracement of perceived gender differences may indicate that she has embraced hegemonic masculinity. This may provide evidence that hegemonic masculinity is not only held intact by men, but also by women. Similarly, Ron (a white Hispanic man who works as a sales manager for a large scale craft beer distributor) tells me about how he likes working with women because of their innate skills:

Mm-hmm. I feel like women are a little more detailed than men, little more organized, little more diligent... Just straight organization and detail in my experiences with most women. And yeah... So I think if anything, I wish more women would get into this industry because I think it'll help~ I think it'll help grow long-term.

Ron tells me that he would never take into account gender when hiring anyone or deciding to do business with anyone, but it seems that he finds women to be a benefit to his company. However, not all men had the same view as Ron. Many times when women came up during my interviews with men in the craft beverage industry they would tell me that women just could not do the job right because of the physical demands that were expected of them. Here, Matt tells me about how he does not think women succeed in this line of work due to their lack of physical strength:

Yeah, it's very physical. Extremely physical. I've had a few girls work for me, and it just doesn't work out. Not to say that they can't do it. It just hasn't worked out. We do have a couple of girl drivers and they do a fantastic job. They pull pallets and stuff like that. They do phenomenal jobs.

A large part of the job, whether it be sales, marketing, or events, is lifting cases of product to stock shelves or build displays. Matt is describing the sales aspect of the job and saying that women do not cut it because they cannot lift cases like men. However, he does say that women drivers work out. This is due to the fact that drivers do not always lift as much and can rely on the assistance of machinery such as pallet jacks to help move product around. Similarly, Tom (a white male fine wine and craft spirits sales representative) tells me how he thinks women would succeed in parts of the industry (such as selling to restaurants and bars) where they can rely on their looks to sell products and not in areas where they have to lift and move a lot of product around:

Yeah, it is a lot of lifting, it's a lot of pallet jacks and back rooms and putting cases on top shelves. The [name of large scale wine and spirits distributor] girl that works in this area, she's complained to me before about she's not strong enough to do some of the stuff that she has to do. And I think it's~ I think if you're going to a company like [name of his company] and you see a girl walk in for an interview, I would say she would be better on premise just because there's a lot of male restaurant managers that would buy from a hot chick. I mean, I'd rather deal with~ when I was managing, I'd rather deal with a [hot chick] than douchebag guy [laughter].

In this example, Tom reduces women to their looks, which he thinks they can use to sell product to their customers. He does this in a way that established women as “hot” and men as strong. Accounts like these show how women and men in the craft beverage industry are thought of as having innate differences and qualities that can hurt and/or help them while in the industry.

During my time in the field my participants used these three themes when explaining gender in the industry: gender as an obstacle, differential gender-based treatment between men and women, and gender as based on innate differences between men and women. Together, these frames of gender offer evidence that suggests men and women in the craft beverage industry operate in a gendered culture-scape steeped in hegemonic masculinity. This environment is toxic to women, where they are thought of as not having enough strength to do certain aspects of the job, they face aggression and harassment from men, and are thought of as not being knowledgeable enough about beer, wine, and spirits. Gender, along with other intersecting elements of identity (such as age, race, the body, and ethnicity) becomes an undeniable element of the cultural work that the intermediaries in my study must navigate on a daily basis.

### **Findings Part 2: Gendered Characters as Identity Resources**

Smith Maguire and Zhang’s (2016) work on Chinese wine salespeople uncovered some of the ways that these cultural intermediaries construct themselves into ideal consumers in order to maintain their status as experts in the industry. One of the ways that they did this was by making their personal consuming habits and preferences visible and used them as “guarantors of their sincerity and expertise” (18). The authors also note that these salespeople drew on a “Chinese habitus” to “tessellate the material properties of wine and wine practices with established cultural norms” (18). In this section I argue that my participants use established cultural norms

surrounding gender in ways that gain them status and expertise within their fields and among one another. This uncovers how cultural intermediary work (and taste work more broadly) is always a gendered process, which also relies on the intersection of race, class, and age.

My participants would often exhibit displeasure with certain types of representatives in their sales territories: the “dumb blonde” and members of the “boys club.” By disassociating themselves with these types of gendered characters, my participants would in turn establish their own gender capital. Bridge’s (2009) ideas surrounding gender capital translate the gendered power dynamics of hegemonic masculinity into exchanges within cultural contexts. As Bridges (2009: 84) puts it, gender capital is gained through contextual presentations of gendered selves. Value for ones self is obtained through performing gender in certain ways and rejecting others. For instance, Darwin’s (2018) work displays how men in the craft beer culture can maintain gender capital through consuming a variety of types of beers, whereas women cannot. The participants of my study gain value for themselves as professionals by performing and rejecting gender in different ways.

*Character: The “Dumb Female Sales Representative”*

During my time with my participants I heard—time and time again—stories about the “dumb female beer representative” type. According to my participants, beverage companies will often hire good-looking people (usually women) to sell their products in hopes that the costumers will buy from them (and not other companies) out of attraction for the sales person, and not necessarily because of the quality of the product. Through their narration, my participants use the “dumb female sales representative” as a stock character that they position themselves against to gain legitimacy as experts. According to Loseke (2019: 34) “stock characters” are “well known and

common in a variety of stories told for assorted reasons in private and public life”. Throughout this section, I will show how my participants use gendered stock characters (the “dumb female sales representative” and the “boys club”) in ways that create legitimacy for themselves as experts in the craft beverage culture.

My participants would often acknowledge this character, but rarely name specific people.

For instance, Julie explains to me the prevalence of this character in the industry and culture:

Whereas the dumb female beer rep type exists, and it’s disgusting. It’s the blonde in the tank top, she doesn’t know which beer she’s pouring, but the brewery hires her because she’s hot for the festival. And, even the female beer reps know that that type is successful sometimes who like drinks and dumbs herself down.

It appears that Julie is angry and disgusted by this stock character. In a sense, Julie is constructing this type of sales representative into a villain of sorts. According to Loseke (2019), “the villain character” is a common stock character in different realms of culture. Loseke notes: “Villain is a symbolic code, a set of evaluations for characters who *create* harm, and who *intend* to create this harm for *no good reason*” (34). The dumb female beer representative character is a villain in a sense because they take away sales and attention from other more deserving sales representatives in the industry. Take the following example from Lori, where she explains to me how the dumb female beer sales representative takes sales away from her, which is a disservice because she is more deserving seeing that she knows more about beer:

So I have no problem seeing people hire attractive people. Men or women. But at the same time, you really have to know what you’re talking about. I think that it is completely unfair. I had this talk with someone this week. I went into an account and he was like: “You are one of the only people that comes in here that knows what they’re talking about. I just bought something from this girl the other day because I was distracted.” That’s not any way to sell a product. It may get you a sale initially, but it doesn’t keep people buying your product...

The rejection and distaste for this type of beer representative seems to be used in a way that gives the female participants of my study more credit as legitimate craft beverage specialists, and not just a pretty face for their customers to admire. However, it also reinforces the stereotype as well. It is important to note that this stock character was also recognized by the men of my study. In this example, Matt tells me about the difference between the “pretty girls” and the ones that “actually know something”:

Especially women, I think women really have a different perspective. I wouldn't say they are bad, but I really wouldn't want to be a woman in this business... there are the pretty girls, and then the ones that actually know something. Yeah, it's night and day. Some really have no idea what they are talking about. It's a little frustrating.

Both men and women recognize this type of representative as prevalent in the industry and there seems to be a consensus that this type of representative is undesirable. Loseke (2019: 37) notes that the “villain” stock character is often associated with emotions of anger, disgust, and hatred. It seems that both the men and women in my study engage with these emotions while describing this type of representative to me. Below, Tom brings up how different wine companies hire good-looking women (or “smoke shows”) who have a competitive edge on all other representatives because of their looks:

T: Okay. So their big thing is~ I mean, it's not~ I don't know, their big thing is they hire hot chicks [laughter]. They call them the “[name of wine company] Girls.” So they hire these smoke shows, and it works. I mean, it works because~ this girl that's out in [name of Florida County], she has a lot of [popular wine brand] end caps. She deals with these old store managers that she just~ she has little glasses on and she's cute. And, same thing in [name of Florida city], there was this blonde chick that just crushed it; and they don't work hard.

E: They don't work hard?

T: They don't work hard. I mean, I really feel like that helps out, for sure.



Much of the disgust for these types of representatives seems to come from the fact that they do not work hard, but still get rewarded with the sales of their products. What is interesting however is that many of my participants described themselves as very successful in the industry. Many had won multiple sales awards and achieved honors in their companies and many had built their brands and sales territories far past what was once expected. This is all despite the fact that “dumb blondes” are supposedly out there taking sales away from them. The association of undeservingness and the “dumb blonde” sales representatives furthers the stereotype that certain women are unfit to do certain jobs. There was no mention of good-looking men relying on their looks to make sales. This association villainizes certain forms of femininity rather than focus on the role of the (presumably) sexist men that choose to engage with them solely because of their looks. This stereotype also creates an environment where some women may be automatically billed for a “dumb blonde” despite their dedication and knowledge of the beverage genre.

Another trend that arose when my participants were explaining the stock character of the dumb female sales representative was that they are a disservice to the industry because they make the real representatives look bad. They think they are ultimately unsuccessful, and will not succeed in the industry. For instance, Julie explains to me how she chooses to avoid the representatives that just use their looks to sell products:

I don't want to interact or work with the people who are doing a disservice to the industry. That would be a waste of my time. The woman thing is strong and prominent, and it is awful and it is disgusting. But, it is undeniable. And I feel like when I mention it, I am a little more level-headed about it compared to other people.

Lori explains how using pretty women to sell and promote products for companies will eventually stop working out for them. She explains how the buyers (or customers) will eventually realize this and stop buying product from them:

I think initially they will have the pretty girl come in and initially sell the product, and maybe do a tasting. And, it generally doesn't go very well. And after that they will probably pull back because they are like: "I don't really trust this company anymore because they are just sending me somebody who knows nothing, and has no clue about how to put in orders or knows about their inventory." And that's just not a good look for anybody.

This stock character is explained by my participants as not only just able to rely on their looks to attract customers, but also unable to do her job. More so, what seems to be happening is that my participants are using certain culturally appropriate and inappropriate forms of gender to construct themselves and their industry as creditable and note-worthy. Here Tom explains another example where this type of representative ended up failing:

But yeah, you definitely see it. This girl that I was~ she was a babe, she worked down in [a Florida city] with me, and she~ by the time~ that was my first job out there. So I was already there for a year, she got hired, six months later she got promoted to manager, area manager. And my wife and I went out to American Social, this is probably two years ago, and she's got to be 25, she's just out there crying and drunk as shit. I'm like, "Dude [laughter]."

Here Tom is explaining to me how the female representative (who was hired and promoted due to the fact that she was a "babe") ultimately was not prepared for the job, and was seen drunk and crying in the street outside by Tom and his wife at an important account in their territory. These examples illustrate how my participants construct and understand this type of representative as a failure. This perceived failure is also an obstacle that many people in the industry must get around. For instance, Roscoe (a white male fine wine and spirits sales representative) tells me how

many of the women he works with have to constantly work against the stereotype of the “bimbo” sales representative:

It’s just getting over that stereotype of “Oh here we go, they are sending me out the bimbo just to drool over and buy something from her.” You know? And then when they start breaking down and they start telling the account you know, “This and this” about the wine. And on occasion, knowing more about wine than the account does. They start to say: “Oh, these girls know what they are talking about.”

Roscoe recognizes the fact that women have to work hard to overcome the stereotype of not knowing anything about their products. He presents this as an obstacle that many women have to work around. Similarly, Lori tells me about how she has lost opportunities because of women representatives who are just given business because of their looks:

I’ve lost jobs to the pretty girl with the big boobs who when she got the job somebody said: “She couldn’t sell ice in the desert.” Like... So it’s just like I keep doing it ‘til that theory changes. Which, we’ll see if it does?

Lori infers that if she stays strong and keeps doing what she is doing (using skill and knowledge to sell products rather than rely on good looks alone) that she will hopefully overcome the representatives that are doing the industry a disservice. My participants explained that the attractive girl villain character does not only affect women; but they also present obstacles to men as well. George recalled some of the history of his job during an interview:

I took over this route from a girl. An attractive girl. And for the first 2 months all I heard was....especially from my male buyers: “Oh, you are not as good looking as so and so.” And I was like: “What do you want me to do? Walk in here with tight pants and my shirt unbuttoned?” But, I don’t know? I mean... I don’t think it affects it. I don’t think so. I think if you are genuine people will pick up on that.

So far, I have presented evidence that suggests that women cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry are divided in to two types of people. One type are the people who actually know about the product and are committed to their jobs and the industry at large. The other type

is perceived to be dumb, blonde, clueless, not committed, and only sells products because she is good looking (or a “smoke show” as one of my participants explained). This second type of representative presents an obstacle for all of the other representatives to have to work around. In the above excerpt, George explains how the obstacle can be gotten around if you are a genuine person. However, sometimes that genuineness does not always work out. Below, Tom tells me about a specific instance where an attractive female representative consistently gets business despite his genuine attempts at helping out at his accounts:

So my [grocery store] manager out in [Florida county]... I go in there every Tuesday and Thursday to~ I take care of everybody's wine. I put away - I'm not supposed to do that, but I do it, just because, whenever I need something they'll help me out - but I'm like, "Hey, have you seen," her name's Brenda; I'm like, "Have you seen Brenda lately?" He's like, "Who's that?" I'm like, "It's the [wine brand] girl with all the wine out there," he's like, "Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. No, she doesn't come in much." Like, "Oh, okay. Just checking." And I've talked to her before. I'm like, "Do you ever go to these [grocery stores]?" Because she has an end cap there of [wine brand], and she's like, "No, I never go in the stores." I'm like, "Okay, how'd you get that end cap?" "Oh, I just went in there one time and I was like, 'Hey, we have [wine brand] on sale right now,'" so I walked in the next day and we got [wine brand] sitting in the back. And that guy will not even talk to me.

My participants explain this type of representative as ultimately unsuccessful, but they do have some successes along the way, which are perceived to come at the expense of better/more deserving representatives. My interviewees do acknowledge some benefits of being an attractive female in the business of selling fine beverages, however those benefits are short lived.

One exception came during an interview with one of my participants named “Renee.” Renee (a white female fine wine event specialist) told me how she sometimes gets mistaken for a dumb girl when organizing and working wine and craft beer related events. However, she tells me that she sometimes uses this to her advantage. She recalled times when she played “the dumb blonde” in order to get out of having political conversations with her male conservative customers:

R: I play the dumb blonde, it works a lot better. I have no opinion whatsoever.

E: Tell me about the dumb blonde. Who is this person? Tell me more about that.

R: I just pretend like I know nothing. I say, “I don’t know. I don’t know of that. Oh, that’s happened. Oh, that’s cool.”

E: Why? Why do you do that?

R: Because I can’t be bothered to argue with them.

E: Why?

R: Because I take my sale off him and be happy about it when they leave. I let them think what they want.

Renee’s account shows how gendered presentations can be performed in a way that helps representative achieve certain outcomes while working in the industry. Renee’s gendered performance—in this case—was a tactic that she used to avoid ill treatment that may have transpired due to political conversations gone wrong. It was also a way for her to obtain a sale. In summary, my participants often framed different types of women sales representatives in the craft beverage industry. They frame one type (the dumb female representative) as the villain who presents an obstacle and a disservice to the industry. Women and men in the industry have to work to avoid being stereotyped and negatively affected by this type of sales person.

These undeserving sales representatives, as they are known, serve as more to my participants than just people who are bad for the business and obstacles to get around. They also serve as identity resources for cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry. In *Dude You’re a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*, C.J. Pascoe (2007) uncovered how young women (and more specifically young women’s bodies) were used as identity resources for young men in high school settings. Through interviewing and observations Pascoe (2007) found that young men

would boost their masculinity by constantly referring to young women's bodies in sexual manners and recount how they would dominate them. Pascoe (2007) argues that this is a way that high school age men re-inscribed hetero-masculine normativity in school settings. In a sense, my participants are using the character of the dumb blonde as an identity resource in which to boot their legitimacy as professional experts in their fields. By disassociating themselves with this type of representative, they are associating themselves with an informed and deserving type of sales person. The dumb blonde sales representative encompasses everything that a sales person should not be. According to my participants, they do not work hard, they are not committed to the success of their accounts or the industry, and mostly they are unknowledgeable about the products that they are selling. Knowledge seemed to be one of the things that was most important to my participants. Being able to know about where there products are from, the tasting profiles of each product and how to pair products with different cuisine were among the evident points of pride that my participants shared with me. By constantly referring to the dumb blonde representative, it is possible that participants were using this trope as an identity resource in which to boost their self-value in the industry. It is important to note that there are also racial connotations to the dumb blonde sales representative. This type of sales representative was oftentimes described as young, just out of college, skinny, attractive, and with blonde hair, which are all attributes associated with certain forms of white privileged femininity.

### *Tactics*

To avoid being mistaken for a dumb female sales representative, women in the craft beverage industry must use different tactics. The women of my study often recounted specific ways

that they would prove to their customers and co-workers that they were valid experts in their field.

For instance Julie tells me how she greets her friends and co-workers in the industry:

Which is why I've actually made it a habit to shake hands opposed to giving hugs. Most of the time male distributor reps will shake hands with other male reps. But, they go in for the hug with females. So every time I give them just as strong of handshake as they would expect from Bob or Harry or whoever the fuck...

I make sure to... even if they are going in for the hug I make sure that I give them the male equivalent, like the side hug, or the pat, the grab the shoulder. Just something that I think would represent how they would handle that with another man. Not the like "Arms up, arms down" thing with females. And it's weird because I'll take any of them.

Julie seems to be careful about her gendered self-presentation while conducting business with men. She uses certain ways of greeting (handshakes and side hugs) as a way to signal that she is not sexually available and to show that she is on the same level as her male counterparts. It is also interesting that Julie states that she would "take any of them" which she means that she is able to physically fight them if it came down to it. Comments like these make it seem important for Julie to be able to think of herself as on the same physical level as the men she deals with.

I was also told by some of my participants that they would sometimes outright say something if they thought they were being mistreated because they are women. Here, Amy tells me how she has addressed some of these issues as they came up:

A: Uh, it depends on who I'm in front of. If it's like, somebody in the industry or somebody that I know then I've got no problem being like, "You're not going to speak to me that way". Or, "I'm not comfortable with that statement" or...

E: Has that come up in the past?

A: Yeah, I wouldn't say frequently. There's been very few times where I've ever felt like I immediately need to be like \*makes noise\* "You're not gonna say anything like that to me." Um, you know, I've stopped going in to accounts before because I've either been the target of or witness of particular types of verbal banter, I guess, locker room talk um, where I've just been like, "It's not worth doing business."

Similarly, Julie chooses to speak up sometimes when she feels like she is being treated differently because she is a woman. However, Julie seems to like to use comedy:

Whereas a lot of the times male distributor reps and male account buyers will like put it down. And it's funny to me because if somebody is being really womanly about it, like making woman jokes, I'm like: "yeah, sorry if my period cramps are going to make this difficult for you Jerry." Like you know?

And it's... I think the more that women address it with being professional and strong about it... it helps.

Julie is describing situations when men bring up gender and/or start to talk lightly about women in the industry, which apparently Julie does not like to tolerate. She also calls on other women to speak up when they hear gendered injustices during their jobs. Finally, many women would tell me that they would have to work harder than men and overcompensate in order to be considered as legitimate professionals:

I feel like I have to overcompensate. I think I might try too hard in that aspect. I might try to over exert myself. I may promise too much product-wise. Or I may try and do too much. And I'll always fulfill it, but at the same time, it doesn't make it any better. I shouldn't have to over exert myself to put a product in because the rest of this industry is use to someone who is not doing their part...

Furthermore, Lori tells me that she oftentimes rejects help when she has to lift heavy objects (such as kegs and cases of product), which she feels establishes her as just as capable as a man:

I think that also helps with the gender role. I will be throwing around kegs and they will be like: "Oh do you need help?" And I'll be like: "No I do this all day. I don't need anybody to carry my kegs for me." But yeah, the manual labor thing is not so fun.

Women use tactics such as overcompensation, shaking hands instead of hugging, and doing their own physical labor in order to combat negative stereotypes associated with femininity in the industry. The use of these gendered tactics also seem to position them as different than the



dumb female sales representative. By using the tactics noted above, women can establish themselves as strong-willed, able-bodied, and not sexually available to men in the industry, which (according to the accounts of my participants) are traits that the other type of female representative does not have. These tactics construct legitimacy for women as cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry by distancing them from femininity.

*Character: The “Boy’s Club”*

In her work on the *Well Coifed Man*, Kristen Barber (2008) uncovers how men can gain gendered privilege by rejecting certain forms of masculinity. In her study, she explored how men use beauty salons and grooming techniques to position themselves against other classed/racial gendered identities. The men of her study used certain hairstyles and skin treatments as ways to align themselves with middle-class/white/masculinity and reject working class/non-white masculine identities. Barber’s work shows how there are multiple forms of masculinity. However, even by engaging in gendered practices typically associated with femininity (hair salons) men can still construct and maintain gender-based privilege. In this section, I show how both men and women locate and attach negative connotations to the boy’s club of the craft beverage industry. However, unlike the dumb blonde female sales representative of the previous section, men do not have to distance themselves from the sexist boy’s club to maintain themselves as legitimate experts of the craft beverage industry.

Here, when asked about the obstacles she faces being a woman in the industry, Julie describes how men tend to give other men opportunities which exclude her from the conversation:

The distributor reps, always like the male supplier reps. it’s so obvious. We talk about it all the time, the boy’s club. The males who work for [beverage distributor] hang out with, and drink with, and support the men who work for local breweries

more often than they do others... A lot of us female reps. we have our own little text message chat. We talk about it. The boy's club is real. It is really real.

According to Julie, this cycle of men favoring men in the industry leads to what she and my other participants call the "boy's club." This club acts as a barrier to women in the industry, and makes it hard for them to forge relationships with buyers and gain customers. The men of my study also recognized this trend. Take for instance Roscoe's account of the gendered aspects of his territory:

(Laughs) They called it the good old boy's club because it was probably 90-95 percent male. More so in the off premise, I'm on premise so, the off premise where they're humping cases in the Costco and Publix and everything like that. That was an extremely, might I say 90-95 percent male dominated culture. The on premise is less strenuous work so it's not as dominated, but it was still dominated by males probably 80-85 percent.

Roscoe indicates that the gendered landscape of the industry is changing for the better, but he still recognizes that certain sectors of the industry are dominated by men. This also uncovers some social class based aspects of the boy's club. Many of my participants explained that the boy's club mostly operated in "off premise accounts," which are accounts that do not have a liquor license that allows them to serve alcohol for consumption in their stores. The other types of accounts have "on premise licenses" which many times include high-end restaurants. Grocery stores and liquor stores are prime examples of off premise accounts, and these places—typically associated with a lower sophisticated consumers—often times can be very lucrative for sales representatives because they buy in large quantities (hundreds of cases at a time for example to fill displays). Whereas, on premise accounts can be very lucrative if you have many of them, but typically buy a lower quantity of product. In short, off premise accounts, which are dominated by

the boy's club are accounts where a lot of money is earned, which may restrict earnings for women in the industry.

The boy's club is also typically associated with members who disrespect and dismiss women representatives. Here, Jim explains how buyers who are men will sometimes not buy from a female sales representative because they do not want to talk beer (in this case) with a woman:

I don't know if it's that pre-note of that mid-twenties bartender that thinks he knows everything to listen to a female about beer. Because they think that they know everything... But on the rep side you still have that bartender that doesn't want to take... Like doesn't want to be talked to by a... I guess [sexist buyers] can relate more to a man than a female. But I don't know where to start with that. It's just like stupid. It's absolutely just ridiculous.

Jim's description insinuates that the boy's club does not only exist on the grocery chain side of the industry, but it also exists in the bar and restaurant world as well. As certain men do not want to do business with women, they favor men, which presumably creates a material disadvantage for women in the industry. The boy's club is something that many of my participants told me that you just have to deal with. For instance Vicky (a white female craft beer marketing specialist) tells me how it is just part of doing business:

There are dumbasses in the world that just want to make comments because you are a female... Um, yes. There is always going to be that person that wants to make that comment. I'm used to that. I was around professional athletes for a decade. That doesn't bother me. I can deal with that pretty well.

The boy's club and sexism in the industry at large did not seem like something that had to be changed by my participants. More so, like in Vicky's case above, it is something that people just have to "deal with." And in some cases, my participants who are men would identify with or at least understand the sexist acts of the boy's club. Take for example Roscoe's account below:

Exactly. It's like, if you're the buyer, I can just come in there and we can goof off and talk about whatever. We can talk about sports and what not. But, if you put in

an attractive girl with some wine in there, these older white guys are going to perk right up. I've had them say it you know... that: "I'm going to buy from her because she is a pretty girl. And it's no offense to you." And, I tell them that I get it. I'd probably buy from her too.

Roscoe's account provides an example of how many of my participants talked about the prevalence of masculinity and sexism in the industry. It is something that is understood and (in some cases) looked down upon, but I did not hear nor observe any indications that it is something that could be changed. In some cases, my male participants would recognize, and in part, boast about the advantages that they face in their jobs because of their male privilege. During an interview, I asked Jayson (a white male fine wine sales person) if his gender and/or racial identity ever came up during his job. He answered:

Well, I'm a 50-year-old, 6 foot 5, 275-pound white male. So in the convenience store world, it was very helpful. Just my sheer size and I drove a pickup truck. I can pull in front of any single convenience store, they all called me the wine guy and I can leave my doors unlocked. Everyone knew that I was bringing the products that they wanted, they knew who I was, they always asked me for samples. So I got along very, very good with all my market.

Here, Jayson credits his age, body size, racial and gender identities with his success. He gives credit to these features of his identity for making him relatable and safe when doing business in presumably low-income areas. When I asked Matt the same question, he responds similarly:

That helps me out big time. Being white and male. I mean come on! I mean, I'm a white male. I have everything going for me. As long as I'm not an idiot, I'm fine.

There is a difference between the way men and women talk about their gender identities and gendered expectations in the craft beverage industry. On one hand, women have to constantly fight against the stereotype that they are just some good looking, unintelligent, young women who is only employed because of her looks and not her skill. Women and men in the craft beverage industry talk about these types of dumb female sale representatives as a disservice to the industry

and an obstacle that they have to navigate around and in some cases, call out. Women in particular have to deploy certain tactics such as shaking hands firmly like a man, lifting their own cases and kegs, and just having to over perform in general to be able to avoid being associated with negative gender stereotypes. On the other hand, misogyny and sexism is recognized as well by both men and women. However, this is not something that seems to hinder men in the same way that negative feminine stereotypes affect women. Instead the boy's club is something that just has to be dealt with and it is not able to be changed by neither men nor women.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

In her work on “omnivorous masculinity” Darwin (2018: 311) uncovers how men do not have to choose between their “gender capital and their cultural capital” within craft beer cultures. However, women do. Women's gender capital may be questioned depending on what type of craft beer (or craft beverage) they choose to drink. In other words, different forms of masculinity do not pose a threat to men's masculine identities. Men can maintain their masculinity even if they choose to drink different types of beers. Whereas women's credibility is under threat depending on what type of beers they choose to drink.

Darwin (2018) found that men could engage in different beer drinking practices and they can evoke different forms of masculinities through their choices in beverages. For example, men could draw on and risk taking masculinity through drinking different types of I.P.A.s, traditional masculinities by drinking Lagers, and experimental masculinities by drinking fruit beers (Darwin 2018: 11). However, women risk being considered trashy if they consume a beer associated with traditional masculinity (such as Pabst Blue Ribbon Lager), and masculine if they drink a heavier

beer (such as a Stout or I.P.A.) (Darwin 2018: 10). Darwin calls this omnivorous masculinity to represent how men can preserve their gender capital through the consumption of different types of products, whereas women cannot in many cases.

The data that I have presented in this chapter can be looked at similarly to Darwin's findings. The stock character of the dumb blonde beer representative represents a type of femininity in the craft industry that poses a threat to women's gendered value in the industry. To maintain gender capital and to be considered legitimate experts, women must present themselves and consistently reinforce that they are hard working and committed to the industry. Women must enact certain tactics to distinguish themselves from negative forms of femininity. Women also have to work against what they call the boy's club which is described as a network of men that only do business with other men. Women do this to maintain their legitimacy as experts in the field and their gendered capital.

Men however, seem concerned with both the dumb female representative and the boy's club, however these gendered characters do not seem to pose a threat to their own gender capital. Men remain seen as experts and are granted respect in the industry despite the existence of these characters. They recognize that these people exist in the industry, and they paint them as villains (Loseke 2019) in many cases. But, in the data that I collected, it does not appear to have any consequence to their own gender capital nor their legitimacy as expert craft beverage specialists. In short, in an industry where women are more and more present numerically, masculine domination is maintained through assigning femininity as an obstacle, and masculinity as unavoidable.

In conclusion, this research contributes to the general understanding of how cultural intermediary work, and taste work more broadly, is a gendered process. In order for cultural

intermediaries to be able to manipulate tastes for products in consumer markets, they must first and foremost be seen as valid experts themselves. One of the main ways that they achieve this is through the negotiation and performance of certain culturally acceptable forms of gender. My goal was to provide evidence of this in the craft beverage industry, an industry where women must navigate a very masculine terrain. I have shown that in the case of both men and women cultural intermediaries understand, navigate, and perform gender in different ways as a mechanism to obtain and maintain value for themselves as legitimate experts of craft beverages.

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## Chapter 5: Conclusion

My hope is that I have further uncovered some of the ways that racial, ethnic, and gendered inequalities structure the seemingly mundane and benign corners of our everyday lives. Throughout each of the findings chapters I have uncovered different ways that white masculinity is used by my participants to imbue their products, practices and selves with a sense of value. Through the creation of spaces, the marketing and selling of products, and through certain ways of self-presentation, the representatives that I studied draw on narratives, histories and images that center and normalize a white masculine experience in the U.S. It is through these mechanisms of cultural mediation that whiteness works.

Reflecting on this project as a whole, one of the main themes that arose was the construction of tastes. Tastes are the currencies that consumer markets trade in. The industries that surround fashion, food, art, music, housing, and education (for example) all rely on the tastes of their consumers. Tastes however, are not static nor are they fixed in nature. Tastes are inherently social; they are fluid and ever changing, and they are malleable. Being social in nature, tastes are heavily influenced by the many institutions that surround us. For instance, wars, the economy, family structures, and the nation-state all affect what consumers want and need. The connections of these institutions to the desires of consumers have been widely researched. However, there is room for much more work that engages with the connections between taste construction and the social statuses of race, ethnicity, and gender. Tastes are constructed around the idea of who is worthy and who is not; who is valued and who is not; and who is legitimate and

who is not—which are all tenets of how race, ethnicity and gender operate in our stratified social system.

The knowledge generated by this dissertation enhances our understanding of how race and gender are reproduced within consumer cultural settings. Previous scholarship on the construction of white/masculine consumer spaces tends to focus on either the producer (institution) or the consumer (agent) as the responsible party for the reproduction of inequalities. However, these theories do not take sufficiently into account the cultural work that is being done in between these two entities. Cultural intermediaries play a big part in the practice of assigning racial and gendered meanings in consumer cultural contexts and reproduce inequalities through their work.

This work contributes to the study of consumer culture by focusing on one specific understudied type of cultural intermediary. Rather than focusing on the roles of advertisers, marketing analysts, sales consultants, and industry writers/critics (who have all been widely studied), I have focused my study on industry professionals who meet face-to-face with their customers, build relationships, maintain the shelves at accounts, and most interestingly, craft and share provocative stories and histories about the products they represent and who consumes them. White masculinity is transformed into a value marker in these face-to-face meetings, the ways that relationships are built, and how accounts are maintained. I have contributed to consumer culture literature by focusing on the types of cultural intermediaries who perform micro and interactional level work. I have uncovered the connections between race, ethnicity, and gender and narratives about products and specific consumers who will purchase them at any given establishment.

Through interviewing, I was able to capture how my participants understood themselves and the work that they did as connected to the industry at large. Through observations and go

alongside I was also able to observe them in action. Cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry are constantly on the go. They move from account to account and span many demographic regions during their daily work activities. Because of this, I was able to capture how the same products were being sold and marketed to customers across different racial/gendered, and class-based settings. Overall, my results show how race, gender, and class are heavily relied upon in many ways to assign value and legitimacy to the products, place, practices, and people of the craft beverage industry. This further uncovers the nuanced connections of social inequalities and consumer industries.

The analyses that I provided throughout this dissertation should be understood as coming from the experiences of a white man in the field. My positionality as a heterosexual white man had an impact on my experience in the field, how I conducted research, and the responses that my participants gave me. On one hand, my positionality led to me being perceived as normative in the settings of the craft beverage industry. Opportunities were given to me in the field that may not have been given to me if I identified with a marginalized identity. For instance, other white people (particularly men) most likely felt comfortable talking with me about topics such as gender discrimination because they may have perceived me as one of the guys. Because of instances like this, during my time in the field I was involved in the co-production of white masculinities with my participants which may be read in-between the lines of the data that I have presented. On the other hand, my positionality may have led to my participants withholding certain things from me. For instance, my participants may have spoken to me about their experiences migrating to the U.S. and being a Black woman in the industry (for example) in ways that they saw understandable to a white man. They may have responded differently to me if they had thought I could have

understood and personally connected with their experiences. The information that I may have missed due to my positionality is also a way that whiteness was co-produced throughout my research. Whiteness is often accomplished through the omission of the lived experiences and histories of people of color.

Throughout the rest of this conclusion chapter, I will present the specific aims and contributions from each of the findings chapters of this dissertation, detail the broader contributions of the dissertation as a whole, and offer directions for future research.

### **“Info Tells, Stories Sell”: Cultural Intermediaries and the Reproduction of White Space in the Market “Place”**

There is a lack of work that addresses how cultural intermediaries reproduce dominant class structures and how they draw on strategies of maintaining power to do so, even though the concept was originally meant to interrogate the formation of social inequalities (Foster & Ocejo 2014). Furthermore, there is a lack of research that addresses how cultural intermediary work interacts with social structures of racial inequalities. In this chapter, I addressed these gaps by exploring *how* whiteness—a state or condition of white racial domination where white values, ideas, aesthetics, preferences, and privileges are made to appear as the normalized, taken for granted basis in which to navigate the social world (Garner & Hancock 2014)—is reproduced within the craft beverage industry. My analysis reveals how this industry works to normalize whiteness within the larger narrative of the U.S. beverage market.

My findings in this chapter enhance an understanding of how whiteness is reproduced through consumer cultural contexts past a producer vs. consumer binary. I found that sales

representatives and marketers in the craft beverage industry use sales tactics (such as storytelling), product branding (such as products labels), and the built environment (such as decorations in breweries) in ways that imbue the spaces of the craft beverage industry with histories, values, and aesthetics that normalize, glorify, and prioritize whiteness. These practices construct the spaces of the industry into white places.

Future research can explore how whiteness is challenged and contested through cultural work within industries. For instance cultural intermediaries in the beer, wine, and spirits industry have taken to digital spaces such as Instagram to challenge white supremacy. Instagram accounts such as Black Food & Beverage (@blackfandb), The Wine Noir (@thewinenoire), and SwirlSuite (@swirlsuite) are dedicated to changing the narrative of the beverage industry and centering people of color who are vital to the industry's proliferation. SwirlSuite for instance publishes a weekly podcast that highlights people of color's experiences within the craft beverage culture. These accounts also promote Black-owned businesses and events that are directed towards enhancing the lives of communities of color through the craft beverage experience. Future work can be directed at how these cultural intermediaries can transform the white places of the industry into a more diverse and inclusive culture.

**“Why would you have a coconut rum with a palm tree on it made in Canada?” Ethnicity and value construction in the American craft beverage industry**

There are few works that explore how cultural intermediaries construct value and legitimacy for themselves as professionals in their markets by positioning themselves as ideal consumers (see Smith Maguire & Zhang 2017). However, the extent to which their own ethnic

identities play into this process has gone vastly understudied. Furthermore, many works have investigated how ethnicity is used in different ways to sell and market products. However, much of this body of work does not take into account the power differentials intertwined among different ethnic contexts globally or in the U.S. I address this gap within this chapter and explore the extent to which ethnicity is used in creating a sense of legitimacy and value within many facets of the U.S. craft beverage industry.

My findings uncover the vast extent to which ethnicity is intertwined throughout the cultural work of my participants while they gently manipulate tastes in their favor. They weave their own ethnic identities into their understandings of themselves in connection to their work. My findings also illustrate how European, American, and non-white ethnicities are used to add value to products, practices, and people in the industry. But, it is done so in ways that attach ideas of superiority to European places, progress to American places, and otherness to non-white places. This uncovers how white ethnicities are centered and normalized in the industry and non-white ethnicities are only valued based on their exoticness. This is one example of how ethnicity is deployed in the U.S. in ways that re-inscribe global power differentials.

Future research in this area can explore how cultural intermediaries can shift the focus away from Europe and the U.S., and highlight how beverages such as beer and wine historically originated and proliferated in parts of Africa and South America. Thousands of years ago, Egyptians invented what we know to be beer today (O'Brien 2006). Breweries such as Khonso Brewing Company in Atlanta Georgia highlight this historical connection between beer and North Africa. Representatives from this Black-owned and operated brewery frequents festivals and other beer focused events in order to educate consumers on the accurate and complete history of the

beverage genre. In another example, 5 Rabbits Cerveceria in Chicago, Illinois uses craft beer as a platform through which to spotlight the rich culinary histories of South America. The brewery uses stories and ingredients in ways that center the region's rich culinary traditions rather than ethnicize it. Future work can address how cultural mediation work can challenge how American and European ethnicities are centered in consumer contexts.

**“Sorry If My Period Cramps are going to Make this Difficult for You, Jerry:” The Gendered Experiences of Cultural Intermediaries in the Craft Beverage Industry**

Cultural intermediation in the craft beverage industry is ultimately a gendered process. In this chapter, I show how my participants consistently navigate gender in certain culturally appropriate ways during their daily experiences in their markets. With a few exceptions (Smith Maguire 2008, Sherman 2011, Barber 2016) the gendered aspects of cultural intermediation has gone largely under-explored. This chapter contributes to this much-needed area of research.

My findings suggest that sales people, marketers, and event specialists enact gender in certain ways in order to validate themselves in relation to the industry at large. I show how gender becomes a mode of value construction and legitimacy. This process is also informed by intersecting categories of identity such as race, class, age, and body type. This research adds to the field by providing empirical evidence on the interconnection of cultural intermediary work and gender.

Future work on the topics of gender inequalities in consumer culture contexts can investigate the role that cultural intermediaries can play in challenging oppressive gender norms that persist in cultural markets. For instance, during my fieldwork I came across an all-women craft beer-centered organization that serves to encourage involvement and interest in craft beverages

among women who are often an underrepresented group. The organization hosts meet ups at breweries and bars, monthly educational meetings, and home brewing classes for women. In another example, the Queer Brewing Project is a Twitter based organization that serves to raise awareness for and enhance the visibility of queer people in the beer world. This group promotes institutions and events where queer people are respected and represented, which is often not the case in the craft beverage industry. The field would greatly benefit by explorations into the potential transformative possibilities of cultural intermediaries—particularly in regards to gender representation and involvement in consumer markets.

### **Contributions**

Early whiteness scholars such as Roediger (1991), Frankenberg (2001), and Winant (2001) have made extremely important contributions to the study of whiteness and race more broadly. However, much of this early work is oftentimes abstract and lacks a clear vision of what whiteness looks like at the ground level, and how it works in everyday interactions and practices. More recent scholars of whiteness turn to consumer settings such as law schools (Moore 2008), country clubs (Sherwood 2010), and multi-ethnic/multi-racial neighborhoods (Burke 2013; Mayorga-Gallo 2014) to uncover these everyday operations of how racial hierarchies are maintained and reproduced. However, these works are geared towards a race-focused audience, and the authors do not explicitly or sufficiently address the consumer cultural aspects of their research. Furthermore, these works mostly focus on the agents or racialized/racializing actors of these settings (such as students, patrons, and residents) and the institutions that they operated within. Future work on whiteness



and racial power hierarchies must take into account the nuanced ways that power and agency operate in consumer settings past just what consumers and institutions do.

One way to achieve this is to research the role of cultural intermediaries in consumer arenas. Cultural intermediaries expose the vast amount of cultural work that is done in-between the buyers (agents) and producers (institutions) of consumer markets. However, current work that focuses on these market agents does not explain how they contribute to the reproduction of social inequalities. These works also tend to focus on intermediaries who have a broad reach, such as music promoters, marketing and advertising agents for large firms, or industry writers/critics. This leaves out many intermediaries that work at the ground level and represent their products through relationship building and interactions with their customers.

This dissertation contributes to the understanding of both how racial power differentials are actively maintained through everyday practices, and how racial, ethnic, and gendered inequalities can structure cultural work within markets. I contribute to the research on cultural intermediaries and consumer culture by showing how race, ethnicity, and gender play significant roles in how products are marketed and sold at the interactional level. My dissertation further adds to a small body of work such as Barber's (2016) work on men's beauty salon workers and Ocejó's (2017) work on cultural workers in upscale New York City shopping districts, that is dedicated to interactional intermediary work.

My work also contributes to this literature by showing how whiteness works in everyday settings at the ground level. Throughout this dissertation, I have given specific examples of how my participants draw on histories, narratives, and practices that center and normalize white masculinity. They do this through interactional level mechanisms such as the construction of space

and place, selling and marketing their products, and through their performances of self. I have contributed to the line of scholarship that explores race and consumer culture by showing that it is not just what consumers (agents) and producers (Institutions) do in consumer markets that reproduces power differentials. I have shown that the arbiters, tastemakers, and brand representatives in these markets play a large part in imbuing and reproducing inequalities through consumer culture.

### Conclusions

Together these three chapters enhance the understanding of how cultural intermediation and taste making in consumer markets is never separate from racial, ethnic, and gendered identities and inequalities. Furthermore, the evidence presented in these chapters uncovers the vast amount of cultural manipulation that is done in consumer markets past the producers' involvement and consumers' roles.

By exploring the work of cultural intermediaries in the craft beverage industry, I have uncovered how White/Ethnic/Gendered privilege becomes the main legitimizing factor for places, products, and representatives of the industry. Whiteness then can be seen as the taste that cultural intermediaries gently nudge or manipulate consumers towards—possibly intentionally or unintentionally. Whiteness is the currency that this market trades on.

One limitation of this project is that it focused on only one industry—the craft beverage industry. Future studies on cultural intermediaries and the reproduction of social inequalities would benefit from comparative investigations of multiple consumer settings. This may uncover how intermediary work is similar or different across interconnected markets, and how different

mechanisms of mediation are used to sell products in similar consumer spaces. Another limitation is that I did not fully capture the experiences of racial/ethnic minorities nor the perspectives of those who identify as LGBTQ+ in the craft beverage industry. This project was mainly centered on a white heterosexual norm. Future research can focus on the perspectives of people of color, ethnic minorities and LGBTQ+ identifying people to fully capture how race, ethnicity, gender and sexual identity is experienced and constructed in the industry (and industries alike). Lastly, this research was limited by geographical location. Consumer settings vary greatly across different locations in the U.S. For instance, it can be presumed that the craft beverage scene in Atlanta, Georgia would be different than the scene in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Future research could be directed towards exploring the difference and similarities between how the same products are represented by cultural intermediaries in different geographical areas.

Going forward, studies of racial, ethnic, and gendered inequalities in educational settings, work environments, and neighborhoods (for instance) should take into account the agents of those markets who are constructing and maintaining value for certain products, practices, and people through their work. It is in these seemingly mundane, benign, and often overlooked aspects of many of our daily lives where inequalities are being reproduced. And, it is in these spaces where inequalities can be contested and transformed into equality.

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## Appendix I: Fair Use Worksheets

## USF Fair Use Worksheet

The fair use exception was added to the Copyright Act of 1976 as section 107 and was based on a history of judicial decisions that recognized that unauthorized use of copyrighted materials were "fair uses." The distinction between fair use and infringement may be unclear and not easily defined. There is no specific number of words, lines, or notes that may safely be taken without permission. This worksheet is offered as a tool to help you determine if your use of copyrighted content is likely to be considered to be a "fair use."

Before you begin your fair use determination, ask yourself the following questions:

1. Is the work no longer protected by copyright?
  - a. Is it in the public domain?
  - b. Did I retain my copyright ownership over a work I created when signing my publication contract?
2. Is there a specific exception in copyright law that covers my use?
  - a. Does my use fit within Section 108 of copyright law: 'Reproduction by libraries and archives?'
  - b. Does my use fit within Section 110 (1) of copyright law: 'performance or display of works in face to face classrooms?'
  - c. Does my use fit within Section 110 (2) of copyright law: 'performance or display of works in online classrooms (also known as the TEACH Act)?' *see TEACH Act checklist*
3. Is there a license that covers my use?
  - a. Is the work issued under a Creative Commons license and can I comply with the license terms?
  - b. Do I have access to the material through library licensed content? *Ask your librarian*

If your answer to the above questions was no, then you should proceed with your fair use evaluation. Section 107 also sets out four factors to be considered in determining whether or not a particular use is fair:

1. The purpose and character of the use, including whether such use is of commercial nature or is for nonprofit educational purposes
2. The nature of the copyrighted work
3. The amount and substantiality of the portion used in relation to the copyrighted work as a whole
4. The effect of the use upon the potential market for, or value of, the copyrighted work

None of these factors are independently determinative of whether or not a use is likely to be considered fair use. In evaluating your use, you should evaluate the totality of the circumstances and consider all of the factors together. The Fair Use Worksheet will help you balance these factors to determine if your use of copyrighted material weighs in favor of 'fair use.' While valuable for your own documentation the Worksheet is not intended as legal advice, which can be provided only by [USF General Counsel](#).

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Reviewed by [USF General Counsel](#) 08/11/2015

## INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Erik Withers Date: 6.17.19

Class or Project: Doctoral Dissertation

Title of Copyrighted Work: Mouton-Cadet Wine Advertisement (Figure 1)

### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Research or Scholarship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work) <input type="checkbox"/> Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Bad-faith behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Denying credit to original author <input type="checkbox"/> Non-transformative or exact copy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Profit-generating use

Overall, the purpose and character of your use ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Factual or nonfiction <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Important to favored educational objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Published work	<input type="checkbox"/> Creative or fiction <input type="checkbox"/> Consumable (workbooks, tests) <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Large portion or whole work <input type="checkbox"/> Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the 'heart of the work') <input type="checkbox"/> Similar or exact quality of original work

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Reviewed by [USF General Counsel](#) 08/11/2015



Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No similar product marketed by the copyright holder <input type="checkbox"/> You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material <input type="checkbox"/> The copyright holder is unidentifiable <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	<input type="checkbox"/> Replaces sale of copyrighted work <input type="checkbox"/> Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing

Overall, the effect on the market for the original ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original ☒ likely supports fair use or ☐ likely does not support fair use.

*Note: Should your use of copyrighted material not support fair use, you may still be able to locate and request permissions from the copyright holder. For help on this, please feel free to [contact your Copyright Librarian](#).*

*This worksheet has been adapted from:*

Cornell University's Checklist for Conducting A Fair use Analysis Before Using Copyrighted Materials:

[https://copyright.cornell.edu/policies/docs/Fair\\_Use\\_Checklist.pdf](https://copyright.cornell.edu/policies/docs/Fair_Use_Checklist.pdf)

Crews, Kenneth D. (2008) Fair use Checklist. Columbia University Libraries Copyright Advisory Office.

<http://copyright.columbia.edu/copyright/files/2009/10/fairusechecklist.pdf>

Smith, Kevin; Macklin, Lisa A.; Gilliland, Anne. A Framework for Analyzing any Copyright Problem. Retrieved from:

<https://d396qusza40orc.cloudfront.net/cfel/Reading%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%20any%20Copyright%20Problem.pdf>

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Reviewed by [USF General Counsel](#) 08/11/2015



## INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Erik Withers Date: 6.17.19

Class or Project: Doctoral Dissertation

Title of Copyrighted Work: The Federalist Zinfandel Wine Label (Figure 2)

### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Research or Scholarship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work) <input type="checkbox"/> Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Bad-faith behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Denying credit to original author <input type="checkbox"/> Non-transformative or exact copy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Profit-generating use

Overall, the purpose and character of your use ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Factual or nonfiction <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Important to favored educational objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Published work	<input type="checkbox"/> Creative or fiction <input type="checkbox"/> Consumable (workbooks, tests) <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	<input type="checkbox"/> Large portion or whole work <input type="checkbox"/> Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the 'heart of the work') <input type="checkbox"/> Similar or exact quality of original work

LeEtta Schmidt, [lschmidt@usf.edu](mailto:lschmidt@usf.edu) and Drew Smith [dsmith@usf.edu](mailto:dsmith@usf.edu)

Reviewed by [USF General Counsel](#) 08/11/2015

Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No similar product marketed by the copyright holder <input type="checkbox"/> You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material <input type="checkbox"/> The copyright holder is unidentifiable <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	<input type="checkbox"/> Replaces sale of copyrighted work <input type="checkbox"/> Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing

Overall, the effect on the market for the original ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original

☒ likely supports fair use or ☐ likely does not support fair use.

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## INSTRUCTIONS

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Name: Erik Withers Date: 6.17.19

Class or Project: Doctoral Dissertation

Title of Copyrighted Work: Dogfish Head Theobroma Beer Label (Figure 3)

### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Research or Scholarship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work) <input type="checkbox"/> Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Bad-faith behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Denying credit to original author <input type="checkbox"/> Non-transformative or exact copy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Profit-generating use

Overall, the purpose and character of your use ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Factual or nonfiction <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Important to favored educational objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Published work	<input type="checkbox"/> Creative or fiction <input type="checkbox"/> Consumable (workbooks, tests) <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives) <input type="checkbox"/> Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	<input type="checkbox"/> Large portion or whole work <input type="checkbox"/> Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the 'heart of the work') <input type="checkbox"/> Similar or exact quality of original work

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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No similar product marketed by the copyright holder <input type="checkbox"/> You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material <input type="checkbox"/> The copyright holder is unidentifiable <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	<input type="checkbox"/> Replaces sale of copyrighted work <input type="checkbox"/> Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing

Overall, the effect on the market for the original ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original ☒ likely supports fair use or ☐ likely does not support fair use.

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## INSTRUCTIONS

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Name: Erik Withers Date: 6.17.19

Class or Project: Doctoral Dissertation

Title of Copyrighted Work: New Belgium La Folie Beer Bottle Label (Figure 4)

### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Research or Scholarship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work) <input type="checkbox"/> Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Bad-faith behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Denying credit to original author <input type="checkbox"/> Non-transformative or exact copy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Profit-generating use

Overall, the purpose and character of your use ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Factual or nonfiction <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Important to favored educational objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Published work	<input type="checkbox"/> Creative or fiction <input type="checkbox"/> Consumable (workbooks, tests) <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	<input type="checkbox"/> Large portion or whole work <input type="checkbox"/> Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the 'heart of the work') <input type="checkbox"/> Similar or exact quality of original work

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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No similar product marketed by the copyright holder <input type="checkbox"/> You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material <input type="checkbox"/> The copyright holder is unidentifiable <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	<input type="checkbox"/> Replaces sale of copyrighted work <input type="checkbox"/> Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing

Overall, the effect on the market for the original ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original ☒ likely supports fair use or ☐ likely does not support fair use.

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## INSTRUCTIONS

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Name: Erik Withers Date: 6.17.19

Class or Project: Doctoral Dissertation

Title of Copyrighted Work: "The Taste of a Maestro" Masi Wine Advertisement (Figure 5)

### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Research or Scholarship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work) <input type="checkbox"/> Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Bad-faith behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Denying credit to original author <input type="checkbox"/> Non-transformative or exact copy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Profit-generating use

Overall, the purpose and character of your use ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Factual or nonfiction <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Important to favored educational objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Published work	<input type="checkbox"/> Creative or fiction <input type="checkbox"/> Consumable (workbooks, tests) <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Large portion or whole work <input type="checkbox"/> Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the 'heart of the work') <input type="checkbox"/> Similar or exact quality of original work

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Reviewed by [USF General Counsel](#) 08/11/2015

Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No similar product marketed by the copyright holder <input type="checkbox"/> You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material <input type="checkbox"/> The copyright holder is unidentifiable <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	<input type="checkbox"/> Replaces sale of copyrighted work <input type="checkbox"/> Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing

Overall, the effect on the market for the original ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original ☒ likely supports fair use or ☐ likely does not support fair use.

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## INSTRUCTIONS

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Name: Erik Withers Date: 6.17.19

Class or Project: Doctoral Dissertation

Title of Copyrighted Work: Rogue American Ale Beer Bottle Label (Figure 6)

### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Research or Scholarship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work) <input type="checkbox"/> Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Bad-faith behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Denying credit to original author <input type="checkbox"/> Non-transformative or exact copy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Profit-generating use

Overall, the purpose and character of your use ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Factual or nonfiction <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Important to favored educational objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Published work	<input type="checkbox"/> Creative or fiction <input type="checkbox"/> Consumable (workbooks, tests) <input type="checkbox"/> Unpublished

Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Small amount (using only the amount necessary to accomplish the purpose) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Amount is important to favored socially beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lower quality from original (ex. Lower resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	<input type="checkbox"/> Large portion or whole work <input type="checkbox"/> Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it is the 'heart of the work') <input type="checkbox"/> Similar or exact quality of original work

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Reviewed by [USF General Counsel](#) 08/11/2015

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#### EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No significant effect on the market or potential market for the original <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No similar product marketed by the copyright holder <input type="checkbox"/> You own a lawfully acquired copy of the material <input type="checkbox"/> The copyright holder is unidentifiable <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	<input type="checkbox"/> Replaces sale of copyrighted work <input type="checkbox"/> Significantly impairs market or potential market for the work <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Affordable and reasonably available permissions or licensing

Overall, the effect on the market for the original ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original ☒ likely supports fair use or ☐ likely does not support fair use.

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Name: Erik Withers Date: 6.17.19

Class or Project: Doctoral Dissertation

Title of Copyrighted Work: Aye Que Rico Beer Bottle Label (Figure 7)

### PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
<input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Research or Scholarship <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or Comment <input type="checkbox"/> Transformative Use (your new work relies on and adds new expression, meaning, or message to the original work) <input type="checkbox"/> Restricted Access (to students or other appropriate group) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nonprofit	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment <input type="checkbox"/> Bad-faith behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Denying credit to original author <input type="checkbox"/> Non-transformative or exact copy <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Made accessible on Web or to public <input type="checkbox"/> Profit-generating use

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### AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
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#### EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
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Overall, the effect on the market for the original ☒ supports fair use or ☐ does not support fair use.

#### CONCLUSION

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☒ likely supports fair use or ☐ likely does not support fair use.

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<https://d396qusza40orc.cloudfront.net/cfel/Reading%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%20any%20Copyright%20Problem.pdf>

LeEtta Schmidt, [lschmidt@usf.edu](mailto:lschmidt@usf.edu) and Drew Smith [dsmith@usf.edu](mailto:dsmith@usf.edu)

Reviewed by [USF General Counsel](#) 08/11/2015

## Appendix II: Institutional Review Board Forms



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE  
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669  
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799  
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-7091

June 14, 2017

Erik Withers  
Sociology  
Tampa, FL 33612

RE: **Expedited Approval for Initial Review**

IRB#: Pro00031057

Title: "Crafting tastes: How do diverse cultural intermediaries interact with diverse audiences within the craft beer and specialty wine industries"

**Study Approval Period: 6/13/2017 to 6/13/2018**

Dear Mr. Withers:

On 6/13/2017, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above application and all documents contained within, including those outlined below.

**Approved Item(s):**

**Protocol Document(s):**

[USF IRB Study Protocol.docx](#)

**Consent/Assent Document(s)\*:**

[InformedConsentVersion#1.docx.pdf](#)

\*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab. Please note, these consent/assent documents are valid until the consent document is amended and approved.

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval via an amendment. Additionally, all unanticipated problems must be reported to the USF IRB within five (5) calendar days.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D.".

John Schinka, Ph.D., Chairperson  
USF Institutional Review Board



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE  
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669  
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799  
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-7091

5/29/2018

Erik Withers  
Sociology  
15115 Deer Meadow Drive  
Lutz, FL 33559

**RE: Expedited Approval for Continuing Review**

**IRB#: CR1\_Pro00031057**

**Title:** "Crafting tastes: How do diverse cultural intermediaries interact with diverse audiences within the craft beer and specialty wine industries"

**Study Approval Period: 6/13/2018 to 6/13/2019**

Dear Mr. Withers:

On 5/24/2018, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above application and all documents contained within including those outlined below.

**Approved Item(s):**

**Protocol Document(s):**

[USF IRB Study Protocol.docx](#)

**Consent/Assent Document(s)\*:**

[InformedConsentVersion#1.docx.pdf](#)

\*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab on the main study's workspace. Please note, these consent/assent document(s) are valid until they are amended and approved.

PI used an unapproved consent form with which to consent subjects. This non-compliance was not serious and not continuing; risk to participants was not changed. No further action is needed.

The IRB determined that your study qualified for expedited review based on federal expedited category number(s):

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with USF HRPP policies and procedures and as approved by the USF IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment. Additionally, all unanticipated problems must be reported to the USF IRB within five (5) calendar days.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D.".

John Schinka, Ph.D., Chairperson  
USF Institutional Review Board