CRAFTING CRAFT BEER BRANDS:
AN EXAMINATION OF IDENTITY, COMMUNITY, AND GROWTH IN ORLANDO AREA
CRAFT BREWERIES

by

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ABSTRACT

Beer is a commodity that has been produced and consumed by humans for millennia. Within the U.S., the craft beer industry has grown considerably over the last decade, accounting for 19% of all beers sales in 2014. Despite this increased market presence, craft beer marketing and production has received little anthropological consideration. To address this dearth of case studies, I consider the local craft brewery scene, or area of activity, in Orlando Florida. My 2016 ethnographic research reveals that the local craft brewery scene exhibits both variation in identity and community locations. Interactions among breweries present opportunities for local breweries to build and grow their brands. Collected data elucidate the choices and decisions that craft brewery operators consider when producing beer, developing facilities, and promoting their beers and brand images. I conclude that the breweries create brand identity and grow their customer base and distribution through planned decisions as well as reactionary choices based on outside events. Such considerations are relevant for understanding the formation of a business's identity and brand identity while producing a craftwork product, as well the communities of each brewery interact with communities outside of the specific scene.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The U.S. beer industry has experienced significant changes in the past decade including

gradual decreases in market demand and cash flow (Dunn & Wickham 2015:1). This decline in

market demand for domestic macro-brews can be linked in many ways to the rising popularity of

the niche craft beer market (Dunn & Wickham 2015:1). Domestic beer is often referred to as the

product of macro-brewing. That is, brewing that produces more than six million barrels of beer

annually (Avola & Mather 2016). Macro-brewed domestic beers include familiar names such as

Budweiser, Coors, and Miller (Avola & Mather 2016). This type of beer is often contrasted with

other macro-brewed beer produced outside the country (Johnson 2015:24). These alcoholic

beverages are referred to as import beers and include brands such as Guinness, Heineken, and

Corona (Johnson 2015:24). Craft beer, while still brewed domestically, occupies a different

category due primarily to its scale of production.

Craft beer as an industry is rooted in the popular pastime of home brewing. This activity

typically entails individuals or groups producing small batches of beer fully designed and created

for personal consumption (Poell 2008:1). Unlike traditional home brewing, whose distribution

and consumption takes place largely at the household level, craft beer exists on a much larger

scale. Specifically, craft beer reaches a higher number of consumers and requires specific

licensing from the city. Sales for craft beer can come from local establishments known as

brewpubs where beer is both brewed and sold, with the area where beer is served being known as

the taproom (Avola & Mather 2016). For some craft breweries, the taproom of the brewery

represents the full extent of their beer distribution. In other words, all sales happen in-store with

local distribution occurring only through the sale of tap-filled 32 ounce, 64 ounce, and one-

gallon glass containers known as 'growlers' (Avola & Mather 2016). Some craft breweries

operate on a much higher level with regional or national product distribution, which thereby,

categorizes them as micro-breweries as they still produce less than six million barrels annually

(Avola & Mather 2016).

Craft beer market growth has steadily increased over the last ten years with sales

accounting for 19 percent of all beer sales in 2014. This specialized market shows no sign of

slowing down, growing at a rate of 22 percent annually (Dunn & Wickham 2015:1). In the

realm of craft breweries, breweries in Orlando are relatively late bloomers. Despite boasting a

population of well over 250,000 people, and having a large tourism market showcased by

multiple theme parks and other popular destinations, the local craft brewery scene remained

relatively stagnant until around 2013 (Williams 2016). Before this, the region featured only a

small handful breweries that remained open for more than two years. As more craft breweries

open each year, it is important to understand how they gain and maintain their brand prestige and

increase their customer base in an increasingly diverse market.

My research focuses on examining the questions that both new and established Orlando-

area breweries must answer including: (1) choosing and developing their products; (2)

advertising and marketing their brands; and (3) selecting the size and location of their

establishments. By investigating these aspects of the local craft brewing scene, relevant findings

arise not only about how commodity producers market and design their products, but also how

these decisions are constrained by the legal designation of beer as a controlled substance that

limits the number of potential consumers.

In approaching my research, I hypothesize that the identity and growth of each brewery is a combination of active actions, those that are planned for to some extent, and reactive actions, those that are not planned for, taken by the breweries as a means of establishing their respective brands while also aiming for future growth. These actions may potentially be shaped by factors such as variation in breweries' identities along with connections among individual breweries, their regional communities, and the local craft brewery community.

In terms of thesis organization, I will first review academic literature from various disciplines related to the topics of craft beer, craft identity, and brand identity to provide the literary context for my own research among other academic writings. Next, I will provide an overview of the methods and materials used in my research, as well as an evaluation of research's limitations. After, I will present and evaluate research findings on craft breweries within the theoretical context of imagined communities and identity. Finally, I will synthesize my findings, and suggest some future research, as well as provide concluding analysis of my research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

There has not been an overwhelming amount published by anthropologists and other sociocultural researchers about craft breweries within the available scholastic literature. One work, though not directly anthropological, is from Gomez-Corona et al. (2016). Their study focuses on the changing dynamic between craft and industrial beer for consumers in Mexico. Their findings suggest that 35 percent of respondents consume craft beer. Research subjects list 43 different brands that they purchase and consume. Those who consume craft beer view it as a of higher quality product and as an experience of trying new things.

One work that focuses on similar ethnographic work, though not within the same subject area, comes from Beriss and Sutton (2007:1-16). Their edited volume discusses the ethnography of restaurants which they refer to as spaces where aspects of economic life include forms of exchange, modes of production, and symbolic consumption. In the volume's forward, they analyze the history and rise of restaurants globally and discuss topics such as the ritual space of restaurants, authenticity, nostalgia, and relationships between ethnicity and dining out. Through their brief examination of these subjects, they illustrate the wide variety of anthropological research that can be conducted within the context of restaurant ethnographies. This is similar to the methodology I took in my own research, where I conducted ethnographic work to examine identity creation establishment of and community connections in similar spaces.

When discussing a retail business, in this case craft breweries, the concept of identity, specifically brand identity, can become somewhat complicated as it implies giving a human emotion to a non-human entity. However, this can be resolved by examining brewery identities through the lens of 'personhood.' As discussed by Gillespie (2001:75) personhood derives from

"relationships between different persons, persons and groups, different groups…, and people and objects." In the case of craft breweries, the relationships that form the brand identity of the brewery come from the relationships, experiences, and interactions among owners, bar staff, and brewers, the consumers, and the physical objects such as beer, tap handles, tap room, and the brewery building itself. This is demonstrated through the choices in beer style and names, as well as the layout, design, and furnishing of the brewery and taproom

The community of craft breweries can be approached through the idea of imagined communities as defined by Anderson (1991). Imagined communities comes from the idea that nationalism is imagined because even though the members of a nation will never all meet one another, they still share the image of communion in their mind (Anderson 1991:6). This idea is visible with craft breweries, who's customer base may never all meet each other, but do consider themselves members of the brewery they support. Additionally, each brewery links their own imagined community with other imagined communities through events and collaborations, where the brewery's partnership with another group brings that group into the brewery's imagined community, thus increasing their customer base. By being considered a part of a community through actions and interactions, a brewery, and by default the customer, becomes part of the shared communion which allows them to connect with that other group.

In addition to the idea of community, the concept of place is also important to craft breweries, as discussed by Fletchall (2016). In his analyses of how Montana craft breweries are place-making entities he explains that place "comes into existence when meaningful experience is attached to a particular location." (Fletchall 2016:539). According to Fletchall (2016) the act of drinking a beer at a craft brewery is then an act of place-making through the act of beer

consumption. Craft breweries then further enforce this experience through brewery images and naming trends. When someone goes to drink a beer at a craft brewery, they are not only having the place-making experience through drinking that brewery's beer, but also through the unique situation of the surroundings in which the experience occurs.

Place as a concept is further expounded on by geographers Gatrell et al. (2017) in their research regarding craft breweries as branding spaces. One framework they discuss is neolocalism, where residents seek out regional and local attachments as a delayed reaction to the destruction of traditional community bonds (2017:3). This shift in priorities has led to emphasis on practices such as farmer's markets and can be applied to craft beer as well. Since the concept is multi-scalar, and can go from neighborhood, to city, to state level, Gatrell et al (2017) suggest that it is applicable to craft breweries who appeal to customers on those levels of neolocalism. Doing so not only shows in branding, but also focus on socially constructed authenticity, where the consumer views the brewery's product as authentic. These ideas translate into my research, where multiple breweries interact with consumers based on those consumer's view of the brewery as being authentic and local.

Sociologist Thurnell-Read (2014) examines how craftwork serves as an antidote to the feelings of alienation from modern capitalism. Such sentiments allow small scale breweries in the United Kingdom to emerge. Craftwork within Thurnell-Read's (2014:1-2) paper was identified as a product made "with skill and care by an identified person who utilizes craft knowledge." This contrasts with modern forms of work where Thurnell-Read believes work is "lacking in beneficial human qualities such as individuality, creativity, and autonomy" (2014:2). This engagement in the process of beer production, alongside the passion, skills, and sense of

reward attained through creating such craft products informs the identity of both craft beer and craft breweries. Additionally, this ability to capitalize on the individuality and creativity required for beer craftwork leads to diverse identities within the brewing community.

Hede and Watne (2013) explore the humanization of brands in craft brewing. They suggest that since brands are inanimate objects, the only means of effectively reaching consumers is to create emotional connections. Such linkages are accomplished through several means including anthropomorphism whereby brands are associated with human or iconic symbols. Examples of this include the Red Bull® logo or the Golden Arches'® corporate mascot of Ronald McDonald®. Other methods of fostering this connection entail both the personification of specific brands by referring to them with particular adjectives that relate to human traits and user imagery in packaging or product design that matches the personality of the consumer to the brand, such as Kentucky Fried Chicken's "finger lickin' good" tagline.

User imagery in product design for beer informs the work of Kaplan (2015). He discusses how craft breweries use labels to capture consumer attention in a growing competitive market. Some breweries create labels with a distinct tactile finish or varnished look to entice consumers to sample their products. This attention to detail in labeling is a large part of both brewery and brand identity.

Another aspect of brand identity for craft breweries is the beer itself. Cardello et al. (2016) examines some of the cognitive and emotional differentiations associated with beer consumption in New Zealand. Their work delves into the relationship between consumer views of familiarity and novelty in beer and how these perceptions affect attitudes towards the craft products. They suggest that ostensibly complex beers (e.g., those that are novel or unique) are

seen by consumers as better and more fitting for special occasions, while simpler beers (e.g., those that are ordinary or familiar) are appropriate for more casual situations (Cardello et al. 2016).

Beyond craft beer brand identity, ideas of community also inform how these products are conceptualized and marketed. Work from Clemons et al (2006) focuses on online reviews in craft brewing. Based on their background in information technologies and marketing, their work examines how online reviews evaluate the variations of beer and how the relationship between consumer knowledge and product variation is affected in online and real word contexts. Their findings suggest that while high scoring product reviews offer a good indication for future rapid growth, poor scoring reviews do not provide adequate indication of low future sales. Additionally, they find that it is more important to have a smaller number of customers who love the brand than a larger number of customers who are less enthusiastic supporters. This is interpreted to mean that it is important for breweries to craft beer that at least a portion of people will love rather than a large selection of beer people find passable.

Another aspect of today's craft beer community involves beer tourism. However, this niche sector of U.S tourism does not yet approach the status of most German beer festivals such as Oktoberfest or craft beer destinations in Amsterdam (Loftus 2010). Research from Kraftchick et al. (2014) analyzes the factors and demographics that characterize craft beer tourism in North Carolina. Besides beer products, the process by which tourists select their drinking locations and how these choices interact with other destinations within the area are examined. Their findings suggest an overlap between the niche of beer tourism and other areas that are usually associated with U.S. tourists, such as theme parks and landmarks.

The literature on craft beer community and brand identity compiled by scholars provides insights into different areas that facilitate and affect the craft beer market. Currently, however, only minimal attention focuses on how breweries decide among these major choices for their brand and how the combination of choices affects future plans for the growth of the breweries. With this thesis, I am to address these gaps in the literature.

In the next chapter, I explain the methodology and analytic strategy that I use in my research. I also examine the potential limitations of this research endeavor.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The focus of this study is how identity, community and place-making reflected in craft branding, consumer interaction, and growth of the local craft beer market. I surmise that the active and reactive actions a brewery makes during its operations forms its brand identity and affects the breweries growth. From this, I predict that the choices each brewery made before and during my research are represented in their brand identities and the amount of growth each brewery experienced. To test this, I gathered information about the brewery venues, beer selections, beer naming, and distribution choices made by each of the participant breweries within my research area. Once this information was gathered, I analyzed it using the theoretical frameworks of identity, community, place-making, and location to assess the validity of my hypothesis.

Information was obtained through traditional anthropological techniques including structured and semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Additionally, I participated in several craft beer activities and festivals to better observe both interactions between breweries and their clientele and among various local breweries. By engaging with the local craft beer community in this way, I developed access to interview participants at my field sites.

Brewery owners, management personnel, and brewers were approached through emails and informal conversations to obtain their permission for structured interviews. Any information obtained from informal conversation with these individuals was supplemented by information from brewery bartenders, who provided additional insight into the establishment of brand identity within the breweries through accounts of where beer names had come from, and what

styles of beer were being released. Participant breweries were discovered through contacts in the Orlando craft bar industry made through previous academic work at the University of Central Florida. These contacts included bartenders who provided a list of breweries already in business along with breweries that might soon be opening.

In total, seven formal audio interviews and three informal written interviews were conducted over the five-month period of research from May to September 2016. During this time, field sites were given color coded names (e.g., Red Brewery, Blue Brewery) and participants were given code names to maintain their privacy and anonymity.

Analysis Strategy

Information obtained from interviews underwent coding with terms related to the construction of brewery brand identity, such as choice, style, and events as a means of facilitating analysis about the validity of my hypothesis. The terms of identity, community, place, and location were evaluated using the literature previously discussed in Chapter 2. Growth of the breweries was measured in terms of the increase in how much beer the brewery was producing (e.g., kegs of beer) as well as level of distribution, and number of promotional events the brewery could viably participate in. Coding in this way allows me to better map out the decision-making processes that were emphasized by each brewery and any overlap among the breweries when trying to establish their brand identity and consumer interactions to increase growth. This became important for understanding how and why brand identity and community connections are established by craft breweries, and what implications they had for helping or hindering a brewery's growth in business. Data related to the subjects of economic revenue and

revenue growth for the breweries were not obtained in this study. These were not included in this study as the focus is on how choices affected identity formation and community connections. I believe that presenting financial earnings alongside the data would unintendedly impose a hierarchy of which decisions were better based off the economic gains rather than the construction of identity, community and place.

Limits and Implications

This study is limited in both the scope of field sites and research duration. First, among my field sites I was unable to find a brewery that had failed or was failing. This was likely due to the activity of craft breweries in the Orlando area being quite new with many of the businesses not having had enough time for poor decisions to result in closure. Also, any breweries that did close or go out of business before my research were not discussed or mentioned by any of the participants at the breweries in my research, leading me to believe that such establishments did not affect the decisions of the research participants. In addition, the lack of established breweries (e.g., those breweries in operation for more than 2 years in a full-scale site) in the city limited the amount of information I was able to gather concerning how brand identities change over periods of time greater than one year, if they change at all. This also affected my ability to assess the type of decision making that prompted and directed changes to guarantee long term success.

In the next chapter, I provide my primary research findings. Each research participant is presented in their own subsection with their identity formation and connections to their imagined communities analyzed and discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

In this section, I will introduce, compare, and contrast the six different breweries from my study. Analysis will focus on the breweries' formation of brand identity, connection with imagined communities, and potential, as well as actual, growth as indicated by increased production and distribution of beer from the breweries both over the course of my study and in the future.

Blue Brewery: Moving up and out

Within northern Orlando area's local brewpub scene is Blue Brewery, a brewery that has been in operation for five years, with three of those years in its current location and two when it was being run out of a small house. The current brewery layout was designed and created by one of the owners, Chuck, a man in his 30's that has spent most of his life in the area, and his uncles. Design elements were deliberate, while others were developed by chance. For example, Blue Brewery's tap handles are wooden spools found by Chuck during his time in construction. He painted them with black chalk paint and had the beer titles chalked onto them in various colors.

Arguably the most important aspect to the brewery's brand identity is the beer they craft. Since there are many different beers styles the way a brewery crafts its products is key to constructing their brand identity. Blue Brewery's beer menu is constantly changing. For the greater part of my research study, the brewery did not have any "core" beers that were constantly kept on tap. Chuck explains that the increase in space after the brewery's move to their new

location unleashed the brewer's creativity. An increased amount of equipment allowed them to make smaller batches and do "fun stuff."

This creativity is on display in the rotating selection of draft beers on tap from month to month. Different styles are available and variations on brewed beers previously are offered at special events, or as a normal part of the tap line up. These styles come from "crazy minds thinking of crazy things" as Chuck put it. With his two head brewers coming up with crazy and novel ideas, Chuck gives them the leeway to pursue what might be considered less conventional styles and recipes.

Marketing design also contributes to beer and brewery identity. Most of the artwork and logos for the brewery, including bottle labels and artwork for the aluminum cans used for distribution, as well as shirt designs all come from someone that Chuck knew while growing up. Chuck and his brewers also sometimes contribute ideas. Having one artist is beneficial as it gives the brewery a level of consistency and reliability with their logos.

Distribution for the brewery has grown since their move to the newer and larger facility. During my research, they purchased a canning line machine to increase distribution beyond just kegs and growlers. Cans were chosen over glass bottles due to their ability to preserve beer freshness and filter out natural light which can affect beer taste and quality. Chuck is also a proponent of cans because "a can is more acceptable than a glass bottle…plus you can put a whole six pack in a cooler and be gone." This shows an understanding not only of the efficiency and virtues of one form of packaging over another, but also an awareness of cultural perceptions of different forms of beer containers.

For its first batch of canned beers, Blue Brewery selected the highest selling styles they currently produced, and then put in additives in case anything went wrong during production. Also, the first batch was only available for in-store purchase, with subsequent batches distributed to locations such as ABC liquors and Publix. Chuck discusses the benefits of finding the right distributer. The one the brewery eventually selected has connections with several high-end craft beer bars. He explains how other establishments such as sports bars do not want to deal with multiple beer distributers as this becomes difficult to manage. This can affect the ability of a brewery to get on tap at certain locations since they must fight for space with other distributers. Of equal importance is the brewery standing out within their own distributer's selection, since a bar will have a list of all the beers from the breweries that have contracts with a certain distributer.

Blue Brewery's current distributer also allows for the possibility of distribution in other states, since they have contacts with another distributer in North Carolina. The brewery also wants to fill in distribution gaps within Florida before moving product into North Carolina and Georgia. Chuck is also excited about local brewing's future saying that although Orlando's scene may not have yet reached the level of a major brewing city such as neighboring Tampa Bay, but "give me two years." Such sentiments convey Chuck's confidence in both the overall growth of the craft beer market, but more importantly the growth of the local market.

However, not everyone at Blue Brewery is necessarily optimistic about the future expansion of the brewery and craft beer in general. Tony, one of the head brewers, said he lives in "constant fear that all of this will come crumbling down." Part of this fear comes from the merger of Anheuser-Busch's holding company, InBev, with SABMiller which meant that the

conglomerates in charge of Budweiser, Miller, and all other affiliated beer brands consolidate to become the brands in America, China, and Europe.

The merger of these large domestic beer brands led the merger of the "crafty" brands, such as Shock Top and Goose Island, which the holding companies also own. Tony explains that many conglomerates are buying craft beer brands as well as cold shelf space in stores at a price that local breweries cannot afford. This gives them an edge in marketing their products. He also expresses concerns about what he feels is an inevitable crash in the craft beer market. According to him, the only companies left would either be larger ones that could handle the market shift, or smaller breweries that made good craft beer.

When creating the brewery's second location, one of the owners, Chuck, wanted the new site to have a spot for local art and artists. To that end, the bar not only has audio and visual setups for bands that perform each weekend, but also opportunities for local artists to show their work each month. Chuck's reasoning for wanting to appeal to this community came from his own involvement in the arts:

> "As an artist, growing up I always had a problem going to show my art somewhere. So, they wanted money up front, money if you sell it, just money, money, money, money. So here, I want the artist to feel comfortable coming in knowing that, there's nothing. You don't have to pay me anything and we'll hang your art, cause it looks cool."

In many ways, a parallel can be drawn between the creativity and artistry on display in the brewery's taproom and that taking place behind the scenes with the crafting of each new batch of beer. Having this connection to the imagined community of artists allows the brewery to engage and collaborate with customers and artists in a way that other breweries do not. While the bands may range in quality, and the art shows vary in themes and styles, they still foster a connection between the brewery and the local artistic community.

All of Blue Brewery's art events support local charities. Accordingly, the brewery also sponsors other promotional events with neighboring businesses. Chuck has lived and worked in the area for almost 25 years. These events support the argument that Blue Brewery is a member of the local imagined community as defined by Anderson (1991) because of its contributions and the owner's familiarity with those who live there. Blue Brewery gains a presence and people who consider themselves part of the area's community view the brewery and its workers as fellow members because of their positive actions, thus bringing Blew Brewery into that shared communion.

Blue Brewery also interacts with the local craft beer community. This is a community of like-minded business practitioners but not outright competitors. This represents a community where the members help one another to positively contribute to the community. To quote Brandon, a manager at Yellow Brewery, "We are able to call each other up, any day any time and say 'Hey, I need help can you help me' and it's never a 'no', it's 'yes we can help, we can help.'" Breweries often consult each other about the beers they are trying to craft. Startup breweries often seek out established ones for help and advice. Over time, this expands the community and helps attract more customers. Chuck states that the inclusion of guest taps, which are beers on tap that are from other craft breweries, and bottled craft beer at his brewery is done to honor the other people in the industry. More recently, the brewery has begun to move away from guest taps and bottles as they expand their own selection of taps and canned beer. This is an imagined community because new members do not have to physically meet existing members to be a part of the communion, but are accepted upon setup. Afterwards, they are considered a part of the community due to being a fellow member of the local craft beer community.

These imagined communities come together at certain times, notably at the beer festival sponsored by Blue Brewery in summer 2016. In this instance, event proceeds went to a local charity, which provided staff to work the registration table and distribute wristbands to those participating in the event. This was combined with the craft brewery community, of which 22 breweries from Central Florida region participated after Chuck had reached out through phone call and emails. Other local businesses were present as well. They were granted places to set up their stands in exchange for a recommended donation to the event's benefactor. Overall, the festival raised over $8,000, and is a prime example of the imagined communities of both the local area and the craft breweries coming together as a means of both helping a local charity and further promoting craft beer within the Orlando area. By coming together at the festival event, the imagined communities form an even larger idea of Anderson's (1991) nationalism, as both groups share the image of communion with one another because of the shared goals of promoting beer and helping a charity.

Besides beer festivals and concerts, Blue Brewery also offers an ever-changing lineup of weekly and daily specials such as discount pitchers or free pints with the purchase of a beer flight, a selection of four to five beers served in six ounce glasses. Offerings like these help the brewery to build connections with their clientele, rewarding them for showing up multiple times during the week. This adds not only to brand identity, since Blue Breweries' specials are specific to their location, but also community and place-making as well. Clientele form a community connection by experiencing the act of place-making in a shared space.

Blue Brewery also has limited release bottles and beer batches to commemorate special occasions. To celebrate American Craft Beer Week, which runs for one week each May, Blue

Brewery developed a bottle line of three limited saison beers to commemorate the event, though Chuck added that "American craft beer should be all year." The brewery offered an even bigger selection of beers for their fourth anniversary party that was held in September. The event featured over 30 limited release selections strategically released on tap throughout the day with several of the beers being small batches or batches that had been brewing for up to nine months before the event, with the brewers "brewing their asses off" according to Chuck, to get all the beers ready by the anniversary date. Chuck states that the event represents the best day ever for the brewery in terms of attendance. Having so many beers also allowed for many of the brewery staff's ideas to be used to fill out the lineup of 30 beers, thus adding diversity to the beer identity of the brewery. Additionally, the beers on tap that day had their own brand identity as they were brewed in honor Blue Brewery's success. Those who participated in the event also formed their own community and the celebration is a great place-making experience for those in attendance.

The Blue Brewery's community connections with local food trucks and restaurants from their smaller first location transferred to the brewery's larger second space. When Blue Brewery moved into the larger send location, there was a smaller shop area available next door and a taco shop followed the brewery's move. An archway was constructed between the two establishments, allowing patrons to get both food and beer when visiting the brewery and eliminates a need for the brewery to provide food for customers, thus giving them the ability focus their time and resources on crafting beer. Through this connected space, the smaller imagined community of customers from the taco shop became physically connected to the community of customers Blue Brewery, thus leading to a greater imagined community.

<u>Orange Brewery: Stick to the plan</u>

Orange Brewery is an example of a brewery that strives to establish a clear identity from its inception. This brewery began operations in the spring 2016 in a strip mall to the south of downtown Orlando when it was opened by three entrepreneurs with considerable hospitality and management experience. Orange brewery has a large open taproom with numerous tabletops as well as bar and lounge areas. One of their major considerations for crafting a viable brand identity involves establishing the brewery's service element. According to Keith, one of the owners in his 50's, this is done by hiring employees they feel will "spend time connecting with our guests and building our brand for them." The owners' previous hospitality and management experience helps them prioritize the service aspect of the brewery as a means of establishing the brewery's brand identity through positive interactions between their customers and their staff. Their focus on hospitality adds to the place-making experience that the clientele have at Orange Brewery, which in turn further adds to the brewery's identity. This emphasis is also present through the fact that they refer to the customers as 'guests' to drive home the idea of positive service and creation of a unique place-making experience.

For Orange Brewery, the choice of which beers to craft comes from a creative license on the head brewer's part combined with a framework provided by Keith. At first however, the brewery started with a much more focused set of beers. When the brewery first opened, it offered only six selections of beer. They wanted beers that, as Keith states, "were approachable for almost anybody, we didn't want to get into anything that was just uniquely for a small group." Though this selection process helps to widen their potential customer base it does go against concepts of neo-localism and identity as the brewery is not connecting their beer selection for the

tastes of the local community and does not develop a specific identity since the beers styles are meant to be for anyone. They also focused on building a large store of these six beers ahead of time, after seeing other breweries that ran out of beers due to offering too many styles or not preparing enough in advance. This again goes against concepts, such as Thurnell-Read's (2014) definition of craftwork, where craft knowledge is used in creation of the beer, as the building up of several kegs of beer, while not at the levels of macro breweries, does appear more along the modern capitalist approach to brewing.

Eventually, the brewery did branch out and give the head brewer more license to be creative, though arguably still not truly craftwork. As Keith says "that framework really is that I want all my beers to be approachable...I'm not looking to produce an alcohol that is a niche beer or a small segment of the population." Offering beers along styles that are deemed "approachable" detracts from the autonomy and creativity of brewing, and while the brewer does have a certain level of both, the implementation of a framework does reduce the craftwork presented in the beer. In many ways, the brewery sacrifices aspects of its "craft" identity in order to create one of being enjoyable to everyone because it is not too special or niche.

Arguably of as equal importance as the beer itself is the product's name, which is where the distinctive identity of Orange Brewery is truly formed. Craft beer gives people an opportunity to express their creativity. At Orange Brewery, most beer titles are created because they "one, mean something to one of the partners or, two, mean something to the neighborhood." Sentiments like these suggest that the names are influenced by the owners' personal experiences either at the brewery, or are named after landmarks or street names located nearby. The latter

helps Orange Brewery connect with the local community through neolocalism, with the beer labels showing a tie to the local community.

Along with promoting brewery service, the brewpub owners also craft their identity and place-making through bar layout and interior design. They purposely bought a larger space to accommodate Friday and Saturday crowds even though it makes the room look emptier on slower days. They also have specific ideas for furnishing, electing to use unique tabletops and other items they made themselves over, as Keith says, "a lot of store bought stuff that looked like it was cookie cuttered into a place." Such approaches give the taproom a non-corporate look with "natural blemishes," they feel are important to the brewery site. As Keith tells me "are they perfect? No, but they aren't supposed to be perfect." Efforts like this contribute to their brewery's brand identity per Gillespie's (2001) idea of personhood, as the identity is formed through the owners' interactions with each other and the material culture they use to decorate the brewery.

When the Orange Brewery owners considered their brewery's location, they had five key criteria. According to Keith, they "got four of the five with this site, which was pretty good." One criteria was the potential neighborhood site. They wanted to craft an image of a local brewery that is accessible to those living nearby whether though walking, riding their bikes, or driving. Establishing this accessibility in a high resident area was important to building that local feeling so that customers "could call it 'this is my craft brewery.'" Like Blue Brewery, they wanted to connect with the local community. They did so by locating in an area that was readily available to those close by. This was furthered by tying the identity of their beers to the surrounding landmarks, both of which are efforts to build that connection with their neighbors.

These are further examples of forming that neolocalism connection as discussed by Gatrell et al. (2017), with Orange Brewery positioning itself so it could be viewed as local and authentic through its location within the community.

The second criteria was loosely tied to the first. The owners wanted the brewery to be situated along a busy street to attract passing traffic. The third criteria emphasized the need for "significant parking." Keith's personal frustrations with visiting breweries that offered little in the way of parking park during peak times influenced his decision to locate their brewery in a strip mall with ample parking. The final criteria that Keith deemed essential was a location near downtown Orlando. Even though the brewery is situated several miles away from the city center, he believes they can still draw consumers from downtown. Of the five criteria listed, the only thing that Orange Brewery's site location did not provide was a nearby event or landmark close by that would naturally attract people. Keith cites the example of train stations and bike trails as examples of features that already have a natural draw.

The above criteria show the amount of foresight that goes into planning for a new brewery operation in an urban setting, like Orlando. Keith, along with the other owners, utilized previous work experience and knowledge to develop a list of features that they felt would position the brewery in an optimal location for success. By implementing it, they put themselves in a location that possesses accessibility from local and downtown customers, drive-by traffic which could increase visibility of the brewery, and enough parking to ensure that those who decided to drop by were not deterred from visiting. All of this positioned them so that they and their brewery interact with large customer base, while at the same time giving them a neo-local identity and overlap with imagined communities of the surrounding area.

The Orange Brewery's tap handles also convey a much about the brewery's identity. Like the furniture, Keith says that the tap handles are hand crafted out of wood blocks to continue that authentic, non-corporate look that they are trying to convey. He does, however, state that they typically design a new tap handle when they begin to serving their product at other bars. There is a specific rationale behind this approach. While bar tap handles are designed to reflect and enhance brewery aesthetics and identity, the ones used in other bars and restaurants need to be more robust and eye catching to catch patrons' attention. This then adds to Orange Brewery's imagined community by bringing in people from the communities of the places where their beer is served.

Out of six participatory breweries in my research, it is the only one actively planning to open a second location. This planned expansion is overseen by three owners since their considerable experience makes them overqualified to operate just one location. As part of their business plan, they demonstrate a business mentality that reflects their combined 60 plus years of experience. They also show a desire to continue their neo-localism and place-making through the creation and interaction with a different area in Orlando.

In terms of future plans, step one is the opening of the taproom and the focus on creating their brand through having the "best beer" and "best service." Despite having a business plan for the brewery, which is opposed to the concept of craftwork, they still want to focus on operating on a local level. Because of this, their future plans only include light distribution because, as Keith states, heavy brewing to accommodate distribution is "not what people get into the brewing business for." Since my last conversation with the brewery, they had reached this step and signed a contract with a distributor. Their next step in the plan is opening a second location.

The new location is likely to be a taproom partly because operating a taproom it is more profitable and "fun," in the sense of being less geared on production only. Their business plan for the future is state and national distribution of bottles or cans of their beer, which would then take them farther away from craftwork and more towards modern capitalism.

One way Orange Brewery engages its customers is through yearly memberships to an exclusive club. For just under $100 annually, club members receive perks such as a free beer and growler fill each month, membership t-shirt, 64-ounce growler and logo mug, access to special brewery releases and events, and a dollar off their first beer each visit. The club membership proved incredibly popular. Keith states that in August they closed off new membership after reaching 250 people. An incentive program like this gives patrons with a reason to visit multiple times in a week or month. Moreover, it helps individuals to potentially spread information about the brewery through word of mouth. The program also encourages Fletchall's (2016) place-making for customers, by providing an addition to the experience of drinking beer at Orange Brewery. It also adds to the imagined community of Orange Brewery through overlap with the community of the local area, in addition to creating further neolocal identity by encouraging interaction between the surrounding populations.

Orange Brewery also engages their clientele through events such as providing beer at a 5K charity run, and Cystic Fibrosis Society event. Most of their participation does not involve outright sponsorship. Despite this, Orange Brewery's engagement allows them to overlap their imagined community with those of the events that they provide beer for and participate in by sharing in the connection of the event.

Echoing Chuck from Blue Brewery, Keith notes the welcoming nature of the craft beer community in Orlando, saying "we don't treat each other as competition, we treat each other as a positive benefit." He recognizes that this approach helps draw more people into the craft market and away from domestic brands. This friendly nature is important for Orange Brewery as it is one of Orlando craft beer community's newest additions. Their experience furthers the argument of the local craft brewery community as an imagined community, with Orange Brewery imagining themselves as part of the shared communion of craft breweries despite not having met every other brewery.

<u>Yellow Brewery: Going and growing</u>

Yellow Brewery opened in spring 2015 on the west side of Orlando. Yellow Brewery's physical design includes a large patio area where 200 of the breweries 300 seats are located. Outside, customers can place orders at a service window which is part of the secondary 16 tap bar inside the brewery. Patio amenities are also available for those with pets. Yellow Brewery's taproom also adds to the brewery's uniqueness. Though Orange Brewery and Blue Brewery both chose locations that fit their specific needs, Yellow Brewery remains somewhat distinctive in that its building was built and designed by one of the owners. At Yellow Brewery, my primary participant was Brandon, a brewery personnel in his 20's who has lived his whole life in Orlando.

The building holds 19 different vendors who offer food options, craft items, and of course craft beer. "So now, people can come out here at 11, noon, 1 pm and they can hang out all day all night" Brandon states. This building is also located in what Brandon identified as a "very local

oriented" community which adds to the brewery's appeal through neolocalism branding by incorporating other local vendors into their shared space. It also acts as a space in which the imagined communities of Yellow Brewery and the other vendors can overlap and intermingle, allowing for a much larger imagined community to be established based on the building itself, rather than just one business inside it.

Yellow Brewery's beer selection has remained relatively unchanged in terms of consumer offerings. Unlike Blue Brewery, which cycles through a considerable amount of beer with 30 taps, Yellow Brewery has not ventured beyond the few beer lines they offered at their launch. Since these beers are influenced by demand and Central Florida influences such as the humid weather, they tend to emphasis a prevailing slant towards lighter, crisper beers. These core products are offered alongside a selection of seasonal beers which coincide with certain times of the year. While lighter beers are sold in the summer, darker ones are offered in the winter. "Nine months out of the year is summer, and then you have two or three months of winter, one month of fall." Thus, the brewery's beer menu adheres to a distinctly seasonal schedule that is neolocal in its reflection of Florida's weather.

Beer names are developed in-house at Yellow Brewery. As Brandon puts it: "it comes down to the brewers, it comes down to the bartenders, it comes down to the influences of our goal and relation to our product as a whole." Not only do all the beers entail a play on words, they also incorporate the alter ego as well as reference an ethos "work hard, play hard." These collective efforts alongside beer selection and brand symbolism effectively form the brewery's brand identity.

Since their launch, Yellow Brewery has experienced significant rises in beer production, distribution range, and opportunities to further its brand identity in just over a year and a half. The brewery went from brewing roughly 9,000 gallons of beer in 2015 to a production capacity of almost 33,000 gallons thanks to a major expansion of tanks and storage space. Yellow Brewery also maintains their own canning line, including one beer sold exclusively through a local liquor store chain. They now have over 1,000 rotating accounts for their kegs and cans in Central Florida. Besides this exclusive line of cans, Yellow Brewery collaborates with various Walt Disney World restaurants. Brandon attributes these successes to the restaurants wanting "something that is higher quality in product, higher quality ingredient, higher quality overall and that was something we were able to offer them being as local as we are to Disney." He also credits the growth in the Central Florida beer scene and local consumers moving towards a preference for higher quality beer.

Unlike Tony at Blue Brewery, Brandon remains confident that the local, and national, craft beer industry will continue to expand. He states that the "bubble's not going to pop soon, or at all." While he is not sure what sparked Orlando's craft brewing boom he believes that there is a local craft beer evolution. Within this unfolding trend, craft beer will begin to tap into tourism as another market, with breweries serving as another one of Orlando's travel destinations. Also, he disagrees with Tony's take on the merger of Anheuser-Busch's holding company, InBev, with SABMiller since he believes it shows the direction that beer is going with craft beer taking off and domestic sales decreasing. Brandon's position reveals a certain confidence that InBev's move represents more of an attempt to regain the foothold they had lost to the growing craft beer movement, rather than an attempt to monopolize the market.

When Yellow Brewery opened, the owners developed a tagline and anthropomorphic brand symbol which has been incorporated into many aspects of their brewery. The brand symbol, which will be referred to as "Ted," is depicted by a well-dressed bearded male who, one of the brewery's organizers in his late 20's, Brandon, tells is meant to be their "Nike swoosh." It symbolizes the alter ego that beer drinkers sometimes feel after they have consumed a few drinks. "You have a few beers after work, you're workin' nine to five, you have a few beers, you're on top of the world, you know? You want to be everyone's friend, everyone wants to be your friend, you're the life of the party. That's Ted."

The "Ted" symbol is featured prominently at Yellow Brewery. A large "Ted" portrait is visible outside the brewery. His image is plastered on everything from can logos, merchandise, and chalk portraits listing beers behind the bar. "Ted" helps the brewery to craft a meaningful connection with their clientele and potential future customers. While the humanization of a brand represents an important facet of a brewery's identity as demonstrated by Hede and Watne (2013), none of my research participants have incorporated this approach as much as Yellow Brewery.

Besides the brewery's "Ted" symbol, its tap handles also display the brewery's tagline which purports an allergy to bottle caps. There is a widespread belief that glass bottles let in light and bottle caps exude oxygen due, which can compromise taste. To mitigate such issues, Yellow Brewery uses cans for their distribution and caged corks on the limited runs of bottled beer they sell throughout the year. Such efforts add to their brand identity. By eschewing the use of bottle caps, the brewery utilizes a type of material culture that distinguishes them from their peers. Rather than bottling beer, Yellow Brewery embraces the fact that they forgo this industry standard and accordingly distinguish their brewery's brand identity.

In terms of events at Yellow Brewery is more about quality than quantity. Each year the brewery holds a Celtic festival, St. Paddy's Day celebration, and Oktoberfest German-style beer festival. These celebrations are planned months in advance. Planning for upcoming events start right after the end of the last. Such steps are necessary, since occasions like the Oktoberfest typically attract 4,000 to 5,000 people. Given such numbers, Brandon breaks down planning to the hour. Each of these events provides an excellent place-making experience to regular and first time clientele. The brewery also hosts a tap takeover during American Craft Beer week. This event showcases Florida craft beer which focuses largely on the local breweries and spotlights Central Florida's viable craft community. Tap takeovers, especially one involving several breweries are an opportunity for a brewery to gain members into its smaller imagined community due to so many members of the local craft brewery community showing up in support of both their personal brewery communities, and the local craft brewery community overall. They also serve as an excellent place-making experience for those who are visiting Yellow Brewery to support the imagined community of their own breweries by allowing them to experience a number of beers is a special setting.

Events like the tap takeover also raise awareness about other local breweries contributing to the "more the merrier" mentality shown by those in the craft beer industry. The number of local breweries is important to growing awareness and generates new clients to support the community. As Brandon explains to me:

> "You find what you like and you go there for that reason, and if you go to another brewery and you find something that you like there, you're going to keep going to that brewery and this brewery and then you start finding multiple, multiple breweries and you just start going to all these breweries frequently and then it creates that much more of a demand for those products."

Such sentiments are in keeping with one of Yellow Brewery's primary goals which involves educating people about the industry and build the Central Florida craft beer community.

<p style="text-align:center;">Brown Brewery: The main goal</p>

Brown Brewery, which opened in fall 2015 in eastern Orlando, is located in northern Orlando within a strip mall. The interior consists of several wooden tables and chairs and a main bar, with a few metal tables and chairs outside underneath the awning that the strip mall space provides. At Brown the concept of identity is different than the other examined breweries in that it strives to be, as Carter, one of the owners in his 30's who resided in Orlando for his undergraduate degree, puts it "the face of craft beer in Orlando."

The taproom of Brown Brewery is spacious. It hosts several weekly events including live music. There are also food truck nights which proved so popular that the brewery extended the occasion from one night a week to Thursday through Saturday. Weekly trivia contests are held on site. This event gives families a continual reason to come back to the brewery. Carter explains that "we see there are families that that's just their Thursday. Every single Thursday they're here." Being a community space gives the brewery's regular customers a reason to visit beyond drinking. It also contributes to place-making and neolocalism by providing other experiences outside of drinking beer while also establishing itself as a local meeting spot.

One of the brewery's primary goals is to develop a quality reputation. Before the brewery had even opened, they made contacts for distribution through the internet before the brewery even opened. The opening day for the location served as the opening for the taproom, but the

brewery did not dispense its own beer on tap due to receiving their serving and brewing licenses at different times.

Core year-round beers, are specifically chosen by the owners of the brewery. As Carter says:

> "You know, we have our converter beer, or our easy drinking beer... Had to have an IPA. We like to drink pales, they're just a really good style, especially for Florida cause you can drink them year round... And then we wanted something kind of wheaty, something even with some fruit in it so that's our saison. And then our dark option is our milk stout on nitro. So, actually, it was a very conscious decision to have those five."

Each beer is chosen to fill a place in the brewery's menu. The process somewhat continued for the others beers on tap, with the brewery staff making sure that there were not too many of any one type of beer to maintain a variety of their beer spread across their 16 taps. These beers are then joined by a cider for non-beer drinkers and one guest tap from another brewery.

Beer names are developed to reflect aspects of Central Florida, which in turn builds a neolocalism identity. They draw on everything from local trees and urban legends to orange groves and alligators. Although beers are crafted with the regional theming in mind, exceptions exist. For example, one beer sports a joke name of a randomly selected male name. Regional names help the brewery develop a specific brand identity. Similarly tap handle design feature colors and unique shape to be easily recognized by customers. As Carter states: "there's a handful where you instantly notice them (tap handles). We wanted ours to be one of those."

Over the course of its first year, Brown Brewery experienced different levels of growth and distribution. The brewery serves as a production brewery with 10,000 to 12,000 barrels a year coming. They started out with keg only distribution to restaurants and bars outside of the growlers and crowlers, 32-ounce single use cans which are filled with beer and sold in house at

their own location. When the brewery's distributer dropped its service for craft beer in northern

Florida in the summer 2016 several bars temporarily discontinued ordering Brown Brewery beer.

After this setback, Brown Brewery began their own canning line. Cans offer more space

for the brand artwork, and let in less light. Can artwork is printed on use shrink wrapped labels

rather than the artwork being printed directly on the aluminum cans. Brown Brewery determines

its beer can offerings based on distribution about bestselling products. They notably plan to do

one off small batches of beer specifically for canning in the future, and increase their overall

distribution network to outside of Florida.

Carter says there is "a lot we're trying to juggle," but its kept manageable due to a

hierarchy of priorities for distribution. This hierarchy starts with their taproom, then distribution

in the Orlando, outside Orlando, and eventually outside of the state when the time comes.

Though the distribution to a large area outside of just that of where the taproom is located takes

away from Orange Brewery's neolocalism, it is helped by putting the most local customers first

in order to maintain those connections.

Another goal of Brown Brewery involves serving as a family friendly community space

that was family friendly. To achieve this objective, they chose to locate within a strip mall.

Carter, points out a family during my interview eating and drinking in the brewery, as an

example that the desired atmosphere is in effect. Being family friendly works as a place-making

experience for more than just those drinking Orang Brewery's beer, as other family members can

also build memories as well.

Taking part in events serves as a part of the brewery's larger goal of being "the face of

craft beer in Orlando." The brewery headlines a food and wine festival and sponsors a chili trail

featuring chili made with five of its signature craft beers. It also offers food and beer pairings on location and was approached by a local World of Beer to put on a tap takeover. Carter acknowledges that this participation instrumental in helping the brewery's goal. This is effective because, as discussed with other participants, overlapping imagined communities through events creates a larger imagined community at that event. That then leads to the members viewing themselves as part of Brown Brewery's imagined community and Brown Brewery as part of other communities they imagine themselves being in communion with

Brown Brewery also offers a VIP program. In this program, members receive texts and emails letting them know about special deals and exclusive early tastings of new beers. The program gained several thousand members when I inquired about it in September 2016. To date, Brown Brewery is the only local brewery using this kind of marketing. Existing VIP regulars benefit from the deals while those who sign up on a whim on a one-time visit are given reminders of the brewery's continued activities, as well as incentives to come and visit multiple times. Again, this demonstrates membership programs a providing place-making experiences for new and returning clientele.

Brown Brewery is unique among my research participants in terms of how much planning is involved in its operations. That is not to say that the other participants are improvising their businesses, but none display such a strong driving goal. The goal of being "the face of craft beer in Orlando" is directly or indirectly reflected in many of the aspects of the brewery. Their decision and selection of core beers followed what they believed their brewery needed to have to be successful and maintain a variety to make a reputation for the brewery. Weekly in house, as well as larger sponsoring and running of larger events, are done to further

grow both the local and city wide recognition of the brewery's brand as a means of elevating them to that major goal. Most notably, it is seen in the brewery's approach to its distribution since it planned for that stage of the brewery when they had barely been open.

This later led to their canning line, which enabled for further exposure of their brand through the beer cans' presence in craft beer and other stores. All of which leads back to the main overarching goal of becoming "the face of craft beer in Orlando." While all the participants in my research want to make good beer, and be recognized for that, only this one created a rigid business plan for how they were going to make it happen. However, this does raise some issues when viewed through Thurnell-Read's (2014) concept of craftwork as combating modern capitalism. While Brown Brewery does engage in craftwork in the creation of their beer, their movement towards becoming "the face of craft beer in Orlando" causes them to be at odds with the local craft brewery communities view of other breweries as allies. This is because being "the face" of any industry requires viewing other businesses as competition, which is a modern capitalist ideal.

Green Brewery: What makes them unique, makes them different

Green Brewery is the oldest craft brewery in the Orlando, having celebrated their 10-year anniversary during my research. The brewery is inside of a large building an industrial district of the city where Green Brewery has been stationed for most of their time in operation. This building, while in a less commercial part of Orlando, benefits from the size of the building and its premises, with ample seating and room being available at the bar and tables inside, as well as the tent covered benches and chairs outside. My primary contacts for Green Brewery were

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Trent, an assistant brewer in his 30's who has worked for Green Brewery for seven years, and Eli, a manager at the brewery who is also in his 30's.

The reason that Green Brewery is set apart from my other research participants is because their entire process of making beer is different due to being a completely USDA certified organic brewery. Gaining this certification makes the brewery a rarity in the craft beer world, but also greatly affects how the brewery makes their beer and how they approach other processes involved in brewing.

Not only are all the grains and hops used at the brewery organic, but so are the products they use to clean their equipment and facility. This means that no animal by-products are permitted to be used in the production of the cleaning solutions and that the plants themselves cannot be taken from genetically modified organisms (GMOs). These specialized ingredients and products come with an increase in cost. Organic grains cost twice as much as their non-organic counterparts and organic hops can cost three to four times as much as non-organic hops.

Paying this increased cost demonstrates the brewery's commitment to being organic. Trent states that this is part of the brewery's goal to raise awareness about organic products. He also says that the brewery wants to increase knowledge of what organic is, inform consumers of how organic products affect them, and show that craft beer products can attain the high standards of being organic while still meeting customer expectations. Eli adds that the owners of the brewery believe that organic ingredients improve the taste of the beer. While many other breweries use organic ingredients, Green Brewery makes the decision to be organic throughout the entire crafting process. In addition, Eli states that at the current point in Green Brewery's operation it would be a huge undertaking to switch to being non-organic since it is part of their

brand identity. An identity which is distinctly craft due to the individuality shown by the brewery in taking an all organic approach to their brewing and beers. It also builds a connection with the local population interested in organic products.

While Green Brewery made a specific choice in the way that they brew their beer, they had less choice in the location of the brewery. As Eli says, Green Brewery was originally closer to a brewing club than a brewery, with glorified home brewers trying to make good beer since they could not find any in Orlando at the time. That changed after the original location was taken from them due to eminent domain with the construction of the I-4 interstate through Orlando. Regulations at the time required a brewery to be in an industrial district, thus forcing Green Brewery into the location they still inhabit where they then decided to become a full craft brewery. Green Brewery's movement and change from club to brewery demonstrates an evolution in the brewery's identity, with the owners taking on a different relationship with the material culture of beer by creating a full brewery.

Despite this forced movement, the owners made the place their own. The inside is decorated with different beer signs and related items, as well as dart boards due to the owners' enjoyment of the game. The building even has an abandoned bus outside that has become a canvas for artwork over the years, though the bus's origin remains unknown. These aspects are part of the continued evidence of breweries using their layout and decoration to create place-building experiences for their clientele.

Using organic ingredients is not the only guideline Green Brewery has kept over its ten-year history. Trent recounts that, seven years ago, many of their beers were made using the Reinheitsgebot German beer purity law. This law states that beers are to be made using only

water, malt, hops, and yeast. Over the course of several years, they began to branch out and create beers that added ingredients such as fruits and other flavors, though they maintained their high-quality organic standards. While restricting the creativity of what could be brewed, using the German purity law does not go against the idea of craftwork as it was done to ensure quality rather than curtail brewing individuality, and served as a further use of craftwork to create beers that followed those guidelines.

Additionally, the types of beers produced by Green Brewery also changed over the last decade. The original seven core beers styles were lighter and more approachable to bring in customers unfamiliar with non-domestic, craft breweries. As Eli states, "Talking about craft beer now is different than talking about craft beer ten years ago." With craft beer drinkers becoming more numerous, and customer's ideas of what they enjoy expanding yearly, the brewery moved from serving lighter beers to a full array of styles and flavors. However, occasionally, one the owners will commission the brewers to make certain styles to satisfy a personal preference. Green Brewery's change in beer selection is an example of a brewery changing the way in which they interact with their clientele to grow their imagined community. By realizing that craft beer culture was changing, Green Brewery could effect change in their brewing process to give their community more of what they wanted.

Ideas for what styles will be brewed come from a combination of sources, with brewers taking ideas from brewery employees while adhering to directions from ownership. This leads to a roundtable of ideas that are then approved by the brewers and later the owners. The brewers then create the recipe and brew the beer based on flavor profile ideas that they received from employees, or came up with themselves. Green Brewery also runs a weekly event where they

will serve a small batch of one of their normal beers that Trent treats with different ingredients to produce new flavors. Again, this is another place-making experience that Green Brewery offers.

Product names come from all parts of the brewing staff, though not all the names stuck around during my research. Midway through fieldwork, Green Brewery changed the name of a long-standing beer due to a copyright on the name being taken by another brewery in the Florida. Green Brewery started using the name first many years prior, but had not formally copyrighted it, thus leading to a complicated situation. Eventually the name was sold off to the other brewery and Green Brewery rebranded the beer thus changing part of their brand identity.

The brewery's tap handles, like the beer, have also changed over time. Originally large and "unwieldy," per Trent, the handles changed as craft beer establishments such as World of Beer, a craft bar chain, started having multiple tap handles packed in a small area. This caused the owners to move away from large, generic tap handles to a smaller, more distinct shape that all their handles now share.

When it comes to distribution, Green Brewery is ahead of other local craft breweries in terms of experience. This is because the brewery has been producing kegs and six packs for longer than the rest of the beer community have been operating. However, it does not mean the system is perfect. Eli expresses his frustrated with the three-tier system, which requires breweries to ship to businesses with their distributer. He says that Green Brewery previously signed a contract with a distributer, but the company was purchased and thus their contract was absorbed into the new owners' business. Their current contacts are not as helpful as the previous ones in pushing Green Brewery's product. Eli states that seven years ago the distributer focused on American Lagers instead of craft beers and later turned around picked up dozens more craft

breweries, causing Green Brewery to become just one among the crowd of options the business offers. Despite this, growth of their distribution is slow and steady.

Consistent yearly growth in sales and an increase in the number of distribution partners enables distribution beyond Orlando to north Florida and Florida's east coast. However, Eli's frustrations illustrate the importance of a brewery choosing a distributer that best suits their needs. Examples include when Blue Brewery switched distributers to find one that better supported their craft centric style, and Brown Brewery suffered due to their distributer dropping craft beer from their inventory. Now, Green Brewery struggles with the system in their own way, since they are stuck with a distributer that they believe does not have their company's growth in mind.

Green Brewery's organic style differentiates them from other craft breweries, but also impacts their ability to collaborate and interact with the local craft beer community. Since the brewery only uses organic ingredients, they are largely unable to share recipe ideas and ingredients with other breweries. One example Trent shares is a beer contest the brewery entered where competitors use specific malt and grains. Due to the Green Brewery's staunch adherence to being organic, they needed exemption from these constraints to use organic ingredients in the beer they entered. In this way, Green Brewery's organic style not only sets them apart, but partially isolates them from the rest of the local craft beer community. This hurts them in some ways, because they are not able to overlap their imagined community with those of other craft breweries through collaborative efforts.

Despite the isolation, Green Brewery finds other ways to give back to the local craft beer community. One contribution facilitating a homebrewers club that meets once a month at the

brewery. Another is allowing people with no prior knowledge about brewing to volunteer at the brewery and gain knowledge about the process of brewing along with the business operation. Trent says that during his time with the brewery he saw many people get pulled into home brewing because of the volunteering opportunity. Enabling the home brewing community helps ensure that there will be people creating craft beer and feeding into the market as consumers and potential producers. These contributions also allow Green Brewery to provide place-making experiences that do not directly involve drinking beer. By holding meets on premises and allowing volunteers to interact with the equipment and supplies of the brewery, unique experiences are formed.

Another way Green Brewery helps the local craft beer community is by fostering female participation through their line of beers created solely by female members of the brewery staff and local craft beer industry. The group started due to a desire by long standing female employees of Green Brewery to create their own beer using the brewery's equipment. Ideas for the beer styles and flavors, as well as the product names and logos are created through a combination of meets ups and group texts, with the beer recipe creation occurring in collaboration with one of the brewer's. Many of the beer ideas are based on seasonal items with the group also meeting to try other beers and investigate flavors and styles they want their next beer to have. Facilitating this group gains publicity for the brewery, and encourages participation in craft brewing for anyone who is interested, regardless of gender.

A final contribution from Green Brewery is the "graduation" of workers from their facility to other breweries that are either just starting up, or need new brewers and assistant brewers. Trent himself is an example of this process, as during my field work he left Green

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Brewery to become the head brewer of a new brewery in Orlando. Trent says he had been keeping his ear to the ground for potential opportunities when his new job came up. He also states that assistant brewers and other workers leaving for new breweries is common and most head brewers worked somewhere else before their current position. The creation of new jobs through the continual introduction of new craft breweries means that people do not have to fight for positions.

Green Brewery also participates with other communities. Since Green Brewery does not produce their own food (like many craft breweries), they develop special deals for their customers with local restaurants and provide a folder full of options for customers to choose from. They also occasionally make deals with onsite vendors, such as hot dog carts. Despite not producing their own food, Green Brewery does contribute to food production, with their beer being used by a pizza restaurant to make its pizza dough. Green Brewery's organic practices also help them connect to other non-brewing communities. For example, they give the used grain from their brewing to pig farms in the local area. The farms use the grains to make up 25% of the pigs feed. These examples highlight the use the products Green Brewery does (and does not) create to foster relationships with various businesses as well as using their produces, and by-products, to provide an overlap between their own, and other businesses', imagined communities.

These factors contribute to the multi-faceted identity of Green Brewery. It stands as the oldest craft brewery in the area, but is isolated due to its' organic processes and industrial area location. As a poor fit with their distribution company restricts their growth rate, other companies grow at a more noticeable pace. Rather than feel out of place, the brewery seeks new

opportunities to contribute, such as fostering the growth of home brewing. This enables them to help the craft beer community, despite their organic style keeps them from being able to help other breweries through conventional means.

<center>Red Brewery: Focus on beer</center>

Red Brewery, who opened in 2015 in central Orlando, is located near the center of Orlando, located in a standalone building that it shares with one other business. For Red Brewery, Russel, a man in his late 20's states, was one of my main participants. The brewery presents clean, neutral taproom, which is intended to be welcoming to as many potential customers as possible. As Russell points out, "we can't risk alienating any one group of people because of the music we're playing, or because of how we're decorating the place." It is also one of the only research participants not to offer outdoor seating due to its proximity to a nearby street, but does have several tables, booths, and barstools inside. On the clientele's side of the bar there are electric plug-ins, a design feature fought for by the brewery's staff. This feature gives clientele less reason to leave the air-conditioned taproom to venture out into the Florida heat, thus causing them to continue buying beer while hopefully giving the brewery a positive online review. It also adds to the place-making experience by giving a different addition than other breweries may have.

At Red Brewery, their first goal is to make beer and that is it. That is not to say that making beer, especially quality beer, is not a goal for all Orlando breweries. Rather, other breweries hold different goals to go along with that desire to make and improve their beer. Whether supporting local art, creating a community space, providing great customer service,

being completely organic, growing brand, or becoming the face of Orlando's craft beer scene, every other brewery had additional goals which helps to shape their identity.

For Red Brewery, the goals are less numerous. The goals are to make beer and help nourish the community that allowed them to create a brewery in the first place. Part of this concentration comes from those who work at the brewery and their lengthy relationship with the craft beer community. One owner, along with the head brewer have together been involved with the community for over a combined two decades. The brewery's head brewer, Russell, "we're not here for the hype train, we're just here because this is what sustains us." This fuels the brewery's emphasis on creating beer and giving back to the craft beer community while ignoring any grander plans or accomplishments that other breweries might focus on. Approaching their operations in this way gives Red Brewery a strong neolocalism identity, since their aim starts with local interaction. It also shows that they want to foster a connection between their own imagined community and the surrounding area, much like Blue Brewery.

Part of the effort is refining the beer and the brewing technique they use. The brewery opened in a rush during the spring 2015, due to worry that if the brewery did not open soon it would not open at all. This means that dialing in protocols and practices is necessary to ensure that the quality of the beer continues to improve. Engaging in refinements like tweaking the water and flavor profiles while brewing, handling the yeast, and creating consistency in the process are all important factors to making each batch of beer better than the last.

Red Brewery's choices in beer style come down to the appeal of each new batch idea for the owners and head brewer. Russell states, "we have an idea, let's try to actualize it, let's give it life, let's see if we, as brewers, are capable of doing this." Using each new batch they brew as a

challenge fits the brewery's emphasis on creating craft beer and improving with each beer they make. Being process and challenge oriented in the selection of beers means that they are not only becoming better as a brewery, but also that they will force themselves to create distinct and quality beer selections that will set their brewery apart. Their focus on creativity through challenges shows a dedication to craftwork in their brewing.

A factor in setting the brewery apart is the product names. Red Brewery is unique among research participants because the names come largely from Russell himself. More specifically, they come from "a place in my (Russell's) subconscious where my yin and my ego come and do battle, and exchange cookie recipes." This leads to names coming from ideas formed before brewing, or Russell thinking of what he wants the beer to taste like and letting the idea follow through from there. There are exceptions though, with the brown ale of the brewery being known only as "Brown Ale" because of Russell's inability to think of a name for it. "Naming brown ales is really hard…it's already a color." Despite, not all the names being creative, Red Brewery demonstrates their craft individuality and identity with the product names.

Red Brewery's focus on their taproom leads to them participate a very limited amount of distribution. Through their current distributer, the brewery picks and chooses where the beer they make goes, permitting them to make special beers for events and guaranteeing that the person who ordered the beer always gets it. To Red Brewery, it is more logical to bring people into the taproom rather than distribute outwards due to the limited amount of beer they produce and the fact that the highest profit margins come "pint by pint, glass by glass" rather than "six pack by six pack, or keg by keg to local retailers."

Going along with this in-house focus, Red Brewery is the only one of the research participants that does not produce a large-scale bottle or can line. Instead, any bottles that are made are done on a small scale for special limited releases. Their first batch of bottles came out for the one-year anniversary, with 300 bottles being capped in-house using an "inefficient," per Russel, method of production. This process is indicative of Red Brewery's identity as a craft centered space, going as to use hand capped bottles to distribute their limited release, rather than bring in a more modern, automated system.

Part of this lack of major distribution and production come from the desire to keep things local, and the belief that going big can become a problem for a brewery. Russell explains his belief that becoming a larger brewery led to more competitiveness. Also, he believes there is not enough room for an overbearing presence in the regional craft beer community. Instead, he and the owners agree that it is better to support the local craft beer community and craft culture, since those are the people that support the brewery throughout the year.

Apart from beer, the brewery offers wine and ciders to "placate everyone," since not everyone who gets brought to a brewery wants to drink beer. The selection of wine is different from other breweries because Red Brewery partnered with a nearby winery to secure their stock. They are also the only participants who operate their own kitchen in-house, making bar snacks and meals for customers to order while they drink. This stems from the "something for everyone" ideal while also giving guests a reason to stick around drinking more beer.

A downside of the bar that can be pointed out is the brewery's lack of memorable tap handles on the bar, with the current handles being small black rectangles except on the water tap

handle that has the bar's logo on it. That handle is a proto type for a potential line of handles for all the taps, but more of them have not materialized.

The building Red Brewery occupies is located near the edge of downtown Orlando, and ironically has the one feature that Orange Brewery did not get with their location, a landmark. Red Brewery is located near a major bike and running path that is, according to those at the brewery, used by thousands of people every week. This adds foot traffic for the taproom, and even led to a runner's club being formed at the brewery that runs, rain or shine, every week, and then comes in for a drink afterwards, with the brewery giving them discounts. All of this is an example of Red Brewery's location fostering a connect with an imagined community that may not come in otherwise through taking advantage of its surroundings.

Another community that the brewery associates with are local craft beer bars, with multiple being in the nearby vicinity. These connections have given Red Brewery the ability to become "part of the neighborhood" and the kind of place "where we (the brewers) like to drink." Both are examples of neolocalism, at least in the eyes of those at the brewery, as they feel a connection to the local community.

Foot traffic and community connections are also enhanced by the events that Red Brewery hosts at their facility. Many of the events fall on holidays, such as St. Patrick's Day, or major events for the brewery, such as their one-year anniversary, but some happen from networking. One such connection led to the brewery holding a rib cook-off in January 2015, where Orlando's smoke crews came out, for free, and cooked in the brewery parking lot, allowing visitors, and the participants, to eat ribs and drink beer for an afternoon.

Occasionally, the brewery will create an event to support a set of special release beers they have worked on. One such occasion occurred when the brewery had a festival to celebrate six coffee themed beers after Russell realized no other brewery holds a similar event. Red Brewery also participates in beer camps and festivals held by craft breweries. It gives them a chance to hang out with friends in the industry and communicate with breweries they would otherwise never get to see.

Through the decisions in distribution and brewing focus, Red Brewery is deliberately small-scale. Their focus on the local results in the brewery not looking to expand past their surrounding community except in reputation. They value their identity as a craft-focused, community brewery that emphasizes the importance of their brand and their clientele over large-scale distribution and growth.

In the next chapter, I will give an overview of my findings from this research and how they exemplify the theoretical frameworks I have chosen. Also, I will examine the significant similarities and differences that the breweries demonstrate when viewed through these frameworks.

CHAPTER FIVE: SYNTHESIS

From the information I gathered, one can see how the various theoretical frameworks previously discussed are visible in the Orlando craft beer scene. For Gillespie's (2001) idea of identity through personhood, which is formed by peoples' interactions with other people and material culture, a good example is the names breweries give their products. Both Brown Brewery and Orange Brewery developed names that are linked to surrounding landmarks as a means of forming their identity in relation to the local area. Red Brewery on the other hand gains all their product names through the creativity of their head brewer, Horus, who conjurers the names from his conscious and subconscious mind to fit each new beer.

Identity can also be formed by the beers a brewery chooses to produce in relation to Thurnell-Reads (2014) definition of craftwork. Blue Brewery and Green Brewery show craftwork in their identity through the individualized approaches they take towards brewing. Blue Brewery's owner, Chuck, grants his brewers almost complete creative freedom, while Green Brewery creates all their beer while only using organic ingredients which demonstrates additional craft knowledge. This contrasts sharply with Orange Brewery, who's desire to provide "approachable" products that they feel more people will want lessens creativity and autonomy in brewing.

Anderson's (1991) concept of imagined communities is also clearly displayed in my findings on Orlando craft breweries. Most notably in the use of events by craft breweries to overlap the imagined communities of their own brewery with those of other businesses or breweries. Yellow Brewery's tap takeover event for American Craft Beer Week brought together the imagined communities of several breweries in one area. Meanwhile, charity events and other

festivals, like the ones Brown Brewery spend much of their time participating in provides them with a chance to share a space with different communities in a shared space that furthers a larger sense of nationalism for the occasion. Other breweries foster interactions with their imagined communities, and others, through constant interaction, such as with Blue Brewery whose weekly bands and monthly art shows puts them in continual contact with the artist community.

Events are also an important part of place and placemaking, though not the only one (Fletchall 2016). The most shared feature in placemaking experiences for Orlando craft breweries is the layout and design of the various taprooms, and outside seating. Whether it be Yellow Brewery's 200 seat patio, or Green Brewery's graffitied bus, every brewery has something that makes drinking a beer on their premises a unique experience. This is sometimes furthered by release of limited product runs, such as Red Brewery's 300 bottle release, and celebrations, like Blue Brewery's fifth anniversary,

Last among the theoretical frameworks focused on in this paper is neolocalism (Gatrell et al. 2017). This idea is most notably seen in the findings for both Blue Brewery and Yellow Brewery. Blue Brewery because of its interactions with local charity organizations by giving them the proceeds from their monthly art shows, and Yellow Brewery due to their shared vendor building space, which emphasizes local craft vendors alongside their own craft beer. Green Brewery practices neolocalism by having their beer and beer by products be used by other businesses for food production as well as by farmers to feed local pigs.

These concepts provide context for the actions and interactions of the Orlando breweries within the literature of anthropology and other academic disciplines. Additionally, they establish

the wealth of academic information that can be gained from the study of this culture and population.

In my final chapter, I scrutinize the validity of my hypothesis based on research findings. Also, an outline areas of improvement as well as further goals for future research is laid out.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

At the beginning of my work, I stated my hypothesis that the identity and growth of Orlando craft breweries were formed through the active and reactive actions that the breweries made to form brewery brand identity and to grow not only their own business, but the local craft beer scene as well. I believe that my research findings support this hypothesis, though perhaps not completely.

There are numerous examples of the decision-making processes that each of my research participants engaged in. Some were planned actions, such as Blue Brewery and Yellow Brewery's inclusion of a canning line into the production and distribution of their products. Other decisions were unplanned. Green Brewery's movement to their current location, which sparked their transition into being a craft brewery rather than a craft brewing club was instigated by the government process of eminent domain. Likewise, Brown Brewery's distribution chain was abruptly severed when their distributing company decided to drop craft beer from their inventory, thus setting back plans for a canning line and potential future events. Both kinds of actions whether active or reactive leave a lasting mark on both the brewery's identity and ability to grow their business.

My findings also support that actions taken by Orlando craft breweries were done to support the city's craft beer scene. Nearly all my participants commented on the welcoming nature of local craft brewing community and the open channel of communication that exist between the community's members. This is done to encourage further membership by more developing breweries, which are viewed as allies in the effort to educate people about craft beer and service the local population and beyond.

What my research findings did not fully support was the idea that the active and reactive actions were done to grow the brewery's business. As discussed by Thurnell-Read (2014), craftwork is in opposition to modern capitalism, and as such there are decisions that are made for the benefit of craftwork rather than profit. Breweries such as Brown Brewery and Orange Brewery take business like approaches to being the face of craft beer and serving approachable beer which detracts from the craftwork roots of a craft brewery. Others, like Blue Brewery and Red Brewery, take a craftwork focused approach to their breweries, crafting products that support the individual creative ideas or decisions that individuals within the brewery have without the stated desire for growth and profit. That does not mean that these breweries, and to an extent all the Orlando breweries, do not want their products to reach as many people as possible, but rather that a craft brewery is both a place for creative expression and a business, and thus there are varying approaches to running each brewery.

The results of my research benefit the anthropological community by demonstrating how a business forms both a group identity and a brand identity through interactions with people and material culture. It also shows the difference in approach to developing a business centered around a craft product and how businesses that have varying focus on craftwork interact and coexist within the same allied community. Additionally, my findings further the ideas of craft beer in relation to place-making experiences and craft beers interaction with neolocalism, both as a member of the local community and as a shared community space. All of this demands that further research be conducted in the future.

Looking Forward

Future research in this area can focus on long-term growth and the reactions of breweries to market conditions that have plateaued or what decisions lead to breweries scaling down operations or closing. There can be additional areas of study could be included, such as analysis of brewery merchandise, ingredient selection by the breweries, and their relationships with their ingredient vendors. Also, further research can be done to see how breweries that open after several others are already established in the area learn from the older establishments and how that knowledge affects their decision making. Another area of research could entail studying the growth of craft breweries in smaller cities and towns, where there may be only one or two breweries, and see what different choices may have to be made in a smaller market. Altogether, there is the anthropological community can learn from craft breweries in terms of business identity formation and management, as they have shown themselves to be a vibrant culture that is as diverse as the beers they serve.

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