

**Tapping into Community:**  
Localism, Place-Making, and Diverse Economies in Craft Brewing

By

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the ways in which craft breweries in the Ottawa-Gatineau region create opportunities for community economies. Grounded in feminist economic geography and the diverse economies research paradigm, this research explores the ways in which craft brewing practices are embedded in particular understandings of place, identity and economy. By examining alternative economic practices in the context of craft beer, this research provides insights into the impacts of the concentration of power in the beer industry by large industrial brewing conglomerates on independently owned craft breweries. This concentration of power is challenged by craft breweries that generate more-than-capitalist economic possibilities, which help build towards community economies. Craft breweries model community economic practices by engaging in collaborative and non-competitive economic relationships, enhancing local economic development, and by carving out meaningful relationships with community actors with the intent of creating social good. This work contributes to a growing body of work on the geography of craft beer, and critical food studies literature on power relations in the food system.

*Key words: craft brewing; diverse economies; feminist economic geography, place-making; identity; concentration of power.*

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## Preface

My journey towards studying craft beer was not a straightforward one and proved more personal than I would have first expected. Now, knowing what I do about craft beer, I am no longer surprised how intensely I feel about this subject: craft beer is immensely personal to those who brew it and consume it. My thesis began outside of the academy, during evenings and weekends, in taprooms and kitchens, where I became acquainted with locally brewed pale ales, IPAs, sours, stouts and porters, and the people who made and poured my beers. Like so many craft beer workers and enthusiasts, I vividly remember the first beer I consumed, not counting the sips of Miller Lite my father let me have as a child. My first real beer was a Blanche de Chambly, a Quebec (formerly) craft brewery based near Montreal. While I dabbled in cheap and homogenously flavoured industrially-produced beers, I always sought out craft beers whenever I could. My entanglement with craft beer is an enduring affair that not only defines my identity as a drinker, but also (now) as a researcher.

I started this Ph.D. intent on continuing my MA research on fisheries governance and local food systems. I wanted to dig deeper into how people form relationships within food systems and examine the transformative potential of these social bonds. This interest in fisheries emerged during my master's degree and was fueled by my proximity to the ocean and the fishing industry in the portside city of St. John's, NL. Leaving behind the ocean for the mainland created both a physical and emotional distance that I found difficult to reconcile during the initial stages of my doctoral degree at Carleton University in Ottawa. My interest in local food systems, community and economies did not dwindle, though I began to

doubt whether a further examination of fisheries could answer my questions about how local foods initiatives can remedy the harms produced by conventional food systems.

While I was away in Newfoundland, between 2013 and 2015, the craft beer industry in Ottawa experienced significant growth with five new breweries opening their doors during that time. Already having explored some of St. John's burgeoning craft beer scene, I was eager to explore the new breweries in my hometown. Equally, I brought with me a homebrewing kit I purchased on the island, but never had the chance to use. In short order, craft beer became a mainstay in my personal life: I began to purchase my beers locally almost exclusively and to make my own beer at home. Craft beer leaked into my academic life following a tour of a local craft brewery, Dominion City, at the end of my first semester as a doctoral student. The brewery founder and owner, Josh, spoke of engaging with local food systems and building community through beer. I had previously met Josh at a local food conference, but I had not made the connection between craft brewing and local foods. The tour of Dominion City sparked an interest in how craft beer fits into local food systems, and to what effect. This tour sparked my academic interest in craft beer, and I found that I could use craft brewing as a lens through which to examine pressing questions about how community, locality and economies intersect in the context of food systems.

This thesis represents the culmination of my academic inquiries and deep personal attachment to craft brewing, and I have always treated my chosen topic with the utmost care and seriousness. However, I faced some skepticism about the value of studying beer, given that many perceive beer through the lenses of indulgence, inebriation, pleasure and celebration. At conferences, fellow scholars would ask me if I received free beer through my work or if I used my topic as an excuse to drink all day. Such comments, while discouraging,

ultimately pushed my work in a direction through which beer is clearly and undeniably tied to important political economic questions. To make these connections, I turned to the openness and possibilities offered by feminist political economic geography, in which the study of seemingly small and insignificant occurrences is used to draw attention to larger political economic, social and cultural issues. Leaning on feminist geography allowed me to build on my academic understanding of craft beer through my bodily and visceral engagement with beer as a drinker and brewer. In this, I was inspired and informed by beer scholar and activist, J. Nikol Beckham, whose own experiences with race, gender and craft beer inform and shape her work on the American craft beer industry (2014). Her work made evident that beer scholarship can be playful and engaging all while addressing gender issues and power inequities in the beer industry.

In the spirit of feminist geography, my doctoral work does not shy away from the personal, visceral and emotional. The lengthy process involved in crafting a thesis requires that the writer be invested, though my connection to my subject is perhaps more intimate than in most cases. I intend for this thesis to tell a story about craft beer in the Ottawa-Gatineau region – beginning with this prelude that prefaces the more theoretical aspects of my work. This mixture of personal and academic is analogous to the craft brewing, which is a space of creativity and joy but also of tradition and rigour. My personal mediations are most acutely revealed in the attention given to the intersections of gender, race and class in craft beer, which are often absent in craft beer communities and literature. The spaces I reserve for the simple joys of craft beer are reflected in the snippets of conversations with craft brewers that are included in these pages. My theoretical analyses are then woven through, drawing out the

ways in which my own positionality and my findings intersect and relate to large political economic forces.

While the thesis concludes my journey into craft beer as a doctoral candidate, I nevertheless envision a lifelong engagement with beer and brewing. From when I began this project until now, I watched the industry grow and innovate, with brewers constantly imagining and brewing new beers. As such, I am left with the firm knowledge I am certain that I have only begun to learn about craft beer, and that this thesis is as much a beginning as it is an end.

## 1. Introduction: The Ubiquity and Complexity of Beer

The history of beer is long and storied, though the process of making beer has remained relatively unchanged over time. Beer begins its life as a basic mixture of hot water and milled, malted grain, in a way similar to making oatmeal. From there, the process becomes slightly more involved: the brewer strains the grain to retrieve the malt-sweetened water, called ‘wort’, which is boiled and flavoured with hops, and then cooled in order to add the yeast (without killing it). Finally, the mixture of cooled wort and yeast is left to ferment typically over the span of a few weeks (depending on the beer style you aim to achieve), after which it is bottled with added sugars to spur carbonation and then laid to rest once more before it is ready to consume.

Throughout this process different additions and modifications can be made to produce a nearly infinite amount of beer styles, flavours and aromas. Renowned craft brewer Garrett Oliver notes that beer is the third most popular drink in the world, after tea and water, which does not surprise him given that “beer is also the most complex and varied of drinks. It can taste like lemons or smoke, coffee or coconuts, bananas or bread, chilies or ginger...” (2012, p. ix). Despite the flavour complexity of beer, Garrett believes that the rapid industrialization and global expansion of beer production in the early half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century eroded the political and historic significance of beer – framing it as a plain and ubiquitous beverage (2012, p. ix). The ubiquity of beer is, as Garrett remarks, deceiving, given that it remains tied to a knot of complex social, cultural and political economic relations.

In these ways, beer takes on many forms, characteristics and identities. Brewing beer is a material, social and political economic practice that connects people spatially and temporally. Beer transcends borders, accompanying different beer-drinking societies as they grew, colonized and expanded across the globe, and more recently through the globalization of the brewing industry. Beginning in the pre-agrarian era up until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, beer was, above all, a food and thus an important driver of agricultural systems and societies. During the restrictive and moralizing period of Prohibition – spanning the 1920s and ‘30s in North America – beer was characterized primarily as an alcoholic beverage and hence a drug, becoming a source of political and cultural tension. In the following decades, beer grew into a mass-marketed and globalized commodity, losing its ties to particular places, cultures and traditions in an attempt to formulate beers with mass-market appeal and flavour. Currently, the industrialization of beer is challenged by a counter-movement that seeks to tie beer and brewing to local communities in an attempt to resist global economic pressures.

In the context of this research, I seek to understand the underpinnings of beer and brewing, including how beer shapes different aspects of the food system, to envision the broader impacts of craft beer on local economic development. In doing so, I outline a historical narrative of beer, describing the ways in which beer is tied to multiple iterations of power, labour, economies, and intersections of gender, race and class. I begin by exploring the technical aspects of beer and brewing, providing an overview of beer as a food and beverage and the different aspects of production. Here, I use a feminist geography lens to trace the origins of beer as a food item, tying together human and more-than-human relationships in food systems, as well as aspects of social reproduction, gendered and domestic labour. This leads into an examination of beer as an industry in Canada, focusing on the political

economies of beer legislation and the rise of a globalized beer market. Next, I frame the emergence of the craft beer industry (and its ties to the local food movement) as a form of ‘resistance’ to global corporate powers. Finally, I outline my approach to beer and brewing through the lens of everyday geographies and present my research questions and the outline of the remainder of the thesis.

## 1.1 Beer as Food

### 1.1.1 Entanglements with more-than-humans

As previously noted by Garrett (2012), beer remains a beverage that holds infinite flavour possibilities and potential for innovation, despite being a relatively simple *mélange*. Though brewing processes evolved, the core elements of beer – grains, water and yeasts – have remained relatively unchanged throughout history. The most notable change to beer was the introduction of hops as a bittering agent, as early brewers used mixtures of different herbs (*gruit*) to flavour, bitter and preserve beers.

Beer began its existence as a staple food item in the Neolithic era, and is a driver of the domestication of wild plant species, including the ancestors of modern corn and barley crops (Katz & Voigt, 1996). Although the rise of agrarian societies is largely credited to the inception of bread-making and the subsequent need to produce a steady supply of grain, other theories point to beer as preceding bread and hence the real motivator for agriculture (Katz & Voigt, 1996; Sewell, 2014). The production of alcohol through fermentation made beer more desirable than bread, as consumption produced a pleasing ‘high’, and provided drinkers with more nutrition than unfermented ‘gruel’ (a mixture of grains and water, the base for early beers) (Katz & Voigt, 1996). In addition to providing nutrients, brewing beer

established a source of clean drinking water for early agrarian societies, as boiling water to make beer killed potential pathogens that were common in water sources located near human settlements (Standage, 2005).

The histories of beer and brewing represent an entanglement between humans and more-than-humans through the modified landscapes and ecologies that altered the ways in which people interacted with other species. The grains first used to produce beer, most notably barley, were shaped and reshaped to suit human needs, and the different climates that beer spread to from its origins in the Middle East (i.e., Europe and eventually North America) (Sewell, 2014). The cultivation of plants producing grains provided the necessary foundations for more populous human settlements, due to the ability to produce a reliable source of food. Modern food systems are built on the intimate relationships with plants and animals, and the ability to modify and manage them through the control and design of particular ecologies that maximise productivity. The entwining of people and plants through agricultural ecologies represents a vital human and more-than-human relationship: humans create idealized environments in which desired plant species thrive and dominate landscapes, and these species in turn provide nourishment for their caretakers (Pollan, 2006; Head & Atchison, 2008).

I hesitate to refer to the origins of barley and other brewing grains as ‘domestication’, as the term implies the subjugation of nature. Agricultural systems require an understanding of what can be ordered and controlled, to certain extents – genetic traits, certain landscape elements and inputs of nutrients and water – and what is more difficult to impact – disease outbreaks, climate and weather (Herman, 2016). In these ways, agricultural systems represent

assemblages of people, land, plants and animals, all of which have agency (Holloway, 2002; Herman, 2016). The narrative of passivity of non-humans in ‘controlled’ natures such as gardens and farms neglects the concerns, motivations and desires of non-human species, which act independently and, often, in opposition to humans (Hitchings, 2003; Power, 2005). In fact, Tsing (2012) asserts: “Cereals domesticated humans”, as the cultivation of grains necessitated that people turned their attention towards only a select few species, thus altering their social structures to suit the labour and resource needs of their crops (p. 145). The human desire for beer greatly benefited grain species, which came to dominate agricultural landscapes in nearly every part of the globe.

Beer is founded on relationships between not only humans and plants, but also humans and microbes. Our ability to nourish ourselves is enhanced by diverse species of bacteria, fungi and yeasts that create, transform and break down nutrients for human absorption. The reliance on microbes is intimate and internal as well as external, as humans are made up of the more-than-human world, our bodies populated by symbiotic cultures of microbes and human cells (Katz, 2016). Humans are profoundly connected to microorganisms, as all life on earth is presumed to have bacterial origins (Katz, 2016). As Katz (2016) states: “Microorganism are our ancestors and our allies ...” (p. xviii). Connections to microorganisms are particularly evident in food systems through processes of fermentation, which render the nutrients in food more bioavailable and nutritious, reduce the naturally occurring toxins in some foods, and create new essential nutrients, including B vitamins, folic acid and biotin (Katz, 2016, p. 3),

Originally, beers were fermented with whatever yeast were available in the air or present on the grains themselves. Up until the discovery of the existence of microorganisms by Louis Pasteur, fermentation remained a mystical and little-understood process (White and Zainsheff, 2010). In brewing beer, yeasts are the main catalysts of transformation, with two varieties prominently involved in most current beer production: *Saccharomyces cerevisiae* (used in the production of ales) and *Saccharomyces pastorianus* (used in the production of lagered beers) (White & Zainsheff, 2010). By metabolizing the grain sugars in the malt (the liquid extracted from the boiling of malted – sprouted and slightly cooked – grains), yeasts produce several by-products, including alcohol, which gives the drinker a desired ‘high’, and carbon dioxide, which produces a fizzy/carbonated beverage. Other by-products include organic acids, esters and phenolic compounds, all of which play a significant role in beer flavour and aroma.

While all brewing yeasts are derived from wild varieties, brewers selected and refined strains of beer yeasts to bring out flavour characteristics and enhance their ability to metabolize sugars into alcohol. Beer styles are closely tied to yeast strains, and reflect regional and climatic particularities, as brewers only have control over the oxygen availability, temperature and light during fermentation. Yeasts are living organisms with their own drives, and brewers can only create an environment conducive to their growth and reproduction. The selective breeding of yeasts allows brewers to select varieties based on their brewing needs, and allow for more consistent and predictable fermentation processes. Certain beer styles require that brewers relinquish even more control over their beers to yeasts by inviting wild varieties to ferment their wort through open (or spontaneous) fermentation (Tonsmeire, 2014). These ‘wild’ beers make use of *Brettanomyces* yeasts, which are often described as ‘funky’ due to their

tendency to produce somewhat unusual and eclectic flavours and aromas. *Brettanomyces* flavour compounds are seldom described in appetizing terms, and include descriptors such as “barnyard, sweaty horse, Band-Aid, leather, enteric, burnt beans, burnt plastic, peppery...” (White & Zainsheff, 2010).

The gradual commercialization and eventual industrialization of beer production standardized the varieties and strains of yeast used by brewers, who came to favour more consistent varieties. Most commercially produced beers are pasteurized – heated to a temperature to ensure that potential contaminants, such as bacteria, cannot impact the safety or taste of the product. The practice of pasteurization, while extending shelf-life and increasing food safety, moves away from traditional brewing techniques in which yeast cells are a part of the final product, giving certain beer styles their characteristic cloudiness (due to yeast sediments) and providing additional nutrients, such as B vitamins (White & Zainsheff, 2010; Katz, 2016). In most industrially produced beers, live yeast cells are not present, as they are in traditionally produced and craft products, due to pasteurization (Shears, 2014)

Brewing beer reflects an enduring collaboration between humans and more-than-humans that created a food item that vitally shifted human relations with the natural world through the development of agriculture. Although people gained a modicum of control over the natural world, brewing beer requires a surrendering of power over to microorganism to complete the process of fermentation. In this way, beer is best understood as a food made by humans with the help of more-than-humans.

### 1.1.2 Brewing as food work

The history of beer and brewing is largely a female one. In early agricultural societies, beer and brewing were associated with goddesses of fertility, reflecting women's roles as brewers (Spitz, 2010; Sewell, 2014). In fact, until the proliferation of commercial brewing in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, brewing took place in the home and was therefore considered to be a part of women's food work (Bennett, 1996). Food work, and by association, care work, are gendered social practices that are performed through material and embodied acts and are reflected through "personal tastes, familial obligations, political commitments, and bodily projects" (Cairns & Johnston, 2015, p. 33).

Beer, or ale made using gruit, proved an important food item for most European households in the Middle Ages (Bennett, 1996). While women initially only brewed for their families, commercial ale production by women grew in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Bennett, 1996). Brewing was considered an acceptable occupation for women, as it was a relatively low-skill and low-wage enterprise, and female brewers came to be known as 'alewives' or 'brewsters' (Bennett, 1996). As the scale of male-dominated commercial brewing grew throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe, particularly in England, so shrank the dominance of the female brewsters in the beer industry (Bennett, 1996). The production of goods, including beer, for the consumption of others, rather than the subsistence of individual families, meant that work increasingly took place outside of the home (Barrett, 2014). This professionalization of the ale industry in Britain resulted in increased regulation and legislation around brewing by local governments, which made it more difficult for women to operate breweries and alehouses (Bennett, 1996). Combined with these restrictions, the advent of new brewing

techniques made brewing a more skilled and higher-waged occupation, and therefore more attractive to men (Bennett, 1996; Sewell, 2014).

The shift to hops signalled a drastic change in the brewing industry, and the eventual exclusion of women as brewers. The flowers of the hops plant, known as cones, are an effective bittering agent and contain anti-microbial properties that help preserve beers (Hieronymus, 2012). The use of hops in beers was initially developed by monastic brewers in France, and it allowed for the transportation of beer to more distant markets (Bennett, 1996, Sewell, 2014). As hopped beers spread from mainland Europe to the British Isles, brewsters, who favoured gruit ales were increasingly left behind as hops was an expensive commodity that was largely unavailable to them (Bennett, 1996). In effect, Vaughn (2012) states: “The brewing of hopped beer, requiring greater labor and investment of capital, would have been available to men more easily than women given their better access to labor outside the domestic sphere and capital to set up and increase brewing and storage capacity” (p.35). As well, the introduction of purity laws and the rise of brewers’ guilds in England lead to increased hostility towards female brewers and alewives, as women were viewed as “more disobedient, disorderly and disruptive than men” and therefore likely to produce sub-par beverages (Bennett, 1996, p. 121)<sup>1</sup>. Women who brewed and drank were popularly depicted as dirty and promiscuous (sometimes witches) in English literature and images throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Bennett, 1996, Vaughn, 2012). These denigrating imaginings of brewsters

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<sup>1</sup> While female brewers in England faced challenges due to the rise of guilds, in other areas, including Scotland, Scandinavia and Holland, women continued to play a significant role in the brewing industry through the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Unger, 2007). However, women in these locales most often brewed at home and on a very small scale, and were therefore unable to compete with increasingly larger, commercial breweries (Unger, 2007).

and alewives helped to solidify brewing as a firmly masculine industry in the centuries to follow.

Brewing began as women's work because it was done in the home and was poorly remunerated, and became masculinized as it shifted to the public realm and became more profitable. Women's work is often framed as low-wage and poorly-skilled, taking place in domestic spheres, in contrast to highly remunerated and skilled masculine occupations, taking place in public spaces (Barrett, 2014; Cairns & Johnston, 2015). The gendered division of labour persisted through the development of capitalist economic systems, wherein waged labour became perceived as a masculine and public practice, while women's work became relegated to domestic and private spaces, largely consisting of unpaid or low-skill and waged labour construed as 'feminine' tasks, such as childcare, cooking and cleaning (Barrett, 2014). In capitalism, women's domestic, unpaid labour is part of social reproduction, that is the labour and resources required to ensure that waged labourers can fulfill their bodily needs and be productive members of the workforce (Barrett, 2014).

The commercialization of beer shifted brewing from the home to the public sphere, and from a female-dominated industry to a male-dominated one. Bennett (1996) argues that patriarchal political economic structures were the root cause of women being pushed out of the brewing industry, and that gender continues to skew labour divisions and notions of profitability (e.g. women's work as worth less than men's). The gendered aspects of beer and brewing persist in modern beer industries, in which women have failed to gain a foothold as brewers since the middle-ages. The role of gender in contemporary beer production and consumption practices will be further explored later in this chapter.

## 1.2 Beer as Industry

### 1.2.1 A brief history of brewing in Canada

The Canadian beer industry is largely a product of settler colonialism, as European settlers brought and established mainstream brewing traditions to North America. While Indigenous Peoples in North America didn't brew beer in the typical European sense, that is, with malted grains, they nevertheless produced fermented foods and beverages. As noted, fermentation is a vital means for people to purify, preserve and add nutrients to foods, and constitutes an important food tradition for many Indigenous Peoples (Willows, 2005). For instance, fermented seal meat, *igunaaq*, is considered to be a culturally important and refined food for the Inuit (Willows, 2005, p. 33).

Although evidence suggests that fermentation has been practiced among most human cultures, the production of beer and alcohol by Indigenous Peoples in North America is less evident. Historical accounts of alcohol and Indigenous Peoples are coloured by racist stereotypes, and almost exclusively recount the introduction of alcohol by European colonists. However, there is evidence that some Indigenous nations, particularly those in the American South-West, made beers and other alcohols (Hieronymus, 2016). Communities in the southern corn-producing regions, including the Pueblos and the Apaches, brewed a corn-based beer called *tiswin*, and, similar to their European counterparts, prior to the commercialization of beers, the brewers were primarily women (Hieronymus, 2016). Conversely, for Indigenous Peoples in Canada, the introduction of alcohol was almost entirely the result of European contact and subsequent trading arrangements (Bousquet & Morissette, 2009). While European drinking cultures migrated with the settler-colonists, in which alcohol could be food, social lubricant and intoxicating substance, Indigenous Peoples

assigned their own meanings to different alcoholic beverages, using some for spiritual ceremonies, medicinal purposes and celebrations (Bousquet & Morissette, 2009).

Beer was one of the first alcohols brought to North America, and settler colonists sought to establish breweries immediately to guarantee a steady supply (Sewell, 2014). The first settler colonists in New France began brewing beer in 1627, and the first commercial brewery was established in 1669 by the first intendant of New France, Jean Talon (Pashley, 2009; Coulombe-Demers, 2015). Beer consumption in New France proved stagnant until the French were defeated by the English soldiers, whose consumption of beer far exceeded the French settler colonists, which then allowed for the growth of the beer industry (Coulombe-Demers, 2015).

With the arrival of ever more Europeans throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries came the establishment of more commercial breweries, which spread westward with colonization (Pashley, 2009). Most of these commercial breweries proved relatively small-scale, with localized production and distribution, and brewed a variety of European styles, brought over by the different waves of immigrants, using locally sourced grains and hops (Sneath, 2001). In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, larger regional breweries emerged, including Molson, Labatt, Carling and O'Keefe that were keen on increasing the scales of production and distribution (Sneath, 2001; Pashley, 2009). These breweries eventually came to dominate national and global beer markets, and their growth can be attributed in part to the prohibition of alcohol throughout much of Canada in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Prohibition signalled a fundamental shift in the ways beer was made and consumed in Canada, altering cultural practices, moral values and legislation inexorably. The prohibition of alcohol was the result of the temperance movement, which originated in the United States during the 1820s and 1830s (Heron, 2003). Temperance movement proponents sought to reduce male drunkenness and its negative impacts on the family (e.g. domestic abuse, financial losses) by restricting and/or entirely banning the sales and consumption of alcohol (Martin, 2008). The temperance movement is regarded as the start of women's entry into political spheres, as women were often founding members of temperance organizations in Canada and the United States (Heron, 2003). While alcohol and drunkenness were the primary concerns of the movement, temperance organizations enabled women to take political actions and campaign for social reform in the matters of women's suffrage, public health, child welfare and working conditions (Heron, 2003). While the temperance movement helped women gain a political foothold, it nevertheless had negative costs for women in that it impacted public perceptions of the 'drinking woman' (Martin, 2008). Women's alcohol consumption was equally seen as problematic and immoral, conflicting with middle-class values that placed women in domestic and caring roles, and was associated with sexual deviance broadly, and working class and women of colour more specifically (Martin, 2008).

The temperance movement ultimately proved successful, with governments throughout North America placing restrictions on alcohol. In the United States, the triumph of temperance advocates led to a federal prohibition of alcohol from 1920 to 1934, while Canadian prohibition lasted from 1901 to 1948, depending on provincial legislation (Pashley, 2009; Beckham, 2014). Most notably, Québec held out until 1918 to enact Prohibition, and

demonstrated greater leniency with regards to the sales of wine and beer, which were considered food rather than simply alcoholic beverages (Boyce, 1923; Sneath, 2001). While the prohibition of alcohol is historically bound to a discrete period, temperance values endured in some capacity; following the repeal of Prohibition legislation, longer-term restrictions were placed on the spaces in which alcohol could be sold and consumed (Pashley, 2009; Beckham, 2014).

The penultimate consequence of Prohibition was a reduction in the number of breweries, and a shift in localized models of production towards an industrial and globalized system. Prohibition also shaped cultural perceptions of alcohol consumption – demonstrated through the post-Prohibition era in which alcohol legislation in Canada was intended to shame consumers. It limited the amount of alcohol an individual could purchase at one time, as well as where alcohol could be publically consumed (Pashley, 2009). Moreover, these legislations were gendered, and severely restricted women’s consumption of alcohol in the public sphere because they were kept separate from men in drinking establishments (Pashley, 2009).

Prohibition continues to have resounding impacts on the ways in which alcohol is legislated and regulated in contemporary contexts. States came to play a significant role in regulating the sales and taxation of alcohol in North America, and there is often direct government control over alcohol vis-à-vis state-owned monopolies (Pashley, 2009). Since the emergence of the temperance movement, government actors also play a moralizing role through alcohol legislation, particularly regarding the health and safety risks of alcohol consumption; notably,

they target ‘vulnerable’ populations (including youth, low-income populations, and racial minorities) to prevent instances of alcohol abuse.

In Canada, many of these types of regulations are based in settler colonial narratives that stereotype Indigenous Peoples’ relationship to alcohol, particularly their perceived inability to metabolize alcohol and their predisposition for substance abuse (Marshall, 2015). While alcohol consumption and abuse occurred among European settler colonists and Indigenous Peoples alike during the initial period of contact and colonization, restrictions were imposed only on Indigenous Peoples (Campbell, 2008). These initial perceptions of Indigenous alcohol consumption were subsequently regulated through the *Management of Indian and Ordinance Lands Act* in 1868, the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act* in 1869, and later more severely through the *Indian Act* of 1876, which prohibited liquor consumption for all Indigenous peoples with legal status (Campbell, 2008; Marshall, 2015). The only way in which alcohol consumption could become legal for Indigenous Peoples in Canada was to completely assimilate into Canadian society and give up their Indigenous culture and rights (Campbell, 2008).

Contemporary drug and alcohol regulations remain rooted in settler colonial institutions, whose aims are to survey and control Indigenous peoples, and are rooted in assumptions that Indigenous peoples are more prone to deviance and criminality, and are ill-informed about health issues (Marshall, 2015). The idea that the Canadian state is responsible for the regulation of alcohol and drugs is contrasted with Indigenous sovereignty, in which Indigenous Peoples have the right to govern themselves and their territories. While certain First Nations are accorded federal tax exemptions on alcohol that is sold on reserve, their

ability to self-govern is limited and undermined by the settler-colonial institutions that enforce drug laws and structure substance abuse treatment (Stockwell et al., 2006; Marshall, 2015). The ultimate goal of alcohol legislation in Canada is to explicitly restrict *how, where* and *by whom* alcohol is consumed, and often reproduces racist settler-colonial attitudes. In both Ontario and Québec, alcohol legislation is entrenched in Prohibition-era values that see the state as guiding consumer values and health decisions, placing limits on the age of drinkers and strict restrictions on where and when alcohol may be purchased.

### 1.2.2 Brewing a globalized commodity

Not only did Prohibition impact legislation, it shifted the beer market inexorably. After Prohibition was repealed in Canada, few small-scale community breweries remained, as only larger regional and national breweries who could shift their production to non-alcoholic beverages weathered the ban on alcohol (Sneath, 2001; Pashley, 2009). The breweries that did remain prospered over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, growing through acquisitions of (and mergers with) smaller breweries throughout Canada (Grieco et al., 2018). Larger Canadian breweries also gained advantages as technological advancements in production and distribution generated more automation and greater efficiency in the brewing process (Tremblay et al., 2005).

Post WWII advancements in canning and shipping technologies, such as refrigerated trucks, allowed brewers to create more consistent products with extended shelf life (Grieco et al., 2018). Most of the beers produced by brewing conglomerates in North America from 1950 onwards were light lagers, popularized by German immigrants to the United States; light lagers proved ‘easier’ to drink and contained less alcohol than strongly-flavoured ales,

appealing to a wider market of consumers (Dighe, 2016). Temperance-minded consumers were drawn to light lagers due to their low alcohol content, which was only of 3-4% alcohol by volume (ABV) as opposed to traditional British ales, such as Stouts and Porters, which contained closer to 6% ABV (Dighe, 2016, p. 760).

In addition to greater scales of production, Canadian breweries sought to increase their overall market shares. However, inter-provincial trade barriers posed limitations on the ability of breweries to expand their market, as the sales of beer across provincial borders were severely restricted. In response, large brewing companies sought to establish breweries in various provinces to create a national market for their products (Grieco et al., 2018). The nationalization of the beer market also drove notions of a 'Canadian' beer, which was tied to ideas of nationalistic pride and constructed as distinct from American and European beer cultures (Seiler, 2002). Canadian-based breweries Molson and Labatt invoked a 'Canadian' identity and lore in their marketing that framed Canada as a unified nation of masculinity, sports, multicultural mosaics and vast natural landscapes, and posited this construct as fundamentally different from American identity (Seiler, 2002; Jackson, 2014). In these ways, the marketing and advertising of beer products helped to construct both consumer tastes and identities, capturing increasingly globalized market-shares (Howard, 2016).

In the 1990s, large Canadian breweries targeted male consumers almost exclusively by creating a 'national masculinism' that associated Canadian masculinity with traits relating to strength, courage and an interest in hockey (Jackson, 2014). This image is particularly evident in a commercial for Molson Canadian beer titled 'The Rant' that first aired on March 17th 2000, in which a young, white man wearing a plain flannel shirt proclaims his national pride

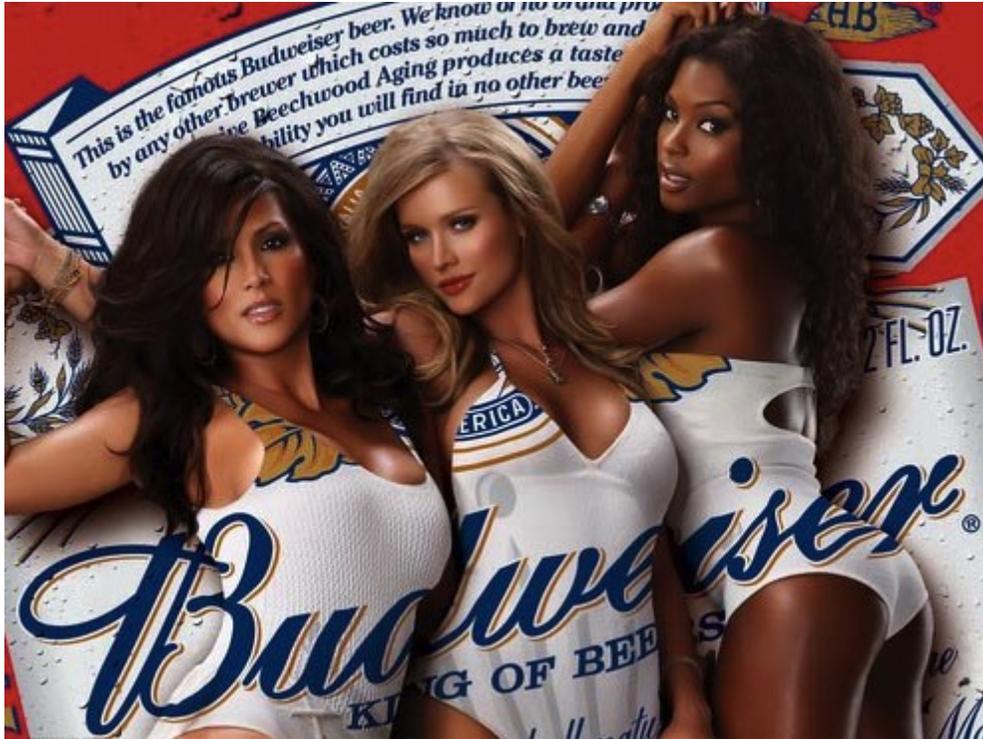
and Canadian identity through is love for hockey, beavers and, of course, Molson Canadian beer (Seiler, 2002) (figure 1.1). These marketing mechanisms created white, middle-class, heterosexual and male consumer identities that ultimately excluded others from the beer market (Messner & Montez de Oca, 2005; Corzine, 2010; Beckham, 2014).



*Figure 1.1:* Still from Molson Canadian commercial ‘The Rant’ featuring a young, white man in plaid standing in front of projection of ‘Canadian’ images (SHNKArchives, 2020).

In the advertisements of large brewing conglomerates, Canadian and American alike, women are often portrayed as either existing for male pleasure and sexually promiscuous, or as ‘undermining men’s freedoms’ and pleasure (Messner & Montez de Oca, 2005) (figure 1.2). Jackson (2014) explains the ways in which women are used to relate masculine narratives: “women occupy marginal, sexually infused positions as strippers, desperate amorous girlfriends and prospective one-night stands...” (p. 908). Equally, young white males are regularly depicted as victims of female empowerment in beer advertisements: “the throwback sexual and gender imagery – specially the bitch-whore dichotomization of women – is clearly a defensively misogynistic backlash against feminism and women’s increasing

autonomy and social power” (Messner & Montez de Oca, 2005, p. 1905). People of colour and low-income populations are also excluded from the imaginaries of beer consumers propagated by large breweries, and are instead tied with cheaper and higher-alcohol products, such as malt liquors (Beckham, 2014; Howard, 2016).



*Figure 1.2* Beer advertisement from industrial brewer, Budweiser, depicting scantily clad women overlaid on a beer label (University of Oregon Blog, n.d.).

Despite the seeming ‘Canadian-ness’ of large breweries, their operations are entwined in global markets. Towards the end of the 1990s, large multi-national beer conglomerates purchased several Canadian-owned breweries, including the sale of Labatt to Anheuser-Busch InBev SA/NV (ABInBev) in 1995, and the merger of Molson with American brewery Coors in 2008 (Sneath, 2001; Patterson & Hoalst-Pullen, 2014; Friend, 2015; Grieco et al., 2018). In this way, beer brewing has moved in a similar trajectory to many other food

commodities in that production is increasingly industrialized and globalized, and power is concentrated in the hands of a very few multi-national conglomerates (Howard, 2016).

Due to mergers and acquisitions, the overall number of breweries shrank over the past two decades, and the four largest global beer firms, AB InBev, MillerCoors, Heineken and Carlsberg<sup>2</sup>, account for the clear majority of beer sales in their respective segments of the market (Tremblay et al., 2005; Howard, 2016). These four firms also increased their market share through aggressive investment in marketing, eliciting a wider consumer base through national advertising campaigns (Tremblay et al., 2005; Howard, 2016). Rather than invest in developing new and diverse beer flavours, brewing conglomerates attempted to distinguish their relatively homogenous light lagers from their competitors through marketing campaigns (Howard, 2013).

The concentration of power in the beer industry is further exacerbated through the vertical integration of the supply chain. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, industrial breweries gained increasing control over suppliers, distributors and retailers in North America (Howard, 2016). Though state-owned corporations and monopolies in Canada largely control the retail of alcohol, brewing conglomerates nevertheless still manage to exert significant control over the beer industry. In Ontario, while the Liquor Control Board of Ontario LCBO accounts for a large portion of beer sales, the Beer Store is a significant beer retailer in the province. The Beer Store is a private organization that began its life as the Brewer's Retail in the 1920s,

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<sup>2</sup> Although Chinese brewing conglomerate China Resources Beer (CBR) counts among the world's largest breweries, their distribution remains largely limited to China. Through a partnership with Heineken forged in 2018, CBR seeks to expand its market outside of China, while Heineken gains entry into the growing Chinese beer market (Reuters, 2018).

which was a consortium made up of a variety of regional and smaller Ontario breweries – later acquired by brewing conglomerates Molson-Coors, ABInBev and Sapporo (Pashley, 2009; Bird, 2010). As such, brewing conglomerates hold a significant influence over the retail sector in Ontario. Bird (2010) notes the political power of larger alcohol producers in Ontario: “Both the large brewers and the Ontario wine sector are well-financed and well-connected entities in the Ontario political scene, and are able to ensure that their rights are not threatened by any substantial alterations to the alcohol retail marketplace” (p. 9). Howard (2013) notes that large breweries in the United States exert enormous political power through their concerted lobbying efforts and political sway, which is exacerbated through industry consolidation. In 2009, brewing conglomerates ABInbev and MillerCoors [now Molson Coors] threatened to close certain US operations if state and federal beer taxes were raised (Marin Institute, 2009). Mergers and acquisitions allowed these two conglomerates to control nearly 80 percent of the US beer market, and increased their dominance over economies and employment (Marin Institute, 2009).

Brewing conglomerates gained further market advantage in Ontario through corporate-owned restaurants, in which they could afford exclusive licencing fees and kickbacks (i.e. gifts and/or cash offered by beer sales representatives to food service managers/owners in exchange for selling their product) (Gaudio, 2016). While the retail landscape in Québec differs from Ontario with increased options for consumers in corner stores, grocery stores and other private businesses, large brewers are nevertheless advantaged through economies of scale (Masson & Sen, 2014). In effect, Québec breweries are responsible for the distribution of their own product, which means that larger breweries are less financially

burdened as their production volumes are high enough that their bottom line is less impacted by the costs of distribution than that of smaller breweries (Masson & Sen, 2014).

The Canadian beer industry experienced significant growth and change in the 20th century, with more beers being made available at a low cost to consumers across the country. Despite the relative abundance and cheapness of Canadian beers since the 1950s, the variety of beers decreased in the decades that followed, and consumers were effectively limited to light-tasting, highly-carbonated and low-alcohol lagers.

### 1.3 Beer as transformative

#### 1.3.1 The rise of craft beer

Despite the significant power brewing conglomerates hold over the North American beer industry, the dominance of light lagers started to be challenged in the 1970s. A counter-movement to large-scale industrial brewing first arose in the United States with entrepreneur Fritz Maytag, who purchased the failing Anchor Brewery in San Francisco and began developing small-batch, artisanal beers beginning in 1971 (Hindy, 2014). The development of niche beer production in the US was aided by the re-emergence of homebrewing in the 1970s, which was outlawed during Prohibition, coupled with a rise in affluence and a consumer demand for greater product diversity (Tremblay et al., 2005).

The move away from brewing conglomerates represented a shift backwards to the model of small-scale, community-based breweries that existed prior to Prohibition, as well as an emphasis on product diversity and quality rather than quantity and consistency (Hindy,

2014). This model of brewing is termed ‘craft’ in reference to the hand-made, artisanal and traditional qualities of the beer. Craft brewing is characterised by the scales of production and distribution (small-scale and localized), and the embracing of traditional and diverse beer recipes (Eberts, 2014; Schnell & Reese, 2014). In addition to a return to more ‘traditional’ ways of brewing, craft beer is driven by collective and explicit values connected to community, place-making and collaboration. Craft brewing is therefore, and in contrast to the standardized macrobrewed beers, defined through a diversity of flavour and styles, use of local inputs, embeddedness in place, and connectedness with consumers and other actors along the supply chain (Maye, 2012; Eberts, 2014; Schnell & Reese, 2014; Yool and Comrie, 2014).

The craft beer ‘revolution’, as it is often termed, gained momentum in the 1990s, spreading northwards to Canada in the early 2000s (Sneath, 2001; Eberts, 2014, Hindy, 2014).

Canadian craft brewing advocates also drew inspiration from the Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA), a British advocacy group for small-scale, local beer production (Sneath, 2001; Eberts, 2014). Canadian craft breweries emerged modestly in the early 1980s with 33 new craft breweries by 1990, and the movement significantly accelerated in the past decade. (Eberts, 2014). In 2017, there were 817 craft breweries across Canada, with more than half of that number in Ontario and Québec (Sheahan, 2018).

The place-based aspects of craft brewing drives geographic work on the beer industry, which examines the scales of brewing processes, and the mutually-constitutive ties between beer and sense of place. Scholars seek to understand how the beer industry has grown and evolved in both a local and global context, paying close attention to the ways in which

brewing (re)produces landscapes (Mittag, 2014; Schnell & Reese, 2014; Yool and Comrie, 2014). Traditional European beer styles often relayed particular geographies in which different ingredients and recipes are regionally derived (Yool & Comrie, 2014). Certain regions, such as Germany, have specific legislation and brewing governing bodies that standardise recipes to maintain place-based identities (Adams, 2006). Place identities represent an important aspect of the North American craft brewing industry, which aims to re-embed brewing practices regionally in a turn towards more localized means of production and distribution.

Similarly, wineries have long tied their products to specific landscapes, attributing soil composition, water chemistry and climate to the creation of unique flavour profiles and product quality (Fletcher, 2016). In wine, these unique geographies and production techniques are referred to as *terroir*, and are established and bound by government legislation and international trade agreements through the designation of ‘geographic indications’, such as the Institut National des Appellations d’Origine (INAO) in France (Trubek & Bowen, 2008). *Terroir* and other ‘taste of place’ standards aim to celebrate, preserve, and enhance food and eating cultures by upholding traditional and place-based food production practices (Trubek & Bowen, 2008). Drawing on the notion of ‘*terroir*’, brewers embed beer styles in specific regions by using ingredients that embody localities through variations in soils, climate and water (Mittag, 2014). For instance, a hop variety grown in the Northeastern United States will have a distinctly different flavour profile than the same variety grown in Germany (Yool & Comrie, 2014). Water also plays a significant role in the taste of beer, with scholars emphasizing the role of ‘hydro-geographies’ in placing beer in specific localities, as water quality (and even taste) varies regionally and locally

(Gatrell et al., 2014). The emphasis on ingredients, and therefore taste, serves to distinguish craft beer as flavourful and hand crafted from the mass-produced, light-tasting macrobrews (Beckham, 2014, p. 5).

Furthermore, scholars on the geographies of beer stress the role of craft beer in processes of place-making, as brewers connect to place through the production, marketing, distribution, and use of locally sourced ingredients (Eberts, 2014). Place is enacted through the names and narratives associated with different craft beers and breweries, which evoke historical events and people, significant landscape features and other facets of local culture and heritage (Eberts, 2014; Gatrell et al., 2017). By engaging with place in this way, as well as materially through their ingredients, craft brewers (re)construct localities and senses of place.

### 1.3.2 Beer as food (redux)

In many ways, the craft beer industry mirrors trends in the broader food system towards more localized and place-based models of production, distribution and consumption. Conventionally, food systems of an industrial and globalized scale are associated with high ecological and social harms, straining land and water resources and producing economic inequalities throughout the supply chain (Dowler et al., 2010; Alkon & McCullen 2011; Galt, 2013). Considering these issues, a movement for sustainable food systems has taken root, founded on a growing consumer conscience that has led people to question what they put on their plates. These 'ethical' eating practices put forth a means to create healthier bodies, communities, and ecologies through consumption of 'good' foods (local, sustainable, nutritious) rather than 'bad' foods (global, industrial, 'junk' food), and through the

cultivation of localized and personal relationships in food systems (Guthman, 2003; Guthman, 2008; Lynch & Giles, 2013) – all understood through a normative lens.

Craft brewers invoke similar discourses to the local food movement when distinguishing their products from macrobrewers, emphasising the fresh, healthful and local characteristics of their beers in opposition to processed, industrial and unhealthy macrobeers. Here, standardization and efficiency are characteristic of industrial foods and macrobeers while diversity and tradition define craft beers and ethical foods (Guthman, 2003; Beckham, 2014). Equally, the sentiments expressed by craft brewers echo those of local food movement proponents in seeking to ground food in place, and connect the different actors along the supply chain. Though not all beer inputs can be sourced locally, ‘localness’ is a central facet of craft brewing, as localized and place-based arrangements characterize the craft beer supply chain and enhance relationships of trust between actors (Maye, 2012). ‘Local’ for craft brewers is therefore representative of a place-based production process, and a means to distinguish craft brewing from globalized and ‘placeless’ industrial brewing to instil a sense of authenticity (Maye, 2012; Eberts, 2014).

Narratives of ‘community’ also reign supreme in craft brewing, in which beer brings people together through the enjoyment of the product as well as through the cooperative spirit of brewing craft beer (Kuehn & Parker, 2018; Mathias et al., 2018). Craft brewers will often share knowledge, equipment and ingredients amongst themselves, and many view craft brewers stand united against the macrobrewers (Hindy, 2014; Mathias et al., 2018). Notions of community allow craft brewers to distinguish their practices from those of macrobrewers

by stressing the importance of personal relationships and connections through the brewing and drinking of beer.

Although local and sustainable food movements attempt to emphasize the ecological, ethical and socio-cultural values of food, issues of social justice are most often overlooked (Breitbach, 2007). Certain iterations of the food movement that rely primarily on market-based mechanism have largely neglected the structural inequalities that characterize the social and economic realities of marginalized populations, and how these realities affect their food choices and their ability to participate in ethical forms of eating (Guthman, 2008; Galt, 2013; Johnston and Baumann, 2015). These oversights are partly due to the inherent assumptions that localized and sustainable food systems are the end-all solutions to the various issues generated by the globalized, industrial food system (Lynch and Giles, 2013). Consumer experiences and knowledge of food represented by local and sustainable food movements are often universalized, with issues of class, gender, and race obscured (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Guthman, 2008).

Though gender, class, and race are referred to here in a more general sense, it is imperative to make clear the intersections of race and gender within class (McCall, 2005). Referring to gender and race as unified risks obscures unique and lived experiences, and an intersectional understanding of gender, race and class provides a means to recognize these complexities (McCall, 2005). Food preferences and tastes are products of not only individual experiences and cultures, but also dominant power relations in the sense that food choices are ultimately both shaped and restricted by social and economic realities (Chapman & Wu, 2012). For instance, access to local and sustainable foods, such as farmers' markets and community-

supported agriculture is typically restricted to more affluent consumers, despite aims to embrace inclusivity and social justice (Guthman, 2003, Cairns et al., 2010; Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Galt, 2013). In these ways, the social and material construction of class, race and gender play a significant role in developing an understanding of consumer behaviour.

Scholars establish that drink choice is strongly (and iteratively) tied to identity, with craft beer drinkers attempting to distinguish themselves through their preference for stronger, more flavourful beers that are produced locally (Maye, 2012; Murray & O'Neill, 2012; Spracklen et al., 2013). Much in the same way that local and sustainable food movements tend towards exclusivity and inequality, craft brewing cultures enact social and economic identities. Craft beer, similar to local and organic food, is considered a niche product and priced higher than industrially produced beer and marketed towards consumers with the financial means to purchase it and the knowledge necessary to distinguish craft beers from macrobrewed beers (McLaughlin et al., 2014). While craft beer consumers include female and racially diverse individuals, there is nonetheless a dominant white male identity that characterizes the craft brewing industry (Beckham, 2014; Carr, 2015; Kuehn & Parker, 2018). The craft brewing industry and community promote themselves as inviting and welcoming to all, although more efforts need to be made to attract and embrace a diverse consumer demographic (Beckham, 2014; Johnson, 2016). In effect, there are questions as to the inclusivity of the craft beer community for those who make and drink beer alike.

While craft brewers attempt to distance themselves from the male-centered narratives fostered by brewing conglomerates, they are not immune to reproducing hegemonic masculinities (Carr, 2015; Kuehn & Parker, 2018; Rydzik & Ellis-Vowles, 2018). Although

many craft breweries make efforts to distinguish themselves from the often-misogynistic marketing strategies of brewing conglomerates, many still make use of gendered, and sometimes offensive, marketing practices that intend to sexualize and demean women, with beers named ‘Tramp Stamp, Thong Remover, and Pearl Necklace’ (Carr, 2015; Kuehn & Parker, 2018) (Figure 1.3).



Figure 1.3: A sample of sexist beer labels produce by craft breweries (Gordon, 2015)

Craft breweries also typify women’s taste and preferences for beer in similar ways to the broader beer industry, in which beer is characterized as a man’s drink (Darwin, 2018; Kuehn & Parker, 2018). Kuehn and Parker (2018) reveal that breweries gender beer flavour profiles: “for example, fruity, lighter beers encode and/or decode as ‘feminine’, and bitter, strong ales or higher ABV beers as ‘masculine’” (p. 6). In these ways, men are the legitimizers of what counts as ‘real’ or ‘good’ beer, as they are dominant within craft beer culture and communities (Darwin, 2018).

The materiality of craft beer work also impacts craft brewer identities, as craft beer labour is felt viscerally and emotionally (Thurnell-Read, 2014). In brewing, scholars note that a working body is fundamental to the production process through the material engagements with the modes of production and the product (Thurnell-Read, 2014; Kuehn & Parker, 2018). Craft brewing, and other forms of ‘craft work’, are often emotional endeavours and involve forms of labour that are embodied and sensory, particularly as brewing work is driven by individual passions and a sense of fulfillment (Thurnell-Read, 2014; Fox Miller, 2019). As a profession, brewing is physically laborious, tedious and monotonous – requiring brewers to lift heavy loads<sup>3</sup> and work in uncomfortable positions, with many ‘brewing’ hours dedicated to cleaning equipment, ordering ingredients and scheduling staff (Thurnell-Read, 2014; Kuehn & Parker, 2018; Fox Miller, 2019).

The small-scale, informal nature and potentially dangerous aspects<sup>4</sup> of craft beer work generate “a ‘macho’ culture of masculinity within craft breweries that encourages workers to ‘just get the job done’” (Fox Miller, 2019, p. 83). Because of this physicality, brewing, like other types of physical work, is coded as masculine, while more passive tasks, such as administrative, marketing and communications work, are coded as feminine (Rydzik & Ellis-Vowles, 2018). These gendered assumptions in craft beer undermine women’s ability to enter the brewing industry as brewers, creating significant challenges for them to break into male-dominated brewing workspaces (Beckham, 2014; Carr, 2015; Rydzik & Ellis-Vowles,

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<sup>3</sup> Craft brewing labour requires that brewers frequently lift and manipulate heavy objects, including unwieldy sacks of malted grain that weigh 50lb (22.7kg) and kegs of beer, which, when full, weigh a little over 160lbs (72.6kg).

<sup>4</sup> The potential hazards associated with brewing include exposure to industrial, chemical cleaning products, high temperatures, steam and pressure (Fox Miller, 2019).

2018). Often, female craft brewers must attempt to overcome assumptions of female ‘weakness’ and physical ineptitude “through material means, namely demonstrating physical competence, adapting their physical workspaces, and developing bodily techniques to use tools and machinery primarily designed for male bodies, ...” (Rydzik & Ellis-Vowles, 2018, p.495).

While craft beer is framed as distinctive from macrobrewed beers – both materially and conceptually – these distinctions often only produce dichotomies between ‘craft’ and ‘macro’ beer, in which craft brewing is defined in opposition to industrial practices. In as much, as the craft brewing industry grows while the wider conventional beer industry remains stagnant, macrobrewers seek to adopt the facade of craft brewers in order to grasp a share of the craft beer market (Rice, 2016; Mathis et al., 2017). Macro-breweries purchase established microbreweries and (often) conceal their ownership, referred to as ‘stealth ownership’, and produce ‘fake craft beers’, which emulate the flavourful styles, and engage in marketing practices that mirror craft beer discourses around quality and specialty products (Proctor, 2015; Howard, 2016). In these ways, the products, values and culture associated with craft beer culture have become increasingly commodified, and their meanings thus weakened (Collinson & Macbeth, 2011). As brewing conglomerates continue to encroach on the craft beer market, craft brewing advocates also pose questions as to how acquisitions of craft breweries by industrial and corporate entities may impact the authenticity and identity of the acquired craft brewery (Rice, 2016).

To safeguard craft brewing from globalized conglomerates, craft brewers invoke notions of authenticity to define ‘real’ craft beers. For instance, in an effort to extricate craft beer from

industrial beers, the Brewers Association based in the United States launched the 'independent craft brewer seal' in 2017 to help consumers identify independently owned craft breweries from 'fake' craft beers produced by brewing conglomerates (Herz, 2019). In these ways, craft brewers' associations and other industry groups act as gatekeepers in defining what may be considered craft beer, placing limits on brewery size, ownership and ingredients (Rice, 2016). In Canada, while no national organization of craft brewers currently exists, many choose to join provincial organizations such as the Ontario Craft Brewers Association or the Association des Microbrasseries du Québec. These organizations not only serve to define what constitutes craft brewing in each province, but also to lobby governments on behalf of craft brewers (AMBQ, 2015; OCB, 2018). These definitions rely on notions of independence, authenticity, heritage, tradition, 'realness', and locality to designate beer as 'craft' (Murray & Kline, 2015; Rice, 2016; Gatrell et al., 2017). As such, there are significant questions as to how these narratives take shape, and how they come to be materialized and embodied through brewing and consumptive practices.

### 1.3.3 The craft beer 'revolution'

The growth of the North American craft brewing industry is often characterized as a 'revolution' (Hindy, 2014) and a movement (Carroll & Swaminathan, 2000). The term 'revolution' used in the context of brewing suggests a counter-movement or resistance to established norms and power relations, in which the craft breweries implicitly protest the monotonous and flavorless products that dominate North American beer markets. Rice (2016) suggests that certain craft beer advocates perceive craft brewing as a rejection of the capitalist and market-oriented practices favoured by globalized beer conglomerates (p. 243). Inasmuch, the craft brewing industry positions itself as distinct from global and corporatized

brewers, and emulates social and ethical discourses similar to those of local and sustainable food movements (Beckham, 2014). Many craft brewers see themselves as working towards a common goal in enhancing their local communities, embracing more ethical and ecologically sustainable practices, and supporting other craft brewers (Beckham, 2014; Eberts, 2014; Hindy, 2014).

Overall, little attention is given to beer production in economic geography literature, though broader insights into economic relations and agri-food production can be drawn from the brewing industry (Maye, 2012). Craft brewing features unique social and economic relations by forming networks of trust along the supply chain, and shares goals with local and sustainable food movements towards achieving more localized, community-based food economies. While examining the transformative potential of craft brewing, there is a need to pay attention to the ways in which social and political economic inequalities may be reproduced in the craft beer industry. Similar to local and sustainable food movements, the craft brewing industry faces significant issues in terms of inclusivity, particularly in the ways in which craft beer reproduces white, male identities with regards to consumers and producers alike (Beckham, 2014; Darwin, 2018; Kuehn & Parker, 2018). These issues require further attention to determine whether craft brewers engaging in transformative and collective actions in food system, or simply represent another form of individualized and consumptive action that neglects systematic inequalities.

Maye (2012) highlights craft brewing as a ‘community practice’, in which people are bound by common interests, which generates “collective enthusiasm, two-way exchange of knowledge and mutually recognized reciprocity even though the companies were capitalist

organizations” (p. 485). Equally, the distinct identities asserted by craft brewers and consumers, as well as the place-based production model of craft brewing, creates a space and opportunity for community development by bringing together people who share an interest in craft beer (Larsen, 1997). The shared identities in craft beer communities are most commonly oppositional to brewing conglomerates, and their boundaries face challenges due to the erosion of craft brewing by corporate entities (Mathias et al., 2017). This erosion also brings into question the efficacy of collective actions based on shared identities and the ability of craft brewers to pursue more cooperative rather than strictly competitive relationships in the industry (Mathais et al., 2017). In effect, my research is particularly interested in how craft brewers navigate the demands of conventional economies, such as the pursuit of profit and growth, with the core community values associated with craft brewing.

Alternatively, the development of craft beer communities increases social capital, promotes creativity, and possibly provides a means to resist ‘capitalism's inevitable adaptive and consolidating mechanisms’ (Larsen, 1997, p. 285). By emphasising and enhancing the distinctions of craft brewing practices, craft brewers may be able to resist the concentration of power in the beer industry. In these ways, craft brewing provides a means to examine more-than-capitalist relations that build towards diverse economic possibilities in food systems (Maye, 2012; Gibson-Graham, 2006). In pursuing non-competitive economic relations, craft brewers essentially engage with more-than-capitalist economies wherein the economy is used to produce common good. This pursuit of ‘common good’ is foundational to Gibson-Graham’s (2016) notion of the community economy, in which the economy is socially and ethically driven, considering the interdependence of humans and more-than-

humans in achieving well-being for all. While craft brewers function within conventional, capitalist economies, they express more-than-capitalist economic values by engaging in collective and cooperative actions meant to better the craft beer community and their broader localities (Maye, 2012).

## 1.4 Beer as Research

### 1.4.1 Key arguments and research questions

In weaving through the long and storied history of beer, it becomes clear that beer can be used to tell stories about more than just the beer itself. It reveals the intricacies of human and non-human relations, the changing roles of women in food systems and economies, the increasing dominance of globalized corporate entities, and the transformative potential of collective identities and actions. For this research, beer serves as a lens through which to explore these topics, and to understand how craft brewing in particular offers opportunities for more-than-capitalist economic possibilities.

For the purposes of this thesis and in keeping with the histories of beer and brewing, I consider beer as a food item, and as such, entwined in everyday geographies. The geographies of the everyday ground our attention in the particular, rather than the dislocated nature of political economic powers and structures. The question of what people eat (and drink) is entangled in everyday and lived experiences and speaks simultaneously to broad political economic relations and the minutia of specific contexts. Through this, the discursive and material are intertwined, which elucidates the realities that people live in, experience and (re)create. In his foundational works on the sociology of everyday life, Henri Lefebvre (1991)

sees the study of the everyday as unbinding the constraints of structural theory and as a means to understanding how political transformations take shape.

Lefebvre (1991) states:

It is everyday life which measures and embodies the changes which take place 'somewhere else', in the 'higher realms'. The human world is not defined simply by the historical, by culture, by totality or society as a whole, or by ideological and political superstructures. It is defined by this intermediate and mediating level: everyday life (p. 45).

In economic geography, the study of the everyday provides a means to make evident uneven power relations and inequities, and to explore gendered, racialized, colonial and alternative dimensions of economies (Yarker, 2017). Feminist economic geographers Gibson-Graham (2014a) seek to study economies at the micro-scale of the everyday by engaging with what they term 'thick description', which allows them to tease out possibilities for social change and to move away from the 'strong theories' that attempt to make broad claims about how the world works. In a similar way to Lefebvre, Gibson-Graham (2006a) see the everyday as a space for change and use 'thick description' to bring political economic issues "out of the realm of abstract theorizing and into everyday practices of living together and building alternative futures" (p. xi). The economy is therefore understood through the everyday realities that impact human survival and well-being and political economic transformation is framed through small changes and 'everyday revolutions' (Gibson-Graham, 2014b).

I argue that the food, and beer, is a particularly salient object through which to study the everyday and elucidate political economic realities, given our universal and common reliance on substance as human animals. Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2008) argue that food underpins our 'social-biological existence' and allows geographers to "make a powerful link between the everyday judgments that bodies make (e.g., preferences, cravings) and the

ethico-political decision-making that happens in thinking through the consequences of consumption” (p. 462). The everyday practices of production, consumption and eating highlight the intimate connections between the material and discursive aspects of economies and political structures, as well as the deeply visceral engagement between bodies and material objects. Rather than relying on the classical economic framing of people as individualistic and rational economic actors, this everyday understanding of food requires a healing of the mind/body divide, through which motivations are understood as messy, complex, emotional and visceral (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008).

While I am by no means implying that beer is a biological necessity, the beer industry is nevertheless fundamentally tied to the food system through production processes (e.g. the cultivation of grains and hops). Craft brewers call upon similar discourses to the local food movement with regards to enhancing localized economies and supply chains, and valuing personal relationships and collaborations with actors throughout the beer supply chain. Howard (2016) reveals that the concentration of power in the beer industry threatens the continued growth and success of the craft beer industry due to the enormous sway brewing conglomerates hold over the supply chain and government legislation.

The concentration of power is similarly a growing concern in broader food systems, as it reinforces inequalities and compromises the ability of people to meet their food needs, as they lack control over the means of production, distribution and retail (Allen, 2010; Howard, 2016). The biological necessity of food, as well as its vast political, cultural and economic importance, causes the concentration of power in the food system to be particularly concerning (Howard, 2016). By explicitly connecting beer to the food system, questions

emerge as to how local food discourses are being utilized by craft brewers, and to what effect? How do brewers invoke discourses to construct craft beer communities and identities, and how do these discourses contribute to place-making processes? Furthermore, the embodied nature and materiality of craft beer and brewing raise questions about whose bodies are appropriate to the making and drinking of craft beers? Eating and drinking cultures and practices reflect the intersections of race, gender and class. In other words, who we are shapes how, and what, we eat and drink.

In placing beer within food systems, broader lessons can be drawn from the ways in which the craft brewing industry distinguishes itself from brewing conglomerates to guard against the concentration of power. Although the beer market is a highly competitive, craft brewers stress the importance of collaboration, the need to support one another by sharing resources and knowledge, and their roles in engaging with the broader local community (Hindy, 2014; Ness, 2018). While acknowledging the negative impacts of a concentrated beer industry, I recognize that the relationships between brewing conglomerates and craft breweries are multi-faceted, and not always antagonistic.

In effect, there are questions as to whether the values of community, cooperation and localization held by craft brewers are a product of a niche market and could be left behind for more conventional economic values once the industry reaches its peak (Mathias et al., 2017). As such, this research develops a more comprehensive and heterogeneous conceptualization of craft brewing that accounts for the variances in scale, ingredients and shifting power relations. While I try to eschew the dichotomization of craft brewing and industrial brewing practices, in which brewing conglomerates are often framed in opposition

to craft breweries, this dichotomy is nevertheless significant in how craft brewers identify themselves.

Rather than frame brewing conglomerates as distinctly ‘bad’ and in opposition to the ‘good’ craft breweries, this research will draw attention to the transformative potential of craft beer in engaging with more-than-capitalist economic possibilities. As such, I ask: **How do craft breweries create opportunities for community economies?**

Expanding on this main question, I seek to examine more deeply issues pertaining to localization, inclusion/exclusion and economic relations in craft beer through three sub-questions:

**1. How are place and locality (re)constructed through craft beer-making processes?**

This question leads to an inquiry about the ways in which heritage, culture and landscape are re-produced through craft beer, and the ways in which local is discursively, relationally and materially constructed in the craft beer industry?

**2. Who is included and excluded in the craft beer community, and to what effect?**

More specifically, I intend to reveal how constructions of race, gender and class feature in craft brewing discourses, and how these iterations differ from those articulated by the industrial brewing industry.

**3. How do local, small-scale craft brewers situate themselves in relation to industrial brewers, and to what effect?** Here, I intend to examine the ways in which craft brewing

business practices are distinct from the industrial brewing industry, paying attention to the relationships between craft brewers and other food systems actors, as well as how success and motivation are characterized in the craft brewing industry.

Although the second sub-question explicitly engages with issues of inequality and exclusions in the beer industry, the intersection of race, gender and class are implicit in all the research questions. This intersectionality is vital, as I seek to understand how craft beer communities, narratives of place and localization are constructed, and to uncover who benefits from the personal relationships formed in the craft brewing industry.

#### 1.4.2 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, including three contextual chapters, three results chapters, and one concluding chapter. Chapter 1: *Introduction: The Ubiquity and Complexity of Beer* provided an introduction to the histories of beer and brewing, which frames the current political economies of craft brewing that this thesis explores. This chapter also presented the guiding research questions and objectives. Chapter 2: *Conceptual Framework* situates this analysis within a conceptual framework grounded in Gibson-Graham's (2006a) *Diverse Economies* research agenda and Actor-Network Theory. This chapter outlines these frameworks as a means to examine craft brewing economies in a way that captures the relationality and materiality of craft brewing. Chapter 3: *Research Methods* begins with my positionality, which informs the ways in which I thought through and undertook my research and data collection. It then outlines my qualitative research methods and data analysis, which is informed by Gibson-Graham's (2014a) notion of 'thick description' and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Chapter 4: *Local Beer Economies in Ottawa-Gatineau* introduces my research context through explorations of the regional geography and current political economies of craft beer in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. This chapter further explores the current economic and political challenges faced by craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, namely relating to the legislation, regulation, distribution and retail of craft beer. This chapter pays attention to alcohol legislation in Ontario and Quebec, and the ways in which these are structured to benefit brewing conglomerates often to the detriment of craft breweries. This chapter also considers the role of the interprovincial border in the Ottawa-Gatineau region as defining and challenging the craft beer industry.

Next, Chapter 5: *Placing and localizing craft beer* examines the ways in which ‘local’ is applied to and utilized by the craft brewing industry. This chapter presents the ways in which craft brewers and other brewing actors in the Ottawa-Gatineau region engage with concepts of locality through their material and discursive practices. In doing so, this chapter explores notions of taste of place (*terroir*), the sourcing of locally grown brewing ingredients and processes of place-making through the brewing of beer. In this chapter, I seek to glean insights into place-identity and locality in the context of craft brewing, and the connections between craft brewing and the local food movement.

Chapter 6: *Crafting communities* challenges the ways in which ‘community’ is framed as entirely positive in the context of craft brewing, drawing attention to power relations and inequities in the craft beer industry. In effect, I explicitly engage with notions of intersectionality to investigate issues of diversity and inclusion in craft brewing communities. While critically

examining ideas of community, this chapter also uses ‘community’ to draw out possibilities for change and social transformation in the craft beer industry. As ‘community’ is a foundational value for the craft brewing industry, this chapter answers my overarching research question, returning to the notion of ‘community economies’

Finally, Chapter 7: *Conclusion* closes this thesis, bringing together the key concepts of economy, place and community that were explored in the results chapters. Additionally, this chapter serves as a reflective piece that captures the dynamism and continual evaluation of the craft brewing industry in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, given the challenges presented by a global pandemic. This chapter also opens possibilities for future research and lays groundwork for the dissemination of research results.

## Chapter 2 - Conceptual Framework

### 2.1 Introduction

Beer continues to reveal novel sociocultural and economic relations despite its lengthy history and a virtually unchanging composition. The mundaneness of beer and its ubiquitous presence in the everyday obscure the complexity of brewing, including the relations that shape and define beer. The relatively simple melange of malted grains, water, hops and yeast is embedded within a multitude of assemblages and relations that draw out meanings, emotions and relationships. Beer, I argue, can reveal a great deal about people, places and communities.

Eating and drinking constitute everyday practices that are fundamental human necessities, and hence tied to cultural and moral norms. Geographers turn to everyday practices to examine how material and social realities affect and are affected by broader power relations and structures. The study of the everyday, made up of looks to lived experiences and material realities to reveal how particular political economic processes create subjectivities and are felt, embodied and performed by individuals (Yarker, 2017). For philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1991), the study of the everyday is a means to examine broader systems and practices through a narrowed scope, looking at the particularities of social relations and drawing out differences rather than generalizations. In characterizing the 'everyday', Lefebvre (1991) sees the everyday as binding together all matters of society, stating:

The everyday can therefore be defined as a set of functions which connect and join together systems that might appear to be distinct...The everyday is therefore the most universal and the most unique condition, the most social and the most individuated, the most obvious and the best hidden. (p. 9)

These larger social and political economic processes, while framed as dominating and globally constituted, are assigned meaning, performed and made sense of locally, through everyday and mundane experiences (Yarker, 2017). Here, ‘small’ matters: the ‘local’ is not simply constructed by the ‘global’, but has agency and is co-constituted relationally (Massey, 2004). Building on the idea that the local is intrinsically connected to the global and therefore matters, everyday practices, however seemingly small, can lead to possibilities and change (Gibson-Graham, 2006a). In this sense, a single commodity, such as beer, offers a productive site through which to understand social and political economic change.

In following the supposition that beer can provide opportunities for ‘change’, it is necessary to define what *kinds* of social and political economic of change I am referring to, and a change from *what*. Building on the previous chapter, which outlined the issues relating to the concentration of power in the beer industry, this next section frames beer relationally by means of Gibson-Graham’s (2006a) diverse economies research agenda, and the works of Whatmore (2006) and Law (1992) on Actor-Network Theory. These paradigms build towards an understanding of craft beer that is grounded in material realities, while teasing out multiple social and political economic imaginaries. Diverse economies offers a means to examine beer within a political economy that is cognisant of systemic issues, yet receptive to economic possibilities and diversity. Actor Network Theory builds on these multiple understandings of the economy, and pays particular attention to the relationships and discursive practices that define craft brewing as a social and material practice.

The first section begins by defining economies as social processes through the lens of Gibson-Graham’s (2006a) diverse economies paradigm, which challenges the conventional

conceptualization of economic knowledge as scientific fact. This section uses the diverse economies paradigm to frame my understanding of communities and brewing economies. The second section uses ANT to capture the human and non-human relations that structure craft brewing practices and economies as well as broader food systems.

## 2.2 Diverse and community economies

In feminist economic geography traditions, capitalism and particularly neoliberal capitalism are at the root of innumerable and global social, cultural and environmental issues.

Capitalism at its core seeks to create a system in which the economy functions independently from state institutions, and people are able to pursue the generation of surplus (profit).

Created as a system based on the basic notion that 'hard work' should be rewarded, capitalist political economic processes have created vast socio-economic inequalities, contributed to global environmental degradation, and eroded public institutions, particularly those linked with social services. Neoliberalism, currently the dominant mode of capitalist political economic relations, seeks to further disengage the state from regulating the economy, and is defined by Harvey (2007) as the "maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade" (p. 22).

Capitalist, and, by relation, neoliberal, structures and institutions limit how the economy is understood, and therefore how changes can be made to rectify inequalities and injustices. In a capitalist paradigm, economic knowledge is perceived as scientific fact, and the economy exists in-of-itself, outside of social and cultural systems. For instance, certain economic geographic projects, such as the concept of embeddedness, in which the 'economy' is influenced by particular social and cultural contexts, describe a capital 'E' economics as the

'economy' remains an established and autonomous entity (Mitchell, 2008). Rather, the 'economy' was brought into existence by a particular set of relations and circumstances, and is sustained and continually evolving by means of people, places, institutions and material realities (Mitchell, 2008). Gibson-Graham emphasize this point in *The End of Capitalism?*, stating: "This economy is not simply an ideological concept susceptible to intellectual debunking, but a materialization that participates in organizing the practices and processes that surround it, while at the same time being organized and maintained by them" (p. xi, 2006b). Capitalism does not exist in-of-itself; it is continually supported by a particular set of circumstances and relations.

Thus, the language that is used to describe an 'economy' creates and re-creates capitalism, shaping the ways in which economies are thought of and enacted (Gibson-Graham, 2006a). Discursive formations, that is, the rules and relations that govern the ways in concepts are articulated, limit what kinds of economic knowledge can be produced (MacDonald, 2003). The production of economic knowledge is therefore limited by how the economy is articulated in the dominant capitalist paradigm. In trying to think about the economy outside of the small box of capitalism, economic language must be expanded to include more terms, to broaden the concepts and categories that are (formally or informally) considered to be a part of the economy (Gibson-Graham, 2006a). Notions of class, labour and profit are narrowly defined in capitalism, in which only certain activities 'count' as economic, namely those involved in producing surplus. The capitalist economy is based on hierarchies that value certain types of labour, namely productive labour, over other activities that do not generate economic surplus (Gibson-Graham, 2006a). Feminist economic geographers argue that the economy should be expanded to include activities that contribute indirectly to the

production of capital and surplus, such as domestic, reproductive and emotional labours, bartering, and other non-market activities (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Allen & Sachs, 2007; Fickey, 2011; Gibson-Graham, et al., 2013).

Historically, surplus is accumulated and retained by private and individual actors – typically the result of exploitation of labour, natural resources, non-human species, and/or future generations (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). In going beyond capitalist understandings of the economy, the diverse economies paradigm seeks to reframe the economy in a way that includes a diversity of everyday activities that ‘ensure the material functioning and well-being of our households, communities, and nations’ (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013, p. 4). In this sense, the economy becomes framed as means to enhance social good through economic surplus.

Redefining the ways in which surplus is understood remains a hallmark of the diverse economies research project, and key to building towards community economies: “In a community economy, we’re interested in how surplus is produced, who owns it, who decides how it can be used, and how it can be deployed to produce well-being for people and the planet” (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013, p. 54). A community economy exists in spaces in which economic exchanges adhere to democratic principles, redistribute benefits and recognize multiple interests and values. Here, community economies aim to fulfil the shared interest in survival and well-being through the protection and enhancement of the ‘commons’, which describe shared spaces and resources (Gibson-Graham, 2006b; Gibson-Graham, 2014; DeLind, 2011).

### 2.2.1 Difference over dominance

In building towards a community economy, the diverse economies research paradigm seeks to highlight difference and alternatives that already exist in the economy. However, if capitalism remains the dominant economic paradigm, then how do we go about looking for difference? What qualifies as ‘different’ or ‘alternative’ in the context of the economy? While expanding on notions of the economy is an important step towards realizing community economies, Fickey (2011) cautions the tendency to fall back on dichotomies that position economic alternatives against capitalism. She states: “While the term diversity offers us the possibility of many economic others, *alternative* restricts economic imaginings to a limited binary framework” (Fickey, 2011, p. 239). Alternativeness is, after all, relative, and tied to particular contexts and geographies, while diversity moves beyond established binaries (Fickey, 2011).

Moreover, capitalist modes of economy are further reinforced through the dichotomization of alternative and capitalist economies. Rethinking the economy requires a rejection of the assumed dominance of capitalism, which erodes and constrains possibilities for difference. Gibson-Graham assert that ‘capitalocentric’ ways of thinking limit economic possibilities, dividing the economy between capitalist and non-capitalist activities (2006a). In liberating economic difference from capitalist discourse, Gibson-Graham reject ‘capitalocentric’ language that ties labour to paid work, livelihoods and well-being to market economies, and economic futures that place capitalism at the pinnacle (2006b, p. 59). Economic diversity requires drawing out difference, rather than seeking alternatives to dominant paradigms.

This approach is often characterized as ‘theoretically weak’, as it doesn’t seek to fit observed phenomena within a predefined theory or understanding of the economy that is confined to a particular worldview (Gibson-Graham, 2014). Instead, ‘weak’ theory facilitates description and interpretation, allowing for multiple realities to emerge and increased diversity (Gibson-Graham, 2014). In other words, theories reveal and conceal particular facets of the world, and speak to power relations in particular ways. Using a grounded, theoretically weak approach to uncover diversity in economies allows differences to emerge by capturing a wider range of practices that form part of the economy.

As a research practice, a theoretically weak approach requires reading for difference, rather than dominance (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Reading for difference means questioning the assumptions and structures that give power to dominant modes of thinking, particularly those associated with capitalism. Critical geographers seeking to question capitalist systems all too often reinforce capitalocentric power structures by assuming that capitalism infiltrates and affects all social and economic realms (Gibson-Graham, 2008; Harris, 2009). Accepting the dominance of the capitalist system reinforces capitalist and neoliberal subjectivities, thereby constraining the possible worlds and knowledges that can be created (Harris, 2009).

Part of the diverse economies research agenda includes the dismantling of capitalist knowledge as the only way of knowing, and inclusion of diverse worldviews. Reading for difference creates a space for diversity by allowing for new insights, opportunities for creativity, and existing possibilities to emerge (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Drawing from Gibson-Graham’s work on diverse economies, I argue that critique need not equal pessimism, and that diversity and possibilities for change already exist. In embracing

openness and optimism, Gibson-Graham (2006a) suggest that people ‘start where they are’, conceptually and geographically, to construct economic alternatives as ‘there is no privileged social location from which to embark’ (p.xxix).

### 2.2.2 Geographies of community and economy

The notion of ‘starting where you are’ to create change and move towards community economies begs the question of scale and locality, particularly as initial actions may be small and local in nature. For Gibson-Graham (2006b, 2008), economies are place-based, although ‘place’ is not a bounded concept, but represents connection between localities and a ubiquitous ‘global’. Place is where changes can emerge and take shape, and the ‘local’ is vital to understanding the particulars of economic diversity and paths towards community economies. The power of the ‘local’ as a site of change can generate unproductive local-global dichotomies, and doubts about the ability of localized actions to create meaningful changes (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). The Diverse Economies framework challenges the notion that the local and, in this sense the particular, are bounded and limited by ‘inward-looking thinking’ (Gibson-Graham, 2008, p. 622). Gibson-Graham (2006a) therefore turn to Doreen Massey’s work on global-local connections and understanding of place as a means to re-frame the local as interconnected and as having agency.

Massey (1993) challenges the conventional local-global binaries that place ‘local’ at the mercy of dominant globalizing forces, notably neoliberal and capitalist power structures. In effect, Massey (1994) argues that globalization is characterized by the connectivity of the global and local, and is resultant of space-time compressions that structure the flows of people, capital and information. This space-time compression is facilitated by technology and contingent on

broader political economic power relations, as the flows of capital and people reflect and reinforce structural power inequities (Massey, 1994). In taking into consideration the connectivity of the global and the local, Massey (1994) offers an alternative interpretation of place that is unbounded and relational, which, she notes: “allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local” (p. 155). For geographers, local often refers to the spaces and places in which everyday activities take place and identities are formed, while the global refers to an abstracted, unbounded and pervasive force seeking to dominate the local (Massey, 2004; Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006; Gibson-Graham, 2008). To better understand the ‘local’, we must turn inwards, to grasp contexts and complexities, as well as outwards, to capture linkages between different places (Massey, 2004).

Notions of localism and community are fundamental to the diverse economies research agenda, and defining these terms becomes a fraught and difficult task due to their many contested meanings and uses. In many critiques of capitalist economies, both ‘local’ and ‘community’ are often (uncritically) understood as desirable and good, particularly when pitted against the ills of globalization and neoliberal expansionism. Globalization, as pushed by neoliberal policies and projects, is thought of as a homogenizing process, erasing the particulars of local cultures and identities.

By turning to localized and community-driven actions, it is argued, we can combat the destructive powers of globalization and capitalism. This argument characterizes the ‘local’ as inherently good, and Massey (2004) warns that the ‘local’ is not always better than the ‘global’, as people are not all positioned equally in their locality. The dynamic and

heterogeneous aspects of localities produce inequalities that suggest that not all places are worth defending ‘in their present form’ (Massey, 2004). Places that are inward-looking are often constrained by their inability to grasp power relations within and between different places, as Massey (2004) argues in the case of the city of London. She argues that, in order for social transformations to effectively address power inequities, London must be defined by its local context as much as its global connectivity (Massey, 2004).

Similarly, the idea of ‘community’ used in economic critiques, often tied with localism, is used to express a sense of one-ness and unity – an antidote to the individualism of capitalism, invoked to create a sense of ‘fuzzy warmth’ (Gibson-Graham, 2006b, p. 86). But ‘community’ is better conceived of as many different things; it may be tangible or intangible, geographically bounded or place-less, organized or chaotic. While ‘community’ is flexible, it above all represents the ways in which people express and shared their worldviews, lives, goals and interests, often in ways that lead to collective actions (Silk, 1999, p. 8). Communities are built through interactions and connections between members, often through shared spaces (Silk, 1999). Often, the word ‘community’ is used to supplement more specific geographic terms, such as neighborhood, town, village, city and region, or structures in which people congregate, including schools and places of worship (Silk, 1999).

Despite ‘community’s’ association to geographic place, it cannot be conceived as only spatially constructed and bound. While face-to-face, small and territorially bound communities have been perceived as unmediated and more ‘authentic’, all social relations and communities are temporally and geographically fluid and mediated (Massey, 1995; Harvey 2005). While Gibson-Graham (2006b) explicitly admit to drawing on more

normative ideas of community (i.e. community as good and desirable), they use ‘community’ to relay the notion that the economy is directly related to a ‘shared way of being—a form of “common being”’ in which economic practices are tied to people and places (2006b, p. 86). Likewise, they employ notions of localism to tie the economy to the particular and material world, rather than the abstract globalism in which capitalism resides (Gibson-Graham, 2006b).

### 2.2.3 Beer and Diverse Economies

As a framework for examining the craft brewing industry, I argue that the diverse economies research agenda draws out the relationships and practices through which craft brewers engage that center around care and community. The grounded approach to research and the purposeful openness to economic difference advocated by Gibson-Graham (2006a; 2008) allow for contextual particularities to emerge and speak to broader issues. As previously stated, I remain interested in what craft brewing, as an everyday and material practice, reveals about countering the concentration of power in food economies. The concentration of power in economies occurs when particular firms come to dominate an industry through strategies such as mergers and buyouts, lobbying efforts to weaken anti-trust laws, and vertical integration (Howard, 2016). These unequal power relations are directly tied to capitalism; firms secure power to maximize profit through the generation of wealth and continued growth, as well as the weakening state economic powers (Howard, 2016).

Food systems reveal how concentration of power operates (including the impacts it has on people, places and local economies). Howard (2016) notes that the material necessity of food for human life and well-being renders the concentration of power in food systems more

concerning than other economic sectors (p. 13). The increasingly concentrated nature of wealth and control in food systems ultimately raises food prices, decreases smallholder farms, compromises rural livelihoods, generates ecologically unsustainable farming practices, and results in a food system disconnected from social and cultural values (McMichael, 2009; Galt et al., 2014). These unequal power relations mean that fewer people are able to decide how foods are produced, distributed, retailed and consumed (Howard, 2016).

Chapter 1 highlighted the ways in which concentration of power shapes the beer industry, which is dominated by a select few large brewing conglomerates, colloquially known as brewing conglomerates. Scholars note the tendency in the craft brewing industry to frame itself in opposition to corporatized and globalized production models, often portraying capitalism, especially capitalist notions of economic success and unrestricted growth, in a negative light (Larsen, 1997; Maye, 2012; Spracklen et al., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2014). In this way, craft brewing is positioned as revolutionary – a quasi-social movement based on taste, place and community interests.

Although scholarship concerning craft beer often uses the term ‘social movement’ to describe the aspects of resistance to dominant market trends in brewing, I would hesitate to frame it as such, as it lacks fundamental elements of social justice. In food systems, and I include beer as food here, social movements tie together political, social, ecological and cultural concerns, and reflect the need to address systemic injustices (McMichael, 2008). Instead, I would argue that there are counter-cultural *aspects* in the craft brewing industry, though these are typically not aimed at resolved systemic injustices or oppression. These counter-cultural aspects take shape through the more-than-capitalist practices of craft

brewers that aim to cultivate community ties and strengthen local economies. Moreover, as certain brewers and other implicated in the craft beer industry attempt to draw attention to issues relating to diversity and inclusivity in craft brewing, craft brewing is increasingly connected to broader social movements, such as Black Lives Matter, that address social injustices.

Studies on craft beer provide insights into the diverse economic practices of craft brewers, which can relay broader lessons relating to more-than-capitalist economies (Maye, 2012; Thurnell-Read, 2014). Thurnell-Read (2014) examines notions of affect, materiality and emotion in craft beer in an attempt to challenge capitalist worker subjectivity and identity. Larsen (1997) equally examines notions of capitalist subjectivity, though in the context of consumers, and argues that the ideas of community central to craft brewing may generate possibilities for resilience and creativity to counter capitalism's dominance (p. 284).

Maye (2012) sees craft brewing as cultivating difference and diversity at a local scale as a means to counter the homogeneity and globality of industrial macrobrewed beers. He argues that relationships in the British craft brewing industry highlight notions of economic diversity and difference that can be used to challenge the hegemony of capitalism (Maye, 2012). Themes of difference and diversity populate scholarly literature on craft brewing, and are used to differentiate craft brewing practices from brewing conglomerates, which are directly linked with a capitalist system (Larsen, 1997; Maye, 2012; Spracklen et al., 2013). However, in drawing out economic differences, there is a continued assumption about the dominance of the capitalist system in craft beer scholarship (Larsen, 1997; Maye, 2012; Spracklen et al. 2013). Gibson-Graham's (2006a) diverse economies framework

demonstrates that it is possible to look for economic difference without reinforcing capitalist hegemonies. Further, Gibson-Graham not only seek to highlight diversity, but also to build towards community economies, and therefore integrate notions of engaged scholarship, social justice and ecological sustainability into their research agenda. Although this project does not attempt to directly create change, it aims to highlight paths towards the creation of community economies through craft brewing.

### 2.3 Actor Network Theory

While the geographies of craft brewing are heavily shaped by broader political economic structures, the material aspects of beer are equally relevant. Craft beer is largely defined by the choice of ingredients, brewing practices and the flavours of the final product, as well as the personal relationships among those in the brewing industry. In beer, social and material elements are intrinsically tied throughout the processes of production and consumption. Making beer is a physical and affective process, largely driven by personal passion and a desire for labour to produce a tangible outcome (Thurnell-Read, 2014). The type of labour involved in brewing beer is physically difficult, and reveals a confluence of embodied, emplaced and emotive labours (Thurnell-Read, 2014). The consumption of beer also joins together the body, through the effects of consuming nutrients and alcohol, and the mind, through the social nature of drinking beer (Thurnell-Read, 2017).

In bridging the material and the social in craft brewing, I turn to Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to better understand the relational nature of human and non-human actants, places, and social and political economic structures. The performativity of actants and networks described by ANT is closely linked with those explored by Gibson-Graham (2008) in the

Diverse Economies framework. The economy is ultimately a performative exercise, and the result of disciplinary narratives and social performances (Callon, 1999; Butler, 2010).

Gibson-Graham perceive capitalocentric discourses as active in upholding conventional economic norms and institutions, and diverse economic possibilities are a performative practice (Gibson-Graham, 2014). In as much, Gibson-Graham (2014) see their work as aligned with ANT, particularly in expanding how socio-material realities are made and re-made, and the collectivity of economic actions, which combine the human and more-than-human. The notion of space is particularly central to resolving the dichotomization of material and conceptual understandings of the world in the diverse economies framework: “An engagement with space allows us to confront some of the political and epistemological concerns about the relationship between discursivity, materiality, and politics that have arisen in the clashes between modern and postmodern feminist and urban discourses” (Gibson-Graham, 2006a, p. 78).

In critical human geography, the relational aspects of space and place are called upon to understand global-local connections. Doreen Massey’s (2004) work in particular highlights the ways in which places are constructed by association with other localities. She notes that place is best understood as a relational process than a set of fixed characteristics and internal-produced relations, and the uniqueness of places is created by ‘accumulated histories’ and through linkages with broader spaces (Massey, 2004). It can be defined as “a geographic space and a living force that holds people (and other life forms) to a thickness of relationships and memory that signal a ‘fit’ and a sense of belonging” (DeLind, 2006, p. 128). These linkages and networks that shape places and place-making processes draw out the

conflicts, systemic inequities, competing interests that drive particular narratives and material realities (Pierce et al., 2011).

In other words, places represent the intersection of landscapes, ecologies, socio-economic relations and culture (Marsden, 2013). ‘Sense of place’, which includes the meanings, experiences, emotions and attitudes held towards a specific place, describes the ways in which people relate to places personally and collectively, and is an essential facet of community identities (Rose, 1997; de Wit, 2013). ANT sees geographies as both landscapes and social constructions: “Space, although partly physical, is therefore wholly relational” (Murdoch, 1998, p. 359).

The relations between different objects and social orders are described as networks, which represent patterns of connection, forms of spatiality, and sets of links and relations (Law, 1999). Social relations ‘perform’ different spaces, and differences in places are represented through boundaries, though certain social spaces may also be mutable, fluid and unbounded (Mol & Law, 1994). While ‘space’ can be difficult to bind and locate, and scales more difficult to discern, proponents of ANT argue that this murkiness is more akin to how the world actually operates (Law, 1992; Murdoch, 1998). Proponents of ANT trace networks rather than define scale, leading to a ‘folding in’ of time and space, like Massey’s notions of the processes of globalizations (Murdoch, 1998; Massey, 2004). In this sense, the local becomes no more or less important than the global; it is the network – or, rather, the relationships between different places, – that is the object of study (Murdoch, 1998).

ANT understands networks as a means to perceive and order the world relationally, in which network represent patterns of connection and forms of spatiality (Law, 1992; Law, 1999; Latour, 2005). At the core of these networks are ‘actants’, the human and more-than-human actors that act to shape and reshape the world and configure networks (Law, 1992; Haraway, 1994). Actants represent the material realities that act upon the social world, creating and situating knowledge (Haraway, 1994). The strength of ANT lies in the recognition of the roles and agency of more-than-human actants in shaping the world, as knowledge constructed through the interactions between people, material objects and discursive narratives (Whatmore, 2006; Friedmann, 2009). The assembling of bodily, material, affective and social understanding(s) under the guise of actants creates a richer understanding of geographies, which in human geographic traditions, are largely human-driven constructions (Whatmore, 2006). Whatmore (2006) argues for a geographic inquiry that includes the more-than-human as these “attend closely to the rich array of the senses, dispositions, capabilities and potentialities of all manner of social objects and forces assembled through, and involved in, the co-fabrication of socio-material worlds...” (p. 604).

### 2.3.1 Bodies and materiality

Craft beer, by definition, is necessarily tied to particular localities through material production practices and social relationships. In this, craft brewing is a material, embodied and affective practice, linking bodily senses, emotions and identity. Notions of embodiment recognize the importance of the physical body in shaping social and material worlds, as bodies act and interact with human and non-human actants, shaping themselves through these encounters (Haraway, 1994). The consumption of food is an embodied and social act, linking biological necessity and pleasure (Bourdieu, 1986). The ability of people to select

foods that are aesthetically and sensually pleasing, going beyond the satiation of basic nutritional needs, serves to distinguish social class (Bourdieu, 1986).

Taste is affective and material, acting upon bodily senses and physicality: “It is an incorporated principle of classification which governs all forms of incorporation, choosing and modifying everything that the body ingests and digests and assimilates, physiologically and psychologically” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 190). Consumptive practices are ‘inter-corporeal’ networks, linking human and more-than-human bodies in particular arrangements and spaces (Whatmore, 2002, p. 118). Whatmore (2002) points to food as a means to illustrate the embodied aspects of consumptive networks, writing: “food complicates the geographies of intimacy, stretching and folding the time-spaces of here and now, ‘us’ and ‘them’, producing and consuming in complex and contested ways” (p. 118). In this sense, bodies are viscerally and physically tied to food geographies through labour as well as consumption, as the acts of growing and making foods are affective (Slocum, 2010).

Through consumption and labour, bodies are classed, raced and gendered in discursive and material ways. For instance, gendered norms impact bodily sizes, for example, the preference for smaller female bodies and restricted female appetites in North America, through a promotion of eating norms and habits for women that focus on nutrition and health over pleasure and fulfillment (Bourdieu, 1986; Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008; Johnston & Baumann, 2015). In linking bodies to broader political economies, food represents an internal/external site to investigate how power and knowledge are embedded in everyday practices (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008). Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2008) use food as a tool to politicize the body and taste: “Food offers a concrete way to trace the

discursive through the body, to recognize the gaps in what is known (or knowable) in regard to the ways that bodies deal with discourses, and to express what visceral political resistance might feel like” (p. 464). As an everyday and ‘knowable’ geography, food systems offer a site to investigate tangible and material, as well as the discursive and immaterial political economies (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008).

### 2.3.2 Food and the more-than-human

Food, including beer, represents an entanglement between the human and the more-than-human through the plants, animals and microbes that provide nourishment, the tools with which we produce and consume foods, and the technologies and discourses that inform food choices and agrarian political economies. In short, bodies are literally shaped by encounters with more-than-human actants in the food system, and human and non-human bodies likewise shape food systems. While food chains are typically illustrated as linear and controlled entities, the material geographies of food systems are complicated by the agency of non-human actants, which have their own concerns and directions (Whatmore, 2002, p. 124). Foods can be grown by people in a way to bring out particular tastes and flavours, though landscapes, climates, soil micro-ecologies, and a myriad of other more-than-human influences limit human control over food production.

Fermented foods, such as beer, sauerkraut, cheeses and kimchi, provide a means to consider the intimate and bodily relations between humans and more-than-human worlds. The processes of fermentation represent a human-nature linkage through the use of microbes and microorganism to create different food products and flavours (Hey, 2017). Modern agro-economies rely on the domestication of species, and represent human control over

natural environments, creating a binary between humans and the ‘wild’ (Tsing, 2012).

Conversely, Tsing (2012) describes domestication as a ‘fantasy’, as human relations with nature and other species are more accurately characterized as interdependent, stating: “Human nature is an interspecies relationship” (p. 144).

Humans depend on various microbes and microorganism in the production of food and medicines, categorizing species as good or bad, depending on their impacts on their usefulness and potential harms (Tsing, 2012; Hey, 2017). Microbes are entities with their own drives and behaviors, acting upon their worlds in particular ways, often in spite of human influences and attempts at control (Hey, 2017). In food and research, engaging with microbes means working *with* them, by altering certain aspects of their environment with the knowledge that their reactions and actions are wholly their own (Hey, 2017, p. 88). In brewing, microbes play a central role through the use of yeast to ferment beer, as well as bacteria to draw out and create different flavours. The choice of yeast strains heavily impacts the flavours and aromas of beers, and brewers can only control the micro-ecology in which the yeasts exist, through the sugar content of the wort, the exposure to light, the length of fermentation and temperature. The agency of yeast as a brewing actant is clearly articulated by Van Zandycke (2012): “Although the brewer makes the wort, it is yeast that transforms it into beer” (p. 858).

While living non-human actants impact the material aspects of beer, objects and technologies impact the perceptions, stories and narratives that drive craft brewing discourses. Discourses, how knowledge is understood and expressed, bring into being and perform particular realities and subjectivities (Haraway, 1994; Butler, 2010). While discourses

are driven by social worlds, they have real and material impacts, shaping relationships, identities and legitimizing particular ways of knowing (Fairclough, 2003). As a means to shape realities and knowledge, discourses reveal how power is used and held: “Discourses constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another – keeping separate from one another, cooperating, competing, dominating – and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124).

In relation to ANT, discourses interact and take shape through their interactions with other discourses and objects, and the ways in which the discourses are transmitted (Latour, 1996). The assemblages of narratives, discourses and stories represent multiple possible realities, and the constant re-imagining of worlds and knowledge (Law, 2004). It is not only what is said that is of import, but also the means through which the message is communicated. Proponents of ANT remain particularly interested in how meaning is made, the semiotics, through context, materials and relations between actants (Latour, 1997; Law, 1999).

Discourses take shape and are understood based on particular localities and particular human and non-human actants (Law, 2004). Places, as well as discourses, have agency in that impact the world around them in tangible ways (Rose, 2016). Knowledge production, and thereby discourses, is a performative, relational and material practice (Law, 1999). As a research tool, ANT emphasizes the role and agency of researchers in transforming (referred to as ‘translating’) knowledge through the processes of data collection, creating and re-creating discourses (Latour, 1996; Law, 1999). In the same way, Law (2004) draws attention to how materials and depictions are brought into understandings of reality through research

practices, ‘othering’ imaginaries and practices that don’t quite fit within academic method assemblages (p. 146).

In relation to craft brewing, ANT offers insights to the material, sensory and embodied aspects of the beer industry, including the ways in which beer and brewing enact discourses and give meaning to places, relationships and practices. Craft brewing enacts particular realities through the beer itself, as well as the stories and narratives cultivated through the brewing, marketing and consumption (Patterson & Hoalst-Pullen, 2014). Foods and consumptive practices are entwined with particular discourses that tie bodies to broader power dynamics, and gender, race and class relations (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008). Similar discourses play out in the craft brewing industry through social drinking norms, and notions of tradition, authenticity, community and locality (Larsen, 1993; Spraklen et al., 2013). ANT allows connections to be drawn between the physical and material aspects of craft brewing, and the ways in which beer is used to convey meanings. In this way, beer and the associated objects of brewing and marketing, including ingredients, bottles, labels and other marketing materials, are actants in the craft brewing industry as they craft narratives and meanings.

In this way, ANT guides my characterization of craft brewing, which I define relationally through the connections between human and non-human actants, which include brewers, brewing materials, as well as time and space. As the craft brewing industry develops and grows, it can no longer be exclusively associated with ‘microbrewing’ and framed in opposition to ‘macrobrewing’. The craft brewing industry is connected to both globalities and localities in differing ways, and is continually made and remade through brewers’

practices and discourses. 'Craft' is best understood as relational and performative, as it comes into being through relations and practices. Law (1993) links relationality and performativity as follows: "...entities achieve their form as a consequence of the relations in which they are located. But this means that it also tells us that they are performed in, by, and through those relations" (p.4). In other words, relations must continually be performed in order to persist (Law, 1993).

While certain tenets of craft brewing are commonly held by many in the industry, they are expressed in different ways and to varying degrees. ANT captures these moving pieces by drawing attention to the relational and performative aspects of craft beer, allowing for a gamut of craft brewing to emerge. In this way, each brewery can be understood as the sum of its parts, and not as more or less 'craft' than another brewery. For instance, a craft brewery that uses local ingredients but has a higher production capacity and wider distribution network is no more or less 'craft' than a smaller, more localized brewery that uses imported ingredients. Both breweries are instead considered craft based on the relations forged with places, peoples, materials and processes.

This relational approach to craft brewing aids in overcoming the tendency to dichotomize craft beer with industrially produced beers. This dichotomization is admittedly difficult to put aside given prevailing discourses that frame craft brewing as a 'movement' that seeks to set craft breweries apart from brewing conglomerates. However, there are significant variances in the ways in which craft brewers relate to brewing conglomerates, and chose to express 'craft'.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter structures the ways in which I frame craft brewing as a material, embodied, social and political economic practice. Together, the Diverse Economies research agenda and Actor-Network Theory frame the craft beer industry as connected to broader power issues while drawing attention to the particular and everyday complexities that impact brewing practices. Both frameworks allow for beer to be understood at multiple sites, from individual bodies to global contexts, through the relations between different actants. Equally, diverse political economic possibilities, understandings of the world, and ways of knowing are established, with the goal of moving beyond a capitalocentric framing of economies and social worlds. In framing my research this way, I am able to look at craft beer as a material object, through flavour, colour and aroma, as embodied and affective, through production and consumption practices, and as a social and economic entity, opening up diverse economic possibilities.

My conceptual framework directly informs the subsequent chapter (3), in which I outline my research methodology, as my methods capture both human and non-human actants, and I engage in critical discourse analysis to understand how craft brewing gives meaning to communities, places and objects.

### 3. Research Methods

#### 3.1 Methodology and preliminary inquiries

Beer is a beverage that holds countless meanings and sensory experiences, and in choosing to study the craft beer industry, I wanted to capture both the material and social aspects of brewing. As such, I turned to a poststructural feminist geographical research paradigm, which enabled me to discern these facets. Such approaches to research aim to make visible what is rendered invisible through dominant power structures, and are built through situated knowledge, explicit positionalities, and sensitivity to power relations (McDowell, 1992).

The rooted nature of feminist work allows for a materialist understanding of social relations and social constructions, particularly in the ways that gender, race and class have real and material consequences (Slocum, 2007). Understanding the relations between the social and the material is no easy task, and requires a methodology that is nuanced, able to capture multiple types of information, and resistant to the fundamental dichotomies and hierarchies that traditionally codify research data. Qualitative feminist research aims to reduce the distance between ‘researchers’ and ‘subjects’ through ‘intersubjectivity’, wherein research becomes an interactive and non-exploitative practice (McDowell, 1992; Fine, 1994).

The process of conducting research on craft beer required a cultivation of relationships with those working with craft beer, theoretical knowledge and material understandings. In doing so, the ‘field’ in which this research took place consisted both of new and familiar places and practices. In qualitative feminist geographical research, the boundaries between ‘field’ and ‘home’, ‘researcher’ and ‘subject’ can often become blurred, as the border between them is

largely imagined through disciplinary traditions (Katz, 1994). Feminist research therefore begins with exercises in reflexivity, to uncover subjectivities and power relations, as a way to situate the self and knowledge within the research project and the field (Katz, 1994; Rose, 1997). This reflexivity is particularly useful in the context of doctoral work, which is often isolating and self-guided, and necessitates a degree of emotional investment and attachment to the research. The emotional aspects of research are at the same time a source of strength, motivating and pushing researchers, as well as a limiting factor. In conducting doctoral research, these emotional facets, in addition to logistical constraints, generate vulnerabilities that can weigh on researchers, and create unique power dynamics and challenges (Ballamingie & Johnson, 2011).

In recognizing these potential issues, I made efforts to continually reflect on how I fit within my research context, and the various roles and identities I embrace while conducting research. Rather than attempting to separate my ‘academic’ life from my ‘real’ life, as is so often expected when conducting empirical research, I found that there is strength in relying on what I already knew to *peel back the layers* of the unknown. Reflecting on my own personal interest in craft beer and homebrewing, and my relationships with people in the brewing community, I chose to draw on my personal, emotional and academic entanglements to inform my choice of research methods.

My data collection began somewhat organically with my choosing to call upon my existing knowledge and experiences in the craft beer community. I began to tentatively probe brewers at the breweries I frequented, most often through scoping questions about the ingredients they used in their beers, and how they perceived the growth of the craft beer

industry in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. As I had yet to develop a firm research question during this preliminary research process, I used these conversations to guide my readings and my inform my preliminary reflections. The practice of engaging research subjects in developing a research project aligns with feminist methodologies, which see knowledge as co-constituted by the researcher and the researched (Rose, 1997).

In his work on brewer identity, Thurnell-Read (2014) sought to include similar activities as part of his research methodology to enhance his understanding of brewing, and to build relationships in the brewing community. In studying craft beer, home brewing provides a means to establish a rapport with interview participants, and a familiarity with brewing terminology and practices (Ibid.). In effect, this knowledge and identity helped me develop relationships with potential research subjects during my preliminary research, enabling me to narrow the scope of my study by incorporating the concerns of research subjects into the framing of specific research questions and outcomes. Equally, as a feminist geographer, I also sought to develop an action-oriented project that would be of interest and benefit to research participants and the broader craft beer community. Feminist methodologies see researchers as engaged in their community of interest, using research to better the lives of participants and mitigate unequal power relations (Kohl and Mccutcheo, 2015).

My preliminary research allowed for an exercise in self-reflexivity to identify my positionality both as an academic and as a member of the craft beer community. In doing so, I wanted to make apparent how knowledge is socially constructed in craft brewing, and how power relations affect these processes. Feminist research practices integrate reflections on the multiple, contested and continually negotiated subjectivities of the researcher and the

participants throughout the research process, to make apparent *who* is involved the co-production of knowledge (Kohl and Mccutcheo, 2015; McDowell, 1992). This process first took shape as I reflected on my varied identities – as researcher, consumer and brewer – in the context of craft beer, and the ways in which these aspects of my identity would affect my relationships and research.

Since I identify as a cis-gendered female, the masculine nature of the beer industry proved an immediate concern as I am not the ‘typical’ (or apparently, targeted) craft beer consumer. I therefore was cautious about how the primarily male craft beer community would perceive me, and whether my research project would be taken seriously. I found that, while interacting with members of the craft beer community, a basic knowledge of craft brewing practices was necessary to legitimize myself as a member of the community. I made efforts to participate in local beer events and homebrewing seminars, and frequent craft breweries and homebrew supply stores. In these spaces, I was further able to cultivate my identity as belonging to the craft beer community, and make efforts to expand my theoretical knowledge of beer culture, history and economies.

While I am familiar with the craft beer industry as a consumer and homebrewer, I lacked an understanding of the commercial aspects of craft brewing particular to brewers, farmers and retailers. Accordingly, I undertook informal consultations and scoping interviews with different brewing actors in the Ottawa-Gatineau region to gauge their interest in the study and allow them to express their concerns. I spoke with brewers while purchasing beer, attended workshops on home brewing, and volunteered as an assistant brewer in a craft brewery. This initial exercise in participant observation was invaluable in building

relationships and trust in the brewing community prior to conducting formal interviews. Equally, these experiences helped develop my knowledge of and skills around beer and brewing, allowing me to demonstrate, not only a consumptive and theoretical understanding of beer, but also a practical understanding of the brewing process. This understanding helped solidify my status as a ‘craft beer connoisseur’ with others in the beer community, allowing me to develop more equitable relationships with participants based on mutual respect from shared interests and experiences with beer and brewing.

Notably, my homebrewing proved essential to building rapport with craft brewers, and gaining a material and embodied understanding of craft beer. Many of the brewers I interviewed began their careers as homebrewers and this common point between us often eased the conversation. In making my own beer, I came to appreciate the subtleties of different ingredients, and how they came together to make great beers. These sensory experiences, smelling the sweetness mash, the ways in which the addition of hops changed the aroma of the wort, and being able to taste the final product, gave me insights into the affective attachments brewers have with their work.

Craft brewing qualifies as ‘craft work’, which is a type of work that is embodied and emotive and representative of process as much as product (Holt & Yamauchi, 2019). Holt and Yamauchi define craft work as follows: “Craft is the working and forming of things from out of the possibilities thrown up by materials” (p. 23). Craft work is tied to makers’ identities, emotions and bodies through the “materiality of ingredients, tools and equipment and the spaces of production” (Thurnell-Read, 2014, p. 47). Homebrewing allowed me to experience a small facet of both the tangible and emotional labour of craft work. I came to enjoy the

creative freedom of recipe development, the coming together of my ideas during the brewing process, and seeing others enjoy the final product.

## 3.2 Data Collection

### 3.2.1 Primary data

From September 2017 to December 2018, I undertook my primary data collection by means of semi-structured interviews coupled with participant observation. Following the approbation from the Carleton University Ethics Board, I began recruiting participants, many of which had expressed interest in participating in the study during previous, informal conversations. The vast majority of those approached were enthusiastic about participating in a study on craft brewing, and the interviews reflected their excitement at talking about craft beer. While interviews generate a wealth of data, in that they draw out expert opinions, insider knowledge and detailed accounts of specific phenomena and events, they are also an opportunity to engage in participant observation (Elwood & Martin, 2000). My participant observation involved a continuation of my preliminary data collection (attending craft beer events, festivals and seminars), enabling me to add context and richness to my interviews by engaging with the sensory and place-based aspects of craft beer.

Through my participant observations, I sought to document the sights, tastes, sounds and smells of beer and breweries to accompany my interviews. These details situate and ground my perception of craft beer in particular places, and enabled an embodied and material understanding of my study area. In order to generate material and sensory data, I made efforts to conduct my interviews with brewers in their breweries and hops farmers on their farms to situate myself (as best I could) in the spaces in which their narratives take place.

Interview sites can reveal information about a participant's priorities, their interactions with others, their roles and identities, and their experiences of or with a particular place (Elwood & Martin, 2000). For instance, in researching land and agricultural changes, Riley (2010) notes that by interviewing farmers in-situ, he gained varied, hidden and non-verbalized understandings of farmer experiences, as farming knowledge is often embodied and constructed through material experiences with land and beings in places. Similarly, brewing identities and knowledge are embodied and material, and tied a specific place, the brewery, which represents a very particular sensory environment (Thurnell-Read, 2014).

This participant observation also allowed me to spend time with participants outside of formalized interview processes, which in turn allowed the capture of greater nuance and the collection of experiential data (Whatmore, 2003; Kearns, 2010). In effect, following several interviews, I was given a tour of the brewery by my interview participant, which kept the conversation going after the formal questions had concluded. Equally, I purchased beer from each brewery I visited in order to experience the products I was told about during the interviews, and report on the embodied and material aspects of the beer.

I conducted a total of 21 interviews with actors involved in various aspects of the craft beer industry, which included brewers and brewery owners/managers, input producers (yeast laboratory, maltster and hops farmers), a brewery tour operator, a women's beer festival organizer, and individual involved in the legislative aspects of the beer industry. Interviews were conducted in-person, wherever possible, or took place over videoconference or the phone. Semi-structured interviews allowed for participants to express their opinions and

thoughts in their own words, and fostered more open and unimpeded conversation, enabling better rapport and development of a more personal relationship (Dunn, 2010).

The interviews were recorded, and subsequently transcribed. Field notes that recorded key topics and detailed the sites in which the interviews took place accompanied these transcriptions. During the interviews, participants were offered the opportunity to review transcripts and provide additional comments and input, though none of the participants opted to do so. Because of my personal embeddedness in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry, informal conversations with study participants took place following the formal interview process. These conversations informed my analysis of the data and the writing of the thesis, as I was kept informed about current events in the Canadian brewing industry.

The interview guide was structured around three main themes: place and locality; community; and local economic development. The questions varied slightly depending on the role of the subject in the craft beer industry, as many questions were specifically related to the brewing process. For those involved directly in brewing, they were asked about their personal experiences with beer, motivations and relationships in the industry. All respondents were asked about how they defined locality in the context of craft beer, their interpretation of beer cultures and community in Canada, and their opinions of alcohol legislation in their respective province (Ontario or Quebec) (see appendices A, B and C for the full interview schedule, consent form and recruitment materials).

Although the majority of my interviews took place in English, I conducted 2 interviews in French, given that many residents in the Ottawa-Gatineau region are francophone. My

bilingualism proved advantageous during this study, as I was equally capable of communicating in English or French, and respondents were able to answer in the language in which they were most comfortable. In order to conduct interviews in French, I translated my interview schedule and recruitment materials, and communicated in French with potential subjects throughout the research process. I transcribed my interviews verbatim for both languages and conducted my analysis in both languages. Having done part of my study in French, I will be able to disseminate my results in either French or English at conferences, in academic journals and research reports.

### 3.2.2 Secondary Data

I supplemented my primary data with secondary data from an in-depth review of grey and academic literature pertaining to the beer industry, and beer and drinking cultures through time. As previously stated, although there is a growing body of literature examining craft brewing, little academic work has taken place in the Canadian context. For this reason, I also reviewed grey literature, primarily in the form of news media, in addition to historical texts and policy documents. Due to the growing popularity of craft beer in Canada, along with notable court cases on alcohol legislation, beer featured prominently in news media headlines during my data collection period.

As part of my study concerns Quebec, a majority francophone province, I sampled news media sources in French as well as English. I had no trouble collecting several articles on craft beer in my study area, using reputable sources such as *CBC News*, *Ottawa Citizen*, *La Presse* and the *Globe and Mail*. I also sought out trade journals and magazines (i.e. *Taps*, *Bières et Plaisirs*) to gain a more industry-specific perspective of craft beer in Canada.

Provincial policy documents from Québec and Ontario were examined in order to glean information pertaining to alcohol regulations, provincial support for independently-owned craft breweries, and the ways in which government policies impacts power relations in the beer industry. The interprovincial trade of alcohol in Canada is governed federally, and I examined federal policy documents to understand how borders affect the craft beer industry in my study area.

In addition to formal reports and published texts, the written and visual marketing materials of craft breweries and other beer industry actors were discursively analyzed. These materials hold a significant source of data relating to the materiality of beer, by communicating flavour profiles, colour, ingredients, and other qualitative characteristics. Moreover, beer-marketing materials communicate particular narratives of community, places, landscapes, histories and identities (Yool & Comrie, 2014). Over the course of my primary data collection, I documented beer labels, posters, flyers and other printed mediums from craft breweries in the Ottawa-Gatineau foodshed through photographs and by collecting marketing materials.

During this time, I also retained the social media posts of the craft breweries I sampled in my data collection, as well as those I did not interview. I chose to focus my attention on the image-based platform, Instagram, through which I could easily access both written and visual messages. Most breweries in the region use Instagram as a means to communicate with their consumers about product availability, store hours, events, merchandise as well as social issues. Instagram posts are particularly amenable to study through the use of searchable keywords in the form of metadata ‘hashtags’, which allows for a refinement of content

(Holmberg et al., 2016). While content is not always displayed in users' feeds in chronological order, I was able to see posts chronologically simply by visiting the brewery's page. All content posted to Instagram is public, if the profile is made accessible to all, and users can share any content that other users make publicly available on the site.

### 3.2.3 Data analysis

Feminist research is relational, attempting to make visible the power structures and relations that shape the social and physical world. In seeking to trace the connections between the material, embodied and social aspects of brewing, I employed an Actor Network Theory (ANT) methodology to structure my data analysis. ANT attempts to draw out the different patterns of connection that shape power structures and knowledge production processes (Law, 1999). In this, social research involves a process of data analysis that transforms and connects different materials and ideas, in order to develop a cohesive narrative of a particular issue/event (Cragg, 2003).

Equally, ANT considers the more-than-human, including non-human organisms and materials, as active participants in building social worlds and knowledge production processes (Law, 1992). In the context of this research, more-than-human organisms and materials are key in shaping brewing process and in defining craft brewing practices. ANT, like feminist research, attempts to break down boundaries and dichotomies, making visible the human and non-human actants that are often concealed and silenced through dominant political and disciplinary power structures (Haraway, 1994). In selecting to combine feminist geographic and ANT methodologies, I structured a reflexive, receptive and critical data analysis.

ANT employs elements of grounded theory, in that there is no theory that guides the data analysis, rather is it the data itself and research context that order, combine and deconstruct the research materials (Crang, 2013). Throughout this process, there is an explicit recognition that data analysis is largely a process of disciplining materials that is wholly interpretive (Rose, 1997; Crang, 2003; Whatmore, 2003). In other words, researchers' disciplines and personal experiences guide their choices and actions, and constrain what materials or ideas are considered relevant or useful to answering the research question. I was acutely aware of my positionality during my data analysis, particularly my positive orientation towards craft beer, and my personal relationships with those in the industry. In recognizing my attachments to my subject and study area, I found strength in the critical lens of feminist research methodologies to highlight how capitalist, colonial and gendered power structures affect relationships and the ways in which community is established in craft beer.

My research questions are tied to Gibson-Graham's (2014) diverse economies research agenda, in which they advocate for the use of what they refer to as 'weak theory', favouring a description-heavy analysis that reveals nuances, specific interactions, and contexts.

Identifying economic alternatives and diversity requires a theoretically weak approach to make evident differences, and to free researchers from particular theoretical paradigms, which restricts what types of data are considered meaningful. Though I developed guiding themes prior to my data collection, this grounded and theoretically weak approach to my data analysis enabled an open, detailed and receptive inquiry, in which my findings are tied to particular contexts and materials. These guiding themes were purposefully broad and flexible, based on key geographic themes of place, locality, community and identity. In essence, this meant that I looked at the ways in which the craft beer industry diverged from

conventional economies through their social interactions and material practices. In doing so, I intended my analysis to be receptive to surprising and unexpected results, looking for occurrences of difference rather than patterns of dominance.

In order to provide a strong critical inquiry to complement a grounded and theoretically weak approach to data analysis, I employed a critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine how different actants shape understandings and knowledge in the craft beer industry. CDA provides a means to consider the processes through which meanings and values are assigned to objects and occurrences, and how these come to have tangible impacts on social and physical realities (Fairclough 1992; Waitt, 2010). CDA asks how power comes to be gained and retained through the use of discourse, and how power relations play out through competing discourses (Sharp and Richardson, 2001). While the term 'discourse' implies written text, CDA can also be employed to analyse the transmission of discourses through visual media such as photographs, illustrations and videos (Rose, 2016). In ANT and the diverse economies research agenda, discourse is central in understanding the performativity of power and knowledge, as social, scientific and economic realities are performed and enacted through discourses (Butler, 2010). More expressly, discourses are a means of enacting particular realities or perspectives of the world, and thus reveal dominant power structures and relations by examining how certain discourses come to matter, whereas others are concealed.

By employing CDA, I drew out key discourses that shape the craft brewing industry in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, paying particular attention to understandings of place, locality, identity and community. This analysis also drew the particular representations of craft beer,

enabling an understanding of how craft brewers distinguish themselves from brewing conglomerates. I undertook textual and visual discourse analyses, using interview transcripts, and select pieces of secondary data, chiefly policy documents relating to beer and alcohol legislation, news media articles, and craft breweries' marketing materials and social media posts. The social media posts were drawn from Instagram, which allows users to incorporate both text and images in their posts. Equally, the majority of the breweries in the Ottawa-Gatineau region have Instagram accounts and post regularly, allowing me to draw upon a representative sample. All of these materials were analyzed thematically using QSR Nvivo 11 software, which has the capacity to incorporate visual and textual materials.

While my interviews provided the bulk of my primary data, the visual samples added richness and context, as they communicated unique and fundamental facets of craft beer. Colour and texture are central facets of beer styles, and beer labels reveal significant information about the narratives of particular places, localities, histories and landscapes by brewers (Schnell & Reese, 2003). The visual marketing materials of craft breweries also relay information about *whom* beer is marketed to, tying expression of locality and community to race, ethnicity and gender (Mathews & Patton, 2016). Equally, visual imageries have a role, particularly in the case of marketing materials, in creating representations of masculinity and femininity, which impact social constructions and understandings of gender (Rose, 2012). Furthermore, I paid particular attention to how these discourses interpret or implicate ideas of race, gender and class. Constructions of identity and the strengthening of social categories is prevalent in beer and brewing discourses, through gendered advertising practices, the establishment of consumption norms, and the conceptualization of the brewery as a site of production (Thurnell-Read, 2014; 2015).

## Chapter 4: Brewing Local Economies in Ottawa-Gatineau

### 4.1 Introduction

In keeping with feminist research methodologies, I intended for my research to be rooted in a place in which I felt a sense of connection and attachment. This desire steered me towards examining craft beer in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, a place that I have long considered to be my 'home'. Equally, as a French Canadian and Québécoise, I am particularly attuned to the interplay between French and English cultures that defines not only the region, but also the local craft brewing industry.

The interplay between political and cultural boundaries creates a craft beer community that is both connected and disconnected in the region, and makes for a set of unique legislative, administrative and economic challenges for craft breweries. While Ottawa and Gatineau may appear to blend into the same urban expanse, separated only by the Ottawa River, the interprovincial border becomes apparent in the craft beer industry in which there are notably different political landscapes, histories and attitudes towards alcohol. I therefore consider the region in two distinct ways – as a whole, and as two separate localities – both of which are vital to examining the ways in which alcohol is governed and marketed.

Craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region expressed concerns about how the current governance structures in the beer industry enable the concentration of power, and lead them to question the future of craft brewing as an independent and localized industry. The question of the concentration of power is central to this chapter, as well as the entirety of the thesis, wherein craft brewing is both an economic endeavour as well as a project in food

system localization and community development. To begin, this chapter aims to examine the major economic and political challenges faced by craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region relating to government legislation and alcohol retail, sales and trade. In so doing, it engages with notions of concentration of power to understand how power imbalances structure the craft beer industry. I intend for this chapter to be open ended, to frame the remainder of the thesis, which looks at the ways in which diverse economic possibilities offer craft brewers a means to re-negotiate power, and enhance local economies and communities. This chapter grounds the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry in a particular political economic context, in which the challenges faced by the craft brewing industry are not constraints but rather places from which we can begin imagining and drawing out diverse economic possibilities.

Chapter 4 begins by contextualising the craft beer industry within Ottawa-Gatineau's political economy, drawing on secondary data to describe governing actors and regional geographies. The aim of the chapter is to frame the research area and interview data, providing context to the current political economic challenges faced by the craft brewing industry in the Ottawa-Gatineau region.

The first section, 4.2, outlines the research context, and pays particular attention to the historical context of the Canadian brewing industry and the ways in which moral values shaped alcohol legislation in Québec and Ontario. Section 4.3 delves into the relationships between craft brewers and their respective provincial alcohol governing bodies, the current interprovincial trade barriers, and the ways in which alcohol retail and distribution are structured in Ontario and Québec. The final section examines the ways in which the political

economies of the beer industry in Ontario and Québec impact the concentration of power in the Ottawa -Gatineau craft brewing industry.

#### 4.2 Research context

Despite being separated by a political border, as well as the physical boundary created by the Ottawa River, Ottawa and Gatineau are nevertheless fundamentally connected. In particular, the interprovincial boundary in the region is made porous through shared economies, notably the high number of federal government jobs on both sides of the border, and the ease of mobility due to public transit linkages and numerous bridges (Gilbert & Brosseau, 2011). While these connections create an apparently cohesive National Capital Region, and integrated local food economy<sup>5</sup>, the border becomes highly relevant in the context of alcohol legislation and regulation of the craft beer industry. This section contextualizes craft brewing in Ontario and Québec, providing an overview of the alcohol and beer industry in each province, and the development and growth of the craft beer industry in Ottawa-Gatineau.

Ottawa and Gatineau are politically and culturally connected through the official designation of 'National Capital Region', generating a space that holds complex and, often, conflicting identities (Veronis, 2013). First and foremost, the conceptualization of Ottawa as a capital city and a place is largely rooted in settler colonial imaginaries, which often ignore the contested nature of the land on which the city sits, as large parts of Eastern Ontario and

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<sup>5</sup> The notion of an integrated local food economy is utilized by Ottawa-based food advocacy group, Just Food, which uses a definition of 'local food' or "foodshed" that includes the region surrounding the City of Ottawa. This foodshed includes communities in both Ontario and Quebec, such as Lanark, Renfrew, Leeds-Grenville, Prescott-Russell, Stromont-Dundas-Glengarry, Frontenac, and the Outaouais (Walker & Ballamingie, 2011).

Western Québec are located on unceded Algonquin territory (Tomiak, 2016). While the Ottawa-Gatineau region is governed at multiple levels, with municipal, provincial and federal actors having distinct and often overlapping roles due to the National Capital Region designation, the Algonquin Nation currently have little input into how their traditional territory is governed. The Algonquin of Pikwakanagan, located on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River<sup>6</sup>, put forth a land claim in 1985 that includes much of the National Capital Region, and continue to advocate that Ottawa be formally recognized as Algonquin territory (Tomiak, 2016).

Social and political tensions are also evident in Québécois identity politics, which emphasise the cultural distinctions of Québec as a Francophone ‘minority’ within a majority Anglophone nation state. As Veronis (2013) explains: “It is important to mention that this interprovincial border is the most politically and symbolically charged border in the country as it separates Québec—which has long been recognized as a ‘distinct society,’ and more recently as a separate ‘nation’—from the rest of Canada” (p. 257).

Notions of a ‘distinct’ Québécois identity are reflected in food cultures, which influences the ways in which alcohol is governed and legislated. Québec began to protect and promote its distinct local food culture and artisanal production practices in the 1930s, recognizing the importance of notions of *terroir* (Coulombe-Demers, 2015). Originally developed in the context of winemaking, *terroir* is defined by Teil (2013) as follows: “Terroir is described as a combination of natural local agro-climactic elements and viticulture and wine-making

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<sup>6</sup> The original name of the Ottawa River is Kichi Zibi in Anishinaabemowin, the language spoken by the Algonquin peoples in Eastern Ontario and Western Québec.

practices skillfully combined by a vintner, giving a wine its distinctive gustative quality and publicly sanctioned reputation” (p. 4).

In sum, *terroir* is founded on the idea that physical landscapes, climate, food culture and traditions, and production practices impact the flavour and quality of foods. *Terroir* is therefore used to distinguish and market particular food products under the guise of authenticity and with the aim to preserve and protect particular methods of food production (Trubek & Bowen, 2008). Québec’s *terroir* is institutionalized through the adaption of the French Appellation d’Origine Controlée (AOC) regulations in 1996, which established origin and quality standards for organic products, lamb, ice wine, ciders, cheese, and sweet corn in the province (Trubek & Bowen, 2008; CARTV, 2017). Beer is inexorably part of this Québécois food heritage and culture, with a beer industry dating back to early European colonial settlements in the early half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Coulombe-Demers, 2015).

The governance of alcohol is fundamentally rooted in cultural values, as was made apparent through the alcohol legislation implemented throughout Canada and the United States following the repeal of Prohibition in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Provincial governments implemented Prohibition of alcohol to varying degrees in their respective provinces, with Ontario opting for longer and harsher restrictions on alcohol compared to Québec (Sneath, 2001). In fact, Québec held out until 1918 to enact Prohibition, and even then, proved lenient towards to the sales of wine and beer, which they considered as foods rather than simply alcoholic beverages (Boyce, 1923; Sneath, 2001). This relative leniency reveals that Québec adopted a more liberal approach and attitude towards alcohol, especially compared to Ontario (Sneath, 2001; Mayer, 2011).

Prohibition had lasting impacts on the Canadian brewing industry, particularly in provinces that placed restrictions on brewing beer, as well as hard liquors. Before Prohibition took effect, small local and regional breweries were the norm in most communities across Canada (Eberts, 2007). While breweries in Québec could continue production, the restrictions implemented by the Ontario provincial government forced breweries in the province to either shift production to non-alcoholic beverages, if they had enough capital and capacity to do so, or shut down (Eberts, 2007; Pashley, 2009). As a result, smaller, independently-owned breweries largely disappeared, or were taken over by bigger breweries, signalling the start of a Canadian beer industry in which ownership became concentrated in the hands of a select few firms (Eberts, 2007).

Ottawa's brewing industry faced consolidation at the hands of notable business tycoon, E.P. Taylor, who merged Ottawa-based breweries Capital Brewery and Bradings with other breweries across Ontario, under the larger entity of Carling-O'Keefe (Eberts, 2007). Eventually, Taylor consolidated Carling-O'Keefe's operations, and closed the breweries in Ottawa (Pashley, 2009; Mathews & Picton, 2014). This scenario repeated itself across Canada, with even Carling-O'Keefe eventually being absorbed by Molson, until only Molson and Labatt dominated the Canadian brewing industry (Eberts, 2007; Pashley, 2009).

The echo of Prohibition is also evident in current legislation across Canada, with the state continuing to play major role in determining how alcohol is taxed, produced, distributed and consumed. In Ontario, Prohibition ultimately resulted in the creation of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO), which is one of the most prominent provincial, state-owned

alcohol corporations in Canada, and plays the role of distributor, purchaser, and retailer in Ontario for individual consumers and food service businesses (Pashley, 2009). As such, Ontarians are limited as to where they can purchase alcohol, with only beer and wine available to consumers in a limited number of grocery stores and other privately-owned outlets, while hard liquor may only be purchased through the LCBO (Giesbrecht et al., 2017).

Of these privately-owned retailers, The Beer Store (TBS) represents the most significant enterprise in Ontario. While beer is sold in the LCBO, wine and hard alcohol are its primary income generators, particularly as the privately-owned TBS focuses almost exclusively on beer. TBS is a private organization that began its life as the Brewer's Retail in the 1920s, which was a consortium made up of a variety of regional and smaller Ontario breweries, and was later acquired by brewing conglomerates Molson-Coors, ABInBev and Sapporo (Pashley, 2009; Bird, 2010). As a result, such brewing conglomerates hold a significant influence over the retail sector in Ontario (Bird, 2010). Brewing conglomerates also gained a market advantage in Ontario through corporate-owned restaurants, in which they could afford exclusive licencing fees and kickbacks (i.e. gifts and/or cash offered by beer sales representatives to food service managers/owners in exchange for selling their product) (Gaudio, 2016).

Like the LCBO in Ontario, the *Société des Alcools du Québec* (SAQ) is responsible for administering imports of all alcoholic beverages into Québec, issuing alcohol permits for businesses and individuals for the production and sale of alcohol, the retail of hard alcohols, and regulating the consumption of alcohol (e.g. establishing legal drinking age) (SAQ, 2018).

In Québec, seeing as the provincial government enacted Prohibition to a lesser extent than the rest of the country, wine and beer are more widely available in groceries stores, privately-owned specialty shops and corner stores (Sneath, 2001). While the retail landscape in Québec differs from Ontario with increased options for consumers in corner stores, grocery stores and other private businesses, large brewers are nevertheless advantaged through economies of scale (Masson & Sen, 2014).

The abundance and diversity of products produced by large breweries and craft breweries means that retailers are better able to negotiate higher stocking and shelving fees, which impact the profit margins of smaller brewers more than those of larger brewers (Larouche et al., 2018). As well, brewing conglomerates have an established and loyal consumer base in Quebec, and are able to supply their products in nearly every sales point and at a relatively low cost, which limits the growth of craft brewery consumers in the province (Larouche et al., 2018). Ontario and Québec are the two most populous provinces in Canada, which is reflected in the size of their craft brewing industries, which together comprise more than half of the country's 817 craft breweries (Brewers Journal, 2018). As with the rest of the country, the craft beer industries in Ontario and Québec continue to experience significant growth. From 2015 to 2019, Québec saw 100 new craft breweries open, with an estimated total of 218 operating in the province as of June 2019 (Canadian Manufacturing, 2019).. In that same period, Ontario's craft beer industry grew from 140 breweries to nearly 300 (Canadian Manufacturing, 2019). The first craft breweries to open in the Ottawa-Gatineau region that are currently operating are, Beau's Brewery, in 2006, on the Ontario side, and *Brasseurs des Temps*, in 2009, on the Québec side.

When the data collection for this research began in 2017, there were approximately 32 breweries in the study area, which included breweries operating in the metropolitan areas of Ottawa and Gatineau, as well as those in outlying rural communities that had beers available in retail stores and in restaurants in Ottawa, including, but not limited to, Perth, Cornwall, Cobden and Vankleek Hill. The Québec side offered significantly fewer craft breweries than in Ontario, with three operating at the time of data collection. As of fall 2020, there are an estimated 9 additional breweries (for a total of 40 breweries), with two of these breweries located in Québec (see figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: Map of craft breweries located in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, November 2020 (Google, 2020).

While many craft breweries operate within or near the downtown core (less than 5km from Parliament Hill), most breweries are located in suburban areas, particularly in industrial parks. Nilsson et al. (2018) found that municipal zoning requirements, high rents and lack of space pushed craft brewers in some cities outside of the downtown core. In the city of Ottawa, current zoning regulations limit light manufacturing and processing activities, including craft brewing, to industrial areas, which limits the size and capacity of breweries wanting to operate in commercial and residential areas (City of Ottawa, 2017).

Due to the growth of craft brewing, and the tourism and economic opportunities they bring, the city is currently undertaking a review of the zoning by-laws in hopes of expanding the geographic areas in which craft breweries may operate (City of Ottawa, 2017). Other craft breweries on the Ontario side are located in rural areas, where space, overhead costs and zoning regulations prove to be less of an obstacle. In Gatineau, two of the three establishments are located in the Hull sector of the city, where there is an established nightlife and bar scene. Hull has historically been associated with the brewing industry pre-Prohibition, and later earned a negative reputation over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a hub of delinquency due to a high concentration of bars and a later cut-off (or “last-call”) time than across the river (Brosseau & Cellard, 2003).

The craft brewing industry in the Ottawa-Gatineau region contributes to local economies, directly through employment opportunities in craft beer and indirectly through local tourism and agricultural opportunities. Despite these efforts, significant challenges remain in supporting the growth of the industry, and ensuring that craft brewing becomes more sustainable. Opening and operating a craft brewery in Canada is no easy feat, especially given

the need to navigate complex provincial legislative systems, which often remain rooted in Prohibition-era policies. While the provincial governments in Ontario and Québec recognize the contributions of craft breweries to local economic development, craft brewers nevertheless face significant challenges. Current economic policies and market structures enable brewing conglomerates to retain and gain market advantages, while limiting the ability of craft brewers to reach their consumers.

#### 4.3 Political economies of beer in the Ottawa-Gatineau region

A report produced Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada in January 2020 notes that, while overall beer sales continue to decline Canada, the craft brewing industry continues to experience growth. The report states: “Craft beer sales have seen a major increase over the past five years, nearly doubling from Can\$1.0 billion in 2014 to Can\$1.9 billion 2018” (2020, n.p.). As the contributions of craft brewing to local and regional economies become more evident in Ontario and Québec, there are concerns as to the efficacy of provincial governments in regulating and supporting the growth of the industry. Despite the economic and cultural flows within the Ottawa-Gatineau region, craft brewers on either side of the provincial border each face differing legislation, food cultures and market conditions. Section 4.3.1 seeks to understand how craft brewers navigate the regional political economy of beer in the Ottawa-Gatineau region by examining the regulation, sale and trade of craft beer. I asked brewers about how they relate to their respective provincial government regulators and alcohol retailers specifically, and how they perceive alcohol regulations more broadly.

#### 4.3.1 Regulating and trading craft beer

##### *i. Greener pastures*

Craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region occupy a distinctive place, given that potential consumers and collaborators reside across a provincial border, and they therefore face a uniquely messy political economy of beer. If a brewer wants to expand their market across the river, then they must face a second set of governing bodies, rules and retailers to get their products onto shelves. While some brewers remain content selling in their home province, they nevertheless face difficulties navigating a legislative system that has, simply put, not kept up with the explosive growth and creative forces of craft beer.

The ways in which craft breweries engage directly with consumers is distinct from larger brewing conglomerates, as consumers are often purchasing craft beer directly from breweries, in-person or online, rather than through retailers as is the norm with macrobrewed beer. In the Ottawa-Gatineau region, brewers contend with multiple layers of regulation and all levels of government – municipal, provincial and federal. Breweries must abide by municipal regulations pertaining to zoning, the licensing of food and beverage establishments, food safety and alcohol by-laws, in addition to broader provincial legislation regulating the sales and distribution of alcohol, and the federal regulations that apply to the interprovincial trade of alcohol.

For many craft brewers in Ontario, the pastures appear greener on the opposite side of the river in Québec. An Ottawa-based brewer noted that Québec's historical relationship with alcohol is indicative of current policy: "In QC, they just had a much more reluctant history with Prohibition, they didn't want it, it didn't last very long, and it's never really been part of

how they think about the world. So, the rules are a bit different there”. Québec’s alcohol laws were perceived by certain Ontario craft brewers as more liberal (and thus allowed for more freedom in the marketplace). This perception largely stems from a drinking age lower than the remainder Canada (18 years versus 19), and that Québec craft brewers are able to sell beer to a diversified set of private retailers, rather than a single provincially-owned corporation.

Despite the perception of a liberal and free market, a Québécois brewery co-owner I spoke with emphasized that Québec regulations still pose significant challenges to brewers. They explained: “Québec is more controlling, in my opinion. Unfortunately, it’s a bit of a handicap, we could say that we’re scared of getting screwed over and we protect ourselves too much” [translated from French]. This brewery co-owner felt that the Québec government developed alcohol policies that are overly protectionist, which impacts craft brewers’ abilities to expand their markets. This perception of Québec protectionism was felt in equal measure by an Ontario brewer:

I think where we bump up against Québec regulators is principally not being from Québec, and I think any province in Canada have [sic] built their laws around alcohol to protect their domestic industry. Even though we’re all Canadian, we’re all domestic, that’s not how we look at things.

Similarly, many felt that Québec protectionism prevented the craft brewing market in Ottawa-Gatineau from feeling more cohesive.

The protectionism perceived by brewers is entwined with notions of sovereignty and French language supremacy employed to protect and preserve Québécois culture in a majority Anglophone Canada. Québec’s borders are both real and imagined – as a province, it operates within a defined political and geographical territory, while the French-Canadian

identity serves to distinguish and separate Québec culturally from the ‘Rest of Canada’ (Schram, 2016, p.161). These notions that seep into broader food policies in Québec not only seek to regulate and market agricultural industries, but also serve to distinguish and protect Québécois food culture.

In effect, the Quebec government encouraged the adoption of labels of origin (*appellation d’origine contrôlée* (AOC)) based on the French model, which aim to guarantee the authenticity of food products that have unique characteristics associated with geography, production methods and cultural values (CARTV, 2019). In Québec, the AOC labels are applied to a variety of food products, including sweet corn from Neuville, cheese produced from the milk of Canadienne cows, and lamb from Charlevoix (CARTV, 2020). Other provinces, such as Ontario, use place-designation standards and labels that are modelled on AOC standards, but these labels are used almost exclusively in the context of the wine industry (Holland et al., 2014). For instance, the Ontario wine industry uses the Wine Appellation Authority to certify the authenticity of wines from three primary wine-producing regions that are associated with a particular *terroir* (VQA, 2020).

Agriculture, for the Québec government, is not only an economic driver, but also a social development project tied to notions of self-sufficiency, including the protection of traditional family farms and rural livelihoods (Schram, 2016). Québec’s ability to legislate unique food culture and geographies is grounded in a measurable distinctiveness (e.g. the French-Canadian heritage), and the fear of losing unique artisanal industries and rural livelihoods due to the argued homogenizing effects of globalization (Chazoule & Lambert, 2011). Broader agricultural policies are also patently defensive and protectionist, prioritising

domestic (within the province) production and consumption, and engaging in supply management to support the social and economic contributions of farming by limiting both imports and exports of food products (Schram, 2016).

While the provincial government attempts to tie protectionist agri-food policies to notions ‘food sovereignty’ (Schram, 2016), which offers a radical means to dismantle the uneven power structures in global food systems to provide people with the means to determine their own food systems, these policies are firmly anchored in defensive localism. These sovereigntist policies and the institutionalization of food cultures through AOC labelling emulate notions of defensive localism, which is rooted in concepts of reactionary and conservative nationalism, othering, elitism and xenophobic rural imaginaries, and driven by the creation of firm, and often legislated, boundaries between ‘local’ and non-local foods (Hinrichs, 2003; DuPuis & Goodman, 2005).

Although craft brewing is not currently recognized as part of Québec’s AOC labeling initiative, it is an important part of the growing agrotourism sector in the province that seeks to promote the unique taste of place. The *Ministère de l’agriculture, des pêcheries et de l’alimentation du Québec* (MAPAQ) [Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food] promotes craft brewing as part of their efforts to promote Québec as a culinary destination (MAPAQ, 2020). Notions of nostalgia, authenticity and *terroir* feature strongly as part of the agro- and culinary tourism narratives put forth by the government in Québec (Zins Beaudesne et associés, 2006).

While the MAPAQ commends and supports the growth of the craft brewing industry, there are concerns about how provincial regulations impact distribution of craft beer, as well as concerns about the trend towards industry consolidation in Québec as brewing conglomerates begin to purchase Québécois craft breweries (Lacharité, 2018).

Despite liberal attitudes towards alcohol and the governmental support for Québécois-produced foods, the provincial alcohol governing body in Québec, the *Régie des alcools, des courses et des jeux* [Alcohol, racing and gaming commission], only recently modified regulations that negatively impacted craft brewers. In 2018, the *Régie* made strides to accommodate the unique needs of the craft brewing industry, allowing them to sell to event permit holders directly, and by allowing children accompanying adults into craft breweries, as minors were previously prohibited from premises (Régie des alcools, des courses et des jeux (RACJ), 2018; CBC News, 2018).

While many Ontario craft brewers view Québec as having a more progressive beer market, the Ontario government is perceived by craft brewers in both Ontario and Québec as being more reluctant to modernize alcohol legislation and as layered in bureaucratic barriers. Most of the brewers interviewed observed that the provincial government was initially slow to support craft brewing in the early 2010s, which made it difficult for regulators to keep pace with the explosive growth of craft beer in Ontario. Interview subjects often noted that the craft beer scene in Québec proved far more established and expansive than Ontario's, in part because of the more their more permissive attitude towards alcohol consumption. Despite a slow start, craft brewers and other industry actors all told me that the Ontario government made important strides to recognize the value of craft brewing for regional economies.

In effect, more government support and incentives were made available to the craft brewing industry following a number of provincial and federal economic reports that confirmed the financial contributions of craft beer. Moreover, one interview participant pointed to the

increased availability of grants, funding and other financial incentives to help new breweries open and allow more established breweries to grow. In 2019, a joint initiative between the Ontario provincial government and the federal government saw over \$1million in grants for the craft beer industry, which provided 20 breweries with funds to grow their operations (OMAFRA, 2019). These breweries used the funds in different ways, from the purchase of new brewing equipment to increase efficiency and scale, to marketing supporting and consumer research to expand market share (OMAFRA, 2019).

Although the Alcohol and Gaming Commission of Ontario (AGCO) remains the government agency responsible for regulating the craft brewing industry, the fundamental linkages between craft brewing and the broader food system also implicate the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA). The AGCO administers and enforces aspects of the Liquor Licence Act (LLA) and part of the Liquor Control Act (LCA), and supplies permits to manufacture, distribute and sell alcohol in the province of Ontario (AGCO, 2020). Part of OMAFRA's mandate includes supporting food and beverage manufacturing in the province, of which craft brewing is a part, in addition to promoting crop production relating to beer, such as hops and barley. While hops were commonly grown throughout Ontario prior to Prohibition, the industry largely disappeared along with small local and regional brewers. In the advent of craft brewing in Ontario, the demand for more hops increased, including the demand for locally-produced hops, and OMAFRA sees craft brewing as an opportunity for farmers to re-establish a strong hop growing sector in Ontario. OMAFRA works with farmers and craft brewers on the market and technical aspects of growing, harvesting and distributing hops in the province.

## *ii. Crossing the river*

Craft brewers in both Québec and Ontario saw their respective provincial governments as dualistic, in that they are emergent supporters of craft beer while being overly bureaucratic and hindering to industry growth. One of the most significant issues posed by government regulation concerns the lack of coordination between provincial governments to help smaller brewers expand their markets across provincial borders. Brewers in Ottawa-Gatineau felt especially affected by these trade barriers being situated adjacent to an interprovincial border, as their consumers are from both Québec and Ontario. During my fieldwork, I found that the question of trade barriers elicited a strongly worded response from most of my interview subjects, with one brewer plainly stating: “The current inter-provincial laws are stupid.”

The interprovincial trade barriers have long been identified as a limiting factor for the growth of the Canadian brewing industry, with long-standing tariffs on imported beers (international and from out-of-province alike) and other non-financial barriers, including a past requirement that breweries operate facilities in every province in which they sell beer (Irvine et al., 1990). More recently, significant attention was drawn to Canadian inter-provincial trade laws in 2012 when Gerard Comeau, a New Brunswick resident, was apprehended and fined while returning from Québec, where he purchased beer and liquor in an amount that exceeded the personal allowances for cross-border alcohol transport (Supreme Court of Canada, 2016).

In the following years, Mr. Comeau challenged the constitutionality of the inter-provincial trade laws, and his defense maintained that section 121 of the Constitution Act, 1867 intended to uphold the free movement of goods across Canada and that laws restricting the

flow of goods across provincial borders are unconstitutional (Supreme Court of Canada, 2018). While the New Brunswick courts dismissed the charges filed against Mr. Comeau, the constitutional challenges spurred by his case were brought to the Supreme Court of Canada in 2018, where the Court upheld the rights of provinces to restrict the import of substances that impact health, such as alcohol (Supreme Court of Canada, 2018).

Although the interprovincial alcohol laws in Canada were ruled to be constitutional, they nevertheless pose significant challenges to consumers and craft beer producers. In April 2019, in light of the case and public outcry, the federal government planned to eliminate federal barriers on the trade of alcohol within Canada, and introduced legislation that ‘federal requirement that alcohol moving from one province to another go through a provincial liquor authority,’ (Intergovernmental Affairs, 2019). Despite these promises and the removal of federal trade barriers, provincial alcohol legislation varies dramatically according to province, and the most arduous trade barriers are provincial and not federal (The Canadian Press, 2019). While the government of New Brunswick vowed to review, and adjust the regulations pertaining to personal alcohol allowances, other provinces expressed hesitancy in allowing consumers to bring in more alcohol from outside of the province, citing fears of tax revenue losses (McGregor, 2018).

Craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region expressed a strong desire for provincial governments to revise current inter-provincial trade policies, as craft beer producers seeking to cross the border face significant challenges in attempting to expand their market given that Ontario and Québec regulate alcohol in distinctly different ways. As previously stated, the socio-economic enmeshment between Ottawa and Gatineau creates a region that is

cohesive in many ways, and makes the interprovincial border seem insubstantial to many residents and businesses. Several respondents remarked on the unity of the region, with one brewer stating: “It is the same region. It is the same. It’s the exact same city. So, you have a river that runs through it and you can’t sell beer on the other side of that river. It’s just absolutely nuts”.

Yet, the craft beer industry remains markedly separated between Ottawa and Gatineau, as producers often don’t have the capacity to cross the border. As one of the larger craft breweries in the region, Beau’s could get their Ontario-produced wares across the river into Québec, though not without legislative challenges and high costs. Other brewers in the region use their experiences as a guide to evaluate their own prospects in expanding their market into other provinces:

I think it’s our bizarre interprovincial trade barriers that makes it easier for a brewery like Beau’s to sell in NY state than it is in QC. And they’re 20 minutes from the QC border. It took them 8 years of operations before they could sell beer in Qc, and they debated opening a brewery in Québec because it was just going to be that much trouble.

A Québécois brewer echoed these sentiments stating: “It’s more difficult to sell in Ottawa than to sell in the United States. And we’re all Canadian, we’re in the same jurisdiction.”

Essentially, all beers produced outside of Ontario and Québec, respectively, are considered ‘imports’:

Except Manitoba, every province treats out-of-province as imported beer. So, it might as well be coming from Germany or France or Czech. Manitoba, for whatever reason, has decided that anything Canadian is domestic, which actually makes sense. And because of the rise of craft, a lot of provinces have mandates to support in-province craft brewers. And then they’ve got a mandate to provide the ‘World of Beer’, which means they have their own province and a whole pile of imports and you can’t get on the shelf if you’re Canadian. So, it’s actually harder to get on the shelf as a Canadian brewer than if you were coming from anywhere else in the world. (Craft brewery owner, Ontario)

In effect, for smaller craft breweries seeking to expand their market outside of their home province, it is often simpler and less expensive to cross international borders into the United States than to cross provincial borders – ultimately a somewhat absurd situation.

The interprovincial trade barriers also draw attention to the differences between how craft breweries and brewing conglomerates gain market share in Canada. Large brewing conglomerates can circumvent provincial trade barriers by operating breweries throughout Canada, which allows them to produce, distribute and retail their products within the same province. In effect, Molson, one of the largest beer manufacturers in Canada, operates breweries in Ontario, Québec, Newfoundland and Labrador, New Brunswick and British Columbia, while the other largest Canadian brewery, Labatt, operates in Ontario, Québec, Nova Scotia, Alberta and British Columbia. As the global beer industry becomes more consolidated, the lines blur between ‘domestic’ and ‘imported’ beers, as large brewing conglomerates can produce international beer brands in their Canadian brewing facilities (Eckert & West, 2012).

The interprovincial trade barriers disproportionately impact craft brewers, as large industrial brewers can absorb the additional financial burden of distributing and producing beer in multiple provinces throughout Canada. While the provincial governments in Ontario and Québec see value in the craft beer industry as generating employment and tourism opportunities, and enhancing local agri-business, brewing conglomerates have a significant advantage over craft brewers with respect to the trade of alcohol within Canada. The repeal of federal interprovincial trade laws did little to rectify the issues faced by Ottawa-Gatineau

craft brewers in crossing the Ottawa River to reach their consumers, as the biggest impediments are provincially governed.

While Prohibition significantly impacted, and hindered Ontario alcohol legislation, craft brewers felt that the provincial government made significant strides to increase their support of the craft brewing industry over the past five years. Despite some progress, many craft brewery owners noted that government must further mitigate disparities between smaller, independently-owned breweries and larger, multinational brewing conglomerates. In Québec, while more liberal attitudes towards alcohol helped develop a strong craft brewing industry in the province, the protectionist policies make it difficult for brewers either side of the border to expand their markets. The hope for more open trade between provinces is partially contingent on the ways in which consumers and government perceive provincial borders, which for Québec, serve to protect and preserve their ‘national’ identity and culture.

In spite of a somewhat dire outlook for craft brewing due to alcohol legislation that favours brewing conglomerates, Gibson-Graham (2003) stress the importance of looking towards ‘positive possibilities’ in the face of narratives that frame economic changes as creating a sense of victimhood and powerlessness. In effect, craft brewers are active in pushing for their own needs locally and regionally, through informal partnerships and formal organization, such as craft brewer associations. In Ontario, the Ontario Craft Brewers (OCB) trade association represents the interests of small-scale and independently owned breweries in the province. The OCB’s Québécois counterpart, *l’Association des microbrasseries du Québec* (AMBQ), states that its mission is to ‘group, support, represent and promote craft breweries in Québec’ [translated from French] (AMBQ, 2015).

Both organizations allow the craft breweries to engage collectively in lobbying provincial governments for support and legislative changes that reflect the needs of craft brewers. At a national level, the Canadian Craft Brewer's Association (CCBA) joins the interests of each provincial craft brewing association to address federal policies, namely the federal taxation of beer and the inter-provincial trade barriers (CCBA, 2020). These association also provide vital data on craft brewing, such as employment and revenue statistics, that highlight the importance and contributions of craft brewing to the Canadian economy.

#### 4.3.2 Selling craft beer

The disparity between craft brewers and large industrial brewers is also evident in the distribution and retailing of craft beer in Canada. Although brewers perceive Québec and Ontario as having vastly different political and cultural landscapes, there are notable commonalities in the legislation of beer and alcohol in both provinces, particularly with respect to importing out-of-province products. In fact, the most marked differences between Ontario and Québec lie in how alcohol can be distributed and sold, which involves government agencies as well as private actors. Here, the craft brewers were right to remark on how much more liberal Québec is with regards to the retail of beer, as beer has long been sold in grocery stores, corner stores (known colloquially as *depanneurs*) and other privately owned and operated establishments. In Ontario, beer distribution and retail are more tightly regulated, with only a select few private businesses able to sell alcohol.

After a review of legislation in 2015, Ontario's Liberal government loosened some of the regulations that had put small beer producers at a disadvantage. Most notably, Ontario craft

brewers gained the right to self-distribute their beers and those of other small breweries to LCBO stores, grocery stores and other licensees without using a third-party distributor, and the government began to allow beer and wine to be sold in grocery stores, with a promise to explore the possibility of expanding retail into corner stores (Ministry of Finance, 2019; Xing, 2019). Section 4.3.2 focuses more heavily on Ontario's retail of beer, given that most of the interview subjects had relationships and experiences within Ontario's retail industry, and Québec's. I therefore asked craft brewers in Ontario how they perceived and interacted with alcohol retailers, and for the Ontario brewers this was either the LCBO and/or The Beer Store. For the sole Québec brewer, I asked about his relationship with the SAQ and his perception of the overall beer retail environment in Québec.

The structure of beer distribution and sales throughout Canada reflects the dominance of brewing conglomerates, and therefore doesn't account for the differing scales of craft breweries. In Québec, the power of large breweries is seen primarily in the retail of beer in larger chain stores. As mentioned, in Québec, craft brewers must organise their own distribution channels, which privileges larger breweries due to economies of scale over smaller-scale operations. While able to distribute their beers through privately-owned businesses, Québécois craft brewers face difficulties in accessing certain retail spaces such as larger enterprises (e.g. grocery chains), which often have limited shelf space and established distribution and stocking agreements with larger brewers (Howard, 2013).

The Québécois craft brewer I spoke with also noted that the larger grocery stores prioritize the interests of industrial brewers over that of consumers, especially since the purchasing decision-makers are most often geographically removed from local markets and producers.

Despite having limited access to larger grocery stores, Québécois craft brewers have a significant retail advantage over Ontario craft brewers in the number of independent grocers and specialty shops throughout the province that recognise the value of providing their consumers with craft beer. While Québec, like Ontario, has a provincially-owned liquor retailer, the SAQ, craft beer is not a priority in their retail stores. The aforementioned Québécois brewer has beers in a variety of local grocery stores in Gatineau, but did not see the SAQ as a viable option due to their focus on liquor, wines and imported beers. As a point of comparison, the SAQ website lists 31 beers from Québec craft brewers, while the LCBO's website lists over 150 IPAs (a particular style of beer) from Ontario craft brewers.

#### *i. The LCBO*

For the Ontario-based craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region who want to sell outside of their own breweries, they must necessarily deal with either the LCBO (as a retailer and not just as a regulatory body) or TBS. As a government-owned enterprise, the LCBO is mandated to provide support to Ontario producers. This support includes lower mark-up rates for small-scale breweries, in-store merchandising that promotes Ontario breweries, and working with the Ontario Craft Brewers Association (OCB) to guide future business plans (LCBO, 2013). Although the craft brewers I spoke with largely recognized and appreciated these efforts, they nevertheless had mixed experiences with and feelings about the LCBO.

As the LCBO is the only retailer for liquor and spirits, and a major retailer of wines, many interview respondents viewed beer as being less important to the corporation, particularly since it does not generate the LCBO as much revenue as wine and liquor. While beer accounted for a respectable 18% of the LCBO's annual revenue in 2018-2019, spirits and

white accounted for 44.5% and 25.5%, respectively (LCBO, 2019). According to craft brewers, the retail model of the LCBO prioritizes floor space for higher value products, such as wine and liquor, over lower price-point items such as beer. One brewer commented that while the LCBO made strides to promote Ontario craft beers, clearly marking where beers are produced and delineating craft and macrobrewed beer, their shelf space remains limited:

They're selling a couple thousand other different products, there's only so much space they can allocate to Ontario craft beers when they have to pack a wall with vodka and gin. So, I think, again, that the support is growing, and I think it's going in the right direction, at the same time I think they're very limited by the retail model that we have here.

Another brewer echoed this statement:

And in fairness to the LCBO, I think they've done a lot to really support the growth of craft beer. But they only have so much shelf space, they can't take everybody, and they can't take multiple SKUs [stock-keeping unit barcodes] from everybody.

Additionally, as a government-owned corporation, the LCBO is somewhat mired in bureaucracy, which can create barriers for craft breweries who must adhere to very particular standards for labelling and packaging and can only submit products twice a year (OMAFRA, 2018). A brewery employee outside of Ottawa expressed surprise at the number of steps involved in getting a beer into the LCBO, and noted that the number of new breweries in Ontario challenges the logistical capacity of the LCBO. Though the LCBO has made significant strides to support Ontario craft brewers, they simply cannot dedicate enough space to provide an adequate and viable sales point for most brewers in Ontario, given that most breweries have multiple types of beer they produce (and thus must sell) to stay afloat.

The LCBO also controls the retailing of beer and wine in grocery stores (which has only been allowed in Ontario since 2017), acting as distributor and coordinating body (OMAFRA, 2018). The vast majority of brewers and brewery owners I spoke with applauded the change

in Ontario's alcohol legislation, particularly as it provided them with a third option through which to distribute their products. One brewery owner expressed optimism that grocery stores, including larger chains, recognized the popularity of and demand for craft beer: "You're not seeing that they're just looking to stock as much Bud Light as they can. I think they have a target of 20% and they've been well over the minimum requirement. I think they're seeing the business upside of stocking Ontario craft beer". Other brewery owners nevertheless felt that there were still too many regulatory limitations place on beer in grocery stores, including limiting how much beer a store could carry and the alcohol content of beer (under 7.1% ABV), and restricting stores from selling beer in packages of more than 6 containers. One brewery co-owner speculated that the reason for these limitations is due to the large political influence of the TBS, whose profits would be directly impacted by grocery store sales.

## *ii. The Beer Store*

While the LCBO is part of overall efforts by the Ontario government to offer support to the craft brewing industry, the role of TBS in supporting craft beer, as a private retailer owned by three multinational breweries, is much murkier. TBS is the most important beer retailer in the province, with 63% of the beer market in the 2018-2019 fiscal year (LCBO, 2019). For several of the brewers and brewery owners I interviewed, they simply saw TBS as a venue in which to sell their beer, no matter who owns it. A brewery owner in Ottawa affirmed: "I didn't want to drive traffic from craft beer into TBS, but at the end of the day as long as people get to buy my beer, I don't give a shit where they get it, so we're going to the Beer Store". The craft brewers who use TBS like the straightforwardness of the pay to play model – they pay to shelve their product and don't have to deal with the bureaucracy of the LCBO.

As part of their effort to modernise beer legislation in 2014, the Ontario government mandated that TBS must reserve 20% of its shelf space for craft brewers, return to its co-operative roots by opening its ownership to all Ontario brewers, and lower the costs for all brewers except for the current owners (i.e. Molson, Labatt and Sleeman) (Government of Ontario, 2015). Despite the changes, brewers were optimistic, but wary of the ability of craft brewers to gain a more equal foothold in TBS. For many brewers, the fact that TBS is majority-owned by multinational brewing conglomerates meant that their interests did not lie in growing the craft brewing industry in Ontario, and that their influence on government policy remained a concern for craft brewers. The physical structure of many TBS locations is advantageous to larger brewers, as the products of brewing conglomerates are made to be more prominent and visible. As one Ottawa-based craft brewery owner and brewer explained:

So you get these grants, and maybe less taxation rates, and you can mandate that 20% of the Beer Store has to be given to craft brewers, which is great except that 25% of Beer Stores actually have floor space, the rest are in the warehouse. It doesn't help the craft brewer if I can't see them. So, the Beer Store is still a major barrier to anything the province can do. (Ottawa craft brewery owner and brewer)

While TBS is one more place for consumers to access craft beer, previous retail stores were structured in a way that directed consumers towards the products of the breweries that own the chain. In past iterations of TBS locations, consumers relied on signage that indicated beer brands availabilities in order to purchase their beer at service windows. These signs were placed and designed in a way that emphasized the products of large brewing conglomerates and limited the ability of consumers to discover new products (Government of Ontario, 2014). In an effort to establish a level playing field for all brewers, the Ontario

provincial government negotiated with the owners of TBS in 2014 to modernize beer retailing in the province (Government of Ontario, 2014). These negotiations will see TBS alter all its retail stores move towards self-serve beer sales, in which consumers can freely browse the beer selection, and away from stores in which consumers order their beers from a menu (Government of Ontario, 2014, n.p.).

Bird (2010) describes Ontario's alcohol market as an oligopoly shared between the LCBO and the Beer Store. This structure allows the Beer Store to have enormous political clout, ensuring the large brewers "that their rights are not threatened by any substantial alterations to the alcohol retail marketplace" (Bird, 2010, p.9). In fact, Ontario's current government is seeking to increase the number of grocery stores that carry beer and expand beer sales into corner stores, causing a vocal backlash from Molson and Labatt, who threatened to file a legal challenge (McLaughlin, 2019). The immense power of brewing conglomerates limits the ways in which craft brewers can sell their beer in Ontario, which perpetuates a beer market and a legislative environment that favours multinational brewing conglomerates.

### *iii. Altering and expanding markets*

For many of the craft brewers I spoke with, notions of industry growth do not reflect capitalist ideas of growth as individualistic and ultimately a means to accumulate capital. Rather, the growth and expansion of the craft brewing market is a collaborative effort, in which craft brewers are working towards a common goal: promoting and making good craft beer. Notions of collaboration and commons in economies is further discussed in Chapter 6.

Growth, in this sense, is a means to ensure that craft brewers can compete with larger brewers in a market that was not designed to suit the needs of smaller firms.

Although most craft brewers I spoke with expressed their frustration with interprovincial borders and alcohol legislation, not every craft brewer experienced these barriers in the same way. Even among the brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, there are significant variations in capacity and scale, with some breweries truly characterized as ‘micro’ and others that are approaching ‘macro’ capacity. While most of the breweries in the region are independently owned, which is a fundamental characterization of craft brewing, the idea of ownership becomes more complicated as craft breweries seek the support of investors and larger companies to expand their operations. For instance, Ottawa’s Big Rig Brewery was sold to a Quebec restaurant franchising group in order to secure funds to expand their market across Canada (CBC News, 2019). In spite of this sale, Big Rig Brewery remains a member of the Ontario Craft Brewers’ Association and is characterized as ‘craft’ and not as part of a brewing conglomerate.

Whichever way beer is currently sold in Ontario and Québec, the reality is that many craft brewers don’t necessarily fit into, nor want to participate in, conventional retail markets. Even if a craft brewery chose to only sell their products themselves, they can only operate two retail locations (McLaughlin, 2019). Equally, certain brewers are wary of using the LCBO and grocery stores to sell their beers, as they cannot guarantee the freshness of their product. In keeping with traditional brewing techniques, some craft beers are unpasteurized, and their shelf-life is therefore shorter than industrially produced beers.

For one craft brewer, it was imperative that his customers get the highest quality beer from him, and he did not want to lose control over quality simply to expand his market:

And the best way I can put it is, when you come to [brewery name] and buy a beer, you're buying fresh beer the way that it is designed to taste. But if my beer goes on an LCBO shelf, it might get shipped to the LCBO. Upon first shipment it might sit somewhere for a month before it goes on the shelf. It may sit on a hot shelf beside all kinds of different craft breweries that it's becoming very difficult to tell one from the other. They're all in 16-ounce cans now. They've taken this idea of choice and grown the idea of choice by dictating that everybody has to have their beer in this one size can (Ottawa craft brewery owner and brewer).

To expand markets without relinquishing control to the LCBO or the Beer Store, craft brewers are turning to alternative means, most notably online sales. Ontario craft brewers can sell beers to consumers located within Ontario, due to the aforementioned provincial trade regulations, so long as the shipment is received by an adult with government-issued photo identification. Online sales significantly open up markets without the use of third party distributor, and allow consumers to access seasonal and specialty products not available in the LCBO and the Beer Store. Some craft breweries want to have even more control and freedom over how beer is sold in Ontario.

A few craft brewers expressed the desire to be able to sell the beers of other local brewers in their retail stores, with many offering other's products on tap. A brewer operating in a rural town outside of Ottawa identified an opportunity to support and grow the craft brewing industry by selling other brewers' beers:

Each craft brewery, at their own will, could become a beer boutique. It would be amazing! But the government won't do it. And if we look at the Beer Store, that's exactly what they're doing. It's three big, corporate brewers that sell everyone else's beers. They're allowed but we aren't! [Translated from French]".

For craft brewers in Ottawa-Gatineau, these alternative markets would incorporate cooperation between local breweries to sell products outside of the conventional markets that privilege large brewing conglomerates. In the eyes of craft brewers, the craft brewing industry would grow more efficiently if the market was structured in a way that gives craft brewers the same retail and distribution rights as brewing conglomerates in both Ontario and Québec.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

In the face of the immense concentration of power by large, multinational breweries in Canada and globally, proponents of conventional economic wisdom would like us to believe that craft breweries will either grow into larger breweries or they will be subsumed into existing firms (as what occurred post-Prohibition). Already, prominent and popular craft breweries in Québec and Ontario have been purchased by multinational firms, a trend which Howard (2013; 2016) examines at length in understanding the concentration of power in food systems. Buy-outs will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6.

In the Ottawa-Gatineau brewing industry, the power of brewing conglomerates is most apparent in the distribution and retail of beers, in which craft brewers face significant barriers in getting their beers to consumers in a market that is structured around the needs of large, brewing conglomerates. In response to this concentration of power, individual craft breweries and craft brewer associations in Ontario and Québec continue to engage in political actions, lobbying provincial and federal governments in support of the craft brewing industry. These actions provide craft breweries with a collective voice that challenges the

political and economic power of brewing conglomerates, who continue to resist changes to legislation and retail markets.

This chapter outlines the challenges faced by craft breweries in Ottawa-Gatineau by delving into the political economies of producing, trading and selling beer in Ontario and Québec. The breweries I considered in both provinces are bound by distinct provincial regulations that bind their markets, which contrast with the broader social and economic fluidity of the Ontario-Québec border in the region. The remainder of this thesis looks at these positive possibilities in craft brewing to understand how craft brewers react to the ‘threats’ to their industry due to the concentration of power. I dig deeper into the social and cultural realities of craft brewing that serve to distinguish the industry from the broader beer market, and embed the Ottawa-Gatineau breweries in narratives of place and locality.

## Chapter 5: Place and Locality

### 5.1 Introduction

As a critical food studies researcher looking at beer, I found the question of locality proved particularly salient as the idea of 'local' is a prominent facet of craft beer discourses. 'Local' is a fraught term in both food studies and broader cultural and human geographies, wherein noted scholars such as Doreen Massey and J.K. Gibson-Graham, pushed for a more critical and interrogative perspective on how 'local' as a discourse is invoked. For them, 'local' is both useful, as it lends itself to gleaning an understanding of specificities and linkages that occur within and between different places, and limiting, as geographers use 'local' to reinforce and draw boundaries, often with a view that particular places are 'pure' (Massey, 1993; Gibson-Graham, 2003). In as much, their work guides my understanding of the multiple meanings and uses of 'local', and also leaves a hesitancy to embrace the celebratory perspectives of 'local' often found in food studies research.

Craft brewing discourses are intrinsically linked with those of food movements through the 'local', as craft beer, like small-scale farms, agroecology, community-supported agriculture and farmers' markets, serves as a discursive portal back to a better and more wholesome way of producing and consuming food and drink. In both craft beer and local food, the notion of 'return' largely guides the interpretation of locality and place-based markets that lend themselves to the conducting of economic activities that prioritize relationships with people and places. Mount (2012) suggests that this 'return' neglects the transformations of people and places throughout time and simplifies and idealises an imagined past that is 'implicitly simpler, more authentic and fulfilling' (p. 110).

Geographies of craft brewing also see locality as a return to a former way of producing and distributing beer in which small, place-based breweries, proximate to malt houses and hop farms, were the norm (Flack, 1997; Schnell & Reese 2003; Eberts, 2014; Shears, 2014). The regional breweries that once existed in Canada and the United States are heralded in craft beer literature as models to which the future of craft brewing should strive towards (Eberts, 2014; Shears, 2014). In much the same way, local food movement actors seek to connect people with each other and with the land, as was the norm in rural agrarian pasts, small regional breweries similarly strengthen relationships between people and places (Flack, 1997; Larsen, 1997). ‘Local’ therefore **is used as a means** to define and distinguish craft beer from industrially produced beer and set geographic limits as to what counts as craft beer.

However, the definition of ‘local’ itself remains messy (and often contradictory) with regards to craft brewing – tied to more than just physical geographies and place-based identity.

When speaking with brewers, brewery owners, maltsters and hops growers, I found that the meaning of ‘local’ varied greatly within just the Ottawa-Gatineau region. Thus, can there really be a comprehensive definition of local craft beer that considers the myriad ways in which beer is produced, distributed, sold and consumed within a given region? I also asked how craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region define ‘local’ in the context of craft beer, and whether this conceptualization may be used to enhance the transformative potential of craft brewing. In effect, diverse economic practices are grounded by notions of locality and place, as uncovering and building economic diversity is a practice in highlighting particularities (Gibson-Graham, 2003). This chapter seeks to provide a critical understanding

of place-based identity and locality in the context of craft beer, and to draw conceptual connections between craft brewing and ‘local’ as established in food movements.

## 5.2 Crafting place

### 5.2.1 Landscape and place-identity

Beer and place are co-constituted through the practice and materiality of brewing, as the physical landscape, identity, heritage and culture impact how beer is brewed and how place is interpreted through the lens of beer. The beer-place nexus is particularly evident in historical European beer styles, such as Czech Pilsners, German Kölsch beer, and Belgian Lambic ales, in which the material and social realities of these regions shaped their brewing industries and place identity (Mittag, 2014). For example, the development of pilsner-style beers in the Czech Republic was in part due to broader technological advances in refrigeration and the introduction of lighter malts from Britain and Belgium to Eastern European regions, as well as the use of locally specific ingredients (Mittag, 2014). Pilsner beers are characterized by the use of a Czech-grown ingredients, including Saaz hops and Moravian<sup>7</sup> malts, as well as the distinctive mineral-free water of Plzeň (Mittag, 2014). In Canada, beer styles are not as firmly tied to place as they are in Europe, given its younger beer industry – brought over from Europe during colonization. Equally, the industrialization and globalization of brewing during the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century reduced the ties between beer and place.

As mentioned, craft brewing aimed to re-embed beer in places, essentially counteracting the placelessness of macrobrewed beers. Despite these aims, craft brewing nevertheless relies on

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<sup>7</sup> Barley grown and malted in the Moravia region, located in east of the Czech Republic

a global supply chain for brewery equipment and ingredients, and remains globally connected through international beer cultures and knowledge sharing. Hence, it is essential to recognize the connectedness of localities, and the porousness of places, which are in a continual process of being made, remade and contested (Massey, 1993). Massey (1993) sees the importance of looking at the unique character of place, which can be used to both theorize and conceptualize broader social mechanisms, as well as explain phenomena. However, she clarifies that places cannot be understood in isolation, as the ‘uniqueness’ of localities are inextricably linked to other places, understood in relation to them and needs to be understood through these linkages (Massey, 1993). In the same way, ‘local’ craft beer, as a particular facet of a particular place, needs to be understood through its linkages to other places and globalities. Any given craft brewery, as much as it can be embedded in a particular place and bounded in a physical geography, is inexorably connected to the global context.

Herein lies the difficulty in trying to define ‘local’ in the context of craft beer, as there are fundamentally global and connected elements to brewing beer. Place-based identity, as a central element of locality, provides a starting point to understand what local can mean in the context of the craft beer industry. In craft beer literature, the unique character of places is used to market beer and serves to distinguish craft brewing from the placelessness of industrial brewing (Snell and Reese, 2014). Here, the material aspects of beer and place frame the discourses of ‘local’, using regionally available ingredients as well as the use of images that reflect unique landscapes and historical narratives (Snell and Reese, 2014). In a study of Montana craft breweries, Fletchall (2016) found that particular aspects of the state’s landscape, such as mountains and rivers, local historical events, and outdoor recreational culture were used in brewery names and for beers to denote a specific understanding of

Montana. Fletchall (2016) states: With presentations so centered on mountains, rivers, and fishing, in particular, its breweries paint Montana as a place full of outdoor recreation opportunities and spectacular scenery” (p. 547). In my conversations with brewers and brewery owners in the Ottawa-Gatineau, craft beer industry, the notion and importance of place varied considerably in relation to beer and brewing. Unlike many parts of Europe and the United Kingdom, there isn’t a particular style of beer that is endemic to the Ottawa-Gatineau region. Despite a lack of a singularly defining beer style, the adoption of beer styles from elsewhere nevertheless tells us about how a given locality is connected with other places, and how knowledge and ideas of beer and brewing circulate in time and space.

Ottawa-Gatineau as a *place* entwined with craft brewing and all brewing related activities (including the production of ingredients, the distribution and sale of beer and consumption) is best understood relationally, spatially and conceptually as formed through networks. Law (1999) argues against fixity, as the world is produced through the malleability of relationships and the tensions between material and social worlds. As such, place is performative and continually made, torn apart and remade through these networks, objects (both human and more-than-human) and relationships, all of which in sum are referred to as Actor-Networks (Law, 1999). The physical and temporal aspects of place are equally relational, as our understandings of time and space are compressed through processes and technologies of globalization (Harvey, 1990; Murdoch, 1998; Massey, 2004).

As they relate to craft beer, these actor-networks lead to an understanding of the flows of brewing through time and space, and how craft beer comes to (re)create place-identities. In effect, craft beer culture in the Ottawa-Gatineau region is in no way insular and is relationally

constructed. These relations are evident in the ways in which the craft brewing industry emerged in the area, which is closely connected to the craft beer movement that began in the United States. When asked to describe the beer culture in Ottawa and Gatineau, the craft brewers I spoke with described craft beer in Canada in relation to the industries in the US, Europe and the UK. One Ontario craft brewery owner noted how craft beer is the result of less place-driven beer traditions, and an openness to innovation:

I definitely think that there's an obvious connection with the American craft beer movement, I think there's a lot of influence that the scene here, across the country has taken from the US. There was definitely an attitude early on, going back 20-25 years ago, where I think American brewers were much more prepared to throw away what had been done before, try new things. Sometimes it worked, sometimes it was gross and didn't continue. I think that attitude has definitely influenced how Canadian craft beer has evolved. We're not as bound by doing things the way they've always been done, but we don't have the same depth of history that, you know, German brewers or Czech brewers or even English brewers have. So, that's sort of liberating, I think.

The temporal aspects of beer cultures give meaning to craft beer in that the newness of craft brewing, compared to traditional European brewing industries, constitutes a defining characteristic of the industry. Craft beer is less fixed in time and space than traditional, regional European and English beer styles, due to the connectedness of craft brewers across different regions and the ability to (re)create any beer style almost anywhere in the world. Brewers can access the necessary hops and malts and modify the water profile in order to mimic any traditional beer style, no matter where they are located.

Canadian craft beer culture is spatially flexible and porous, as it borrows from and re-creates different places, histories and traditions. Despite the increased global and relational nature of craft brewing, 'place' and 'locality' are nevertheless fundamental to the ways in which craft brewers define themselves and frame their products. The brewers in Ottawa and Gatineau

use place as part of their breweries' identity and *raison d'être* as they seek to serve and represent a specific geographic region. As discussed in Chapter 4, Quebec discursively and legislatively frames itself as a unique region within Canada with a distinct culture, heritage and language. The Quebecois craft brewery owner I interviewed sees his brewery as a means to preserve and promote regional culture and heritage through beer. The brewery uses beer styles, names and labels to recount narratives and histories of the Gatineau area, such as the forestry industry, the cultural and economic significance of the Outaouais River, and the historical figures important to the founding of the region.

A number of breweries on the Ontario side also use brewing in a similar manner through the marketing and branding of their breweries and products. One brewery highlights the importance of federal politics to the city of Ottawa, as the nation's capital, while other breweries look to highlight the region as a center of outdoor activities, such as cycling and watersports, and some lean on the close ties between Ottawa and rural agricultural communities and industrial sectors past and present. For instance, one of the first craft breweries in the region, Beau's Brewery, uses a tractor as part of their logo, which highlights their ties to the agricultural township of Vankleek Hill where they are located.

Dominion City Brewery in Ottawa takes inspiration from the importance of the federal government to Ottawa and current political events, with beer names such as 'Civic Pilsner', 'Peace, Order and Good Government', 'Unparliamentary Language' and 'Filibuster'. Located near one of the hubs of white-water rafting and kayaking in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, Whitewater Brewing Company uses imagery and beer names that refer to watersports such

as ‘Whistling Paddler’ and ‘Class V’ (referencing the international scale of river difficulty for paddling sports).

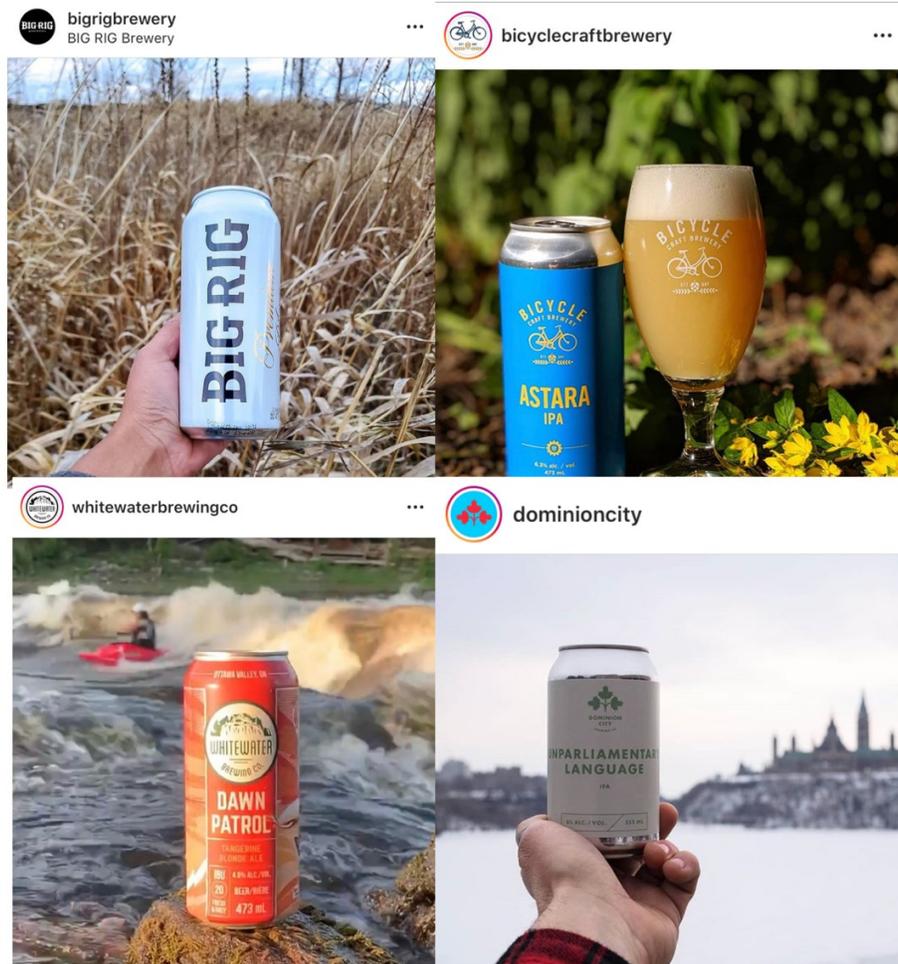


Figure 5.1: Ottawa-Gatineau region brewery Instagram posts that depict particular notions of place-identity relating to rurality, the outdoors and federal political institutions ([Clockwise from top left:] Big Rig Brewery, 2019; Bicycle Craft Brewery, 2020; Whitewater Brewing Co. 2020; Dominion City Brewing Co., 2019).

These narratives are reproduced through the labels on beer cans, the names of breweries and beers, as well as through social media posts on platforms such as Instagram and Facebook. In marketing their beers on Instagram, nearly all the brewers I sampled used images that depicted their beer cans resting in natural environments, such as in front of a lake or in a

forest, suggesting that this is where their products ought to be enjoyed (see figure 5.1). While most of the breweries in the Ottawa-Gatineau regions are located in urban, industrial or suburban locales, only a few breweries use urban settings to showcase their beers visually and nearly all use the surrounding natural parks and landscapes. My analysis of these images and my conversation with brewers lead me to surmise that Ottawa-Gatineau is best described, through the lens of craft beer, as a place closely entwined with the outdoors, local farms and the federal government.

### 5.2.1 Ottawa-Gatineau as a 'settler city'

Snell and Reese (2014) explain that drawing on the 'unique' elements of places, including landscape and heritage, contributes to the creation of place identity and a sense of place, and serves to (re)create particular narratives: "Interestingly, this highly local emphasis revives, in its own small way, the oral (or at least, menu-printed) tradition of storytelling that is a key component in creating local place identities" (p. 317). In North America, the 'local' and 'local knowledge' leaned upon by craft brewers often include Indigenous culture, histories and languages. For instance, Snell and Reese (2014) refer to beers named after Indigenous place names, and a beer named after 'Inuit word for walrus penis bone' (p. 317). Similarly, many craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region make reference to Indigenous cultures through their beers and marketing materials, and fold Indigenous language and images into their narratives of place and Canadian beer culture.

For instance, Gatineau brewery *Brasseurs des Temps* attempts to highlight historical events and spaces in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, particularly those relating to colonization and settlement. One of their beers is named *Trois Portages* [three portages] after the historical

importance of the canoe portages that Champlain undertook at Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River, and employs the image of an Indigenous person wearing a headdress on the label (figure 5.2). The label also includes the image of a police officer standing behind the Indigenous person, which can be construed as problematic given the ongoing instances of police violence in Indigenous communities in Canada. These imaginaries frame Canada as a unified, yet multicultural and diverse, nation that is deeply tied to the natural world, whilst ignoring the ongoing violence and harms of settler colonialism. Indeed, when Indigenous peoples are mentioned, it is within a particular timeframe and with reference to wild, natural spaces (Mackey, 1998).



Figure 5.2: Beer label from a Gatineau brewery that employs the image of an Indigenous person wearing a headdress (<https://www.brassieursdutemps.com/nos-bieres/>)

As an industry that is the result of settler colonialism (beer being brought over from Europe by settlers), the use of Indigenous imagery, stories and language is often done in a way that is problematic and reproduces settler colonialism. In his paper co-authored with Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Glen Couthard's (2016) provides an instructive definition of settler colonialism: "I conceptualize settler colonialism as a structure of domination that is partly

predicated on the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands and the forms of political authority and jurisdiction that govern our relationship to these lands" (p. 251). As discussed in Chapter 1, the introduction of alcohol to Indigenous peoples by European settlers, and the subsequent policies implemented by the Canadian government, resulted in ongoing harms to Indigenous health and communities. While Indigenous people drink and brew craft beer in Canada, alcohol nevertheless remains an instrument of settler colonialism, as it was historically used as a means of assimilation and erosion of Indigenous sovereignty (Campbell, 2008).

Craft brewing in the Ottawa region takes place on unceded Algonquin territory, and, as such, the meanings and narratives of place and identity in Ottawa-Gatineau cannot be separated from the ongoing impacts and harms of settler-colonialism. Tomiak (2016) contends that 'Ottawa', as a settler-city, needs to be viewed as a site of multiplicity, contestation and resistance. She explains: "People activate different spatial imaginaries and identities when they invoke 'Ottawa'. The city is emplaced and embodied differently with conflicting meanings and social relations attached to various imaginaries and practices" (Tomiak, 2016, p. 11). The place identity reproduced through craft brewing in Ottawa-Gatineau largely fails to meaningfully include Indigenous narratives of place, instead, it relies on settler-colonial constructions of 'Ottawa'.

In a scan of the beer marketing materials of Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers, those who chose to include Indigeneity as part of their framing of Ottawa most often did so through their beer names. However, when using any form of Indigenous culture to market a product, the issue of cultural appropriation and continued colonization arises, especially when

Indigenous images, languages and symbols are placed under a generalized banner of ‘Canadian culture’ (Vowel, 2016). Kichesippi Brewery in Ottawa uses Indigenous words for their brewery name, derived from the Algonquin name for the Ottawa River<sup>8</sup>, and for their beer Wuchak, which means woodchuck in the Algonquin language, failing to acknowledge where and whom they come from. Using Indigenous words in this way separates Indigenous knowledge/language from context as ‘these words and the things they represent have real meaning, cultural value, and spiritual connections’ (Haig-Brown, 2010, p. 938).

Conversely, some breweries make efforts to engage with Indigenous culture in a deeper and more meaningful way by engaging directly with Indigenous communities. In 2019, Dominion City Brewing Co. launched an initiative with chefs and community members from the Kitigan Zibi Anishnabeg First Nation, located north of Gatineau, to develop a beer and fundraiser to provide funds for the Kitigan Zibi Canoe and Kayak club, a youth program operated on the reserve. The beer was conceptualised and crafted in collaboration with Indigenous chefs from the Birch Bite, using ingredients that the brewery staff and the chefs gathered together. The resulting beer was named the ‘Good Way’ or Menòbideg, a sumac IPA, and a dinner event was catered by the chefs who served and prepared foods harvested from the reserve.

While certain breweries, like Dominion City, make efforts to include Indigenous communities in craft brewing, it remains largely a settler-colonial practice. Nevertheless, craft brewing can be Indigenized and be used to provide economic opportunities for

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<sup>8</sup> The word Kichesippi is derivative from *Ki Chi Zibi*, loosely translating to ‘very big river’ in Algonquin, and was the original name of the Ottawa River.

communities. Métis scholar Zoe Todd (2015) describes indigenization as a process in which white-dominated spaces, practices and knowledge are contested, disrupted and re-defined through Indigenous-centered praxis by Indigenous peoples. Like the academic and arts worlds that Todd (2015) discusses, craft brewing is an equally white space that privileges Eurocentric and patriarchal knowledges<sup>9</sup>. The processes of indigenizing and decolonizing the craft brewing industry are taking place through indigenous-owned and operated breweries that aim to bring Indigenous food cultures and practices into craft beer. For instance, Kahnawake Brewing Co., the first Indigenous-owned-and-operated brewery located on the Mohawk territory of Kahnawake reserve lands near Montreal, uses craft brewing to tell stories of the local lands and people while providing a community space and business opportunity.

Craft brewing (re)creates place through narratives of landscapes, heritage and regional culture, highlighting particular aspects of a region selected by brewers and brewery owners. In as much, the place crafted by brewers in Ottawa-Gatineau tells the story of a region that is deeply connected to nature, industry and rurality, with local heritage and histories beginning only post-colonization. The narratives of place and heritage enacted and performed by brewers through their beers and breweries have real and material impacts on Ottawa-Gatineau as a place, particularly in the continued erasure of Indigenous peoples from the National Capital region. Despite the harms that the uneven power relations in place-making processes can incite, 'place' can nevertheless be used as a site for positivity, possibility and reconfiguration of power imbalances.

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<sup>9</sup> Whiteness and gender in craft brewing will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

Gibson-Graham (2006b) relay the importance of engaging with specificity, including locality and place, which allows for the existing actions towards crafting community economies and possibilities to be visible and viable. In this way, place can be used to bring about radical economic transformation as it allows for an engagement with the 'here and now', rather than the dislocated and illusory aspects of large-scale global economic issues (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Massey (2004) understand place connections in similar ways, building on the subjectivity and embodied politics of the local described by Gibson-Graham. In as much, Massey (2004) argues that the global is ultimately the product of local relations, and states: "For places are also the moments through which the global is constituted, invented, coordinated, produced" (p. 11). Massey (2004) reasons that globalization cannot be considered a dominating and all-consuming force, as the politics of the local impact the ways in which global political economics take form and are implemented. Place is a means to capture the grounded and embedded nature of craft brewing, and the ways in which it spurs both local and global economic and social transformations. Equally, craft brewers invoke place in ways that reveal much about the connectedness and relationality of beer within and between different localities.

### 5.2.3 Terroir and materiality

Brewing beer is a material and physical act and beer is defined not only by the social conditions of a place, but also by the physical landscapes of localities. The physicality of place with regards to food and beverages is explored through the notion of *terroir* – a term created to describe the linkages between the particularities of different wine-producing regions in France and the taste of the final products (Trubek and Bowen, 2008). The scope

and breadth of *terroir* expanded to include other forms of food production and legislated definitions intended to protect particular harvesting and processing methods. In food studies literature, *terroir* is another way to bind food to particular localities by placing value – cultural, social and economic – on the ways in which a place impacts taste. *Terroir* in the hands of legislators, as discussed in Chapter 4, ultimately serves as a protectionist measure, used to draw boundaries around local foods. In its more complex iterations, *terroir* can also be used to describe the performativity and materiality of food production, bringing together human and more-than-human actants. Using this conceptualization, *terroir* results from unique assemblages of land, soil, climate, humans and non-human beings, production and cultivation materials, and the narratives linked to particular foods and places (Szanto, 2011).

As *terroir* evolved to incorporate food products other than wine, many in the brewing industry see the concept as wholly applicable to beer. As one Ontario craft brewery owner observed:

It's funny that people have never had a hard time accepting that where the grapes were grown has some bearing on what the wine tastes like. You have people that talk at length and write books about the different of like a hillside in Italy and what Gamay tastes like on one side versus the other. *Terroir* is a well-established feature in wine and other beverages, and it only makes sense that it apply to beer, ....

In craft beer literature, *terroir* is most often used to refer to how different physical geographies impact brewing ingredients, such as the ways in which the climates of the Pacific Northwest result in hops varieties that are sought after for making IPAs, or the ways in which place and landscape influence the creation of different beer styles (Patterson and Hoalst-Pullen, 2014; Yool and Comrie, 2015).

Many of the Ottawa-Gatineau brewers and brewery owners that engage with notions of terroir through their beers often link taste of place with hops, as regional differences are more evident with hops than with malts. As mentioned in Chapter 1 place greatly impacted traditional brewing industries and beer styles and continues to impact ingredients, however, globalized and modernized production practices mean that brewers can produce any beer in any place, even adjusting their local water to match the chemical profiles of chosen regions. In as much, limiting the meaning of *terroir* to taste and ingredients ignores the complex human and more-than-human assemblages that impact beers.

The brewers I spoke with in the Ottawa-Gatineau region felt that beer unquestionably reveals elements of terroir, although the impacts of place on brewing processes and ingredients are more complex than with other terroir products such as wine or cheese. One brewer stated that there are many ways to engage with place through taste, whether it be water, grain, hops, yeast or the brewery itself. While individual ingredients can reflect the particularities of the landscapes in which they grow, such as with wine grape varieties, beer is the result of an assemblage of processes, places, materials and people.

In some places, these assemblages and practices lead to new beer styles that characterize certain elements of a place, including physical and social facets. While brewers are able to access ingredients from a great many locales due to the globalized nature of malts and hops supply chains, many craft brewers seek out ways in which to imbue their beers with ingredients unique to and associated with their localities. For instance, in Quebec, a group of craft brewers attempted to develop a beer style that was uniquely and distinctly Quebecois, bringing together local flavour and culture in a manner analogous to *terroir*. The brewers

sought to use a collection of ingredients that could tell a unique story about brewing and heritage in Quebec, which included a yeast strain related to that used in one of the first breweries in Quebec by Jean Talon, and balsam fir tips, which are used in traditional indigenous medicines and shared by the St. Lawrence Iroquois peoples with the first French colonists (Coulombe-Desmers, 2015). The resultant beer was named after the St. Lawrence Iroquois word for the balsam fir, *annedda*, which signifies ‘tree of life’ (Coulombe-Desmers, 2015).

While the brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region were not a part of the effort to create a ‘Quebecois’ beer, there are discussions of what makes a beer an ‘Ontario’ or ‘Ottawa-Valley’ beer. With the large size and ubiquitous presence of Beau’s All Natural Brewing Company, many remarked on how Beau’s flagship beer, Lugtread, a Kölsch-style lager, has become the unofficial beer style of Eastern Ontario, especially with many other craft breweries in Ottawa-Gatineau also producing Kölsch-style lagers. In remarking on the push to create specific regional beer styles in Ontario, a craft brewery owner stated:

Ontario brewers as a whole, there’s always a large percentage that are trying to create the next new beer style, be it the Ontario beer style, or the Toronto pale ale, or whatever you want to call it. And I don’t believe that that’s possible by coming up with some random creative idea on something that nobody’s ever done before. I think it’s actually going to involve using Ontario ingredients to create flavours and ideas that have never been done before. And then if you are on to something, and I think there’s a ton of luck involved in that, then you could grow a new beer style according to that.

While certain brewers applied *terroir* to the base ingredients in beer – malt, hops and yeast – others perceived *terroir* as a need to include the broader food culture of the region. Similarly, for Quebecois brewers who developed the Annedda beer, many attempt to make use of regionally-available ingredients by using endemic plant species and other inputs associated

with the region. For many craft brewers, adjuncts, which are added to beer to flavour and create aromas other than the base ingredients, are a simpler and more accessible means to infuse *terroir* into beers as they be more creative and flexible in what they use.

Many of these breweries call upon local farmers, urban harvesters and foragers in their communities to source adjuncts, often participating themselves in the collection of plants. For instance, a brewery on the Ontario side uses locally sourced plants, both farmed and foraged, to bitter and flavour their beers instead of hops, producing *gruit ales* meant to revive a historic beer style and introduce regionally specific flavours. Another Ontario craft brewery uses maple sap and maple syrup to produce a seasonal beer, with the goal of highlighting the importance of maple products to Canadian and French-Canadian culture in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. Maple syrup is a product tied to very particular and limited landscapes, with certain cultivators attempting to explore the application of *terroir* to syrup production (Trubek and Bowen, 2008).

*Terroir* represents an assemblage of landscape, knowledge and practices, and people are as much a part of the creation of distinct place-based flavours as geographic landscapes. Not only do people hold the knowledge to produce foods using traditional methods, but their material and bodily engagement with products impacts flavours. In effect, making food is a performative act in which food assemblages, the social, material, and human and non-human actants involved, push food to 'become' and transform states (Szanto, 2011, p. 5).

Consuming food is an embodied and constitutive experience – felt by and transforming the physical body, and transformed by the physical body; and taste is as visceral as it is social and cultural (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy, 2008).

In the act of brewing beer, the brewer's body is as much a part of the process as is their knowledge. Brewing beer requires an assemblage of the brewer, the brewing space, with its particular smells, temperatures and noises, the ingredients, and the brewing equipment (Thurnell-Reed, 2014). Each brewery offers a different set of circumstances under which brewers interact with human and non-human actants, all of which impact how the beer is made and ultimately tastes. For some brewers, the notion of *terroir* necessarily includes both the people that make the beer and where the ingredients come from. As one brewer stated, "that comes down not only to how ingredients are grown, but also how people use them".

### 5.3 Defining 'local' in craft beer

Craft brewers use 'place' discursively and materially in their brewing practices, and the ways in which 'local' is defined in craft beer reflects the interplay between material and social worlds. The inherent messiness of defining locality is evident in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry, wherein there is no agreed-upon definition of 'local' craft beer. For the brewers, brewery owners and the producers of beer ingredients I spoke with, concepts of 'local' are caught between people and place. While my intent was to develop a comprehensive definition of 'local' in the context of the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry through this thesis, I also found that I needed to understand *why* local matters to craft brewing to begin with. While notions of locality distinguish the practices of craft brewing from industrial brewing, discursive constructions of 'local' also represent sites of disruption, diversity and possibility. Gibson-Graham (2003) and Massey (2004) use 'locality' to challenge the assumed subsuming and domineering power of the 'global', all the while dismantling notions of the 'local' as a positive panacea to globalization.

The notions of local that craft brewers apply to their industry are drawn from those established in local food movements. While ‘local’ evolved to capture the complexities and heterogeneity of food systems in critical food studies literature by emphasising the relational aspects of locality, geographic space remains a central component (Watts et al., 2005; DeLind, 2006, Hinrichs, 2015). In craft brewing, geographic space is explicitly tied to the ‘local’, serving to distinguish craft brewing from the relative placelessness of macrobrewed beers (Eberts, 2014; Fletchall, 2016). In scholarly works examining the geographies of craft brewing, local is used to delineate geographic space, describe place attachment and appeal to niche market values (Snell and Reese, 2003; Eberts, 2014; Fletchall, 2016).

I argue that the definition of ‘locality’ put forward by critical food studies scholars better grasps the relational realities of craft brewers and how they operationalise ‘local’ to enact socioeconomic changes. In this way, ‘local’ is an active, dynamic and political tool, which DeLind affirms is able “to provide us with a solidarity for resisting, exposing, and perhaps restructuring the institutionalized sources of power and inequity that currently dominate our lives” (2006, p. 143). DeLind also warns against the superficial and consumer-oriented interpretations of local foods that avoid the disruptive and politicized actions that veritably challenge unsustainable practices and uneven power dynamics (2006).

‘Local’ is an intrinsic aspect of craft brewing, however, many of the brewers I spoke with found flaws in the spatially centered conceptions of locality that are most commonly used by the craft beer industry. While most of the brewers aspire to use locally sourced ingredients in some capacity in either their beers and/or the food products sold in their establishment,

most found it would be overly restrictive to use *only* local products. Of the four main brewing ingredients, hops and malt were the most discussed by brewers with regards to local sourcing, whereas water, yeast and other possible brewing adjuncts received less attention. Hops and malts make beer distinctive from other alcoholic beverages and are used in every beer recipe. As such, the ability to use 'local' brewing ingredients is highly dependent on the existence of a proximate and established malt and hops industry. Existing networks of production and distribution of brewing ingredients are structured in a way to serve the interests and needs of large-scale industrial brewers. In as much, the farms and producers that supply hops, malt and yeast are linked with a global beer supply chain and are not structured in a way to adequately support smaller breweries seeking more varied varieties of ingredients in smaller quantities.

As a result, smaller farms and suppliers are beginning to fill this gap by supplying craft breweries with access to locally sourced brewing ingredients and more personalized service. At the time of my fieldwork, there were 10 hops farms operating in the Ottawa valley in Ontario and Quebec that supplied brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. In Ontario, there was one small-scale malt producer located near Ottawa, and on the Quebec side, the maltsters were outside of the region I considered for the study (most are east of Quebec City). There was only one specialty yeast laboratory supplying unique commercial brewing strains specifically made for craft brewers, and while located outside of my study locale, the laboratory provides a unique service with no other similar firms currently existing in Canada.

### 5.3.1 Hops

Considering the continued growth of the craft brewing industry in Ontario and an increased demand for hops, the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture Farming and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA) aims to help farmers develop the knowledge and capacities to grow hops as a cash crop. OMAFRA supports studies to determine the hops varieties best able to tolerate the soil varieties, colder climates and shorter growing seasons in Ontario, as commonly-used hops varieties were developed in warmer regions in Europe and the United States. Through these efforts, the ministry helped grow the hops industry from three hops producers with 15 acres dedicated to production in 2009 to 65 hops producers cultivating over 200 acres in 2017. In a similar manner, the Ministère d'Agriculture, de pêcheries et Alimentation du Québec (MAPAQ) undertook studies to determine which hops varieties would thrive given the Outaouais region's climatic conditions, pests and diseases (Venne et al., 2012). The study led to the establishment of the Coopérative de Solidarité Houblon Pontiac – a cooperative that serves local farms in Quebec and Ontario, in which members can share in the use of expensive harvesting and processing equipment (Coop Houblon Pontiac, 2020).

The Ontario hops farmer I spoke with noted that barriers to entry and expansion in hops production may be mitigated by developing strong community ties with other farmers to share in equipment costs, such as is done with the Pontiac hops cooperative. He noted that any farms over 2 acres require mechanized harvesting equipment, which is expensive and only used for 2 weeks out of the year. Rather than having an expensive machine lie unused for most of the year, the grower indicated that he would love to form a sharing arrangement with other growers in his area, stressing the need for more community collaboration so that individual growers can assuage production costs.

Select brewers are particularly dedicated to sourcing locally-grown hops and helping support smaller farms and new growers. Both of the hops producers I spoke with stressed the importance of working closely with brewers to achieve a sustainable business model. In effect, smaller growers rely on multi-year contracts with breweries, wherein the brewers set a portion of each year's harvest. As the Ontario hops grower stated: "The value of entering into a contract with a brewery is huge because it gives us the reassurance that every year, we have a place for our product. We've already agreed on a price that from a business standpoint we can plan for...". This model mirrors that of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), in which consumers pre-purchase a share of a farmer's harvest, thus sharing in the risks and benefits of farming and guarantying a reliable income for farmers. CSAs are linked with diverse economies in that they are, theoretically, structured in a way to produce mutual relationships of caring between producers and consumers in addition to providing income for farmers and healthful, locally sourced foods for consumers (Galt, 2013; White, 2013; Cameron, 2015). The transformative potential of CSA is in the ability to use the economy to forge social connections, sustain rural livelihoods and ground food in particular places and practices (DeLind, 2006; Galt, 2013; Hvitsand, 2016).

For small-scale hops growers in Ottawa-Gatineau, the forging of relationships with other hops growers and brewers is vital to their survival, just as brewers see their support for local farms as the only way to further develop the local hops industry. Small-scale hops growers are better able to sustain and expand their operations by working closely with each other and brewers. The relationship between brewers and hops growers is founded on common interests and sustained in social and material ways. Both hops growers I spoke with

welcomed brewers onto their farms to participate in harvests, which enabled brewers and brewery staff to interact in tangible and material ways with hops as plants and ingredients.

The ability to interact with ingredients in this way lends itself to crafting an embodied and emotive connection to ingredients and place that is central to craft brewing (Thurnell-Read, 2014). In as much, the material, emotive and embodied connections that occur because of relationships with hops farmers is of utmost importance for certain craft brewers seeking to promote 'locally sourced' ingredients. For one Ontario brewery owner, the added value of the stories he can tell about the growers and the place through his beers and the ability to help support his local economy outweighs the added cost and difficulty of sourcing local ingredients:

I know for people that it's a light that goes on for them when you are able to hand them something and say 'what you're drinking is not only supporting the local brewery who made it, people who live where you live, who grew the stuff that ultimately made it'.

Despite some brewers enthusiastically embracing locally-produced hops, there are barriers that prevent the hops industry in Ontario and Quebec from thriving in the same ways as the craft beer industry. In effect, the newness of hops production in the region leaves several brewers reluctant to purchase locally, as they mistrust the quality of hops relative to those produced by established farms. While growers can produce a great number of popular hops varieties, the bitterness, aroma and flavour compounds will necessarily differ between hops produced in Ottawa-Gatineau and more traditional hops-growing regions. As such, these unknowns make it so brewers would rather continue to purchase hops from known suppliers than risk sacrificing their beer quality.

One brewer indicated that he would necessarily have to alter or develop recipes to accommodate the particularities of local hops and proved unwilling to sacrifice the quality of the mainstay beers that sustain him financially. In as much, he and other brewers I spoke with proved more willing to create one-off beers centered around a particular hops batch, so that consistency is not an issue. However, local hops farms need more stable sources of income and larger contracts with breweries to stay afloat, which is more difficult to accomplish if their hops are only sought out to produce specialty beers. This dilemma is not unknown to brewers, who desire to support local whilst acknowledging the need for consistent and quality ingredients:

If I don't use my dollar to support those hops growers, they're never going to have the opportunity to get to the point where they're producing world-class hops like the German growers, like the New Zealand growers and American growers. So, it's this catch-22 of if I don't put my money into that industry it's never going to get better. But I'm also claiming that it's not really at the point right now where I'm ready and able to use those products in my core brands.

There exists a place-based symbiosis between small-scale hops producers and craft brewers; brewers can access hops without relying on a supply-chain that caters to large-brewing conglomerates, and hops producers enjoy a guaranteed source of income. However, this symbiosis can only take place if there are enough craft breweries willing to invest in and support local and small-scale hops producers. Matron Brewery, located near Ottawa, made a public plea to other craft breweries to support local hops industries, stating that farming and brewing are a community effort: “As brewers, we should understand that efficiencies come with scaling up, scaling up requires growth, growth requires sales and support from the community. As the community, we need to support growers if we want to see them succeed” (Matron Fine Beer, 2020).

### 5.3.2 Malt and yeast

While the hops industry in Ontario and Quebec has been steadily growing and gaining attention from brewers, the malting and yeast production industries are much newer and smaller. Hops tend to gain a significant amount of attention in conversations related to locally sourced beers, whereas malt is less discussed despite being the primary ingredient in beer besides water. Malt and yeast, like hops, provide beers with distinct flavour and aroma characteristics, though the local market for these is much smaller, particularly in Ontario.

While malting barley is grown in Ontario and Quebec, there is a need for specialized facilities to process the grain for it to be of use to brewers. In Quebec, as compared to Ontario, the micro-malting industry is more developed, including six operations as of May 2020. The Quebecois craft maltsters are dedicated to using only Quebec-grown grains, having oriented their production methods to suit the regional particularities of the crops (King, 2020). The Ontario craft malting industry is much smaller than in Quebec, with three malthouses operating as of May 2020.

With most of the brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region on the Ontario side of the river, many brewers reported difficulties in accessing craft malts, as there is a limited supply from Ontario maltsters. The Quebec malt producers are focused on supplying product principally to breweries and distilleries within the province (King, 2020). One of the first craft malt houses in Ontario faces a significant demand for product and will occasionally sell out of commercial products for a couple of months. Despite these difficulties, craft brewers nevertheless enthusiastically seek out locally malted grains, not only for the uniqueness and quality of the products, but for the relationships with malt producers.

One Ontario maltster indicated that many brewers never met with maltsters, only having dealt with the third-party distributors that are the main suppliers of brewing malt in Canada. For both the maltster and the brewers he supplies these interactions are invaluable in opening channels of communication that allow him to improve his product; moreover, brewers can provide feedback and receive more personalized service. As with many local food projects, such as farmers' markets, urban fruit harvests and CSAs, the maltster I spoke with asserted that craft malting provides a means to mend the disconnect between brewing actors that resulted from corporatized supply chains.

The idea of small, more personal ingredient suppliers and producers for craft brewers is also what spurred the creation of a yeast laboratory dedicated to producing brewing yeast strain specifically for craft brewers. Large, brewing conglomerates use proprietary strains that are most often maintained and grown in in-house laboratories (White and Zainasheff, 2010). Some of the craft breweries in Ottawa-Gatineau have microbiologists on staff and laboratory equipment that enables them to replicate and maintain their own yeasts rather than purchase them from commercial laboratories. If unable to propagate yeasts themselves, brewers must purchase yeasts commercially and are limited to what standardized strains are available to them from brewing yeast laboratories, which can constrain the types of beers they brew.

The founder of the craft brewing yeast lab wanted to provide brewers with a means to access more personalized and unique yeast strains. The idea of yeast laboratories collaborating with brewers is a recent innovation in Canada, allowing the craft yeast laboratory to engage with brewers creatively to develop new yeast strains. The laboratory's co-founder wanted to 'be able to give brewers access to locally derived flavours through yeast', which they accomplish

by isolating wild yeast strains in unique places, such as apple orchards and vineyards. While yeasts are only a small part of the brewing ingredients, they are fundamental to making and flavouring beer and can enable brewers to tap into a unique means to showcase 'local' flavours and *terroir*.

### 5.3.3 Brewing a 'local' beer

Local in the context of craft brewing is not easily defined, nor should it be. As with the concept of *terroir*, local is an assemblage of place, physical landscape, and human and non-human actants. For many of the brewers I interviewed, 'local' beer is best achieved by using ingredients grown and processed close to the brewery, and by paying attention to developing relationships with producers. Many brewers form relationships with farmers outside of sourcing ingredients for beer; those who offer food try to seek out local and artisanal food producers and partner with small restaurants specializing in local and seasonal cuisine for special events, and numerous brewers offer their spent grains as animal feed to livestock farmers in the region.

For others, using locally sourced ingredients is impractical due to the constraints in current supply and concern regarding the quality of Ottawa-Gatineau borne ingredients compared to those sourced from more established regions. For these last brewers, locality can be achieved outside of brewing inputs, as, for them, it is the people that brew the beer that matter most.

An Ontario brewer remarked on what makes beer different than other 'local' products:

So, you need to be open minded to be able to work with the local ingredients in a meaningful way in some climates. If you're in Germany, right in the middle of their crop producing regions, local's a no brainer. But the other side is the human side and Swiss chocolate, they don't grow cocoa in Switzerland and they still have a wonderful food-based

programme around that. So, with beer, it's one of those things where the amount of effort in transforming the raw ingredients into the finished product I think makes it a little bit different than taking strawberries and making jam with it. Because the amount of infrastructure and people-related involvement means that even if the raw materials aren't coming from right next door, the impact on a community is sizeable.

The use and application of 'local' in the context of craft beer in the Ottawa-Gatineau region is variable and an on-going project and struggle for many. While farmers, processors and producers recognize the value of supplying locally sourced brewing ingredients in a way that meets the needs of craft brewers, the ability to supply local products to all the breweries that want them remains limited. The hops growers and malt producers feel that growth is limited by the sheer expense of the equipment needed to process their product appropriately.

The newness of the brewing ingredient industry is also a sticking point for certain brewers that remain hesitant to try relatively untested products in established recipes that are crafted around reputable malt and hops varieties. The added costs of locally sourced products build on this reluctance, as Ontario and Quebec grown hops and malt tend to be more expensive than products imported by larger distributors and suppliers (who are able to achieve economies of scale). In effect, for many of the brewers I spoke with, the concept of 'local', as developed and defined in agricultural contexts, does not necessarily fit the realities of craft brewing in Ottawa-Gatineau.

Despite these limitations, the benefits of 'local' rest in the transformative potential and the ways in which it can be adapted to suit contextual needs when applied critically and reflexively (Andrée et al., 2014). In critical food studies scholarship, 'local', in its receptive and reflexive iterations, is a process and a means to achieve socio-cultural and economic

outcomes (DeLind, 2006; Allen, 2010; Andrée et al., 2014; Hinrichs, 2015). ‘Local’, rather than simply indicating where food, or beer, comes from, can be a means to understand how particular actions can bring about change and transformation and highlight difference in economies. Gibson-Graham (2003) stress that looking at the ‘local’ is a vital way to recognize particularities and cultivate capacity by understanding how economic transformations can arise from specific places and small actions.

During my interviews, ‘local’ was more often than not connected with the ways in which the breweries contributed to economic and community development by providing employment opportunities, community gathering spaces and charity work. I argue that ‘local’ should remain a flexible and adaptive concept for craft brewers, and thereby recognize the complexities of brewing and the transformative potential of craft brewing. The relative boundedness of craft beer defines it and allows for economic differences to emerge, notably the varied relationships between breweries, farmers, growers and processors in different aspects of the brewing process. For most of the craft brewers I interviewed, ‘local’ is, above all, about community and relationships rather than what makes up the product itself. In this, ‘local’ is defined by the people who grow and produce the ingredients, those who design and brew the beers, just as it includes the ingredients themselves and the landscapes on which they were grown, as well as the brewery in which the beer is made.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

Craft brewing also has a unique ability to make and remake place through its engagement with materials, landscape, heritage and culture, and this engagement with locality serves as a means to characterize craft brewing. The variability of ‘local’ and understandings of place by

craft brewers are expressive of relationality of the global and local that Massey (1993) stresses in her writings, stating: “places are best thought of as nets of social relations” (p.148). In many ways, craft breweries are like places in that they are spaces in which social relationships and identities are formed through relational processes. While place can serve to define aspects of craft brewing practices, it does not situate craft breweries apart from brewing conglomerates. Craft breweries engage with place and locality to differing degrees and depths, giving way to complex entanglements between brewers, drinks, ingredients, brewing instruments and processes, and places. Understanding place, and craft brewing, as relational is vital in rectifying the dichotomy between the global and the local.

The place-based nature of craft brewing brings up notions of nostalgia and recalls the ways in which beer was brewed in early Canada up until Prohibition, following which, large-scale industrial brewers became the norm. However, the idea that the return to ‘local’ in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry is a return to the past neglects the current realities of beer supply chains in Canada. While brewing with local ingredients was *a fait accompli* for early North American brewers, the globalization of brewing effectively and fundamentally altered the ways in which beer was produced. Hops farms and small malt houses that were once common in Ontario are making a reappearance in a very different temporal, economic and geographic context, and there simply isn’t enough local hops and malt to supply every craft brewery in Ontario.

The choice to use local over imported ingredients is not always straight forward for brewers. Craft brewers’ choice to use local ingredients helps in a myriad of ways, be it to help support other small businesses and producers, and to tell a story about the landscape and to create a

uniquely flavoured product. Those who opt to use imported ingredients do so to ensure product quality and consistency for consumers, to reproduce traditional beer styles as closely as possible, or to work with unique ingredients that cannot be replicated or grown closer to home. As a home brewer, I understand the desire to seek out particular flavours, especially with hops, and know that many Ontario and Quebec varieties simply cannot provide me with the taste and aromas I need.

The notion of community proved a central discussion point when brewers defined locality, as people mattered to them as much as place. In the following Chapter, I delve into the notion of community in the context of craft brewing to understand how community is expressed and constructed, and whom this conceptualization includes and excludes.

## Chapter 6: Crafting Community

### 6.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, craft beer is as much about place as it is about the people that make it. At its core, ‘community’ signifies the coming together of people under particular conditions and in particular places. Every one of the craft brewers (and other brewing actors) I spoke with relayed the importance of ‘community’ to craft brewing, and detailed how craft brewers aim to build and give back to the communities in which they are embedded. Like notions of ‘local’, ‘community’ is widely used in critical food studies and craft beer literature to describe positive outcomes of actions aimed at inciting social and economic transformations. Yet, current iterations of ‘community’, as Miranda Joseph (2002) argues, are repeatedly and problematically romanticized and used to produce particular and, often, capitalist subjectivities. The idea of ‘community’ as unadulterated by the ills of capitalism and as a refuge for positive change and social good ignores the tensions that exist within and between communities and the ways in which they are (re)constructed in space/time.

This chapter challenges the seemingly inherent wholesomeness of ‘community’, positing that communities are more complex and can create both social good and harms. In craft brewing, community must be understood at once as a means of bringing people together while also keeping others out. I first offer a theoretical understanding of ‘community’, leaning on the works of critical feminist scholars, and a perspective of ‘community’ as it relates to Gibson-Graham’s concept of community economies. These conceptualizations frame the notions of ‘community’ expressed by craft brewers, drawing out questions of inclusivity and diversity in

craft brewing, and building towards an understanding of community economies as they relate to the craft beer industry.

## 6.2 Defining community

### 6.2.1 Community as relational

The ongoing (re)creation of communities is bound up in socio-cultural, economic, political, and geographic processes, making 'community' more of a process rather than a fixed entity. Communities fundamentally represent a means to order human relations and are therefore subject to the same tensions and power structures that permeate social worlds. Silk (1999) defines 'community' as follows: "'Community' suggests any or all of the following: common needs and goals, a sense of the common good, shared lives, culture and views of the world, and collective action" (p. 8). Like place, 'community' serves to bind and differentiate, facilitate social interactions and processes in some cases, and protect and isolate social groups in others (Silk, 1999). Understanding how 'communities' are understood, and how those notions come to exist, necessitates inquiries into belonging and othering, and how power circulates within and between different communities.

Feminist geographers are particularly concerned by the moralistic aspects of community; that is, the implication that 'community' equals social good. This assumption creates a problematic view of 'community' as a unified and homogenous grouping of people, ignoring internal tensions and conflicts (Joseph, 2002). Young (1986) posits that 'community' creates a binary opposition between individual and collective identities, interests and needs, often in an attempt to correct the fundamental liberalism and individualism of capitalist society. The erasure and rejection of difference is at the center of many interpretations and realizations of

community, which promote certain identities and values over others and only allow membership to those who conform (Young, 1986). As much as the proponents of a given 'community' intend to bring people together, the construction creates divisions in equal measure that can foster homophobic, sexist and racist ideologies (Young, 1986).

This dismantling of community requires the asking of difficult and often hard to answer questions about who is undertaking social and political work, to what aim, and who is included and excluded from processes and conversations (Joseph, 2002). In examining local food movements, Slocum (2007) asks these questions, finding that food communities are highly racialized and create ideas of community based in a 'white geographical imagination' that associates community "with things good, proximate, wholesome and local" (p. 527).

Within local food communities, those that construct 'community' determine who it is intended for, which inadvertently creates exclusions since white people and bodies dominate local food spaces and movements (Slocum, 2007). Even when communities are formed with the intent to create social good, such as those in local food movements, they are nevertheless subject to broader power relations and structures.

The 'wholesomeness' and 'goodness' of 'community' in food movements, as described by Slocum (2003), are meant to imply that local food communities are imbued with a sense of authenticity and rootedness, with face-to-face interactions creating a sense of closeness and connection. Face-to-face relations are described as the ideal means of crafting local food systems, in that they cultivate place-based social connections and identities (Hinrichs, 2003). Joseph (2002) and Young (1986) challenge these idealized notions of community, which maintain that, for communities to be considered wholesome, authentic and pure, they must

be grounded in face-to-face relations. 'Inauthentic' and more distanced communities are thought to be mediated through capitalist processes that ultimately lead to the commodification of community and the alienation of social relations (Young, 1986; Joseph, 2002). However, geographic distance is not necessarily a determinant of community ties and the ability to form and maintain 'community'. For instance, Silk (1999) draws on Benedict Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities', which describes communities that span entire nations and bring people together through common identities and values, such as ideas of nationalism and citizenship (1983). The authenticity of a 'community' should therefore not be based on its tangibility or the mechanisms through which people relate.

'Community', rather than based in particular places or contained by particular identities, is wholly relational. Relationality is a core principle of ANT, which sees social and physical processes resulting from the relationality between material and immaterial objects, and non-humans and humans. 'Community' involves the performance of these relations, which are flexible, messy and boundary-crossing – set in particular times and spaces (Haraway, 1994). In using ANT to trace and deconstruct ideas of 'community', Sheehan and Vadjunec (2012) were able: "to consider 'community' not as a 'thing' with assumed qualities and geographic boundaries, but rather as a broader set of ideas and actions, based on multiple shifting relations and entrenched associations" (p. 932).

Simply put, communities are best understood as processes, with actors continually delineating boundaries and themselves relationally, constantly in a process of formation and reformation, but never in a fixed state (Latour, 2005). The formation of groups, such as communities is not only a human matter, but involves a myriad of non-human actants who

act as mediators between people (Law, 1992). As Latour (2005) explains: “Mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry” (p. 39). With regards to communities, these mediators can take the shape of tangible objects, such as communications technologies or buildings, and intangible conditions, such as space/time distances and social norms. Communities, as Young argues, are continually mediated through various means and technologies, including those built on face-to-face interactions: “The mediation of relations among persons by the speech and actions of still other persons is a fundamental condition of sociality. The richness, creativity, diversity and potential of a society expand with growth in the scope and means of its media, linking persons across time and distance” (p. 15).

Young’s notions of ‘community’ as relational are analogous to Massey’s (2004) notions of space and place, wherein Massey argues that time/space are compressed through globalizing processes and technologies, which transform and (re)define places and identities relationally. Once, communities were integrally tied to places, consisting of place-based and -bounded social formations, though the space/time compressions of globalization eroded the necessity for communities to be defined and bounded by place (Massey, 1994). The blurring of spatial and temporal boundaries gives way to places and communities that are mutable and wholly relational, rather than firm and static entities. Communities can begin in one place and end up somewhere completely different, often occupying multiple spaces, having been drawn out through mediators and globalizing processes. Craft beer evokes the multiplicity of community through its relationality, as brewing practices transcend time and space, connecting brewers and drinkers in many different ways.

### 6.2.2 Community as transformative

The close ties between community and economy are evident in craft brewing, wherein brewing generates incomes as much as it generates particular meanings, identities and social formations. The community-economy nexus drives the distinction between conventional methods of production and ‘alternatives’ that seek out ways of producing goods and services that put social good before profit. These ‘alternatives’ are studied at length in the context of local food movements, through which food is used to address issues relating to social justice, democracy and environmental sustainability (Allen, 2010). In studying these local food movements, critical food scholars question the ability of alternatives that are predominantly market-based and fixed within capitalist economies to veritably enact social change (Slocum, 2007; DeLind & Bingen, 2007; Guthman, 2008; Allen, 2010).

DeLind and Bingen (2010) argue that we must remain wary of market-based solutions that assume the power of locality to develop community relationships and the willingness of consumers to ‘protect and extend political freedoms and collective action’ (p. 145). While I heed these warning in my examination of craft brewing, I nevertheless embrace the optimistic caution of Gibson-Graham’s diverse economies project to draw out possibilities that exist for change. As established in Chapter 1, craft brewing is fundamentally tied to food systems and local food movements in a myriad of ways, notably in the ways in which economies are used to enhance communities.

Placing community within the realm of the economy seems counterintuitive, as economies have long been characterizes as scientific and rational systems as opposed to the chaotic and interpretative nature of social systems. However, the rift between social and economic

worlds is problematic, as the 'economy' is neither an independent sphere nor an insular ecosystem, but rather a social and political project that is relationally constituted and subject to ongoing transformations (Mitchell, 2008). The issue of the economy as an outside entity is at the center of Gibson-Graham's (2006b) diverse economies project, as they argue that anything differing from the naturalized, capitalist economy is viewed as 'alternative' rather than part of an economy that is a diverse, connected and mutable part of society. This perception of the 'economy', dominated by the rules and ideologies of capitalism, as 'outside' and self-contained, places all other economic structures, systems and projects "*in relation to capitalism as the same as, the opposite of, a complement to, or contained within*" (Gibson-Graham, 2006b, p. 56). The diverse economies project dislocates the assumption that capitalism is the singular benchmark for all economic activities, as economies are inherently diverse systems that are entwined with social and political realms (Gibson-Graham, 2006b).

The diverse economies framework unpins the prevailing understanding of economies as driven by individualism. Gibson-Graham (2006b) argue that capitalism effectively obscures the interdependence between people as part of economic systems. In effect, they see community economies as antithetical to the individualism of capitalism, making visible the sociality and politics of economies (Gibson-Graham, 2006b). The use of the word 'community' by Gibson-Graham in their notion of community economies serves to highlight the commonness of people in economies. Essentially, 'community' is a state of being rather than a set of shared identities, places, values and goals, which highlights the relationality and connectivity of economies (Gibson-Graham, 2006b).

Gibson-Graham (2006b) are mindful of the Young's (1986) critique of the framing of 'community' as wholesome and a signifier of social good, particularly as they use community to signal connectivity and relationality rather than describe a grouping of people. They link community with notions of the 'commons', in which the commons underlie the economy as a 'determinant of the necessary surplus and labour to sustain an individual and a community' (Gibson-Graham, 2006b, p. 97). In effect, the commons is what 'defines and constitutes a community': "It creates and reproduces the 'common substance' of the community while at the same time making a space for raising and answering the perennial question of who belongs and is therefore entitled to rights of decision" (Gibson-Graham, 2006b, p. 97).

While Gibson-Graham's community economies provide a starting point to view communities and economies within the same realm, there remain significant questions as to how power circulates within commons and community economies. The diverse economies framework is intended as a tool to explore existing possibilities in economies, avoiding prescriptive solutions to allow for flexibility and context specificity. In moving beyond capitalist economic thinking, the diverse economies project makes important strides towards widening what 'counts' as a part of the economy by describing economies as performative, relational, embodied and material (Gibson-Graham, 2014; Schmid and Smith, 2020).

This avoidance of 'capitalocentrism' – dominant discourses in which capitalism is the singular hegemonic force – tends to overlook issues relating to political economic power. While power is not forgotten, it is largely discussed in the context of potential barriers for tapping into and building upon existing economic possibilities (Gibson-Graham, 2006a). Equally, Gibson-Graham (2008) make explicit mention of power as a structural and systemic

force: “We cannot ignore the power of past discourses and their materialization in durable technologies, infrastructures and behaviors” (Gibson-Graham, 2008, p. 623).

In relation to issues of power, the diverse economies project attempts to move beyond dominant capitalist thinking while recognizing systemic power issues that impact political economies as well as the everyday experiences of people. Economies, capitalist and diverse iterations alike, are subject to the broader power dynamics that shape intersecting categories of gender, race and class (Wright, 2010; Fickey & Hanrahan, 2014; Sarmiento & Gabriel, 2020). The critics of the diverse economies project find failings in how Gibson-Graham tend to eschew questions of power in relation to communities in an apparent attempt to steer away from reinforcing the dominant capitalist discourses around economic power (Fickey & Hanrahan, 2014; Sarmiento & Gabriel, 2020).

However, as Sarmiento and Gabriel (2020) argue, stories about capitalist economies, communities and power need not fall into capitalocentrism, and are a necessary part of the narrative of how differing power relations come to exist and operate within economies. Moving beyond capitalism towards a varied conceptualization of economies necessitates an understanding of how these economic relationships and structures came to be, and power is a fundamental aspect of this story. I argue that power relations must be revealed in communities in order to work towards community economies in a way that truly dismantles the harms of capitalism. As such, I use Gibson-Graham’s diverse economies project as a tool to see existing possibilities in economies, all while highlighting the ways in which political economic power circulates and (re)structures in communities.

To better place power in the diverse economies framework's understanding of community transformation, Schmid and Smith (2020) argue that "a relational perspective need not be devoid of an analysis of power, and instead leads to an emergent and situated understanding of it" (p. 8). Capitalism produces a particular set of power relations but remains far from the only political, economic and social force to do so. The authors further assert: "Rather, power emerges through the multiform ways in which practices relate to each other" (Schmid & Smith, 2020, p. 9). The transformative potential of diverse economies is directly tied to the ways in which power flows and defines relationships, capitalist or otherwise. Wright (2010) argues that transformation necessarily implicates power struggles and that diverse economies have the potential to both reinforce and dismantle power relations: "If we understand economies as sites of struggle and the meaning of value as open to contestation, if we understand these interactions as open, relational processes, then it follows that relations of power will necessarily be a part of their constitution" (p. 302).

In joining my understanding of economies and communities within the framework of Gibson-Graham's (2006b) diverse economies project, I am able to draw out the social and common nature of economies and the tensions that exist within communities as people vie to survive and thrive. Power adds a layer of understanding to economic diversity and communities and is fundamental to understanding how social good can take shape. Wright (2010) notes that all forms of economy are sites of struggles through which social inclusions and exclusions impact transformative potential and inequities. Neither communities nor diverse economies are inherently 'good', as non-capitalist economic activities and relations can nonetheless reinforce inequalities and produce negative social and environmental impacts (Gibson-Graham, 2006b). In order for community economies to effectively

dismantle the oppressive forces of capitalism and generate social good, power relations, particularly in the context of intersections of race, gender and class, must be made evident in the construction of communities and economies. Communities and economies need not be subject to exclusively capitalist power hierarchies, but nevertheless need to be understood in a manner that draws out the ways in which power relations create complexities, tensions and differences.

### 6.3 'Community is everything'

My reading of 'community' as fundamentally tied to economies is made evident in the practices and discourses of craft brewing. Expressions of community are used in similar ways to those of place and locality, serving to distinguish the unique practices of craft brewing. The need to distinguish and define craft brewing by leaning on its ability to enhance social ties is a means to not only market craft beer and grow the industry, but also resist the pull and power of the globalized brewing conglomerates that dominate beer markets in Canada. The concentration of power in the beer industry is the concern at the centre of this thesis, and I found that notions of community are central to understanding how craft brewers ultimately perceive brewing conglomerates and themselves.

During nearly all my interviews, community was frequently brought in and stressed as an integral part of craft beer culture and industry. In as much, community is celebrated and elevated in craft brewing scholarship, but largely remains unquestioned as to who is included/excluded in conceptualizations of community and the broader implications of joining community and craft beer. There is no consensus as to what 'community' means in critical feminist geography, and I have no wish to offer a fixed definition. Rather, I seek to

understand how community is invoked discursively as a political economic tool by craft brewers, and the ways in which its meanings and fixities vary depending on who is included and excluded from the iterations and the performances of ‘community’. In this, I argue that the use of ‘community’ by the craft brewing industry is neither accidental nor innocuous and serves particular socio-economic purposes which, in many ways, contribute to developing more-than-capitalist economic relationships. The following section uncovers that purpose and asks whether the linkages between community and economy in craft brewing may offer a way towards developing community economies.

### 6.3.1 Making good beer together

Having emerged as an alternative to industrially produced lagers, craft breweries espouse shared values that serve to differentiate themselves in the beer industry, including quality, independence, locality and ‘traditional’ brewing methods. The sharing of values and common goals are, as Silk (1999) discusses, elements of ‘community’ in so much as they are a starting point to build social ties. In the context of craft brewing, community is as much about what brings craft brewers together, good beer and a passion for the art of brewing, as it is about what differentiates craft beer from macrobrewed beer, specifically the placelessness, scale of production and the emphasis on profit rather than product. In other words, notions of ‘community’ in craft brewing are strongly tied to the dichotomy between craft breweries and brewing conglomerates.

In craft beer scholarship, ideas of ‘place’ are what truly define and differentiate craft beer communities, and associated with the purported authenticity and positive social impacts of craft brewing (Flack, 1997; Plummer et al., 2006; Patterson & Hoalst-Pullen, 2014; Fletchall,

2016). However, the dichotomization of craft breweries and industrial brewing conglomerates places geographic boundaries on notions of ‘community’, which are largely tied to place. Conversely, craft breweries, however embedded they may be in local places, are globally connected through the larger ‘craft beer movement’, with brewers forming social connections and sharing knowledge across vast distances. While the craft brewers in Ottawa-Gatineau often spoke of the craft brewing as an opposition to industrial brewing practices, they nonetheless acknowledged that craft beer in Ottawa is also a product of the flows of information, ingredients and trends from other locales throughout Canada and internationally.

The porousness of the craft beer community was particularly apparent when I was doing my fieldwork and attempting to limit the scope of my interview locations. While there are certain boundaries, notably the provincial border as discussed in Chapter 4, that impact the conditions under which brewers can collaborate and form connections, I found that the ‘Ottawa-Gatineau’ brewing community was fluid and not affixed in a particular place. While I have defined the brewing community in question using place names, these have little bearing on how the community actually operates. The craft brewing community is a ‘spaced-out community’, which is not contingent on face-to-face interactions and spatially fluid (Silk, 1999). Rather, this expanded view of ‘community’ as taking place beyond space is representative of the blurring between the local and the global through mediated forms of communication, with communities being the result of relational networks (Silk, 1999; Massey, 2004). While certain aspects of the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing community are related to place-identity and the role of craft beer in place-making processes, the shared

values and interests of craft brewers defy spatiality and bring people together across distances.

Physical closeness and face-to-face interactions are nonetheless important for building support among craft brewers, particularly with regards to the sharing of brewing resources and collaborating on beer recipes. Brewers in Ottawa-Gatineau regularly share equipment and ingredients with other breweries when they need assistance as well as seek out knowledge sharing opportunities through collaborations with breweries. These exchanges form relationships based on reciprocity, with breweries benefiting from each other directly. Collaborations typically involve a joint venture between two craft breweries in which they brew a special beer at one or both of the brewery locations, allowing the brewers to generate new ideas and providing an opportunity to introduce their customers to each other. An Ottawa craft brewer that has participated in a number of collaborative brews noted that brewing is a continual learning process and that he learns from every collaboration, which helps him improve his own beers.

The idea of community being tied so intimately to business and success in craft beer is a characteristic fairly unique to the industry. Many of the craft brewers, brewery owners and other actors involved in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft beer industry have experience in industries outside of brewing and were surprised by the collegiality of craft brewing. The joining of community and economic activity in craft brewing allows for non-competitive relationships to form between different enterprises, despite each craft brewery being in a highly and increasingly competitive beer market. While every interview subject noted the relatively strange balance between the affability among craft breweries and the realities of

participating in a competitive marketplace, no one was quite certain as to why craft beer differed in this way from other industries. As one Ottawa craft brewer owner reflected:

I think by and large, overwhelmingly, other breweries our size pretty much universally get along. There's sort of a misunderstanding I guess... and I understand how people get there, a restaurant has like 6 taps or 10 taps, and everybody wants one. How are you not at each other's throats all the time? How are you not trying to undercut each other? And I'm not sure necessarily why, I have a few theories, I don't know what it is that's kept it that way. We've been the beneficiary and the lender of ingredients when we've been short or they've been short. People call us up and we certainly screw up all the time, and we're out of the stuff we needed and need go beg off of somebody else and people are there. It would be a very easy thing for people to just say no. Why would you help your competition? But in this business, that's just commonplace. We see each other all the time at festivals, there's just a whole thing about being together with beer. (Ottawa craft brewery owner)

The craft brewers I interviewed had many theories as to why community is put before competition, notable the celebratory and social qualities of alcohol and beer. Alcohol has long been used as part of cultural, social and religious rituals in many societies, and transcends the dichotomies between 'drug' and 'food' (Chrzan, 2013). Katz and Voight (1986) posit that the social behaviours of early agrarian societies were modified by beer-making, with drinking practices ritualized and bounded by rules to maintain social order. Alcohol continues to impact social worlds and cohesion, creating boundaries through social class, social categories, and religious groupings, with the intoxication of alcohol providing "psychological benefits that encourage community development" (Chrzan, 2013, p.15).

For craft brewers, beer and brewing brings joy and enjoyment, which are feelings that they desire to share with others, including other brewers. In effect, many Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers and brewery owners expressed a desire to share their consumers with each other and often offered other breweries' products in their tap rooms. Brewers indicated that they

genuinely enjoy the products of other breweries, and feel that promoting other breweries they like promotes the industry as a whole. These ‘guest taps’ are a way to introduce consumers to other craft breweries in the region, and allow breweries to work together to attract new consumers. One Ontario craft brewery owner stated that in order for the industry to grow and thrive, craft brewers shouldn’t seek to divide a figurative ‘pie’, but instead “grow the pie” so that there is room for all.

The most obvious and, arguably, important characteristic of ‘community’ in the context of the craft brewing industry is the beer itself. Beer acts socially and materially to produce brewer identities through the emotional and embodied experiences of brewing beer (Thurnell-Read, 2014). Brewing produces a tangible outcome (beer) that is rarely experienced in capitalist labour relations, in which workers are alienated from products and processes of their labour (Thurnell-Read, 2014). The creative and tangible aspects of making beer require that craft brewers be close, physically and emotionally, to their products as brewers *care* about the outputs and outcomes of their work.

Each of the brewers I spoke with expressed an emotional investment in the brewing process, speaking to a desire beyond making a profitable product. Most enjoyed the creative process of designing and developing new beers, noting that it provided a way to express themselves and their interpretations of particular ingredients, seasons, places, etc. As Thurnell-Read (2014) notes, brewers need to find personal motivations to succeed in craft brewing, given the physically demanding nature of craft and small-scale beer production. An Ottawa brewer emphasized the need to develop his own individual and emotional drive for brewing beer:

I think that either you have that, or you don’t, when it comes to brewing.  
And if you don’t have that desire to hit all of your targets and nail your

day of brewing then you probably won't be a brewer for very long.  
Because it's a very rigorous and almost, it can be, a monotonous job.

Both brewers and brewery owners remarked that the immensely personal aspect of craft beer labour distinguishes it from other industries, with nearly all explaining that their reasons for opening a craft brewery or brewing were not financial. As one brewer neatly put it, "nobody's getting rich around here". Profitability, while desirable, is neither motivator nor measure of success for Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers. In effect, they saw the foremost goal of a craft brewery as producing good beer and sharing their passion with consumers. The emphasis on good beer is not only a measure of individual success, but also a means to ensure the overall well-being and longevity of the craft beer industry.

The craft-macro dualism produces particular community ties, as brewers depend on each other in a myriad of ways to establish themselves, produce and distribute beers and grow their businesses. With the immense growth of craft brewing in Ottawa-Gatineau, many brewers feel that there is a risk of lower quality craft beers flooding the market and effectively impacting overall consumer perceptions of craft beer. Many brewers and brewing actors noted that consumers will lump all craft beer together, with macrobrewed beers serving as their benchmark for quality and consistency. While not all craft beers are created equally and with equal care, some brewers are concerned that a negative experience with craft beer will dissuade certain consumers from trying craft beer in the future. Several brewers I spoke with stressed that quality was one of the most important and fundamental values that needs to be shared by the entirety of the craft beer community, with many recounting tales of choosing to lose money by throwing away a low-quality beer rather than to sell it to consumers. In as much, the beer itself is a tool that binds and defines 'community' through a shared need and desire to make quality products.

Community for craft brewers is not only the product of a desire for social connection, but also for success in an ever-growing Canadian beer market that faces direct competition from large brewing conglomerates. Many Ottawa-Gatineau brewers spoke of ‘sticking together’ and a ‘common enemy’ in reference to brewing conglomerates. While I argued that the dichotomization of craft and brewing conglomerates oversimplifies more complex political economic realities, craft brewers nevertheless enacted discourses that serve to place craft beer in opposition to industrially produced beer. For many craft brewers, brewery owners as well as brewing ingredient producers, craft beer is a movement, like the local food movement, in which small enterprises must stand together in a market dominated by large corporations. A Quebec-based craft brewery owner spoke of the need for ‘solidarity’ in craft beer, in which craft breweries prioritize shared values such as independent ownership, community outreach and mutual aid. For those Ottawa-Gatineau breweries that felt that the concentration of power in the beer industry was a real and pressing concern, solidarity and community were framed as essential to the survival of craft brewing. For these respondents, all craft breweries, in Ottawa-Gatineau and beyond, are tied together and must espouse common values and goals in order to succeed.

Although solidarity is an important facet of ‘community’ in craft brewing, communities are heterogenous and continually (re)made through internal and external tensions (Joseph, 2002). The craft brewing community is not insulated from broader systemic issues related to intersections of gender, class and race. While the craft beer industry prides itself on its collegiality and openness, there are significant questions as to who is involved in brewing, and what impacts the lack of diverse identities has on the craft brewing community and

broader industry. The lack of diversity in the craft brewing industry is a well-documented issue in Canada and the United States (Allingham & Britten, 2016; Leung, 2019). In effect, the image of a ‘typical’ craft brewer in the popular imaginary is of a white male with a beard that typically wears flannel shirts (Leung, 2019). These stereotypes reflect Kuehn and Parker’s (2018) findings on the gender dimensions of craft beer work, as they explain that craft brewing labour is coded as masculine, with women-identifying brewers often feeling a need to reduce their femininity at work (Kuehn & Parker, 2018).

While many brewers and brewery owners I spoke with acknowledged the lack of diversity in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry, many proved hesitant at being critical of the brewing community, emphasizing that anyone can drink and brew craft beer if they would like. Despite some resistance, efforts are being made in Ottawa-Gatineau and more broadly to address issues of diversity and inclusivity in craft beer. A brewery owner located just outside of Ottawa noted that, while progress has been made with respect to gender inclusivity, there is room for improvement: “We’ve done a lot more inclusion of women in brewing but we’re still nowhere close to 50/50. Our brewery, we’re pretty close, but in most breweries it’s still a bit of tokenism”. The male-dominance of craft brewing proved apparent during my fieldwork, as the vast majority of the brewers I spoke with were male-presenting. Of the 12 interviews I undertook with people directly involved in craft beer production, 9 were male-presenting and only 3 were female-presenting. Of the 3 female-presenting persons, only one was a brewer, with the two others serving marketing and administrative roles.

The Brewer Association undertook a survey of craft brewery employee diversity in the United States in 2019 and found that white men dominate craft breweries in both ownership and brewing roles (Herz, 2019). The survey found that “race and ethnicity demographics of U.S. brewery employees showed a range of 76.2% white for production staff (non-managers) to 89% (brewers) (Herz, 2019). These statistics call into question the purported openness and inclusivity of the craft brewing community, as white and male bodies dominate craft brewing spaces and produce a conception of community that features limited voices (and thus a narrow set of perspectives). Addressing inclusivity and diversity in craft beer is about more than the beer itself and reflects broader systemic inequities that disadvantage BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and people of colour), women identifying people, and LGBTQ2S+ identifying individuals. For instance, Black business owners face significantly more hardships in accessing financing and capital due to persistent discrimination and face doubts about their knowledge and expertise in their respective fields (Harper-Anderson, 2019).

In attempting to create a more diverse and inclusive craft beer community, brewers and brewery owners must first acknowledge that craft brewing is subject to systemic inequalities. Acknowledging and discussing these issues is a sticking point for many in the industry, as many people see craft beer as inherently welcoming and good and want to keep politics out of craft beer. The questions concerning diversity I asked brewers and brewery owners were often only partially answered, with many hesitant to accept that diversity is a problem in the craft beer industry. One brewery co-owner posited that women are less interested in brewing beer simply because their bodies are not as naturally strong as men’s, and that their brewery was too small to make efforts to actively seek out a diverse staff. Although there is some resistance on the part of craft brewers to address issues of diversity in craft beer work, many

craft breweries work with craft beer diversity advocates and educators to work towards making their businesses more inclusive for BIPOC individuals, those who identify as women, and LGTBQ2S+ identifying individuals.

A beer diversity advocate I spoke with saw an opportunity to advocate for a more inclusive craft brewing industry in Ontario after working as a beer representative and facing gender and racial discrimination. This advocate helps breweries make strides towards addressing the lack of diversity in craft beer in meaningful and sustainable ways by building lasting relationships with marginalized communities that are underrepresented as craft beer workers and consumers. A brewery that the advocate worked with in Ottawa-Gatineau has made strides towards building partnerships with a local Indigenous business and community and started a scholarship fund for underrepresented people interested in pursuing an education and career in brewing. Another craft brewery in Ottawa strives to support diversity and inclusivity within their brewery through the implementation of a diversity policy, and throughout the Ottawa-Gatineau region through their financial support of the Ottawa Pride Parade.

The work that the beer diversity advocate does with craft breweries is very recent, and, while their sphere of influence continues to grow, they are one of the few people in Canada actively encouraging the craft brewing industry and community to make changes. The craft brewing community remains a relatively exclusive one, as the bodies that occupy brewing spaces and labour are predominantly white and male. The values of cooperation and collegiality that the craft brewing espouses are remarkable, as brewers find strength and success together rather than pursuing individualistic goals and strictly competitive

relationships. However, the craft brewing community needs to be self-reflective and critical of itself, and to recognize a need for continual improvement, in order for it to be truly inclusive and welcoming to all.

### 6.3.2 Drinking good beer together

The notion of ‘community’, in the context of craft beer, also represents the relations between craft breweries, those who produce beer ingredients, and the people who drink their beer. While craft breweries have a community amongst themselves, the values championed by craft beer as a ‘social movement’ are of community development, making reference to all those who surround and support craft breweries. Again, this conception of ‘community’ is contingent on place, with craft breweries embedding themselves in localities and actively defining place identities. The craft brewers I spoke with most often referred to the consumers and businesses in their immediate vicinity – those with whom they have face-to-face relationships – as being a part of their ‘community’. The overall localized distribution of craft breweries in the Ottawa-Gatineau region means that most breweries rely on direct-to-consumer marketing, and their consumer base tends to be geographically limited in many cases.

While many craft breweries seek to grow their market, other breweries opt to stay small in order to focus on serving their particular ‘community’, made of up consumers and other locally-minded small businesses, such as restaurants and artisanal food producers. These craft breweries seek to generate social spaces in their breweries to bring people who share an interest in craft beer together. An Ottawa brewer and brewery owner spoke about the benefits of staying small, among which they cited the ability to be more directly invested and

involved in their community: “But there is something about a brewery that’s closer to... kind of like a town hall, or the way people get together Sundays at church, it just brings people together around something. I think that it’s always been there, and I think that’s something innately human.”

Larsen (1997) explains that beer was traditionally associated with social and cultural rituals and consumed with others in public spaces. However, beer consumption shifted to the private sphere because of the temperance movement and prohibition – when public drinking spaces were shut down. Drinking spaces were not only spaces of consumption, but also important to public life, social binding and creating ritual around food and drink, which “provide a way of expressing shared values and interests, in other words, a basis for community” (Larsen, 1997, p. 274). The craft brewers I spoke with stressed the importance of creating relationships with those consuming their beers and making efforts to create social spaces within and beyond their breweries, using craft beer to bring people together.

The notion of ‘community’ in the context of craft beer consumers is largely built around consumer choice in similar ways to many local food movements. In her examination of community-building through CSA participation, Hinrichs (2000) notes that such models facilitate personal relationships, as both producers and consumers “learn more of each other's circumstances, interests and needs, and create a more integrated community centered on food and a common identity as eaters” (p. 300). However, the depth and strength of these market-based community relations are questioned, particularly as participation in communities of consumers are contingent on consumer’s ability to afford specialty and niche products, such as CSA produce and craft beer (Hinrichs, 2000; Guthman, 2008; Hinrichs &

Allen, 2008; Slocum, 2007). The idea of ‘community’ as good and wholesome is particularly challenged here, as only some people are able to afford to participate based on their ability to purchase particular products.

Craft beer is more expensive than beers produced by brewing conglomerates. A quick look at the product listing on the LCBO’s online store shows a 473ml can of Ontario craft Lager costing as much as \$3.75, with a similar industrially produced beer as costing as little as \$2.00 (LCBO, 2020)<sup>10</sup>. While a few dollars may not seem significant, the price difference is more apparent when beer consumers purchase larger quantities of beer, such as 24-packs; the price for 24 craft lagers is \$90, while it costs only \$48 for industrially produced beers (LCBO, 2020). The price difference between craft beer and industrially produced beer was exacerbated under Ontario Premier Doug Ford’s Buck-a-Ber legislation on minimum beer prices, which permitted breweries to sell 330ml bottles for as little as a dollar starting in 2018 in Ontario (Collaco, 2020). The legislation was not well-received by craft breweries, which have little room to lower their prices, although the overall success of the initiative waned with even larger breweries raising their prices in 2020 (Collaco, 2020).

While the craft beer consumer ‘community’ is also touted as welcoming to all by Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry actors, it is subject to the same exclusions as local food communities related intersections of racial, gendered and classed identities. The combination of affordability and the dominance of white and male bodies in craft beer consumption and production spaces creates significant barriers to entry for many potential local food and craft

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<sup>10</sup> Prices retrieved from the LCBO’s consumer retail website in August, 2020.

beer consumers. Slocum (2007) finds that the prevalence of white bodies in local food spaces discourages racial diversity as these spaces come to represent and (re)create white narratives of food and locality. She argues: “Segregation of any sort makes for collective sadness because people are not engaging with each other. Collective joy is found and increased in the mixing of bodies” (Slocum, 2007, p. 531). In local food (and beer) spaces, racial diversity allows for diverse sets of knowledge and food cultures to emerge and for communities to be better suited to produce social good by addressing a broader set of needs (Slocum, 2007).

When asked about diversity and inclusivity, with regards to their consumers, brewers and brewery owners largely appeared uncomfortable in discussing the topic. In part, this is due to a pervasive attitude among Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers with regards to inclusivity in craft beer consumer communities is that ‘beer is for everyone’ and that it is, by default, inclusive to all consumers. Many craft brewers use the ubiquitous misogynistic marketing employed by brewing conglomerates as a yardstick to gauge the inclusivity in the craft brewing industry. For these individuals, not relying on gendered marketing tactics or sexist images on their cans means that craft beer is gender neutral and inclusive to women-identifying people. However, exclusions, as Slocum (2007) explains, need not be blatantly obvious for them to be felt and experienced; implicit exclusions are the product of broader political economic and social inequities that need to be acknowledged even in communities and movements striving towards achieving social good.

In effect, other actors in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry acknowledge that inclusivity needs to be an active and ongoing effort. An Ontario-based craft beer yeast producer stated:

I think it wants to be inclusive, but I don't know if it's there yet, to put it that way. Because I think that the way that, for example, craft beer is marketed isn't necessarily inclusive in the sense that the majority of craft beer is marketed to a specific audience. And that is, you know, not as broad as it necessarily could be. And so, consequently, I honestly think that a lot of the future opportunities for craft beer are in some of the demographics that are not well-represented currently in the industry.

The push to increase diversity and inclusivity among craft beer consumers occurs within the industry itself. To this end, one Ottawa brewery drafted a diversity statement for their taproom, and beyond. A group of women-identifying brewery employees and craft beer enthusiasts started a series of craft beer events based in Ontario intended to provide women, women-identifying and LGBTQ2+ people with safe spaces to drink beer and socialize with other craft beer enthusiasts. One of the co-founders of the events related that they were designed to create a sense of community for those who don't necessarily feel comfortable or welcome in craft beer spaces. While these events represent a step towards creating inclusivity, the co-founder indicated that the events are nevertheless dominated by white bodies. She also stressed that more work needs on diversity to be done in producer spaces in order for consumptive spaces to be more inclusive and for craft beers to better cater to diverse tastes and backgrounds.

Strong relationships between communities of consumers and producers are fundamental to the success of craft breweries, as craft brewing is built on values of embeddedness and interpersonal connection. Although I've discussed craft beer consumers and producers as being part of distinct communities, these communities are nevertheless boundless, fluid and interconnected. While reciprocity is a core value and practice between craft beer producers and other brewing industry actors, there was a perception in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry that this reciprocity is less apparent between breweries and consumers.

Most of my interview participants noted that craft beer consumers are not particularly brand loyal, making it more difficult for some to establish a firm consumer base. In effect, a brewery tour operator in Ottawa described craft beer consumers as ‘explorers’ who are seeking new flavours and experiences and have short attention spans.

For businesses that are driven by more-than-capitalist conceptions of success, there are risks that their relationships with consumers become uneven – raising questions with regards to the production and distribution of wealth (Galt, 2013). Hinrichs (2000) and Galt (2013) note that CSA producers are motivated by social and environmental values and will hold these values above all else, often to the detriment of their own livelihoods and profitability. To satisfy consumer demands and their own moral and ethical values related to environment sustainability, CSA farmers will engage in self-exploitation by undervaluing their own work (Galt, 2000). Within these CSA communities, the lack of reciprocity between consumers and producers leads to uneven power relations, owing largely to the income gap between farmers and those able to afford their products (Hinrichs, 2000; Galt, 2013).

The perceived lack of loyalty of craft beer consumers in Ottawa-Gatineau could very well lead to the uneven power relations seen in CSA communities, as craft beer producers often face similar economic and work conditions as farmers: long hours, physically demanding labour and often poor remuneration. Reciprocity is fundamental to relationship building processes among individuals, as well as between brands and their consumers (Hede and Watne, 2013). However, the idea of reciprocity in community is tenuous, and subject to power relations and potential conflicts rooted in misunderstanding and socio-economic differences (Young, 1986). In the context of community economies, notions of reciprocity are fundamental to understanding the mutuality and communality of economies (Werner,

2015). Trauger and Passidomo (2012) state: “Reconfiguring foundational economic ideas, such as the production and distribution of surplus, thus requires the creation of reciprocal and interdependent social relations between producers and consumers” (p. 285).

For these reciprocal community relations to take place between consumers and craft beer producers, Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers maintain that consumers need to better understand the value of craft brewing to communities and local economies. For craft brewers, consumers education is a fundamental component of building both their business and the craft beer community, as people need to better understand how craft brewing practices differ from those of brewing conglomerates, and to what effect. Even though consumers are unlikely to purchase beer from only one craft brewery, an Ottawa craft brewer stressed the importance of craft brewers working together to expand the market and share consumers. Again, with craft breweries often being bound together in the minds of consumers, many Ottawa craft brewers stress that individual breweries have a duty to produce quality beers in order to sustain a consumer base for not just themselves but for all the Ottawa-Gatineau craft breweries.

## 6.4 Community and power in craft beer

### 6.4.1 A ‘common enemy’?

‘Community’ in craft beer is invoked in a multitude of ways to incite particular relationships and attachments, and to separate craft brewing practices from those of brewing conglomerates. As previously discussed, community is used in a way by craft brewing actors to produce a dichotomy between craft and industrial brewers, and to position craft brewers as a united front against the dominance of the brewing conglomerates responsible for the

concentration of power in the Canadian beer industry. Howard (2016) asserts that the concentration of power is a significant concern in food systems and the beer industry alike, with larger corporate actors benefiting from market and policy advantages that threaten the survival of smaller businesses. The concentration of power in the hands of large corporate entities not only causes economic harms but also broader socio-cultural consequences for the craft brewing industry. In the past decade, two of the largest brewing conglomerates, AB-InBev and Molson-Coors, acquired numerous craft beer companies throughout Canada and the United States, and established dedicated business units to grow their ‘craft’ beer profiles (Anheuser-Busch, 2020; Molson-Coors, 2020).

For some Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers, concentration of power in favour of brewing conglomerates is an erosion and betrayal of the common values shared by the craft brewing community. Not only do breweries themselves rely on the shared values pertaining to relationship development, quality and locality, but other small businesses and producers are dependent on the success of craft brewing in Ottawa-Gatineau. Craft breweries in Ottawa-Gatineau provide a point of connection between different food systems actors as buyers and by promoting local restaurants and artisans. Breweries that do not make their own food will rely on other small food businesses and restaurants to provide foods and non-alcoholic beverages in their taprooms.

As discussed in Chapter 5, brewing ingredient suppliers and producers form personal relationships with craft breweries and depend on their willingness to buy local products at higher prices than those of larger distributors. The concentration of power in the beer

industry is therefore a concern for small-scale hops and malt producers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, who fear that they would lose their market share if craft breweries are acquired by corporate brewing conglomerates. Large brewing conglomerates benefit from the vertical integration of brewing supply and distribution chains (Howard, 2016). In 2017, a multinational brewing conglomerate drew fire from craft brewers for its control of hops supplies from Oregon and South Africa, restricting the supply available for craft brewers to purchase (Notte, 2017). The small-scale ingredient producers in Ottawa-Gatineau are concerned that craft breweries bought out by conglomerates would be absorbed into the vertically integrated supply networks rather than continue buying local product.

While many craft brewers and other brewery actors describe corporate buyouts of craft breweries in negative terms, there are nonetheless mixed perceptions of corporate acquisitions. Again, craft brewing is best defined relationally, which helps to avoid the dichotomization of craft and industrial producers, and accounts for the variability within each categorization and the differing perspectives of industrial brewing that craft brewers express. For one Ottawa craft brewery owner, buyouts are not a concern for small, neighbourhood breweries that focus on very localized scales of distributions, as he sees them as too small to draw the attention of large corporations. In effect, many Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers and brewery owners view brewing conglomerates and craft breweries as belonging in different worlds and as marketing to different sets of consumers.

While the vast majority of the brewery owners I spoke with stressed that their ideas of success were grounded in producing good beer, rather than profit, they understood why other brewery owners might sell their brand to brewing conglomerates. These reasons

included the ability to grow and market their beers with the financial support only available to them through a large corporation and lessening the personal and financial strain of owning and operating a brewery. Despite understanding why craft brewery owners might sell their businesses, one brewer located outside of Ottawa questioned whether craft brewers who grew their businesses do so for the ‘right reasons’: “[Buyouts] hurt honest people like myself and [other brewers] that are giving back to their employees for instance, or giving back to their communities when you have guys that are creating businesses to sell out”.

While buyouts are worrisome to many Ottawa-Gatineau craft beer industry actors, there was more concern about the lack of transparency in the beer industry with regards to large brewing conglomerates sneaking into the craft beer market. These corporately acquired craft breweries and ‘fake’ craft beer brands, (as they are referred to in the craft beer industry) in which brewing conglomerates use craft beer discourses and images to market their beers, are virtually indistinguishable from independently owned craft breweries, particularly as former independently-owned craft breweries continue to market themselves as ‘craft’ (Saltzman, 2017).

With increasing instances of such buyouts and ‘fake craft beers’, there is evidence that industrial brewing conglomerates are eating into the craft beer market and creating confusion amongst consumers (Howard, 2016; Saltzman, 2017). In an article featured on a blog run by Molson-Coors, Beer & Beyond, former Canada craft breweries subsumed by the Six Pints division of Molson-Coors are still referred to as craft breweries, (Frost, 2017). It is important to note that these breweries do not meet the requirements established by the Canadian Craft Brewer’s Association, of which independent ownership is a basic qualifier of craft brewing.

In this same article, the acquisitions and buyouts of craft breweries by Molson-Coors are described as ‘investments’ in the craft brewing industry (Frost, 2017).

A small business lobbyist noted the main issues with the ways in which large brewing conglomerates acquire and subsequently market their ‘craft’ beers:

Being bought out by a business isn't necessarily a bad thing if that's what you want. At the same time, if you're being forced to cash out, if you're being squeezed out of your business, that's a little more troubling. Mill Street is a good example, because if you ask 9 out of 10 people will tell you that they're craft. And it's not anymore. And that's where it gets problematic. I can see the business choice being made by Labatt to acquire them. From a competitive standpoint... this gets problematic too, because from a small business standpoint, that doesn't feel good [competing against huge entities]. That is sort of the market they're having to fight with. And because all the biggest guys own the retail store, that too gets grossly unfair where you find yourself in a position where: My product is doing super well, I'm chipping into Labatt's business and Labatt can say ‘I can just absorb you. That's how we prevent that, your business now becomes my business’.

Corporately owned ‘craft’ breweries and ‘fake craft beers’ create confusion for consumers wanting to purchase craft beers, as the onus is on individual consumers to become informed about acquisitions of craft breweries and distinguish the legitimacy of craft beer branding.

The Canadian Craft Brewer’s Association took inspiration from their American counterparts in developing their ‘Independent Craft Seal of Authenticity’ to help independent craft breweries distinguish themselves from brands owned by brewing conglomerates and member craft breweries can use it on their packaging and marketing materials. The Association describes the seal as follows: “The Independent Craft Seal of Authenticity™ signals to consumers that they are not only buying a great beer with natural ingredients, but they are also supporting an independently owned Canadian small business that supports local and gives back to its community” (Canadian Craft Brewer’s Association, 2019). Efforts such as the ‘Independent Craft Seal of Authenticity’ provide craft breweries with a means to

educate consumers on the values of craft brewing, particularly that of independent ownership, and make it easier for consumers to ensure that they purchase beers that are veritably produced by independent craft breweries.

#### 6.4.2 Crafting community economies

In dissecting the concentration of power in the food system and beer industry, Howard (2016) describes a lingering uncertainty with regards to the ability of smaller businesses to survive and challenge the dominance of large corporate entities. He notes that small, specialty brewers are able to survive and grow due to their ability to respond quickly to consumer tastes and provide consumers with a plethora of beer choices (Howard, 2013). However, as industrial brewing conglomerates buy out craft breweries, this competitive advantage is lessened as large brewing firms become able to provide consumers with these niche and specialty beers. While this circumstance paints a bleak picture for the future of the craft brewing industry, turning the attention away from the dominance of brewing conglomerates to the diversity and difference of craft brewing practices offers hope and optimism.

Gibson-Graham (2008) advocate for a reading of difference rather than dominance in economic systems: “Reading for difference in the realm of capitalist business can even produce insight into the potential contributions of private corporations to building other possible worlds” (p. 624). The practice of reading for difference requires that we not assume that capitalism is present in all forms of economy (Gibson-Graham, 2006b). Rather, it requires that we look for existing differences in economies, which can reveal more-than-capitalist possibilities (Gibson-Graham, 2006b). In the context of craft beer, reading for

difference requires an acknowledgment of the harms of capitalism, while seeking out the ways in which craft brewing enacts diverse forms of economy that may contribute to the production of a common social good.

The notions of community in craft brewing are strongly tied to a sense of ‘being-in-common’ described by Gibson-Graham (2014) as a set of economic practices aimed at communing surplus and resources to share in the creation of a ‘livable future’ (p. 92). The Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry actors all relayed that there is vital need for those in the craft beer industry to work together and share in common values and goals in order for the industry to thrive.

Craft brewing at its core is founded on collaboration, sharing and personal relationships, and requires that the economy be understood as inherently social. The practices of craft brewing actors cannot be understood solely through the lens of capitalism, whose subjects are guided by the individualistic pursuit of surplus, as this fails to elucidate the non-competitive and collaborate facets of the craft beer industry. Rather, craft brewing actors engage in a form of ‘communal subjectivity’, as termed by Gibson-Graham (2003): “The awakening of a communal subjectivity did not emerge from common histories or qualities but from practices and feelings — of appreciation, generosity, desire to do and be with others, connecting with strangers (no matter who), encountering and transforming oneself through that experience” (p. 68). Notions of community in craft brewing are founded on these communal subjectivities, with craft brewers celebrating the success of their peers and sharing in challenges – namely, the concentration of power in the beer industry.

At the outset of this research, my reading of the relationships between craft brewers and brewing conglomerates was one of animosity, in which craft beer were understood as explicitly opposed to industrially produced beers. While much of the craft beer scholarship portrays craft brewing and industrial brewing dualistically, the reality of these relations and perceptions are far more complex and varied. First, the craft beer community is heterogeneous and shaped by power relations that create internal tensions and conflicts, specifically related to intersections of race, gender and class. One of the ways in which craft brewing attempts to distinguish itself from industrial brewing is through the purported inclusive and welcoming nature of its community, especially given the largely misogynistic marketing mechanisms used by brewing conglomerates. However, the craft beer community is not wholly good, and while some social good is produced, it is not yet distributed equally among all members – particularly as women identifying people, LGBTQ2S+ people and BIPOC individuals remain underrepresented and largely excluded from craft brewing spaces.

The enmity between craft brewers and brewing conglomerates is overexaggerated in popular media accounts of the brewing industry in Canada and the United States, as the brewers I spoke with largely had mixed feelings about buyouts of craft breweries. While many expressed disappointment with the willingness of certain brewers to betray the common and foundational values of craft beer, there was an understanding that buyouts were an inherent part of capitalist businesses and markets. The more-than-capitalist aspects of craft brewing and the realities of capitalism, namely the need for growth and the pursuit of profit, come into conflict in these instances, testing the strength of craft brewing values. Again, in instances of buyouts and the continued dominance of brewing conglomerates in the

Canadian beer industry, analysis must focus on how economic diversity and difference provide craft brewers with the means to resist the concentration of power.

This research found evidence of economic diversity in craft brewing, particularly in the communal subjectivity of craft beer communities. The idea that craft breweries are ‘in it together – a notion so often brought up during interviews – emphasises the idea that craft beer economies have aspects that are communal rather than strictly individual. In fact, the process of making and drinking beer is part of creating economic difference. Given the relational and performative nature of economies, more-than-human actants are also a part of communities and economies and excluded from capitalist economic iterations (Gibson-Graham, 2014). As discussed, the beer itself acts to bring together people, place and economies, which can also instigate tensions. For instance, the quality of beer sold by craft brewers directly impacts the ways in which community functions as well as the ability for craft brewers to perform in beer economies. A poor-quality beer not only impacts the opinions of consumers on craft beer, but also has resounding effects on the wider craft brewing industry and the relationships between craft brewers. Inasmuch, the ways in which craft beers are marketed and produced impact who drinks craft beer and feels welcome in craft beer communities.

The Ottawa-Gatineau craft beer industry demonstrates a capacity to build towards a community economy by using beer to produce social good and by engaging with more-than-capitalist economies. Nevertheless, the success and future of the industry remains tied to the concentration of power and the ability of craft brewing to navigate the tensions between non-capitalist economic values and the pull of profit and growth. This ability is challenged by

legislation and a market designed for (and by) large, corporate brewing conglomerates. As discussed in Chapter 4, government alcohol policies and legislation in Ontario and Quebec favour industrially produced beers to the detriment of the craft beer industry, despite increased government support for craft brewing and an acknowledgement of the importance of craft beer for local economies. While large brewing conglomerates continue to innovate and develop ways to infiltrate the craft beer market, craft breweries have taken steps to draw attention to the concentration of power, such as with the Independent Craft Seal of Authenticity. As a response to a number of Canadian craft breweries being purchased by brewing conglomerates, Beau's Brewing Company, located outside of Ottawa, chose to sell their business to their employees in order to keep the business firmly planted in their local economy.

The craft brewing industry in Ottawa-Gatineau is fairly young and not yet saturated, however, the fate of the industry is largely tied to the ability of government and legislators to level the playing field to allow craft breweries to compete with larger brewing conglomerates more fairly. The craft beer market occupies a relatively small, yet growing, share of the overall beer market, while industrially produced beers hold the largest portion. Although there is room for more craft breweries in Ottawa-Gatineau, the saturation of the craft beer market is already taking place in some established markets in the United States and craft brewers in Canada are concerned about a similar future locally. With more breweries opening in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, established craft brewers expressed concern at a recent trend in which craft breweries are run by investors who are seeking to cash in on the craft beer trend. There is a concern that communal that communal subjectivities may erode as more craft breweries open, especially if new craft breweries choose to align their values with those

of conventional capitalist economies. A brewery owner outside of Ottawa commented that he fears saturation would negatively impact the community values he holds dear in craft brewing:

So, I think it's going to lead to increasing poor behaviour in the marketplace as breweries get desperate, and I think it's going to lead to more and more in-fighting. To me, that's one of my biggest fears for craft beer is that we're going to turn into every other shitty industry where we're all cutthroats and we all hate each other, and we can't get along anymore.

## 6.5 Conclusion

Community is an inherently messy and fraught concept that all too often remains unchallenged when associated with the production of social good. Although this chapter frames craft beer communities as united by common goals and values particular to the craft beer industry, I argue that all communities are subject to conflicts that permeate from broader political economic power relations and inequities. I use Young's (1986) account of communities, which dismantles the romantic notions that frame 'community' as a site of authentic social relations, instead looking at each community as performed and expressed in different ways and as being spaces of both inclusivity and exclusivity at once. This tension-filled perception of community informs the way I use Gibson-Graham's (2006) notions of community economies, through which I critically examine craft brewing communities as sites of economic difference and possibility.

The Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry draws heavily on discourses of community as producing social good and as differentiating craft beer from beer produced by brewing conglomerates. I argue that notions of 'community' in craft brewing are intimately tied with economies as they produce particular economic and personal relationships between brewing

actors, as well as consumers, and give way to the development of more-than-capitalist forms of economy. Equally, I find that while community is used in a way that, in fact, produces shared social good, the power relations taking place *within* and *between* craft beer communities – related to intersections of gender, race and class – impact who is included and excluded from sharing in this good. Craft breweries define themselves and their communities relationally, and these relations are expressed differently and to varying degrees. Some brewers do, in fact, see themselves in opposition to and distinct from industrial brewers, while other brewers see craft brewing as a unique set of practices, but not in direct conflict with large brewers. The use of community in craft brewing, while not unproblematic, has transformative potential: Craft brewing communities serve to strengthen a ‘communal subjectivity’ through which Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers can address the harms of the concentration of power by corporate brewing conglomerates.

## 7. Conclusion

Craft brewing is about much more than beer: It is a relational and performative practice that (re)creates places, community and economies. Beer can be used to tell stories about particular places and cultures and can relay broader narratives about movements against the homogenization of food cultures and the corporate control over food systems (Schnell & Reese, 2003). These broader narratives have informed this thesis, in which I sought to understand the impacts of the concentration of power in the brewing industry. Instead of focusing my attention on understanding how large brewing conglomerates exert their power, I chose to seek out difference rather than dominance in the brewing industry, informed by Gibson-Graham's (2006a; 2006b) notion of diverse economies. In order to define craft brewing, I used Law's (1993) work on Actor Network Theory (ANT) to trace the relations between the people, places, materials and practices that characterise beer as 'craft', as well as understand how these relations are performed by those in the craft beer industry. These approaches grounded my understanding of craft brewing as relational and performative, and as a space for difference and diversity that allow transformative economic possibilities to emerge. Craft brewing operates in a positive and often celebratory environment, focused on passion, creativity and building relationships, and the diverse economies research agenda wholly reflects this positivity.

While I have a personal appreciation and love for craft beer, I did not want this work to be purely celebratory. In critical food studies, celebratory perspectives on local and sustainable food projects, such as community supported agriculture (CSAs) or community gardens, don't productively engage with the systemic issues that are at the root of problems in food

systems (Slocum, 2007; Galt, 2013). There is a fine line between productive critical analysis and falling into the trap of focusing wholly on issues of dominance in economic systems. Here, I was drawn to Slocum's (2007) work on whiteness in alternative food systems, through which she also turns to Gibson-Graham's work to find a balance between critical analysis and an openness to possibility. In her analysis of whiteness in alternative food systems, Slocum (2007) argues that many efforts towards achieving localized and sustainable food systems are "imperfect and inarticulate but also productive and part of ethical relating" (p. 532). This thesis considers craft brewing practices in much the same way; as being limited and often exclusionary in some respects, while demonstrating valuable transformative potential in others.

Notions of positivity in Gibson-Graham's (2006a; 2006b) work were key in the framing of my research question: **How do craft breweries create opportunities for community economies?** The pursuit of possibility guided the ways in which I conducted and analysed my findings, allowing me to link my respondents' personal and emotional connections to beer with broader political economic and social actions. This thesis ultimately tells a story about how craft beer is a tool for driving economic transformations and pursuing social good. The foundations of the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry are built upon common goals and collaboration, with breweries directly supporting and promoting their competitors. Most of the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers I spoke with emphasized the importance of building a business that represents and gives back to their local community. This is done through charity work as well as deeper and sustained engagement with community partners, such as Dominion City's work with the social enterprise from the Kitigan Zibi, and other small, local businesses, such as restaurants and artisans. Equally, the

development of the hops industries in Ontario and Quebec, along with small-scale maltsters, is wholly dependent on the craft brewers who seek to support local producers. In this way, craft breweries act as spaces of connection in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, building ‘community’ around beer.

However, the lightness and joy of craft beer is perhaps deceiving, as craft brewing has very real and significant impacts on the social and political economic lives of the people who make and drink craft beer. In (re)creating locality, place and community, craft brewing also generates exclusions and inclusions along the lines of intersections of gender, race and class. In as much, this thesis addresses the significant gaps in craft brewing scholarship, which seldom engage with intersections of gender, race and class. These categories have both intangible and material impacts on craft brewers and consumers, as many are made to feel unwelcome and excluded by the prevailing white, male discourses that characterize craft brewing.

Building on my overarching research question, this thesis addressed the following questions:

**1. How are place and locality (re)constructed through craft beer-making processes?**

How are culture and landscape re-produced through craft beer, and how is local discursively, relationally and materially constructed in the craft beer industry?

**2. Who is included and excluded in the craft beer community, and to what effect?**

How do constructions of race, gender and class feature in craft brewing discourses, and how do these iterations differ from those articulated by the industrial brewing industry?

**3. How do local, small-scale craft brewers situate themselves in relation to brewers, and to what effect?** How are craft brewing business practices distinct from the industrial brewing industry, and how are success and motivation characterized in the craft brewing industry?

I will address each of these research questions, beginning with the constructions of place and locality. Craft brewing in the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewing industry serves as a means for craft brewers and consumers to make connections with heritage, culture and landscape. The first half of this question concerns the iterative processes of placemaking and brewing beer and tracing the linkage between craft beer and identities. In Chapter 5, I showed that craft brewing is tied to place in both material and conceptual ways, with brewing practices reflecting the particularities of places and identities. The physical landscape of Ottawa-Gatineau is exemplified through the efforts of brewers to call upon notions of *terroir* and by using ingredients that ground beers in a particular place, such as products from endemic plant species such as maple, spruce and sumac.

In my explorations of beer and place, it was vital to draw attention to the settler-colonial histories of beer and brewing, both in Chapter 4 and 5, and the settler narratives of place that impact craft brewing processes. In attempting to make connections with heritage, culture and landscape, the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers often rely on narratives that call upon white-settler imaginaries of wilderness and rurality in the region. The Ottawa-Gatineau region through the lens of craft beer represents an idealized depiction of Canada's capital region that is rooted in nostalgia, Canadiana and nationalism. Drawing from Tomiak's (2016) account of Ottawa as a settler-city, I argue that these representations have real and material

impacts on place and contribute to the continued erasure of Indigenous people in the Ottawa-Gatineau region.

Next, this question aimed to develop a more comprehensive conceptualization of the meaning of 'local' in the context of craft brewing. In critical food studies literature, 'local' is dissected and (re)configured to better capture the unique circumstances of particular food systems (Allen, 2010). These understandings of 'local' are nevertheless related to geographic scales and spaces to trace food systems processes, linkages and relationships spatially and conceptually. Typically, for food to be considered 'local', all aspects of productions typically take place within a certain context or system. In as much, the ways in which locality is defined and operationalised in food systems doesn't match with the current realities of the beer industry.

While I found that localizing supply chains in craft beer proved important for many brewers and brewery owners, there are simply not enough local hops and malt producers in Ontario and Quebec to meet current demand for beer ingredients. At the same time, for there to be a larger supply of local hops, more craft breweries must commit to buying locally sourced ingredients. New and small-scale hops producers need larger and longer-term contracts with breweries to guarantee an income and allow them to scale-up their production capacities. However, the uncertainties inherent to farming further challenge hops producers, as weather and disease impact the quality and size of hops crops, creating hesitancy on the part of brewers to purchase locally sourced hops for fear of inferior quality.

Although Chinook hops grown in the Ottawa Valley will never taste like those grown in the Pacific Northwest, for the local hops industry to survive there needs to be an appreciation of the particularities and *terroir* of the locally produced varieties and a desire on the part of brewers to take risks with their beers. Comparatively, craft breweries are less hesitant to purchase from craft maltsters and yeast laboratories, who are better able to demonstrate product consistency. In this same vein, I also found that many more brewers were willing to use local malts than hops.

The localization of the craft beer supply chain is a goal for many craft brewers in Ottawa-Gatineau, although this process takes time and requires more engagement from a larger number of craft brewers. For nearly every craft brewer I spoke with, along with the hops and malt producers, 'local' is as much about the people who make and drink the beer as it is about the ingredients. At the outset of this research, I intended to develop a definition of local that suited the needs of the craft brewing industry in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. While I now possess a more comprehensive understanding of locality in craft beer, I also recognize that the relative newness and the dynamism of craft brewing required that interpretations of 'local' are flexible and able to evolve along with the industry. Ultimately, 'local' is a means to shape a beer industry that reflects the processes of placemaking, *terroir* and the needs of those involved in producing and consuming beer.

My second research question allowed a deeper dive into understanding the relationships in the craft brewing industry that I began to touch on in Chapters 4 and 5. The question of community in craft brewing proved a central facet of this thesis – integral to defining craft brewing in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. I explored ideas of community in Chapter 6, which

provided a critical examination of notions of community in both food systems and brewing. ‘Community’ was omnipresent during my interviews and my reading of craft beer scholarship, leaving me with concerns about the lack of definition of *what* community actually is in craft brewing and *who* is included/excluded in these brewing communities. Equally, one of the prevalent critiques of Gibson-Graham’s notion of community economies is the lack of power analyses, wherein ‘community’ is often framed as homogenous and wholly good.

Following these lines of questioning, I was drawn to the works of Young (1986) and Joseph (2002), who offer critiques of the romanticization of community and its association with the production of social good. These perspectives allowed me to use the notion of community economies, all while drawing out the internal tensions and conflicts that exists and frame ‘community’. These tensions were most evident in the prevailing white-maleness of craft brewing professions and communities, in which racialized peoples, women and LGBTQ2S+ identifying people are often excluded. Many of my interviewees remarked upon the welcoming and fundamental inclusivity of craft beer, stressing that ‘craft beer is for everyone’. However, my conversations with those working towards inclusivity and diversity in craft brewing emphasised that brewers cannot simply rely on their beer alone to create a welcoming space. While craft brewing spaces can be inclusive, supporting diversity and inclusivity is an ongoing and iterative process that must involve people who are underrepresented in the industry. For many, this means acknowledging that craft brewing is bound to prevailing systemic inequities and working towards educating themselves. The work of the craft beer diversity advocate I interviewed is primarily centered around education, as many in the craft beer industry don’t see racism as being an issue in craft beer.

In an effort to address the lack of diversity in beer production, four Ontario craft breweries established a scholarship fund with Niagara College to support BIPOC identifying students registered in the brewing program (Niagara College Canada, 2020). Another scholarship for the Niagara College brewing program was established by Dominion City Craft Brewing Co. in Ottawa, along with a paid internship at the brewery upon completion of study (Dominion City Brewing Co., 2020).

The centrality of ‘community’ is evident in the practices and discourses of Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers and is framed not only as a means to produce social good, but also to differentiate craft brewing practices from those of large brewing conglomerates. The ways in which community (re)create itself in craft brewing sets it apart from other industries, as it closely ties brewers together in non-competitive and collegial relationships. In Chapters 5 and 6, I discussed how brewers and other brewing actors actively collaborate, sharing knowledge and materials, which fosters a brewing industry that binds people together through a set of common goals and values. These shared conditions and values produce what Gibson-Graham (2003) term a ‘shared subjectivity’ that lends itself towards the creation of community economies and provide some protection for craft brewers against the concentration of power in the beer industry. In these ways, ‘community’ binds social and economic relations together in craft brewing, offering opportunities to enhance non-market and diverse economic relationships between brewing actors.

‘Community’ for craft brewing should be framed as a process, rather than a state of being. Clearly, work needs to be done to address the lack of diversity in the craft brewing industry among workers and consumers, as well as the inherent relationality of craft brewing. Equally,

‘community’ needs to represent social and economic relationships beyond those shaped in response to the dominance of brewing conglomerates. As brewing conglomerates adapt their strategies to remain competitive in beer markets, the divide between industrially brewed beers and craft beers becomes more ambiguous. ‘Community’ can help set craft brewing apart through ‘shared subjectivities’ that are aimed at producing social good, rather than a dichotomous relation to brewing conglomerates.

The final research question is woven through the entirety of the thesis, as I sought to draw out the ways in which craft brewers set themselves apart from brewing conglomerates and overcame the challenges presented by the concentration of power in the beer industry. While the craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region aim to distinguish themselves from brewing conglomerates, most of the brewers I spoke with do not frame themselves in opposition. Prevailing discourses of craft brewing describes the relations between craft brewers and brewing conglomerates as antagonistic, which draws attention away from the other motivations of craft brewers (Patterson & Hoalst-Pullen, 2014). Moving away from these discourses allows craft brewing to be distinct based on its own values and merits, rather than in continued comparison to brewing conglomerates. The brewers I spoke with don’t brew in reaction to brewing conglomerates, but simply to make good beer and share it with others. The motivations to brew craft beer are deeply personal, being tied to ideas of community and non-economic values, particularly as craft brewing is a business that take significant time and financial investments and is not a get-rich-quick sector.

In terms of the actual perceptions of brewing conglomerates, most craft brewers see them as operating in a completely different world from themselves, serving different customers and

making different products. However, brewing conglomerates threaten the success of independent craft brewers through buyouts of craft breweries and by developing ‘fake craft beers’, which enable them to gain a foothold in the craft beer market. Despite some feelings of betrayal towards craft brewers that sell out, and anger towards the lack of transparency of ‘fake craft beers’, the Ottawa-Gatineau craft brewers look inwards to try to strengthen their industry and community. In this, they seek to support other craft breweries, promote a common set of values for craft brewing and as one brewer put it, “grow their pie” to make sure that there is a place for new craft breweries to succeed.

The dominance of brewing conglomerates is in large part due to structural advantages that allow them to produce and distribute beer at significantly lower costs than craft breweries. In Chapter 4, I discussed these advantages, stressing the role of legislators and government officials in failing to adapt effectively to the needs of craft brewers in Ontario and Quebec. Although the provincial governments in both Ontario and Quebec attempt to grow their support for craft brewing, and acknowledge the economic contributions of the industry, the Canadian beer market is structured to suit the needs of large, brewing conglomerates. Brewing conglomerates have the ability to vertically integrate their supply chains and the financial capacity to aggressively market their products and lobby governments.

Craft brewers operate in a legislative and retail environment that disadvantages them and limits their ability to control the ways in which they sell their products. Only recently, the government of Ontario allowed beer and wine to be sold in grocery stores and permitted Ontario craft breweries to deliver directly to consumers (Quebec brewers remain unable to do so) enabling them to circumvent traditional retail outlets. Despite more flexibility within

provinces, there remain inter-provincial trade barriers that prevent most craft breweries from selling to consumers outside of their province, and most provinces, including Ontario and Quebec, have yet to follow the lead of the federal government in eliminating trade barriers.

In reflecting on my overarching research question, I can attest that craft breweries offer a unique means to connect social and economic goals and values, and in doing so, offer possibilities towards achieving community economies. A community economy, as described by Gibson-Graham et al. (2013), is a project of economic reframing that takes into account “*all* the things we do to ensure the material functioning and well-being of our households, communities and nations” (p.4). Community economies shift the focus towards the ways in which economies produce social outcomes and not only material gains and monetary growth, and consider ethical concerns as part of economic decision-making processes (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013).

For the Ottawa-Gatineau craft breweries I studied, ethical concerns were a key part of how craft brewers structured their businesses and interacted with others in the industry. The commitment of craft brewers, along with hops growers, malt producers and other industry actors, towards using craft beer to strengthen their communities and local economies is indicative of community economies. In addressing the concerns of concentration of power in the beer industry, it is my hope that by conducting their businesses in a way that puts common social and ethical values and cooperation at the forefront, craft breweries in the Ottawa-Gatineau region are able to continue to thrive and continue to produce excellent beer.

## Reflections on brewing in a pandemic

I arrive at the conclusion of this thesis at a strange moment in history, which frames my findings in a new and unexpected way. As the COVID-19 pandemic disrupts local and global economies and poses dire threats to human health, I bear witness to the impacts of the virus in the Ottawa-Gatineau regions – including on the craft brewing industry. Small businesses face unexpected and serious struggles, particularly those in the food service, hospitality and tourism industries. While smaller food businesses are more vulnerable to the global supply chain and labour disruptions brought about by the pandemic, many are nevertheless advantaged by their adaptability and connections to local suppliers than larger businesses (Hobbs, 2020). In effect, the pandemic has called into question the reliability of globalized food systems, with more people seeking to support local businesses and local food movements (Hobbs, 2020).

Among these small businesses are craft breweries, who must overcome unprecedented and unique challenges in order to continue to exist. In effect, the pandemic reveals new lines of inquiry relating to the resilience of small businesses and local economies. Gibson-Graham et al. (2013) compare economic systems to the complexity and dynamism of natural ecosystems, stating: “Diversity produces resilience” (p.191). As craft breweries operate both *within* and *beyond* conventional economies, further study of the craft beer industry could produce fruitful results as to the potential resilience of diverse and community economies.

My research findings offer a preliminary look at the ways in which Ottawa-Gatineau craft breweries are able to adapt to the sudden changes brought about by the pandemic, and how diverse economies factor into their adaptations and resilience. As discussed in Chapter 4,

*Local Beer Economies in Ottawa-Gatineau*, most craft brewers in the Ottawa-Gatineau region rely on a regionalized market, with few breweries seeking to expand outside of Ontario and/or Quebec. The pandemic has, however, altered the ways in which many brewers seek to distribute beer, with more breweries relying on online sales and self-distribution methods, such as delivering beers directly to consumers' homes.

To limit in-person contact, craft brewers in Ottawa allow consumers to opt to schedule contactless pickup at the brewery and/or have beers delivered via mail provider or courier services. The online sales and local delivery of beers have proven very successful and lucrative for Ottawa craft breweries, allowing them to continue operating without needing to cut staff (Charbonneau, 2020). With a lower demand from restaurants, a large number of craft breweries in the region are also able to employ their existing delivery vehicles to provide beer directly to consumers in the Ottawa region. Equally, as inter-regional travel is not advised by provincial health authorities across Canada, a number of breweries in Ottawa offer products from craft brewers located outside of the region. By offering the products of 'competitors' these breweries seem to focus not only on the success of their own business but also the health and resilience of the overall craft beer industry.

However, in Quebec, brewers are much more limited as they are unable to deliver beer to consumers themselves or by mail, while their Ontario counterparts are able to (CBC News, 2020). Many Quebecois brewers have called upon the provincial government to relax legislation to allow them to continue to operate while ensuring public safety (CBC News, 2020). Moreover, while Canada Post is able to fulfil beer orders for consumers in many provinces, inter-provincial trade regulations mean that brewers are nevertheless limited to

mailing beer within their own province. These limitations impacted breweries pre-pandemic, as was examined in Chapter 4, though the impacts of inter-provincial trade regulations are worsened by the travel limitations caused by the pandemic and warrant further consideration. I am also interested in further questioning how notions of community are impacted by the pandemic, as social interactions are limited. This inquiry would draw on Young's (1986) critique of community needing to be based on face-to-face relations to develop authentic personal relationships. I would like to see how the craft brewing community mitigates and evolves through differently-mediated interactions, seeing as face-to-face communities are severely restricted throughout Ontario and Quebec.

On top of the social and economic issues caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, racial tensions escalated over the summer of 2020 in the United States in light of multiple police shooting of unarmed black people. Potvin (2020) remarks on the comparisons often made between Canada and the United States in relation to incidents of racial violence: "Our society is not as violent as theirs, the numbers of individuals from visible minorities not as large, and as a result, the incidences of institutional and systemic violence towards a portion of our citizenry are less flagrant" (p.634). While racism is less visible in Canada, Potvin (2020) nevertheless warns that it is very much present in Canadian institutions and society and has detrimental impacts on the health and economic outcomes of Black Canadians, among others.

The 'Black Lives Matter' (BLM) movement, which began in the US and migrated north to Canada, aims to address racial violence and the disproportionate incidence of police violence that involve Black people. Thompson (2020) notes that the Canadian factions of BLM are

particularly challenged by perceptions of racism in Canada, stating: “BLM activists in Canada face the formidable obstacle of a national identity and societal consensus that seldom acknowledges the existence of racism” (p.245). Thompson (2020) also stresses that Indigenous people in Canada are similarly over-represented in police-related deaths and face systemic racism that stems from legacies of settler-colonial violence.

While craft brewing and racial violence may appear worlds apart, systemic racism is present in the beer industry and a growing number of craft brewers are willing to acknowledge and address this issue. Chapter 6 of this thesis touches on inclusivity and diversity in craft beer community, though there is much more work to be done in this area. Campaigns such as the collaborative brewing effort ‘Black is Beautiful’ offer insights into how craft brewing may offer a means to address racial issues, and craft breweries’ choices in aligning with particular ethical and social causes. The ‘Black is Beautiful’ campaign was started by Marcus Baskerville, the African American Head Brewer and co-owner of Weathered Souls Brewing Company in San Antonio, Texas, as a means for craft breweries to support Black causes and organizations in their communities by each brewing the same beer recipe at their brewery (Weathered Souls Brewing Company, 2020). The campaign requires that each participating brewery use the same beer style and label, as well as donate 100% of the proceeds to their selected local organization (Weathered Souls Brewing Company, 2020). In the Ottawa-Gatineau region, four breweries partook in the campaign, each brewing an imperial stout. Should I continue my research on craft brewing, I would deepen my inquiries into the issues of diversity and inclusion in the craft beer industry, focusing on efforts such as the ‘Black is Beautiful’ campaign to understand the ethical goals of craft brewers.

The historical importance of beer is undeniable; it helped to establish agrarian societies, provided medieval women with a source of income, offered settler colonialists in Canada nourishment and grew into a highly profitable and globalized industry. I strongly believe that beer has many more stories to tell, some of which can no doubt inspire socio-economic transformations and social good. While craft beer may seem to emanate lightness and frivolity, it has serious impacts on local economies and community development. Craft brewers support each other through collaborative and non-competitive relationships, they seek to enhance local hops and malt production, and they carve out meaningful relationships with community actors with the intent of creating social good. Craft beer is brewed with the intent to share in joy, community and creativity, and in these ways truly embodies the possibilities of community economies.

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## Appendix A - Interview Guide

### Crafting Community Economies: Tapping into Localism, Place-Making and Diverse Economies Through Craft Brewing

#### Interview Guide

##### Themes and sub-themes drawn from the research questions

1. Place and Locality
  - a. Heritage, landscape, culture and beer
  - b. Localism
2. Community
  - a. Building and development
  - b. Relationships
3. Local economic development
  - a. Legislation
  - b. Macro vs. Craft
  - c. Success
  - d. Motivation

##### Key words and prompts (Brewers and brewery owners)

1. Motivation
  - a. Beginnings
    - i. How did you get into beer/brewing?
  - b. Why brew
    - i. Brewing is a mentally and physically challenging career, what keeps you going?
    - ii. What do you enjoy most about the brewing process?
2. Success
  - a. Definition
    - i. How would you describe a successful craft brewery?
  - b. Values
    - i. What is most important for you to achieve in operating a brewery?
3. Localism
  - a. Local ingredients
    - i. Do you attempt to use any locally sourced inputs?
    - ii. How difficult is it for you to source your ingredients locally?
  - b. Local designation
    - i. Can the same idea of 'local' used in local food movements be applied to beer?

- ii. Do you think there should be a local food designation for beers? (Savour Ottawa local food designation)]
- 4. Landscape, culture, heritage and beer
  - a. *Terroir*
    - i. Do you think that the notion of *terroir* can be applied to brewing?
  - b. 'Ottawa' beer style
    - i. Do you think that there is a particular beer style or ingredients that make a beer an 'Ottawa' beer?
  - c. Culture
    - i. How would you describe Canadian craft beer culture?
    - ii. How does craft brewing play into these ideas?
    - iii. Do your beers play into Canadian beer culture?
- 5. Community building and development
  - a. Ottawa/Gatineau beer community
    - i. How would you describe the craft beer community in Ottawa/Gatineau?
    - ii. How important is the idea of 'community' in craft beer?
    - iii. Do you think that the craft beer community is inclusive?
- 6. Relationships
  - a. Other brewers – types of relationships, competitiveness
    - i. How would you describe your relationships with other brewers in Ottawa/Gatineau?
    - ii. Do you think these relationships are different than other industries?
  - b. Food systems actors
    - i. Do you feel that it's important to seek out relationships with hops growers? Maltsters?
  - c. Other actors/community
    - i. Are you involved with any community organizations or actors?
    - ii. Do you feel that it's important for you to be involved in your community? Why?
- 7. Legislation
  - a. Attitudes towards alcohol – ON vs. QC
    - i. Do you notice a difference between attitudes towards alcohol in ON and QC? Do you think this has affected legislation?
  - b. Government support
    - i. How would you describe government support for craft breweries?
  - c. Inter-provincial trade
    - i. How do you think that changes to the current interprovincial alcohol laws will impact the craft beer industry in Ottawa-Gatineau?

- d. Ontario legislation
  - i. Would you like your beers in the LCBO?
  - ii. Do you think the LCBO does enough to support craft beer?
  - iii. Do you think that the Beer Store supports ON craft breweries?
  - iv. Do you think that retail regulations should be more like in QC, where they allow sales of beer and wine in grocery stores and corner stores?
  - v. Do you feel that the proposed minimum wage in Ontario may impact the viability of your operation?
- e. Québec legislation
  - i. Do you think that the SAQ does enough to support craft beer?
  - ii. How do you think that the more lenient alcohol laws in QC have impacted the growth of the craft beer industry?
- 8. Macro-breweries
  - a. Ownership
    - i. In light of instances such as Mill St. being acquired by Labatt, do you think that buy-outs by large brewing conglomerates are a concern in Canada's craft beer industry? Are they a concern for you?
  - b. Perception
    - i. Do you think other craft breweries perceive craft breweries differently if they are owned by industrial breweries? Do you think consumers perceive them differently?
  - c. Concentration of Power
    - i. Is there any way the craft breweries can protect themselves from the concentration of power in the beer industry?
- 9. Sustainability
  - a. Growth
    - i. Can the craft beer industry in Ottawa-Gatineau sustain its current level of growth?
    - ii. Do you think believe that the market is/can be saturated?

## Appendix B – Letter of Invitation

Invitation to participate in a research project on craft beer and local economies

Dear Madam/Sir,

My name is Chloé DesRivières and I am a Doctoral student in the department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University. I am working on a research project under the supervision of Drs. Patricia Ballamingie and Irena Knezevic.

I am writing to you today to invite you to participate in a study entitled "*Crafting Community Economies: Tapping into Localism, Place-Making, and Diverse Economies Through Craft Brewing*". This study examines the ways in which craft breweries are able to engage in diverse economic practices by participating in localization and place-making processes, developing inter-personal relationships and communities, and enhancing local economies. By investigating these practices, this study seeks to understand how craft breweries may be able to withstand the concentration of power in the beer industry, and contribute to creating community economies.

This study involves an interview of approximately one to two hours (60-120 minutes) that will take place in a mutually convenient, safe location. I will be conducting the interviews with the help of a research assistant. With your consent, interview will be audio-recorded.

While not required, you will be invited to go through your interview transcripts, and the final research results prior to publication, so that you may review your answers and/or provide additional details and feedback. If you chose to participate, you will be able to withdraw your participation at any point up until September 1<sup>st</sup> 2018.

The ethics protocol for this project was reviewed by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board, which provided clearance to carry out the research. (Clearance 107693, expires on: October 1<sup>st</sup> 2019). If you have any ethical concerns with the study, contact Dr. Andy Adler, Chair, Carleton University Research Ethics Board-A (by phone at 613-520-2600 ext. 4085, or via email at [ethics@carleton.ca](mailto:ethics@carleton.ca)).

If you would like to participate in this research project, or have questions, please contact me at [chloe.poitevin@carleton.ca](mailto:chloe.poitevin@carleton.ca)

Sincerely,  
Chloé Poitevin-DesRivières

## Appendix C – Consent Form

Consent Form

Hello, my name is Chloé DesRivières and I am a Doctoral student in the department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University. I am under the supervision of Professors Patricia Ballamingie and Irena Knezevic.

I would like you to participate in a study on the craft beer industry in Ottawa-Gatineau. This study seeks to understand how craft breweries may be able to withstand the concentration of power in the beer industry, and contribute to the local food system, and the development of local economies, and communities.

This study involves one 1-2 hour interview that will take place over the telephone or by video conference call. With your consent, the interview will be audio-recorded. Once transcribed, the audio-recording will be destroyed. While not required, you will be invited to go through your interview transcripts, and the final research results, prior to publication, so that you may review your answers and/or provide additional details and feedback.

As this project will ask you about your employment, there are some potential professional risks to you if your statements are critical of your employer. While this risk is expected to be minimal, I will take precautions to protect your identity. This will be done by keeping all responses anonymous and allowing you to request that certain responses not be included in the final project.

You may withdraw at any time, until September 1st 2018, by letting me or my research supervisors know. If you choose to withdraw, all the information you provided will be destroyed.

All research data, including audio-recordings and my notes will be encrypted. Any hard copies of data (including any handwritten notes or USB keys) will be kept in a locked cabinet at Carleton University. Research data will only be accessible by a research assistant, my supervisors, and me.

Once the project is completed, all research data will be kept for five years and I may use it for other research projects on this same topic. At the end of five years, all research data will be destroyed.

If you would like a copy of the finished research project, please let me know. I will then provide you with an electronic copy.

The ethics protocol for this project was reviewed by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board, which provided clearance to carry out the research (Project clearance number: 107693). If you have any ethical concerns with the study, please contact Dr. Andy Adler, Chair, Carleton University Research Ethics Board-A (by phone at 613-520-2600 ext. 2517 or via email at [ethics@carleton.ca](mailto:ethics@carleton.ca)).

You can reach me at [chloe.poitevin@carleton.ca](mailto:chloe.poitevin@carleton.ca). My supervisor, Dr. Ballamingie, can be reached at [patricia.ballamingie@carleton.ca](mailto:patricia.ballamingie@carleton.ca) or 613-520-2600 x 8566. My supervisor, Dr. Knezevic can be reached at [irena.knezevic@carleton.ca](mailto:irena.knezevic@carleton.ca) or 613-520-2600 x 4121.

Do you have any questions or need clarification?

Do I have your permission to begin:  Yes  No (If no, thank you for your time.)

Do you agree to be audio-recorded:  Yes  No

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's name/Pseudonym/Initials: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_