

A CASE FOR CRAFTY BEER NAMES: BOTTLING THE CULTURAL IMAGE OF PENNSYLVANIA'S BREWERIES

Dr. Alison E. Feeney
Department of Geography and Earth Science,
Shippensburg University
1871 Old Main
Shippensburg, PA 17257

ABSTRACT: *Imaging and branding of consumer products is fastidiously marketed by businesses, allowing consumers to identify commodities with social groups. Beer has been an important commodity in the United States, and strong marketing campaigns by large companies have created household names and products. The history of their marketing tactics reflects changes in consumer culture, and it is currently adapting because of the growth of craft breweries and their ability to attract a small but desirable demographic of young, educated, and affluent beer drinkers.*

The craft beer industry has exploded since the 1980s, and at the time of this study, a total of 156 registered breweries are open and operating in Pennsylvania. Data collection of the brewery's image, names of beers, stories of local legends and events, pictures, supporting artwork, and label designs were acquired from site visits, brewery websites, and social media. Although the small craft breweries do not have the large marketing expenditures of the large mass produced beer, they still market and target specific consumers and develop a consumption culture. Two-thirds of the craft breweries in Pennsylvania either create unique and memorable names or local idiosyncratic names drawing on neolocalism to enhance their beers. Environmental, historical, and industrial images are the most pervasive themes conveyed by the Pennsylvania's breweries.

Key words: *consumer culture, big-beer marketing campaign, Pennsylvania craft breweries, neolocalism*

INTRODUCTION

Beer is one of the most widely consumed beverages in the world and is a globally important business. Marketing the product allows producers to associate and brand their beers with cultural images to a specific social groups. As the large mass-produced beer companies consolidated in the second half of the 1900s, the top few companies were in tight competition, generating the need for creative advertisements that have left us with memorable commercial images and common household names. These companies now recognize that a small, but valuable, portion of their market is being consumed by craft breweries, and forcing them to create new marketing trends for their mass produced beer. Conversely, craft breweries are not trying to advertise to a large market, but rather using common themes and branding images to identify with a small but local consumer population.

Pennsylvania has a growing craft beer industry that is particularly prominent in urban areas with strong historic brewing traditions, towns that previously had extractive and industrial industries, and new areas of outdoor recreation and tourism. This paper will review the past several decades of beer marketing campaigns and describe the growth of craft beers in Pennsylvania. The brewery locations, types of imagery, and beer names of all the existing breweries in Pennsylvania were analyzed to qualitatively assess the branding strategies of these breweries, and how they convey that information to their customers.

CONSUMER CULTURE AND THE BIG-BEER INDUSTRY

A rich geographic literature exists on consumption culture and practices in the United States. Consumption is the use, reuse, and disposal of goods and services, and it goes well beyond the basic needs of people. It has become a cultural phenomenon where people identify commodities with social groups and attach identities (Jayne 2006). Along with the trade and exchange of commodities, consumption has become an emotional and sensory experience (Crewe 2008). Williams et al. (2001) argue that the consumption of goods, services, and entertainment has become a truly cultural activity with geographic implications influenced by age, class, and gender, and the consumed products are deliberately marketed to specific demographics.

Beer is an important consumption commodity in the United States. Following Prohibition, the United States' beer industry experienced a steady growth along with the consolidation of breweries to enter an era of mass production. By 1975, the top 3 brewing companies they held 75% of the market (Batzli 2014). As the industry began to plateau in the 1970s, marketing and advertising became essential. Media advertising expenditures increased fivefold from 1977 to 1998 with the large brewing companies spending \$752 million a year (Wilcox 2001). Madden and Grebe (1994) found that most beer advertisements occur through sports programming. In one study, they found that out of 443.7 hours of televised sporting events, 77% of the commercials were for beer. In 2011, Levin, Cobbs, Beasley and Manolis (2013) reported that in the United States alone, \$10.9 billion was spent on advertising during the 42,500 hours of live sports shown on television.

Many fans find commercial messages entertaining and informative rather than obtrusive or disturbing and nowhere is this more apparent than in one of the most widely televised sporting event in the United States, the Super Bowl. Commercials have become hyped events rather than interruptions to the game. By 1999, Anheuser-Busch paid for exclusive beer-advertising rights during the Super Bowl (McAllister 2001), and has since created memorable commercials, jingles, and products that have become household names. Years of Bud-bowl campaigns, the Bud-Wise-Zer frogs, and a lost puppy befriending a Clydesdale have captivated audiences enough that many viewers are more interested in the ads than in the outcome of the game (Yelker et al.2013).

Marketing strategies reflect changes in consumer patterns that result in changes to competitor's products. In the 1960s, Americans were starting to become health conscious and Dr. Owades, a biochemist, made Gablinger's diet beer by removing starches. With limited marketing it did not go over well with male consumers. Miller acquired the company in the early 1970s, created Miller Lite, and began ad campaigns with macho celebrities arguing over "tastes great" or "less filling." The diet phenomenon quickly produced annual sales of 10 million barrels a year in the first few years of production and reached as high as 19 million barrels by 1990 (Kell 2015). Labatt's, in Canada, launched an aggressive mass marketing campaign that focused on lifestyle rather than the beer, stressing the 'image' of the beer rather than the taste (Matthews and Pieton 2014). The other major companies soon copied with their similar products. Today, the introduction of craft breweries has impacted the beer industry resulting in changes in products and marketing campaigns.

GROWTH OF CRAFT BEERS

Today, Americans consume on average 20.3 gallons of beer per year and although large mass produced brands still hold the market, an increasing number of consumers are selecting craft beers (Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014). Craft breweries are considered small and independent, use traditional methods, and are known for their innovative flavors. The industry exploded from only 8 craft breweries in 1980, to almost 2500 in 2013, with 98% of all US breweries being small and independent (Hoalst-Pullen et al. 2014). In June 2013, craft breweries produced 7.8% of volume but 14.3% of dollar sales. Whitwell (2014) reported that this was a 16% increase in volume for craft beers verses a 1.7 % decrease for the mass produced brands. Budweiser remains the third most popular beer in the United States but declined in volume of sales 6% annually between 2008 and 2013 (Felberbaum 2015).

Craft beers are important in consumer culture for they represent a specific market and generate social status. McLaughlin, Reid, and Moore (2014) found that craft beers attract a certain demographic. The typical consumer of craft beer is a well-educated, white male earning \$75,000. Typically between the ages of 21 and 44, this group termed the Millennials, are born after 1980, and are the prime market for the beer industry. Mowen, Graefe and Graefe (2013) found that craft beer drinkers are adventurous, try new beers, and search out restaurants with craft beers.

The big beer companies have begun to recognize the impacts of these craft breweries and their ability to attract a small but desirable demographic of young, educated, and affluent beer drinkers. In attempts to compete, faux microbrews have been developed with minimal connections to their larger parent companies (Hallinan 2006). CoorsMolson developed Blue Moon, Miller introduced Leinenkugel, and Anheuser-Busch produced Shock Top. Anheuser-Busch introduced two organic beers under the labels Crooked Creek Brewing Co. and Green Valley Brewing Co. In addition, many of the large companies started to buy smaller craft breweries. Anheuser-Busch bought one of the oldest craft breweries in the United States, Blue Point Brewing Company in February, 2014, along with Goose Island in 2011 (Whitwell 2014).

Not surprisingly, marketing campaigns by the big beer companies have targeted this consumer culture. Miller Lite reintroduced their retro style beer can with a look that implies tradition, and sales immediately increased. They developed a series of ad campaigns "Miller Lite. We invented light beer and you," along with another advertisement with a farmer examining cascading hops similar to craft beers (Kell 2015). Nowhere is this competition more apparent than in the 2015 Super Bowl ad. After several decades of losing ground to craft brewers, Anheuser-Busch recognized

it may not be possible to win back those customers and instead marketed to their core consumers. The recent campaign labels Budweiser as 'it isn't brewed to be fussed over' (Felberbaum 2015). The 2015 Super Bowl ad ran as a series of images with bold words stating that Budweiser is proudly a macro brew and that it is brewed the hard way. They reinforced tradition by showing images of old advertisements selling Budweiser for 15 cents and stated that it has been brewed the same way since 1876. By contrast, they showed serious men sniffing small glasses of craft beer followed by images of a fun partying crowd drinking Budweiser.

The small craft breweries do not have the large marketing expenditures that is available to the big beer industry, and they typically do not engage in commercial campaigns, but they still market and target specific consumers and develop a consumption culture. The prime target audience for craft brewers, millennials, follow social media and are five times more likely to be influenced by word-of-mouth than advertising (Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014), and thus much of their advertising is done on websites, social media, and at place of consumption.

Many craft beer marketing campaigns focus on people's desire to break away from homogeneity and re-establish connections with local communities. Flack's (1997) pivotal study demonstrated that small craft breweries have a great connection to local identities and fulfill people's desire to be connected with a place. Rooted in the ideas of Yi-Fu Tuan that Americans have a distain for mass-produced generic culture, neolocalism is the rejection of homogenization to embrace local goods and services. Craft beers deliberately seek out regional lore and local attachment by emphasizing the community's idiosyncrasies with the naming and labeling of their beers, generating a unique geography and creating a sense of place. As Carr (2014), founder of Community Beer, points out, the naming of a beer should be short, possibly clever, and memorable while considering marketing, labeling and public perception.

Hede and Watne (2013) examined over 1000 craft breweries from North America, Northern Europe, and Australia evaluating textual and visual data from their websites and social media. They found many craft breweries have local man-of-action heroes, folklores, and myths to market their brands. Schnell and Reese (2014) examined imagery used to market craft beers in North America and concluded that neolocalism is stronger than ever and that the marketing is not for the masses, but rather a select few. Breweries make an overt statement of local pride by adorning labels with images of historic miners, loggers, blacksmiths and captains, along with nostalgic images of trains, horse and buggies, and steamships. Additionally, environmental marketing images also connect the consumer to their beer. Harvest cycles and images of nature are found throughout the country, but they particularly dominate imagery from the Rocky Mountains to the West Coast, making up 70% of beer names from that region.

Location is the key to retail success which typically considers the distance consumers are willing to travel as the important determinant. The ease, proximity, and physical boundaries, along with the social segmentation and demographics have been well studied as indicators of retail success (Gonzales-Benito and Gonzales-Benito 2005). In the case of craft breweries, they appear to be generating, or at least enhancing, their location by branding narratives and marketing their landscape. Place attachment is generated from storytelling and heightened consciousness of local history. Carroll and Swaminatham (2000) demonstrate that brew pubs and craft breweries clearly match identity claims, promoting local history at their storefront location. Schnell (2013) demonstrates that brewers go to great lengths to create distinctly local themes and images and market narratives of places, sometimes as much as the beer. While ordering and consuming a craft beer, it is hard to ignore the origin, style, and cultural expression intended by the brewer.

PENNSYLVANIA'S CRAFT BEER LANDSCAPE

Pennsylvania's history is closely intertwined with beer. From early settlers through industrialization, through Prohibition and the consolidation of major breweries, beer was closely connected to the social, economic, and cultural history of the state (Feeney 2015). The mid-1800s saw an influx of German immigrants, the introduction of lager beer, and the overall increase in beer production and consumption, particularly in Pennsylvania. Batzli (2014) reports that between 1841 and 1865, Philadelphia led the nation in beer production with over 190 breweries, which increased through the era of mechanization, 1866 to 1920, to 299 breweries.

Several breweries in Pennsylvania survived Prohibition by diversifying into other products and manufacturing minimally alcoholic beer. The Straub brewery, located in the rural, mountainous community of St. Mary's, Pennsylvania, was founded in 1872. The brewery produced non-alcoholic and near-beer and today is recognized as an American Legacy Brewery that promotes a long tradition of Germanic style lager (Straub beer 2015). Most notably, Yuengling, located in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, is listed on the national registry as American's oldest brewery, a claim that is fundamental to their marketing campaign, proudly stating they have operated continuously since 1829 (Yuengling 2015).

Bottling the Cultural Image of Pennsylvania's Breweries

In the last few decades, Pennsylvania has experienced a rebirth of craft breweries, with 156 locally owned breweries pushing the state into a new era of small, local, but distinguished consumption practices. This study aims to determine if geographic patterns of images or branding in Pennsylvania's breweries exist. And if so, does it mimic the craft brewery trends found at a larger national scale? Pennsylvania is a large state with several urban clusters, regional tourist centers focused on colonial and civil war history, and large open spaces with state parks and forests. Does the marketing strategies in each location reflect these resources?

At the time of this study, a total of 156 registered breweries were open and operating in Pennsylvania. In an ever changing industry, the number can fluctuate with many breweries at various stages of planning, brewing, and preparing to open and other breweries temporarily closed, being sold, or relocating to new facilities. The 156 breweries used in this study were gathered from a variety of online sources including the Brewers Association, beer100.com, pacraftbeer.com, and the beeradvocate.com, geocoded into ArcGIS, and crossed checked with Google maps and individual websites. Data collection of the brewery's image, names of beers, stories of local legends and events, pictures, supporting artwork, and label designs were acquired from site visits, brewery websites, and social media.

Categorizing brewery imagery can be daunting or over simplified, yet essential for entry into a GIS. Using similar methodology to Flack (1997), Schnell and Reese (2003) and Hede and Watne (2013), visual and textual data from websites, social media, and place of consumption was used to identify marketing categories and themes. Although difficult to peg each brewery into a limited number of categories, and certainly some cross over exists, the most pervasive theme was entered. Webpage imagery along with the brewery's building's décor and atmosphere that the brewery promoted fell into one of three categories: Historic, Industrial, and Environmental. Historic branding included images of founding fathers, historic buildings, old railroads and ships, past wars, and ties to Old World Cultures, whereas Industrial images focused predominantly on mining and manufacturing, and finally environmental images ranged from agriculture to outdoor wilderness and recreation activities. Clearly some crossover exists, particularly in breweries in historic industrial locations such as Pittsburgh, but the most significant pervasive theme was entered in the attribute table. Several of the breweries had extremely creative themes such as zombies and hobbits marketing the uniqueness of their beer, but it did not fit into one of categories in this study. Breweries that did not have an overarching branding image were categorized as "no."

Beer names were categorized as generic, creative, or neolocal. Most breweries have several permanent beers and rotating names for seasonal events, special recognitions, or trial samples. All beer names listed at the time of the study were considered and fell into one of following three categories. Generic names included examples such as nut brown or Belgian honey, whereas creative names included things like Susquehanna Brewing Company's So-Wheat hefeweizen, Race Street Brew Works' Milk Moos-stache Milk Stout, or Grist House Brewing's Black in the U.S.S.R. Neolocal names were specific to that brewery's location and often referred to the town, physical building, local events, legends, villains, or heroes. The public's interaction with the breweries and was based on the scale of services that fell into one of the following four categories: brewery, tap room, food trucks, and full pub. This study did not account for distributed bottled beers. Several breweries in Pennsylvania only bottle and distribute and do not have any local public interaction. Some breweries bottle but only distribute to major urban populations such as Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. Many small breweries do not have any bottling capabilities. The ability to assess people's understanding of neolocal beer names distributed to other locations is beyond the scope of this research. Figure 1 displays the location and the brewery's most pervasive image.

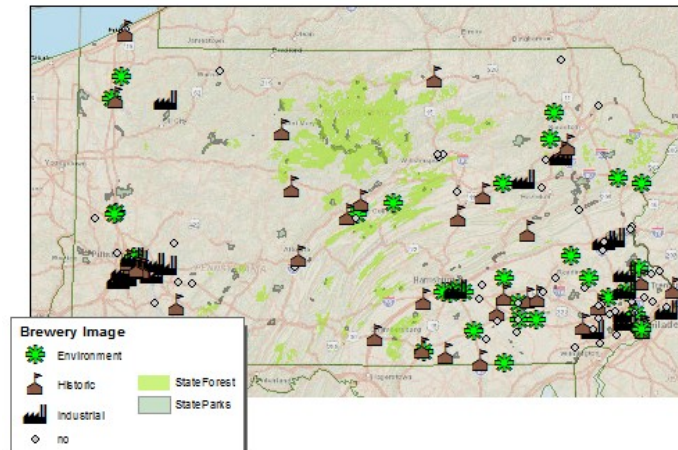


Figure 1: Location and predominant imagery portrayed by the 156 breweries in Pennsylvania

RESULTS

The primary marketing campaign for small craft breweries with limited budgets tend to focus on electronic media such as websites and social media, along with branding and imagery at place of consumption, and participation in community events. Pennsylvania's breweries are actively engaged in creating this culture with strong evidence throughout the state of enhancing location and branding their craft.

Every brewery in the state has a website, and with the exception of just a few breweries, most websites give full details about the building location, type of establishment, owners, brewers employed, names of beers, what's on tap, and community events. Words such as passion, craft, fresh, and neighborly are commonly used to express the commitment to the local community in providing a quality product. Some breweries go as far as to state ethical behavior, honesty, and integrity as fundamentally important to the business as the beer that they brew. Although electronic publicity is good, the majority of breweries have some customer interaction and can promote their craft directly to the consumer. Over two thirds, or 101 breweries, have a restaurants serving light fares to full-blown menus, 7 have food trucks on set days to encourage people to eat and drink on their premise, and 27 have a tap room for customers to sample beers and fill growlers. Only 21 of the 156 breweries are solely production facilities with very little public interaction.

Overwhelmingly neolocalism is prevalent throughout Pennsylvania's breweries and is evident in the imagery they promote. Consumers are exposed to that imagery immediately upon viewing most breweries' websites or entering their buildings, and the promotion of such ideals and themes is continued through imagery found on posters, menus, and eventually to their beer names. Of the 156 breweries, historic imagery is the leading theme. Thirty-six breweries across the state promote the heritage of the local people along with important historic events that shaped their local town. Several breweries create Old World ties to Europe. Gunpowder Falls Brewing proudly sites the German Purity law of 1516 and serves a Schwarzbeir, which is a German dark lager dating back to the Middle Ages, and the Hofbrauhaus in Pittsburgh is traditionally decorated to resemble a traditional German beer garden. St. Boniface Craft Brewing Co. pays tribute to one of the patron saints of brewing and honors European monasteries by carrying on their lore of laying an axe at the root of a tree to avoid bland beer. Church Brew Works resides in a renovated church founded in 1878 by ethnically diverse settlers working in the industrial neighborhoods of Pittsburgh. In this distinctly unique drinking establishment they serve a Celestial Gold, Pipe Organ Pale Ale and Pious Monk Dunkel.

Historic revolutionary spirit and important military events are well represented in breweries across the state and are preserved in the names of their beers. Many breweries market this theme, most commonly found in Philadelphia and the south-central part of the state where The War of Independence and The Civil War events were prominent. The America Honor Beer Company produces a Declaration Ale and the Full Pint Brewery serves a Rye Rebellion, which is an American double imperial stout. The Philadelphia Brewing Company serves Broken Bell Double IPA with an image of the Liberty Bell, and Gettysburg's Battlefield Brew Works serves Lincoln Lager. One of the more impressive and innovative examples of a brewery branding their craft with traditionally techniques, reinforcing brewing knowledge, and imposing their connections to the local community comes from the Roy Pitz Brewing Company. They serve Ludwig's Revenge, a dark German style Rauchbier. It is named in remembrance of the 1864 Civil War event where the Confederate Army raided and burned Chambersburg. Most of the buildings and homes were destroyed including Ludwig's Brewery. Roy Pitz not only claims to be located near this original brewery but they use ingredients from Bamberg, Germany where this style of beer originated and coincidently, is where George Ludwig was born and taught to brew (Roy Pitz 2015).

Historic and industrial images often blend together as many craft breweries portray a romanticized, idealistic past in particularly regions of the state. Breweries particularly located in the mining town pay homage to the industrial era. Railroads provided essential transportation to the extraction of raw materials, so it is not surprising that they appear in many beer names in Pennsylvania. Box Car Brewing Company produces a Passenger Ale and a Coal Runner Stout and the Erie Brewing Company produces Rail Bender Ale and Derailed Black Cherry Ale. The Breaker Brewing Company, located in the heart of Pennsylvania's coal country produces Anthracite Ale and Coal Cracker Extra Special Bitter and the East End Brewing Company, located on the eastside of Pittsburgh, serves Smoke Stack Heritage Porter. Fegley's Brew Works, which has breweries in Allentown and Bethlehem, recognizes the blue collar workers that built the cities with their Steelworkers Oatmeal Stout.

Marketing of important local men and heroes is a selling point in many breweries naming their beers. Yards Brewing Company, located in Philadelphia, creates Ales of the Revolution honoring the Founding Fathers of the country. Yards worked with the Philadelphia's' historic City Tavern to recreate a brew similar to one Thomas Jefferson would have brewed at Monticello (Yards 2015). Notable military personnel have been commemorated in

beer names, such as General Anthony Wayne, Brigadier General of the American Revolutionary War, who is remembered in Erie Brewing Company's Mad Anthony's APA, and the Brew Gentlemen Beer Co. produces General Braddock's IPA. More recent men of distinction who are recognized by craft breweries include Gus a blues player closely connected to Full Pint Brewing Company and the passing of a close friend to Prism Brewing Company honored with Insana Stout. Just in time for football season, the Duquesne Bottling Company released Duquesne Lager's Paterno Legacy Series honoring the long-time Penn State football coach (Center Daily Time 2015).

The second most prominent theme is the neolocal ties to the natural environment. Thirty-one breweries promote and market the physical environment as their most pervasive theme. Through their visual and textual marketing imagery, many breweries promote their local park, watershed, river, or mountain. As seen in Figure 1, the majority of the environmental themes are located in the south central part of the state, and in the northeast corridor, away from the major urban centers. Two of the breweries promote the mountains. Appalachian Brewing Company serves a Trail Blaze maple brown ale, Mountain Lager, and Happy Trails IPA with the company logo displaying the surrounding mountains of the Susquehanna River Valley and coasters displaying a spruce tree. The Yorkholo Brewing Company, located in the northern part of the state, serves Endless Mountain Summer Ale, Mountaineer India Pale Ale, and Grand Canyon Vanilla Porter. Two of the breweries, Lancaster Brewing Company and Happy Valley tap into the state's agricultural productivity with images of farm animals. Lancaster Brewing Company produces Hop Buggy Amber Ale with locally grown Amish oats, and their Double Milk Stout connects the brewery with the abundant cows in the local area. Happy Valley Brewery, as seen in Figure 2, is located in a renovated barn with many farm relics. They serve Barnstormer Pale Ale reflecting the agricultural core on which the community is founded along with Tailgater Pale Ale that is to be shared with 106,572 of your closest friends which reflects the influx of supporters to fall football games.



Figure 2: Happy Valley Brewing Company: Inside old barn, icon Ed the Pig entrance sign, and Tailgater Pale Ale logo.

The majority of the environmental imagery focuses on the water resources of the state, particularly the rivers and recreation opportunities they provide. Many of these breweries are located near important waterways that are well known for their recreational opportunities. Barley Creek Brewing Company serves Angler Black Lager and Navigator Golden Ale, whereas Blue Canoe Brewery serves Class 5 APA, and Snitz Creek Brewery serves Hip Wader Hefeweizen and Sand Bar Session IPA. Mudhook Brewing Company serves Wild River Weizen, Hook Bender Double IPA, Midnight Cast Black IPA, and Deep Sea Stout. Elk Creek Café & Aleworks serves Great Blue Heron Pale Ale, Brookie Brown Ale, and Poe Paddy Porter, named for the nearby State Park known for great trout fishing.

Excluding visual imagery from the breweries and solely looking at the names of beer, two-thirds of the craft breweries in Pennsylvania create unique, memorable, and neolocal names specifically associating their brew with their location. As seen in Figure 3, the majority of generic beer names are located in suburban areas surrounding Philadelphia, and scattered along the state's transportation corridors. Breweries located in neighborhoods of large urban areas or those found in small towns appear to connect the consumer with the community by geographically memorable names.

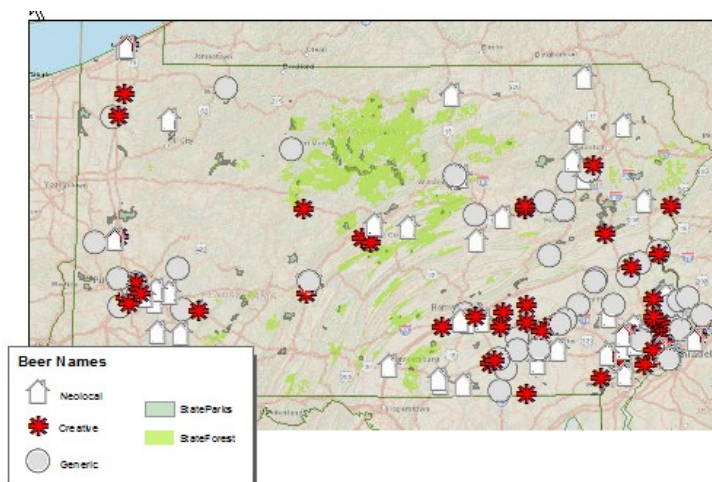


Figure 3: Distribution of neolocalism and creative beer names branded in most local breweries.

A few examples of neolocal names come from the mid-part of the state where traditional downtowns with vacant buildings, abandoned railroad tracks, and empty warehouses are prevalent as declining industrial jobs have led the more affluent population toward the suburbs or other parts of the state. Many breweries name their beers after street, special events, or unique features of the region. The Berwick Brewing Company makes reference to the local area with Front Street Wheat, Red Bank Dark Lager, and West End Pale Ale. Turkey Hill Brewery has lengthy descriptions of beer names, all which have personal meaning to the brewer. The names make reference to brewer's college days, trips to Europe, and locations of their children, along with local street and town names. They serve an Iron Street Porter, Lightstreet Porter, a Mid-Summer's Night Saison which pays tribute to the local theater group, and Fort Wheeler's Stronghold Ale which celebrates Bloomsburg's historic defenses. Similarly, Nimble Hill Brewing Company serves a Hop Bottom India Pale Ale. At first, this may appear to be a generic name, but to the local consumer they learn that it has special meaning. Hop Bottom, Pennsylvania, is a small town that use to have hop farms prior to Prohibition and after the industry was closed, the hops began to grow wild along the stream, hence giving the town its name.

Examining the location of neolocal names on a regional scale, Figure 4 displays breweries in suburban and downtown Philadelphia area along with median income. This large urban area has a thriving downtown with mixed economies and tourism that fills the city with local residents, commuters, and visitors. The breweries are located within close proximity to this downtown but are all located in the less economically developed parts of town that were historically the traditional industrial centers. The Philadelphia Brewing Company has many references to its location in the naming of its beers. They brew a Session IPA from PHL, a Broken Bell IPA, Fleur de Lehigh, Harvest from the Hood, Row House Red, Philadelphia Runner's Ale, Engine 1892 Market Stout, and most recently Holy Wooder, the official beer of the Pope during his 2015 visit to Philadelphia. Similarly Yards Brewing Company has an entire line of "Ales of the Revolution" preserving Philadelphia's key location during Independence. Yard's more modern references include beer names that commemorate the local Philadelphia landscape, including Love Stout and Parallel Brewniverse, recognizing the 2015 science festival. The 2nd Story Brewing Company has many creative names, leading the consumer to read, investigate, and learn about the brewers and their family with beer names that include Wible Wobble IIPA, Pour Me Stout, Thrills and Pils, Fritzie's Lager and Brewer's Widow.

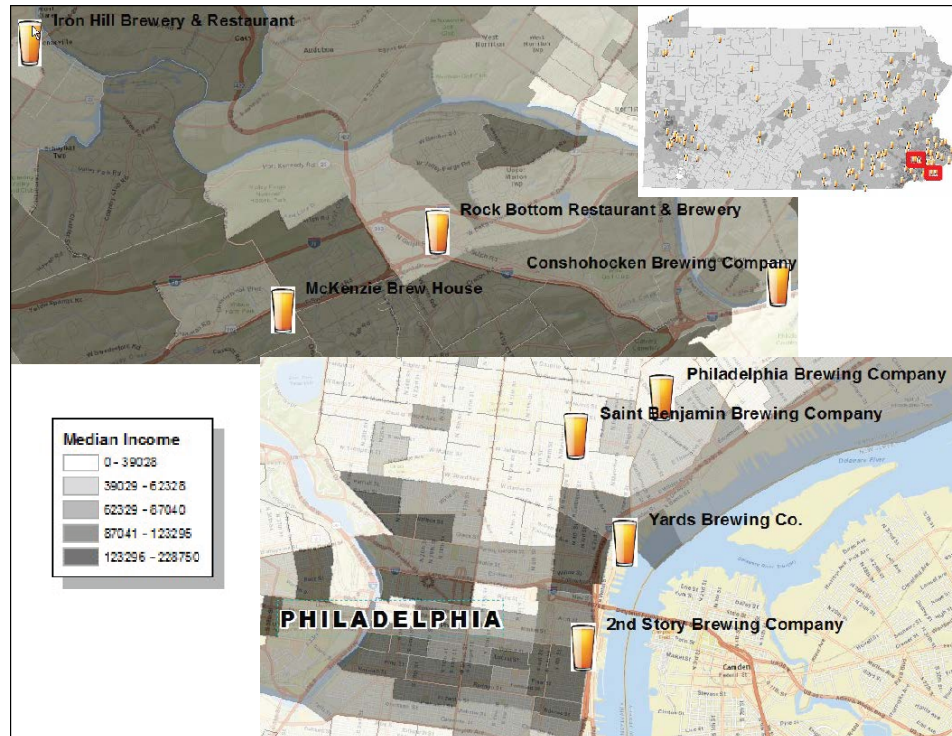


Figure 4: Location of breweries near downtown and suburban Philadelphia in relation to Median Income.

About 30 miles away is the suburban conglomeration of cities such as King of Prussia, Conshohocken, and Morristown that sits at the intersection of the Pennsylvania Turnpike and other major roads such as I-476, I-276, Rt. 30, and Rt. 422. Here the breweries diverge from the traditional feel of a local brewer, working hard on his craft in an older renovated building. Instead, the breweries serve food and beer at multiple restaurants with a large staff, often in a suburban upscale chic environment. Iron Hill Brewery, for examples, serves generic named beers such as Abbey Dubbel, Bourbon Porter, Winter Warmer, Pumpkin Ale Can, and Russian Imperial Stout, whereas McKenzie Brew House serves a Seasons Changes Session IPA and Session Farmhouse Ale. Rock Bottom Brewing Company also serve beers named India Pale Ale, Brewmaster's Choice, Specialty Dark, White Ale, and Red Ale. The Conshohocken Brewing Company serves and IPA, Puddlers Row ESB, and Dolls Eye Cascadian Dark Ale. All these beer names provide the consumer with the general style of beer, but does not intrigue them with any information about the beer's origin, reason for being, or inspiration for drinking.

A strong part of neolocalism is not just in the naming of beers and displaying local images at place of consumption, but rather a sincere desire to connect with local communities. It is not surprising that many of the craft breweries are actively involved in local events, try to purchase products from local farmers, and often give back to charities in the community. Many breweries describe ways in which they are reducing their energy usage, reusing water, composting food scraps, and recycling grain back to farmers. Both Fegley's Brew Works and Yards Brewing Company harness solar and wind power (Fegley's 2015, Yards 2015). Mudhook Brewing Company's goal is to be an anchor to the Central Market House of downtown York (Mudhook 2015). And Shawnee Craft Brewing Company's motto "beer from here, food from near" reflects many craft brewers commitment to local farmers, musicians, and artists. Old Forge Brewing Company utilizes local sculptors and potters to produce all their plates and mugs. Craft brewers actively publicize at the breweries and on their webpages and social media their pride in being part of the community.

CONCLUSION

In the last few decades, Pennsylvania has experienced an explosion of craft breweries, with 156 locally owned breweries pushing the state into a new era of small, local, but distinguished consumption practices. Strong evidence exists across the state that craft breweries are effectively marketing their local community and attempting to connect with consumers to create a welcoming, neighborly atmosphere providing information about local history, residents,

activities, and idiosyncrasies. Neolocal beer names are found in breweries in most small towns and large urban neighborhoods. Webpages, décor at the breweries, and stories on the menus enhance the consumption of these beers by allowing the consumer to learn the stories behind their creation. The most pervasive imagery found was the promotion of historic and environmental themes. Additionally, many breweries have creative names to reinforce a unique and local experience. Generic names, on the other hand, tend to be found in breweries located along the transportation corridors, particularly surrounding suburban Philadelphia.

The themes represented in the imaging and branding of the craft beers reflect the diverse resources of the state and the rich historic culture. Environmental images are the most pervasive themes conveyed by the Pennsylvania's breweries. The second most common themes focused on historic images that blend into a romanticized industrial era. They draw upon characteristics that are sought out by particular consumers looking to attach local identities and feel part of a community. By renovating older buildings decorated with local images, serving food from local farmers, and serving a variety of unique flavored beers with distinct names of local historic events, notable residents, rivers, and mountains, craft breweries are connecting the past while emphasizing a local, quality product. The commitment extends past the creation of beer by reinforcing sustainable ideals in energy use, reuse of products, purchasing from other local businesses, and giving back to the community.

Neolocalism is strongly evident in breweries throughout the state and appears to be following national and international trends. Additionally, this study showed that breweries located in economically declining neighbors within larger cities and those found in declining small, traditional downtowns are particularly enhancing their neolocal names of beer and promoting local imagery. These breweries are strongly marketing and attempting to sell their location. If location is indeed the key to retail success, these breweries are promoting and enhancing their location, encouraging the more affluent consumer to extend their travels in order to appreciate an authentic experience.

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