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Craft beer, Cicerones and changing identities in beer serving

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Chapter X

Craft beer, Cicerones and changing identities in beer serving

> "…when I meet new people and tell them 'I work in a bar' it's as if they look at me, thinking: well, you are young and educated, so why are you wasting your time working in a bar?! […] Yeah, there is still a lot of stigma surrounding bar work. Stigma is a real problem…" (Eve, Certified Beer Server Level 1).

The nature of bar work is changing. Today if you walk into a pub in Dundee, York, or Edinburgh you may not only enjoy a pint of locally brewed craft beer, but also expect your server to inform you of where the hops are grown, what tastes you can expect to experience, and what food best matches your choice of beer.

To begin our conversation about contemporary bar work we asked a server in a craft beer bar in Dundee, *what is it like serving beer*. It was through speaking with Eve that we alighted upon the Cicerone certification program which went live in 2008. Cicerone is designed for people who sell and serve beer and covers a number of areas: (1) keeping and serving beer (2) beer styles (3) beer flavor and evaluation (4) beer ingredients and brewing processes and (5) food pairing (Sheahan, 2017). Where wine has Sommeliers, beer now has Cicerones (Prichep, 2013).

Changes in the beer industry are driving shifts in the nature of work in pubs and bars across the UK so in our opening epigraph we have served up some of what Eve said because it speaks, in part, to some of the 'work' that programs such as Cicerone are 'doing' in the world. Changes are

afoot in the beer industry and as of mid-December 2017, with over 94000 Certified Beer Servers -just like Eve- across the world (Sheahan, 2017), Cicerone is driving shifts in the nature of work in pubs/bars the world over. This is a UK study drawing on organization, management and marketing literatures on craft, prosumption and professionalization to analyze the relationship between craft consumerism and beer servers' experiences of work.

In the UK, beer consumption has been historically associated with the special venue of the public house now typically perceived as in a stage of decline (Guardian, 2016a; Andrews and Turner, 2012). There has been a shift from public consumption in bars, pubs and restaurants to consumption at home (Guardian, 2016b). New offerings of 'craft beer' and 'real ale' are promising opportunities to arrest this decline in the UK and elsewhere, for example as in Australia (see Argent, 2017) and craft beer is a large existing market in other countries such as the United States. Government funding (e.g. Scottish Enterprise, 2017) and strategic plans (e.g. Scotland, a Land of Food & Drink, 2017a; 2017b) further enhance the contribution of food and drink to economic development in Scotland, encouraging growth in the sale of craft beer (Beercast, 2017). There has been a revival of traditional beer in the UK (Thurnell-Reed, 2014) and the craft beer market is becoming more and more competitive (Cabras & Higgins, 2016; Guardian, 2017), while domination of on-sale trade and intensity of competition in British brewing has long been observed (Lewis, 2001).

Writing about the sale of Premium Bottled Ale in the UK, Scotland Food & Drink (2013, p.13) note, "Anything that brings a little more theatre to the category is welcome in order to increase browsing time". While increasing browsing time is important for attracting new customers, taste

is key to developing a craft beer drinker (Avery, 2011). Since beer enthusiasts are ever more discerning (Wickens, 2010), driving a more sophisticated demand among beer drinkers (Cabras & Bamforth, 2016), a whole industry has emerged around flavor training (see**{** HYPERLINK "http://www.cicerone.org/" \h **}{** HYPERLINK "http://www.cicerone.org/" \h **}**), ensuring that beer has its own language and beer servers are not at a loss as to how best to match drinker to beer (Prichep, 2013).

This chapter is a qualitative inquiry, organized by three guiding theoretical concepts (craft, prosumption, professionalization). In each section of the chapter we provide some theoretical background to the topic and insights regarding the nature of beer service work. Empirical material created through auto-ethnographic consumer research (Hackley, 2007) and online materials from industry alliances and the media (Levy, 2015) systematically illustrate our theoretical proposals. We drew inspiration from symbolic interactionism and in particular from Levy's (2015) intègraphic approach which places the researcher at the heart of the inquiry and makes use of diverse approaches to selecting materials through exposure to media, everyday naturally occurring interactions and netnography to examine a given situation. According to Levy "Olio" encompasses "the familiar activities called ethnography, netnography, and symbolic analysis, as well as participant-observation and use of the media, the purpose is to integrate information, data, findings, and examples from a variety of sources in the environment that bear on topics of interest and to explicate what they mean to members of the culture, including the subjects, the researchers, and the audience" (Levy, 2015, p.133). We use insights derived from our *olio* of data to illustrate our theoretical contentions, rather than as a form of proof. Our study focusses on craft beer servers in the UK where craft beer is traditionally produced and distributed

on a local scale; yet the emergence of globalized certification programs such as Cicerone mean that there may be implications within our discussion for the same kind of phenomenon happening elsewhere.

The Craft in Craft Beer

"The Lyf so short the craft so long to lerne" (Chaucer, 1382) is one of the favorite quotes in the English language. A typical dictionary definition of "craft" is, "an activity involving skill in making things by hand" (Oxford English Dictionary [OED], 2017a) and the etymology relates to the "…Old English cræft, 'strength, skill', of Germanic origin. A less positive aspect of "craft" is a "Skill used in deceiving others" (OED, 2017a) . Conceivably most of these definitions could appear in descriptions of the craft aspects of beer dispensing.

"Craft" is one of the most established terms in the study of work often implying pre-industrial roots with implications for a postulated pre-modern type of production, (Ogilvie, 2007; Shanks & McGuire, 1996). It also has a special relevance to the field of beer production and consumption, differentiating a specific type of beer production with consequences for marketing, consumption and cultures of beer (Clemons et al., 2006) and for identities of participants in these performances of serving beer (Thurnell-Read, 2014), tourism (Murray & Kline, 2015) and space marketing (Hede & Watne, 2013).

If there is a re-emergence of craftwork and craft consumption in Western societies as a possible antidote to some of the alienating features of work in modern capitalist societies (Thurnell-Read

(2014), there is not necessarily a common understanding of whether these craft factors are the same in all sectors or through what processes it is organized.

Cabras & Bamforth (2016) describe three waves of micro-brewery development. The first of these occurred between late 1970s and mid 1980s after CAMRA (Campaign for Real Ale) stimulated interest in 'real ale' lobbying for the return of cask-conditioned beer products. The entry of new players, often without previous experience of the sector was encouraged by the Beer Orders that forced larger beer companies to free most of their pubs from the tied status. The third wave dates from the early 2000s, evidenced by "a further and sharper increase in the number of micro-breweries" based on "cheaper, more compact and easier to install" equipment (Cabras & Higgins, 2016, p.633).

Experts in the trade are divided on what craft brewing is but BrewDog founders and owners James Watt and Martin Dickie note the dimensions of **Size** (less than 500,000 HL annually); **Authenticity** (brews all their beers at original gravity and does not use rice, corn or any other adjuncts to lessen flavor and reduce costs); **Honesty** (all ingredients clearly listed on the label of all of their beers and the place of brewing clearly listed on all of their beers); and **Independence** defined as "no more than 20% owned by a brewing company which operates any brewery which is not a craft brewery" (Watt and Dickie, 2017). This complex definition happens to cover the BrewDog way of producing craft beer rather precisely.

There may be a "globalized social movement around craft beer and local food production" (Kjeldgaard et al., 2017, p.54). In Britain, since the 1970s CAMRA has fought for cask ale,

arguing that **all cask is craft** (Cask-Marque, 2017). Macnaught (2014) notes, "There is no one single definition in the UK as to what is a craft beer, but this usually indicates they have more intense flavor and contain more premium ingredients". The cask versus keg debate continues. The Cask Report (Cask-Marque, 2017) states that "56% of craft drinkers say cask is a craft beer" whereas only "8% of craft drinkers believe keg is craft beer" (p.16). On this, the beer drinker is now "…not free to merely consume a beer, but must deal with the contention of what a beer is and should be" but craft beer has long relied on "contentiousness" to "alter field logics" (Kjeldgaard et al., 2017, p.66). To use Hartmann's (2016, p.14) vocabulary, whereas brewers like BrewDog may be described as "gearheads" interested in what flavors can be created using the latest gear; brewers furthering CAMRA's cause are "purists" interested in preserving traditional methods of dispensing beer using handpull methods or letting gravity deliver beer to the glass.

Chapman (2005) applies the production of culture model (Peterson & Anand, 2004) to the emergence of craft breweries in the US proposing the recognition of consumers who engage in 'craft consumption'. "The term 'craft' is used to refer to consumption activity in which the 'product' concerned is both 'made and designed by the same person' and to which the consumer typically brings skill, knowledge, judgement and passion while being motivated by a desire for self-expression" (Campbell, 2005, p.23). This use of 'craft' differs from other tropes like those of personalization and customization but may apply to other crafts like teaching where the capacity of reflectiveness central to the emergence of the craftful teacher is rooted in the learned experience of dealing with the essential materiality of the context (Brookfield, 2005; Tremmel, 1993; Pirsig, 1999).

Greer (2014) adds "craftivism" in which the other dimensions of craft are powered by political activism. But a central trope of *authenticity* is tacitly implicit in these characterizations of the craft beer scene. The craft beer capital of the world, Portland, Oregon, is in a special kind of urban domain where this authenticity can be realized but can be lost as quickly by the commodification of memory, the rise in rents and capitalization of space, which undermines the potential of small-scale processes of creation and exchange, increasing precarity, and monetarization that compromises the identity of the city (London, 2014, p.1).

The Oxford English Dictionary (2017b) definition of craft beer, "A beer made in a traditional or non-mechanized way by a small brewery" clearly identifies the place and type of production as a prime source of what is special about craft as in craft beer. However, this definition ignores the essential distinctions in the service encounter which imbue 'craft' beer with its special status. So we will now shift the focus to the point of intersection with the consumer - to the bar/pub where the product is served to the consumer.

Although the decline of the traditional pub is well attested some observers claim that "these are often replaced by locales for craft ale, which are typically smaller than traditional pubs and fueled by an interest in the taste, flavor, quality and variety of the beer" (Austin-Clarke, 2017). Knowledge of hopping recipes and the relative merits of, for example, Cascade versus Citra or Chinook now also forms part of this curriculum of the new crafty beer-pullers (HomebrewTalk, 2008; Cicerone, 2017).

Consumers often find it difficult to articulate precisely what it is about the craft beer experience that attracts them and keeps them hooked (Fehribach, 2017). When beer enthusiasts describe their consumption patterns as 'independent' or involving 'revolution' they find it hard to define from what dependence they are escaping and against what they are revolting. Nonetheless it may be "the status symbolism that craft beer provides, contrasting the craft beer drinkers' 'enlightened consumption' against the perceived ignorance and indifference of drinkers of non-craft 'shit beer', craft beer drinkers often relate that, while craft beer is typically much more expensive, its ineffable superiority is 'worth it'…" (Di Mario, 2013, pp.20-1).

Issues of spatiality and materiality are relevant to the locales and spaces in which the product becomes available to the would-be consumer via its mediating personnel, the bar staff (Dale, 2007; Orlikowski, 2007; Carlile et al., 2013; Gibson, 2016). In a study of the downtown craft beer bar scene in Rio de Janeiro, Gioia & Chaves (2016, p.11) show how specific values evolve within a particular urban milieu to frame "Rio culture" noting that "Some craft brewers' communication actions showcase craft beer as the complete opposite of mass-produced beer, thus positioning their products as more refined, sophisticated, and civilized. Behind these concepts lie the value of knowledge, both the value of fully appreciating beer's sensory features and the value of understanding the brewing process".

The spatial organization of the places where decisions are taken in complex organizations frame the modalities of the decision processes themselves (Van Marrewijk, 2009; Weir, 2008b; Weir, 2010) and these intermediary events in spaces can also be characterized as in some sense "sacred" co-creations in collaborative space (Weir, 2008a). In the craft bar experience this may

be the creation of a "community" which results from targeting specific "crowds" of patrons whose identification with the "specific bar atmosphere" by symbolic signals including visual, auditory and sensory features (Hou, 2015), are supported by the reinforcing tactics of the bar owners (Hartshorn, 2014). These symbolic appreciations create encounters within "aestheticised" market situations involving "refined notions of beauty, originality and superiority" (Figueiredo, 2015, p.6). If such milieu can be understood, they may also be planned and Reynolds (2010) in his account of "experiencing inebriation in place" asks "why architecture is not valued through our sensibilities? Or a better question, how can architecture be valued through our sensibilities?" and answers his question by implicating emotions, the movement through the pub, customers and actions within the space of customers and staff, and senses" (Reynolds, 2010: abstract). We therefore focus on the locales of interaction and consider what are the craft aspects of the dispensing of craft beer and what are the knowledge bases and experiences in which these are rooted?

Now "craft bartending is starting to be recognized as a viable -and even admirable- career choice in some places around the world" (Abarabove, 2017) with a putative career ladder (see Figure 1).

[INSERT FIGURE X.1: THE BAR CAREER, HERE]

But instead of precision this advice consists of tired platitudes and nostrums that have been around since Samuel Smiles and can be found on any airport newsstand best seller:

> "It's all about the Attitude. You can always train someone to make great cocktails, but you can't train someone to have a good attitude. Being a barback is hard -sometimes

grueling- work. But the difficulty of the job can be a great way to see someone's real

personality shine through, quickly. Do your job with a smile on your face. Pay attention

to what's happening around you and show that you're interested in learning and growing.

If they offer training, ask to join, even if it's intended for bartenders only. If you can

show initiative in everything you do while keeping a positive attitude, it'll be a giant step

towards getting your name on the bartending schedule" (Abarabove, 2017).

Other job adverts seek to attract "amazing people" without over-precise definition of these

amazing attributes or of how their "passionate" qualities are displayed in the work itself (Tap

Taverns, 2017).

It's OK of course to be "fun and friendly" but what are you expected to *know* or to have to learn

about beer and what are the skills, knowledge and craft you will be expected to display in your

performance? The urban ethnographer Richard Ocejo has tried to answer these questions in

respect of cocktail bar work by defining their cultural repertoires and the philosophical

underpinnings of their weltanschauungen (Ocejo, 2010; 2017). His conclusion harks back to the

classic bartenders' expertise in "mixology" (Regan, 2004) thus he states that "cocktail bartenders

add creativity to the manual labor of bartending by engaging in 'craft production' that is based

on the historical principles of 'mixology'…" (Ocejo, 2010: abstract; Gioia & Chaves, 2016).

Ocejo finds that it is this knowledge that adds the dimensions of craft and creativity to produce

the bartender expertise. Associated with the increasing professionalization of the bar staff is the

increasing sophistication of the client, creating a new feature in this workplace environment, that

of *prosumption.*

Prosumption

We can also draw on the lens of prosumption -a portmanteau combing the activities of production and consumption- to understand these changes in the craft beer serving landscape. Producers are typically those who create content and cultural objects whereas consumers are the audience/purchasers of those services/objects. Occupying a middle ground in this debate is prosumption. Here, "consumers take over…activities traditionally performed by commercial producers…and consumers produce their own products and services as opposed to buying them" (Hartmann, 2016, p.5). For example, Build-A-Bear ({ HYPERLINK "https://www.buildabear.co.uk/" \h }) provides the components but consumers assemble the bear in-store themselves. Similarly, as illustrated in the following vignette taken from Innis & Gunn's Facebook page in Dundee, Scotland, prosumption is also happening in contemporary beer culture.

[INSERT FIGURE X.2, DUNDEE BREW SCHOOL, HERE]

Like the blurring of the boundary between production/consumption there is also a blurring between the professional(hobbyist)/consumer. Beer enthusiasts have become increasingly dedicated to the pursuit of their hobby, sometimes elevating their quest for flavor, passion and knowledge to the point of commanding certain skills on par with those of a professional. The professional slant of this "prosumer" is visible in Innis & Gunn's (2018) offering to "brew your own". While this attracts some beer enthusiasts because it presents the opportunity to use new gear (e.g. The Grain Father), for others it may simply represent a good day out. To obtain the

recipes, coaching and to pick up "all the know how you need" to brew your own however, we need not go to Dundee Brew School; we can go to the blogosphere.

In the publishing industry, a Read Only (RO) culture occurs where authors create content and consumers read, alternatively in a Read/Write (RW) culture fanfiction is celebrated and encouraged. Likewise, in a RO beer culture dominated by "homogenized taste structures" (Kjeldgaard et al., 2017, p.66), standardized and mass-produced beers reign supreme; but within a RW beer culture where traditional recipes are shared freely, there is opportunity to modify or create a derivative and even make money from the sale of such beers (see**{** HYPERLINK "http://www.freebeer.org/" \h **}{** HYPERLINK "http://www.freebeer.org/" \h }). As the website states, "FREE BEER is beer which is free in the sense of *freedom*, not in the sense of *free beer*". Originally conceived in Copenhagen by students and an arts collective, the project applies open source methods, publishing the recipe and branding under a Creative Commons license. This means that anybody can use the recipe and is free to make money from FREE BEER "but they must publish the recipe under the same license and credit our work".

So the ripping and mixing (Press et al., 2011) of recipes by prosumers -thanks to open source methods- constitutes **participatory culture**. This term was popularized by Jenkins (1992) who identified the key characteristics of these cultures, noting that they offer psychic rewards for participation, there are low barriers to participation, there is strong support for sharing and informal mentorship; thus creating members who feel that their contributions matter and, who care about the participation of others. On this, consumers sometimes act roles as quasi-producers. Hartmann (2016) observes how, over the years, people have come to gardening and

guitar playing in much the same way, noting that the same can also be said about professional

consumers who post DIY solutions online and photographers who blog about the way they work.

Navigating the serving landscape

Due, in part, to greater involvement and new opportunities to dabble in production processes,

craft beer drinkers are becoming more discerning. In their quest for flavor, craft beer drinkers

take their identities and voices to the bar, placing expectations on servers, anticipating that they

'know their stuff'. The Cask Report (Cask-Marque, 2017, p.25) states that "86% of cask

drinkers expect bar staff to have received some training in beer", stating that, "As customers

grow increasingly aware and interested in the products they consume, their thirst for new

knowledge is putting more pressure on pubs to **engage** and enthuse drinkers" (p.25). Engaging

drinkers implies entering into conversations about, for example, taste profiles, craftwork, history,

innovation and agentic properties of different shaped glasses. Beer servers might also be

expected to offer advice on food pairing. There is a view which holds, then, that, the ability to

engage in the craft conversation leads to better service quality and increased patronage.

If bar staff are unable to 'speak beer' it may impact negatively upon their credibility and

professional respectability, so giving pub owners/managers the tools to train their servers "is

crucial" and "accredited programmes… help provide vital skills to enhance quality" (Cask-

Marque, 2017, p.25). The Report continues, "To build on the positive contribution of these

schemes, a new training platform, the Beer Education Alliance [BEA] is launching in 2018".

The Cask Report argues that enabling servers to lead 'cask conversations' with consumers means

that 74% of cask drinkers return to the pub, 45% stay for another drink and 71% recommend that

pub. Programs such as the BEA are not however new. Cicerone certified beer serving

qualifications have been around since 2008 although few people in the UK had heard of them

until April 2013 when BrewDog brought Ray Daniels, the founder of Cicerone, over from USA

to hold the first certified Cicerone exams in the UK. Eight members of the team passed and

Brewdog rewarded those studying for certification by offering "a [pay] rise" (BrewDog, 2013).

The rewards for getting the serving right for the pub and beer industry are obvious and well

documented. But what's in it for the server? In view of the BEA program launch and the fact

that more than 94,000 people in 10 years have already passed through the Cicerone ranks

(Sheahan, 2018), where is all this leading for those with and without certification?

From serving standardized beer to co-producing tasteful moments

Beer hasn't always been about an "alternative logic of craft and diversity" (Kjeldgaard et al.,

2017, p.64) or authenticity of craft (Hatch & Schultz, 2017). At a typical bar in a pub in the UK

which is organized around a dominant logic of commerce and standardization "reflecting a

homogenized taste structure" (Kjeldgaard et al., 2017, p.66), a server-consumer conversation

might unfold as follows:

> Server: Who is next? What can I get you?
>
> Beer drinker: I'll have a pint of [Carlsberg/Tenants/Worthington] please?
>
> Server: That'll be £2.87 please.
>
> Beer drinker: Thanks

Contrasted with the conversation Daniel had with a server (see below), this interaction is merely transaction-based: it is not about knowledge, passion, wonder and it certainly is not curiosity-driven.

Although, phenomenologically, taste is in the mouth; in the body and in the world, through server-consumer dialogue, taste can also be in words. In pubs dispensing craft beer up and down the country it is not uncommon to hear: "Can I please try some of the…?" Indeed, beer **tasting** is becoming a common form of socialization within beer culture and since craft beer is all about the promotion of diversity and craft (Kjeldgaard et al, 2017), **TRY BEFORE YOU BUY** has become a popular institutional arrangement (Lok et al, 2017) beer drinkers have come to expect from purveyors of craft beer. This practice is one that matters to beer enthusiasts (Cask-Marque, 2017, p.15), making their lives more meaningful and can "prime how they think and feel" (Lok et al, 2017, p.593).

[FIGURE X.3, "TRY BEFORE YOU BUY" HERE]

During a visit to Drygate Brewery, Bar + Kitchen, in Glasgow, Scotland, on Saturday 2nd December, 2017; Daniel had the following conversation with a server:

    Server: Do you know what you want?

    DWC: I don't, no. This is all very exciting for me. It's my first time here …. [eye-balling the handpull options at the bar and a row of keg beer on tap against the back wall]

    Server: What have you been drinking lately?

    DWC: I have been enjoying porters recently. Speak to me about what you have on…

Server: Have you tried the Black Ball Stout by Williams Brothers?

DWC: I haven't…

Server: Here! [Pouring a taster] See what you think…

DWC: [Tasting…] It's very light. Not much creaminess…

Server: Yeah…, have you tried our own Orinoco? It's a breakfast stout... [pouring another taster]

DWC: I have been enjoying Cairngorm's *Black Gold* of late… That's a milk stout, right?! What's all that about?

Server: That'll be the lactose giving the smoothness that you like… The Orinoco is made with Lactose Sugar so you might get that….[serving yet another taster], you might like this more than the Black Ball?!? Its fuller bodied, sweeter, a bit stronger and with coffee notes…a bit chocolatey…

DWC: Oh! I like that one! Can definitely taste the coffee. Let's go for that then…

Hartmann (2016, p.11) highlights a basic premise of Latourian thought, that "objects carry agentic properties" and "can be understood as non-human actors". On this, it might be argued that recipes producing flavorsome beers carry affective intensities capable of impacting customer experiences during the moment of truth, at the bar, when tasting and discussing flavors with servers. Recipes, appearances, aromas, flavors and mouthfeels, for example, therefore have the capacity to affect and be affected through a multitude of encounters with bodies, objects and words. While servers produce beer in that they deliver it from the cellar (via lines and faucets), the immediate product in the consumption of craft beer is taste, and flavor is one of the logics along which the field works: beer drinking is all about taste (Avery, 2011). Although it is the

handpull handles/keg taps and lines which dispense beer, it is the hands and words of the server which produces tasters, producing what Hartmann (2016, p.8) describes as "…a **productive moment** along the way" to deciding which beer to drink. In this "**duet**" (Hartmann, 2016, p.7), the server invited Daniel to co-create content by voicing what was being tasted. When the conversational dance unfolds like this, the frame altering practice of **Try**(ing) **Before You Buy** takes on a maieutic role, bringing a "person's latent ideas into clear consciousness" (OED, 2017c). Of course, lactose is, in part, what makes milk taste creamy – milk stout contains lactose – so it just might be that it is the creaminess from the Lactose Sugar in Orinoco that Daniel tastes and enjoys… Balancing the science of taste, commerce and the art of craft beer serving in this manner, there might be an argument then, that, to Try Before You Buy serves to "…enroll consumers into a field…" (Kjeldgaard et al, 2017, p.64), "ultimately affecting institutionionalized taste structures" (p.61) where taste, craft and diversity is valued.

Viewed from within the production-consumption debate, the server cannot be a producer in as much as s/he does not produce beer in terms of an outcome achievement. A practice-theoretical perspective, however, draws attention away from the individuals (i.e. producer/ consumer) and looks at productive and consumptive **moments** as **practice performances**.

Through use of *things* carrying affective capacities with agentic properties such as pipes/lines, nozzles, pump handles/clips, glasses, froth and the bar; by producing beer from the tap and offering their own interpretation on taste profiles, servers are productive of taste sensations in minds of consumers. Performing multiple practices -greeting; discussing options/flavors/taste; taking an order; receiving payment and dispensing beer- server "practices create value"

(Hartmann, 2016, p.7), producing consumptive and productive moments. "The term 'moment' refers on the one hand to a temporal dimension (moment as an episode) but also to the performative qualities of consumption and production by giving momentum to practice performance" (Hartmann, 2016, p.9). Consumption and production are guided by the practices in which they take place – they are subject to "directions by **practice templates** that organize the activities within them" (pp.9-10). As a practice template, which logic is used to alter organizing principles of bar work when 'Try Before You Buy' is encouraged? Like with guitarists "…all looking for the perfect sound…" (Hartmann, 2017, p.14), in their quest for flavor, beer enthusiasts are all looking for the perfect pint (i.e. taste). How do beer servers navigate the 'good quality beer' cause and serving landscape?

Since BrewDog has been preparing its staff to engage in the craft conversation since 2013 by requiring all staff to become Cicerone certified beer servers, it could be argued that they are trying to establish a competitive advantage by instilling superior serving performances within practice moments to informally alter the logic of competition. As an "active market shaper", is BrewDog "reorienting the market institution" of serving a pint "for alternative valorizations" (adapted from Kjeldgaard et al., 2017, p.52)? Could it be that taste, the logic of the taster and conversation is being used to alter organizing principles of bar work, producing social connection, emotional value and sharing of skill, knowledge, judgement and passion?

Linking craft, professions and professional identity

The development of the Cicerone organization and the associated set of qualifications, which certify bar staff as Certified Beer Server (level 1), Cicerone (level 2), Advanced Cicerone (level

3), and Master Cicerone (level 4) constitutes the professionalization of an occupation. In this section, we reflect on the reasons why a profession is emerging around the activity of beer serving, before focusing on how professionalization impacts on workers, drawing on theory and examples from beer serving.

Why professionalize?

Professionalization is a notoriously difficult, resource intensive, and prolonged type of institutional entrepreneurship (Lounsbury, 2007). So, why do organizations embark upon it? Larson & Larson (1977, xvii) argues that the pursuit of material resources such as money and power are at the heart of professional project, stating that "Professionalization is thus an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources--special knowledge and skills--into another--social and economic rewards". While part of the explanation for the growth in professional projects lies in the pursuit of symbolic resources such as power (Larson & Larson, 1977), this doesn't entirely explain the reasons why brewing companies such as BrewDog support professionalization projects such as the Cicerone qualification.

Macdonald (1999) argues that the goal of professionalization is, in part, to achieve social mobility for individuals, but is also about obtaining market control for the professionalizing firm. Professions espouse autonomous expertise and a service ideal; and the pursuit of a set of service standards that align with producers' craft principles is also a plausible rationale for BrewDog's support of Cicerones. As the interface between producer and consumer, the bar server has an important role to play in enabling the prosumption activities which drive value in the industry.

The Cicerone qualification allows BrewDog's servers to join their cause for "craft beer conscientiousness" (BrewDog, 2013). In their own words, BrewDog "are passionate about doing everything we can to learn as much about craft beer as is humanly possible in order to spread the message far and wide" and sponsoring servers to undertake certification is seen as a way to promote this cause (BrewDog, 2013). Aside from craft beer evangelism, higher levels of product knowledge and better service standards among servers further distinguishes craft pubs' product and service offerings from those of wider pubs and restaurants, allowing them to attract customers and charge higher prices.

As The Cask Report 2017/18 states in relation to the "premiumisation" of cask ale: "The opportunity to raise profit from cask has never been greater" (Cask-Marque, 2017, p.2). This is partly because cask ale drinkers spend more than other beer consumers (30% on average), drive the buying choices of their group, and because cask sales have remained steady or grown, at a time when many pubs are closing due to falling revenues (Cask-Marque, 2017). However, the growing margins in cask ale are not only driven by product improvements, they rely upon the licensees and bar servers who "create the proposition to the consumer" allowing the "craft ale offer" to distinguish true craft pubs from their rivals (2017, p.7) and, as the report argues, training and professionalization of servers is key to establishing and delivering this distinguished service offering. It highlights a number of ways to convert consumers to the product during the service encounter, all of which rely upon the server having extensive knowledge of the beer, to engage in storytelling about the product, and many of which mirror the efforts of Italian producers to 'upsell' Grappa (Delmestri & Greenwood, 2016) by using "stylish glassware" and "tasting notes" to improve the perceived status of the product (Cask-Marque, 2017, p.15).

Effects of professionalization on the worker (bar server)

While a profession may be established to ring-fence knowledge and promote a service ideal, and in so doing, to enable increases in the cost of products; many of the effects flow to the workers who are professionalized. Being considered to be a professional may confer certain resources onto an individual, such as autonomy and power. Professional certifications such as the Cicerone qualification, and professional symbols (Macdonald, 1999) such as the Cicerone badge act as markers of knowledge and status. Together, this knowledge, these qualifications and symbols constitute what Bourdieu (1984) calls cultural and symbolic capital. The notion of capital is helpful in this sense, because it illustrates how the symbolic and cultural value of a professional qualification can act as a form of currency in the job market. Indeed, this is what the Cicerone Certification Program allude to when they state:

> *"Those who pursue a career in beer learn from many different sources and soon accumulate knowledge that sets them apart from those on the "customer" side of the bar. But without certification, it is hard to tell what people really know simply by looking at a resume or business card… Certified Cicerones enjoy enhanced respect and prestige that can help improve their business success and career prospects"* (Cicerone, 2017).

Indeed, a CBS at BrewDog mirrored this view, telling us that she would recruit someone with the qualification over a similarly experienced and knowledgeable applicant because "it shows a level of commitment and passion". This is a qualification which requires a great amount of "hours… effort… time… work" in order to achieve, making it a big investment for a server and symbol of valued attributes in recruitment decisions. Indeed, for Brie Shelley (2016), being a Certified

Cicerone was the minimum qualification required to land her a job as a manager at the

American-based startup, Better Beer Society (an education-based beer business).

The benefits of a profession flow to the worker through not just the knowledge and prestige

attained via the professional qualification process, but also through the development of a

professional identity. In general, identities act on the individual by fixing their position in

society, by establishing relationships between the individual and others. Ibarra (1999) famously

outlined how individuals develop a self-concept from a universe of possible professional

identities by examining the actions of role models, and experimenting with provisional selves.

As such, professional identity is developed through socialization, career transition, and through

life and work experiences which shape self-understanding (Ibarra, 1999). Seidel (2010), also

focusing on a 'craft' profession (journalism), identifies three phases of the evolution of

professional identity evidenced by the representations as a literary apprentice, as an entrepreneur,

and as a knowledge worker. It is possible that as the beer serving profession increases in scope

and legitimacy, the identities of Cicerones will also evidence such evolutionary characteristics.

A professional identity confers a sense of respectability on an individual (Macdonald, 1989),

particularly through association with sets of symbols and places that act as a marker of

distinction. As such, developing a professional identity also helps service workers to grapple

with the negative aspects of their job and to cultivate a positive occupational image. As Eve

outlined in the opening vignette to this chapter, bar work is often stigmatized and, as she later

elaborates, "for a long time beer has not been taken seriously and now, with qualifications; that is

changing". Stigma is defined by Erving Goffman ((1986 [1963]) as any attribute of a person that

is seen to be diverse from what is expected of their social identity, something *out of the ordinary* and less desirable for it. He reminds us however, that stigma isn't an ontological property of a person's attributes, but rather a property of the relationships between that attribute and others. To use Goffman's example, a middle class person may perceive no stigma to result from visiting a library, yet a professional criminal will avoid being seen doing the same as the relationship between this act and their larger identity is likely to result in stigma. Thompson and Harred (2010) clarify the normative implications of visiting a Topless Bar and include bartending as one of the occupations vulnerable to stigmatization. They also note that occupants of such roles may use techniques of neutralization (Sykes and Matza, 1957) to point out that no harm is being done and that it is the clients who visit these locations or the owners of the premises who are in most moral jeopardy from their presence in these dubious premises or their responsibility for the behaviors exhibited there.

Despite the importance of stigma within sociology, little has been written on its relationship with professional identity. Slay and Smith (2011) show that constructing a professional self-concept alongside a stigmatized cultural identity requires *redefinition* of the profession, of the stigma, and of the self. Their focus is on stigmatized cultural identities, rather than stigmatized occupational identities, but, for beer servers, a professional identity can act as a resource with which to buffer or repel occupational stigma. Being the holder of a Cicerone qualification may shield a beer server from social perceptions that their work is 'dirty' (Hughes, 1962) or low skilled. There are many gradations of "dirty work" (Ashforth and Kreiner, 2010) and bar work, while attracting some perceived stigma in the eyes of its participants as in the quote with which this chapter started does not seem to be at the really dirty end of this particular stick; but an

imputation that qualification such as that offered by Cicerone can do something to mitigate. Nonetheless, the access offered by bar work to areas of fringe morality, semi-criminal opportunity and boundary-crossing transgression is always available and is fluid in practice so this is an area of interest for further study (Minichiello, Scott & Callander, 2013).

Closing comments and future research

The changes in beer serving are emblematic of a number of wider trends in the working world. They relate to the growth of craftwork, which has more broadly been enabled by technological platforms. The resurgence of craft products, craft mentality and, therefore, craftwork has been enabled by the existence of platforms (e.g. **{** HYPERLINK "http://www.Notonthehighstreet.com" **}** and Pinterest) which allow producers to transcend the traditional geographic boundaries placed on craftwork through expanding their market. This chapter illustrates how this craft resurgence reshapes the demands on service workers (particularly beer servers). Craft servers need to be knowledgeable, even enthusiastic, about the product in order to deliver their service appropriately. In this context, bar work is not merely seen as crowd control and serving standardized lager, but increasingly invokes craft elements derived from the nature of production.

As we see in the case of beer, this resurgence of craft also leads to a convergence of producer and consumer, with further implications for the service worker. Such workers are called upon to not just excel in the act of service, but to cultivate a broad range of knowledge regarding the product and the means by which it is produced. This knowledge can then be used to bring the consumer closer to the production process, a consumer who is often a product enthusiast

themselves. The producer-prosumer-consumer convergence is of course not unique to the beer industry; our insights may also apply in other areas of economic activity, for example, furniture retail (e.g. IKEA), fast-food restaurants and 3-D printers (Ritzer, 2014).

Alongside the increasing demands placed on beer servers we identify the emergence of a nascent profession of beer serving as represented by the Cicerone and Beer Education Alliance certification programs. The development of professional standards in beer serving are not singular and not value free, as with any other professional project, they are generated to benefit the interests of occupational elites. In the case of craft beer, professional standards offer standardized staff training and a bonus veneer of legitimacy to large scale (and fast growing) employers, such as BrewDog. For the servers, acquiring a certification confers a professional status which may act as a buffer between positive occupational self-concept and persistent perceptions of beer serving as 'dirty' or undesirable work. Furthermore, in certain organizations such certification may function as a symbol of commitment (to the beer, the industry, the employer), transforming the position of server from a dead end position to being the first rung of a well-paid service career ladder.

Professionalization of service work is more widespread than the beer industry, but it is not universal. We see a growing dichotomy between high end, professionalized service work and low value, low paid service work (across the occupational spectrum). In beer, for example, the servers in some areas of the industry have not and are unlikely to experience professionalization of their work, like waiters and waitresses in other organizations driven by a low-cost strategy they are paid minimum wage and often lose tips to balance tills. As such, the craft-prosumption-

professionalization nexus which characterizes craft beer in the UK provides an interesting, but not universal, analysis into emerging trends within the service industries. Returning to where we started with Eve and to open up future research possibilities, in our ongoing research with servers we are currently examining what 'work' Cicerone and BEA is doing in the world from the perspective of servers themselves by asking, what can a Cicerone qualification do? Do craft beer servers consider serving as a craft? And what are the implications or consequences, if any, of their thinking for the future of their profession?

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The Bar Career

For the right person, there is nothing better than a hospitality role in a great bar. But what if you're looking ahead at your career and aren't sure what's next? Here is an overview of the "typical" bar career and some common non-bar jobs that you can branch off to along the way

Behind the Bar **Outside the Bar**

YEAR 1

Barback
Like the Bartender's Assistant - and a great stepping stone to your first bar job.

YEAR 2

Bartender
Know the menu, know the drinks and be a great host.

Private Events
Bar catering / events companies and consulting

Lead Bartender
The bartender who designs the seasonal cocktail menu and may help with staff training

Sales
Start working for spirits brands helping them sell to bars and restaurants

YEAR 5

Bar Manager
Run the bar program, watch the numbers and manage the staff

Brand Ambassadorship
Our team gathers all relevant materials for the project

YEAR 10

General Manager
Final execution of the approved idea.

Bar Consulting
Our team gathers all relevant materials for the project

Bar Owner
Done! Time to party and celebrate!

YEAR 20

ABarAbove.com

Figure 1: The Bar Career

Dundee Brew School. 23rd DECEMBER, 2017.

Impress your pals with a pint of your very own beer and learn how to recreate some of your favourite beer styles at home. **Using our favourite new bit of brewing kit, The Grain Father, we'll coach you through the basics behind a great brew, unravel styles and flavour profiles and teach you all the know how you need**. As if that wasn't enough you'll also get a 5 Litre mini keg of your own beer to take away.

The day involves:

- Bacon rolls and coffee on arrival with welcome from the host
- Discussion on what will be covered and raw ingredients used to make beer.
- Start adding ingredients
- Lunch served. Though no rest for the wicked! You'll be adding the hops during this time.
- Finish off the brew.

£55 per person

Why not include an Innis & Gunn sampling session to round off your day for an extra £10 per person?
What you get – A fun day brewing up your very own beer, lots of tasty beery samples and a 5 litre Mini Keg of your own brew each to take away.
All guests must be aged 18 or over.
For more information or to book your place now email us or call **{ HYPERLINK "tel:01382202070" }.**
Payment is required in advance to confirm your booking.

Figure 2: Dundee Brew School

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[1] This should be understood in contrast to Ibarra (1999) who found that professional identity is

constructed more widely through identity adaption, via identifying role models, and

experimenting with professional selves.