# A Real (Wo)man's Beer:
# Gendered Spaces of Beer Drinking in
# New Zealand

by

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# Abstract

This thesis examines the ways in which rural, national, and urban spaces become gendered through the practices and representations of beer drinking in New Zealand.

Critical social theory combined with feminist poststructuralist debates on identities provides the theoretical framework for this research. Two focus groups with Pākehā beer drinkers aged between 18 – 30 years old were conducted; one consisting of six males and the other consisting of six females. Critical textual analysis was also undertaken on five beer advertisements representing the most popular beer brands in New Zealand; Tui, Lion Red, Waikato and Speight's.

Three points frame the analysis. First, I examine rural and national gendered identities associated with beer drinking. New Zealand's beer drinking cultures are constructed within rural discourses of masculinity. There is not a single masculinity present in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures, rather there are multiple and conflicting masculinities. I suggest that through the need to constantly perform their identity, men create a rural hegemonic masculinity that is both hard, yet vulnerable. I argue that the femininities constructed within these spaces are used to enhance and further enable the hard, yet vulnerable, rural masculinity.

Second, within urban spaces of beer drinking - such as the office, nightclub, clubrooms and home - homosexuals, metrosexuals and women are 'othered'. These identities are defined in relation to the hegemonic norm - 'Hard Man' masculinity – in negative ways. Furthermore, some women perform a hyper masculine identity in order to be included in these beer-drinking spaces.

Finally, I examine the ways in which hegemonic gendered identities in rural, national and urban spaces may be resisted and subverted. I use contradictions from my focus group participants to unsettle the 'Hard Man' masculinity of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures.

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# Table of Contents

# List of Figures

# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

In this thesis I examine New Zealand's gendered spaces of beer drinking. I explore, using a critical approach, the rural and urban constructions of masculinities and femininities in both television advertisements and common spaces of beer drinking. I focus on how the representations of both men and women may (re)create, reinforce and subvert hegemonic discourses of gender that surrounds this product.

I have identified the need for a more nuanced study of New Zealand's drinking cultures. I have chosen to focus my research upon the dominant form of alcohol in New Zealand, beer. This is a popular New Zealand drink and it is associated with numerous media representations. The consumption of beer has been part of New Zealand's cultures and history for many years. It was first noted as a popular pastime for colonials in the 1840s who were estimated to drink 14 litres of beer a year (Phillips, 1996). From the first introduction of beer into this country, beer drinking has commonly been associated with men and masculinity. The cultures of alcohol and drinking are a widely researched topic in both international and local academic circles (Heath, 1995, Phillips, 1996, Wilson, 2005). There is, however, little written about beer specifically and the discourses that are associated with it. Alcohol has been examined from a

predominantly male point of view, regarding alcohol as a substance belonging to men (Gefou-Madianou, 1992).

In current literature the focus has turned to the practices of men and beer drinking with frequent but minimal mention of women.  I intend to attract attention to the representation of women in New Zealand's beer cultures and use my research to examine and subvert the hegemonic masculine discourse.  'Discourse' refers to '…the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view.  Discourses appertain broadly to knowledge and knowledge construction' (Fairclough, 1995: 56). I will examine the position of women within rural and urban spaces of beer drinking in New Zealand, and critically examine how this position is overlooked by dominant discourses.

Poststructuralists argue that the medium of language is largely important to the construction of the individual, as well as methodological and epistemological issues (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).  Poststructuralists thus propose that:

> The way to gain understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic factors that shape our lives is to deconstruct the multiple messages being conveyed to us by the objects they encounter (Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 17).

Television advertisements are prime examples of representations, which are partial and subjective.  The producers of beer advertisements sell their product by recreating images that have been encoded to reflect certain

ideologies in order to elicit a preferred reading (Honeyfield, 1997). In this thesis a primary concern is how and why hegemonic masculinity is used to represent beer in rural and urban spaces New Zealand. Michael Kimmel (1992: xii) describes why it is important to consider media representation of masculinity by saying:

> The media portray a wide variety of masculine images, informing us about the positive characteristics we should aspire [to] and warning against the negative facets of personality that we must avoid. Media representations tell us who we are, who we should be and, who we should avoid.

It is important for geographers to then understand that television advertisements are essentially a spatial practice. It is also important to consider the representations of beer drinking through advertisements because '…advertising is frequently targeted spatially, at national, regional and local scales, as well as towards particular social segments and lifestyle niches' (Jackson and Taylor, 1996: 356). I focus not only on media representations but also the 'actual' gendered spaces of beer drinking at local, regional and national scales. I examine spaces that are introduced by my participants during the process of gathering data. These include both urban and rural spaces, commonly used in beer advertisements, as well as masculine and feminine domestic spaces. This discussion of space leads me to critique the binaries and discourses that influence the gendered construction of spaces.

The representation of masculinity and beer tends to rely on a dichotomous relationship whereby hegemonic masculinity gains an advantaged status

at the expense of 'unorthodox' representations.  As Honeyfield (1997: 4) states:

> The advertisements naturalise a discourse whereby a spatially specific, uni-dimensional masculinity is presented as the epitome or norm for men, at the expense of other socio-spatial segments in New Zealand.  The dichotomous 'others', women, and men who display non-conforming masculinities, are relegated in status.

My interest in the representation of masculinities and femininities in the spaces of beer advertisements and beer drinking have prompted a number of questions that guide my research.  The first question is: What kinds of masculinities are present in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures and why?  I draw upon existing literature within masculinity studies and critically analyse New Zealand's beer representations to answer this question.  The second question is: How have femininities become performed and 'othered' in New Zealand's beer drinking culture?  This question is largely influenced by a feminist methodology and poststructural feminist theory that shifts attention towards the uses of identities and subjectivities through discourse.  My final question is: How can hegemonic masculinities and femininities of beer drinking in New Zealand become unsettled or subverted?  These three questions, along with a number of sub-questions, form the structure and direction of my thesis.

Critical human geography is marked by conceptual pluralism and openness to a wide range of critical theoretical approaches such as poststructuralism, which supports the notion of identity.  The construction

of gender – at bodily and national scales – form the structure for my research.      Drawing on both cultural and feminist geographers I demonstrate that gendered identities can be (re)created through the representation of beer drinking.   Judith Kegan Gardiner (2002: 11) addresses most aptly the notion of multiple masculinities when she states:

> Masculinity is not monolithic, not one static thing, but the confluence of multiple processes and relationships with variable results for differing individuals, groups, institutions and societies.

Robert Connell (1995) also focuses on the notion of identities when he suggests that 'femininities cannot be understood as a single gender identity and instead it is more useful to think of multiple or fractured femininities' (cited in Laurie, 1999: 4).   In my research I blur the boundaries between femininities and masculinities and demonstrate that both identities can occupy the same spaces at one given moment.  I use the data from my focus group research to demonstrate the fluidity of identities.  I argue that both men and women perform their identities to conform to the rural and urban spaces they occupy.  I use comments taken from my participants to demonstrate the multiple and conflicting nature of gendered identities. Furthermore, I critically analyse the rural and urban discourses that surround these spaces.

Gill Valentine (2001) touches on the multiplicity of space.  She examines the notion that just as social identities are not fixed, so too space is no longer understood as having particular fixed characteristics.  'Space is understood to play an active role in the constitution and reproduction of

social identities; and social identities, meanings and relations are recognised as producing material and symbolic or metaphoric spaces' (Valentine, 2001: 4). Valentine also uses her work to demonstrate the relationship between identity and the nation.

This thesis demonstrates the relationship between space and gender identities. With particular focus on the rural and urban spaces of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures, I examine the construction and representation of masculinities and femininities in beer advertisements and spaces. I question the stability of the hegemonic masculinity by examining the multiple and conflicting masculinities. Several contradictions emerged during my focus group interviews when participants began to talk about their own experiences with beer and masculinity. These included the contradictions between participants' focus group discussion and the ways in which they perform their masculinities. There were also contradictions with the rural spaces male participants associated with masculine beer drinking and the urban spaces in which they actually drank their beer. These contradictions show how the participants identify themselves with dominant rural beer cultures while, at the same time, take part in alternative urban beer cultures.

**Chapter Outlines**

In this introductory chapter I establish the context for the thesis. The research questions, which provide the framework for the following

chapters, have been presented. The theoretical perspectives guiding this research have also been introduced.

Chapter Two is a discussion of the theoretical perspectives that guide my research. Through the use of critical social theories I will be examining the formation of gendered identities. I use feminist and poststructuralist theory to address the notion of identity and subjectivity. The three identities are masculinities, femininities and national identities. I argue that these identities form a relationship with the representation of beer to influence the discourses of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. I also discuss how representations of hegemonic forms of masculinity in beer advertisements can (re)create discourses, which are exclusive and oppressive to many people.

In Chapter Three I outline the methodological practices and issues surrounding this qualitative research. The use of two focus groups based upon gender is outlined within this chapter. I also describe the use of critical textual analysis when deconstructing my beer advertisements and the relationship that each method has with the other. Issues that arise from the use of these methods and my own position within the research is discussed and critiqued extensively.

It is essential to think about what images are conveyed through the media and what ideas and discourses are ingrained in these representations. I suggest that it is useful to consider how the beer advertisements often

associate the product, in this case a particular brand of beer, with a certain representation of masculinity. Most of these advertisements assert this relationship by including particular representations of the binary opposite, femininity. I then demonstrate the link between the representation of men and particularly women in beer advertisements to the dynamics of common beer drinking spaces. Chapters Four and Five are separated to deal individually with the three research questions I outlined earlier. I will critically evaluate and present the findings and conclusions I have drawn from my extensive research.

In Chapter Four I focus on the national and rural constructions of masculinities, femininities and beer. This includes examining the multiple and conflicting masculine representations of beer in New Zealand. With the use of current academic literature and my own critical textual analysis of the chosen beer advertisements I outline the hegemonic masculinities present. I also focus on the multiple and conflicting masculinities in beer advertisements and how these vulnerable identities expose and maintain a hegemonic discourse of masculinity. Furthermore, I discuss how women are represented in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures with reference to the national and rural discourse. I argue that femininities are used to enhance and further enable the dominant masculinities of beer drinking. I explore the construction of this femininity and identify women who feel they need to conform to the masculine traits of a beer drinker in order to become accepted into the beer drinking cultures. These women I have labelled as hyper masculine.

The urban constructions of gendered identities and beer are the focus of Chapter Five. I explore three 'othered' identities that occupy urban spaces of beer drinking in New Zealand, homosexuals, metrosexuals and 'ordinary' women. I argue that these identities are restricted by the representation of dominant discourses in beer advertisements. Furthermore, due to the urban construction of these identities, 'othered' men and women have begun to create a space of their own within the beer drinking cultures.

Throughout Chapters Four and Five I use the results of my research to unsettle and subvert masculine discourse that surrounds New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. I address the complications of challenging such a dominant and strong discourse and create a solid argument that demonstrates the need to represent women and femininity in both advertisements and spaces of beer drinking in New Zealand.

Concluding comments and discussion are given in Chapter Six. The complexity of the issues involved in the representation of masculinities and femininities in beer advertisements are recapped. I return to my original research questions and suggestions are offered for future research on this topic.

# CHAPTER TWO

## Theorising Gender, Space and Beer

Masculinities, femininities and national identities may be understood as discursive constructs. They are constructed in and through language. Having an identity comes with a series of associated practices and performances. This chapter is an overview of critical social theories, such as poststructuralism and feminism that help explain gendered identities from the body to the nation.

Poststructuralism is the theoretical base for my research. Poststructuralists aim to recognise social diversity and the importance of identity while also noting the multiplicity and positionality of those identities. Rather than observation and explanation of society, poststructuralism provides deconstructions, readings and representations of space and place and the identities that are formed within it (Panelli, 2004). There is an emergence of geographers who 'affirm and make space for 'other' discourses in ways that respect details and difference, fragmentation and chaos, substance and heterogeneity' (Philo, 1992: 159).

This critical poststructural geography prompts epistemological debates between geographers and provides new ways of thinking about place, space and the 'other'. In this research I discuss the heterogeneity of beer

drinking spaces in New Zealand and the multiple identities that occupy these spaces at any given moment. French feminist theorist Julia Kristeva originally coined the term 'heterogeneity' in her introduction of the work of Mikhail Bakhtin to the Western academic world in the mid 1960s; it asserts heterogeneity as a fundamental property of discourse (Bakhtin, 1981, Kristeva, 1986).

Pamela Shurmer-Smith (2003) views poststructuralism as a theory which attempts to breakdown conceptual structures by questioning the basis of their construction. She goes further to state that it is through,

> Notions of difference, the transgression of boundaries, the questioning of categories, thinking 'against the grain', experimental modes of communication and a degree of irreverence for hallowed institutions that poststructuralist thinking has grown in strength (Shurmer-Smith, 2003: 43).

The use of poststructural ideas has also emerged in masculinity studies. Robert Connell (1995) demonstrates the diverse use of poststructuralist theory in his publication titled *Masculinities*. Connell argues that since the turn in social theory and the introduction of Michel Foucault's notion of the 'disciplined body', poststructural thinking has both 'supported and often directly inspired' research within geography (Connell, 1995: 49). This has prompted feminists, postcolonialists and queer theorists to debate the ideas of Foucault and modify them to deconstruct the binary notions of 'males and females', 'black and white', 'colonisers and colonised'. These debates have exploded even Connell's cautiously poststructuralist 'multiple masculinities' (Law et al., 1999).

As with Connell's work on masculinity, feminism has very strong links with the ideas of poststructuralism. My research is guided by feminist poststructuralist theory. There is an overlap of opinion, objectives and method between feminism and poststructuralism, hence both feminist and poststructural geographers 'study the power relations woven through the practices of everyday life to understand the production of identities, inclusions, exclusions and the cultures of domination and resistance' (Sharp, 2004: 66). Women are one of the categories that Shurmer-Smith describes as having been 'constructed as marginal, eccentric, excluded from the main project' (Shurmer-Smith, 2003: 42). A lot of feminist researchers have been fascinated or compelled to the poststructuralist and feminist project of 'challenging and destabilising the 'centre'' (Ekinsmyth, 2003: 54).

Feminist geography is not restricted, however, to the ideas of poststructuralism. As the study of women and their place within society grew strength, feminist geographers began to consider whether the use of poststructuralist thinking was appropriate in the studies of today's society. Throughout the years there has been a shift in the direction that feminist geographers are taking. Attention has shifted from attempting to 'add' women into a predominantly masculine discipline, to the notion of creating a 'new' geography for women that does not include placing them within spaces that are already established as the hegemonic norm (Ekinsmyth, 2003).

Critical social theories, which include both poststructuralism and feminism, emphasise the roles played by social relations of domination and resistance in the production and reproduction of bodies, place, space, and landscape. The focus then shifts towards the reciprocal impact of place, space and landscape on the production, reproduction and legitimation of relations of domination and resistance (Johnston et al., 2000: 129). This critical theory 'frames the reality of the past and present and provides appreciation of the future and of how society might operate and change' (Panelli, 2004: 20). Using a critical philosophy, I study the position of gendered identities and use my research to analyse the realistic adequacy and potential for changing these positions.

A Poststructuralist Feminist Approach to Subjectivities

Whereas liberal, radical and socialist feminists have tended to rely on essentialist notions of identity, poststructuralist feminists recognise that subjectivity is not fixed or constant, but is temporally and spatially specific. Probyn (2003) makes a useful contribution to understanding the intricacy of the foundation of subjectivity when she draws on the work of Louis Althusser and his concept of ideology. Probyn notes that one of Louis' central arguments is that "we are 'interpellated' or 'hailed' by ideology" (2003: 292). Furthermore, we are 'called in to being' in particular ways, and,

> We may be walking along unconcerned whether we
> are male or female, black or white, straight or gay,
> when something happens that forces recognition of

the fact that we are gendered, raced and sexed (2003: 292).

This interpretation of subjectivity is also essentially spatial when she states that 'thinking about subjectivity in terms of space of necessity reworks any conception that subjectivity is hidden away in private recesses' (Probyn, 2003: 290).  This particular analysis of subjectivity is useful in being able to analyse the spaces of media and material places in 'hailing' women in New Zealand's beer cultures.

As part of my research I place high importance on notions of identity. Non-essential and poststructural approaches to identity taken by Foucault have been widely embraced by geographers (Panelli, 2004). Geographers have been encouraged to investigate identity as multiply defined and as unfixed phenomena, where the self (or 'others') is constructed through discourses and social relations.  As stated by Ruth Panelli (2004: 140) 'identities may be attached to many contrasting phenomena: identity of the self, identification of others, and identification of place'.  Multiple identities exist as social constructions, which are developed as social understandings that may define experiences of difference and sameness.  These identities may also form boundaries of the self and 'other'.

> The process of identity is experienced through constructing boundaries between self and other, the conceptualisation of groupings: an inclusionary sense of shared connection and affinity held by people, contrived in opposition to exclusionary imaginings of difference (Wall, 2000: 82).

Panelli discusses this further by stating that this self/other construction of identity has been a 'powerful consideration for many social geographers and it encourages a focus on how boundaries work, boundaries that can aim to define self but also create distance from 'others'' (Panelli, 2004: 140). When establishing our own identities a boundary is created between the self and the 'other'.

> Identity is…associated with processes of self-recognition, belonging and identification with others. Identity is also a way whereby we create forms of distinction between ourselves and those who we see as being like us and those who we see as different. We generally do this by creating divisions between those with whom we identify and those with whom we do not. Identity, therefore, is how we do membership and how we include or exclude others from membership of a particular identification (Heatherington, 2000: 92).

The concept of otherness has helped geographers to understand why and how particular identities are socially and spatially excluded (Valentine, 2001: 4). Edward Said (1978) discusses the relationship between the self and 'other' in his publication *Orientalism*. Said suggests that Europeans established the Orient as an 'other' which was deemed to be exotic, mystic and different from themselves. Europeans created this identity as a way to assert their own culture and their own 'Self'. Furthermore, Said suggests that 'by dramatising the distance and difference between what is close to…and what is far away, imaginative geographies not only produce images of the 'other' but of the 'Self' too (Said, 1978: 55).

Within the study of identities I will focus part of my research on performativity. Judith Butler (1993) introduced the notion of gender as constituted performatively, in that gender is not a static structure or set of ideas but something that is enacted continually. Butler's discussion of performativity articulates a theory of the individual's relation to social norms. Performances are not freely chosen roles; Butler argues that norms of compulsory heterosexuality dictate that the subject cannot exist outside gender. Performances are also historically embedded; they are 'citational chains' and their effect is dependent on conventions (Johnston et al., 2000). Hugh Campbell (2000) identifies that performance is the process by which 'discursive constructions of gender are enacted in social practice while their historical roots are obscured'.

Furthermore, gender is not something one has, or is, but rather something that is done or performed. Butler's (1993) concept of performativity provides a model for thinking about not only language but also social processes more generally. In arguing that gender is a performance without ontological status, that is, gender is not what one is but what one does; Butler is outlining a theory of subject formation in which she attempts to mediate the extremes of essentialism and social constructivism. Another aspect of performativity discussed by Butler is that norms and identities are instantiated through repetitions of an ideal (for example the ideal of 'woman' or 'man'). Since we never quite inhabit the ideal, there is room for disidentification and agency. This is particularly important in my own research as I argue that it is through the

repetition of the male and female ideals that New Zealand's beer drinking cultures have been created.

Parts of New Zealand's beer cultures include creating multiple identities that form boundaries and divisions between the social constructions of the self and 'other'. In the discipline of geography there is a strong dualism that has been created and often used to explain the constructions of masculinities and femininities. Within my research I will maintain focus on three such identities prominent in today's beer drinking cultures. They are masculinities, femininities and national identities. In what remains of this chapter I discuss each of these identities in depth with detailed references to geographical literature and theory.

**Hegemonic masculinities and beer drinking**

Masculinities are constantly reconfigured through our everyday lives. They are multiple identities, which are influenced through social constructions and activities. Masculinity is a dominant identity in the practice of beer drinking in New Zealand.

Since the 1990s, geographers have begun to focus their work on the examination of social constructions and cultural processes that support particular understandings of masculinity. In combination with the rise of poststructuralism and cultural geography, geographers have concentrated their effort on how constructions of dominant masculine identities are assembled and circulated (Panelli, 2004: 81).

The term masculinity is very difficult to define. There is not one specific form of masculinity but rather multiple masculinities that co-exist and conflict with one another. In a seminal text '*A Man's Country'*, Jock Phillips (1996) addresses the notion of New Zealand's masculinity through symbols and spaces relevant to New Zealand history. More than ten years on he states in an interview with Ruth Shick and John Dolan that:

> Masculinity has not been a focus of study even in today's society, as women prefer to focus on the issues involving women while men are embarrassed to introduce masculinity to serious examination because it begins to question the authority of men's sense of themselves (Law et al., 1999: 49)

While this is a valid point, Phillips fails to address the element of multiple masculinities. Robert Connell (1995: 76), a sociologist, identifies this within his own work. 'With growing recognition of the interplay between gender, race and class it has become common to recognise multiple masculinities'. Contemporary research into masculinities has a tendency to focus on the ways in which some masculinities may be dominant, whilst others are excluded or devalued. Furthermore, one's gendered identity is always within the axis of other forms of identity such as class, race and so on. Eve Sedgewick explains that masculinity is usefully understood as:

> A cultural definition having no essential link with 'men' *qua* biological males. Bodies socially designated as female can exhibit maleness, and the reverse, without contradiction, and brains designated male (or its 'opposite') are scored highly on scales for femininity and masculinity across infinite social indicators (Sedgewick, 1995: 15-17).

In Judith Kegan Gardiner's (2002: 11) edited volume *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory* it is noted that 'masculinity is not monolithic, not one static thing, but the confluence of multiple processes and relationships with variable results for differing individuals, groups, institutions and societies'. It must be explained, however, that although there are dominant or hegemonic forms of masculinity that endeavour to maintain an appearance of permanence, stability, and naturalness, masculinities are always 'conditional, fluid, socially and historically constructed' (Gardiner, 2002: 11).

For the purpose of this research I am interested in the idea of hegemonic forms of masculinity. Connell (1995: 77) best defines this as,

> The configuration of gender practices which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.

Connell takes this idea of a hegemonic masculinity one step further when he introduces three other power relations that can form around a hegemonic masculinity. 'Complicit masculinity' involves those versions of masculinity that do not conform to the idealised norms of the hegemonic version, but nevertheless receive a power share from the hegemonic version. Alongside this are various 'subordinate masculinities' such as gay masculinities that are 'disempowered' relative to the hegemonic version and their symbolic content out of favour. Finally there is the ambiguous version of 'marginalised masculinity' such as black masculinity,

which has its symbolic attributes appropriated by the hegemonic form, but receives no power share from this relationship (Kraack, 1999: 155).

Subsequently, Connell is promoting that academics move away from the normative and prescriptive social models and lean more towards the gender politics of history. More so, that we 'position our attention on the projects and contests which are both political and economic, that have given rise to different forms of masculinity focussing on the history and contingency of hegemony' (Law et al., 1999: 27). One of the strengths of Connell's model is that it treats gender as an ongoing process and a set of differentially empowered relationships rather than a set of essential qualities.

Peter Jackson's work (see 1991; 1994) in the British context showed that visual representations of masculinity were powerful ways in which some identities and meanings were produced and maintained as dominant, even while the possibility exists for other masculinities. Jackson states that:

> Hegemonic masculinity asserts the 'naturalness' of male domination, based on solidarities between men as well as on the subordination of women. It is rooted in essentialist notions about inherent biological differences between men and women, from which all kinds of social consequences are alleged to follow…in privileging certain socially approved forms of masculinity, other forms are implicitly subordinated (Jackson, 1991: 201).

Jackson goes further to say that dominant masculinities impose a variety of sanctions on homosexual and bisexual practices. These same

dominant masculinities are oppressive of the heterosexual man who may not choose to follow the masculinist ideal of 'emotional self-control, intellectual rationality and sexual performance' (Jackson, 1991: 201). Furthermore, in order for women to be accepted into a dominant masculine space there is a need to construct exacting forms of femininity that adhere to the characteristics of the hegemonic masculinity. These constructed femininities then become heavily influenced by the hegemonic masculinity until they are eventually considered themselves to have become masculine in their appearance and qualities.

I suggest that the beer drinking cultures in New Zealand contribute to this positioning of power between dominant forms of masculinities and more subordinate identities. Using literature that examines the relationship between alcohol and masculinity I outline and challenge the hegemonic masculinity being used to represent beer. Gefou-Madianou (1992) suggests that within the current literature, alcohol has been studied from a predominantly male point of view. He states that 'when, where and how men drink beer serves to constitute their identity as men independently from household relations and the exclusion of women' (Gefou-Madianou, 1992: 8).

Connell (1995: 61) takes this idea slightly further by identifying beer drinking as a body-reflexive practice, where bodies are understood as objects and agents of practices, and the practice itself forms 'the structure within which bodies are appropriated and defined'. To view beer drinking

in this manner is to recognise that 'bodily activity, including the discipline and pain involved in learning how to manage alcohol, forms part of the embodied experiences of masculinity' (Campbell et al., 1999: 173).

Hegemonic masculinity has been naturalised as the assumed set of norms and social behaviours by which other gendered practices are measured. As discussed by Lawrence D. Berg:

> Masculinity, therefore, is especially powerful because it has become *invisible,* it has been *naturalised,* and it has come to occupy a *normative* position in social relations, significantly implicating the way we analyse historical gender relations (Berg, 1999:74 emphasis in the original).

The resistance by women is an important factor in the construction of a hegemonic masculinity, both through direct confrontation and through the appropriation of forms of masculinity by women.

**Femininities and the absent/present**

Feminism has been an influential perspective in geography since the mid 1970s. Inspiration was drawn from the women's movements of the 1960s in the attempt to confront, expose and prevail over the various ways in which women are oppressed, ignored and misrepresented in the field of geography, through the politics of personal experience.

Feminist geographies build on perspectives that draw on feminist politics and theories to explore how gender relations and geographies are

mutually structured and transformed (Johnston et al., 2000: 259). Much of this work has been focussed on the construction of femininities.

It is best to define femininity or femininities in relation to the social construction of gender. Thus, individuals are usually but not always born male or female but, over time, they acquire a gender identity that is an understanding of what it means to be a man or woman (Women and Geography Study Group, 1997: 53). This gender identity is defined as masculinity or femininity.

As mentioned in the previous section Connell's (1995) work best summarises or defines notions of femininity and masculinity. As his definitions suggest femininity cannot be understood as a single gender identity and instead it is more useful to think of multiple or fractured femininities. These multiple or fractured femininities are influenced by the social constructions of other identities such as class, race, sexuality, age and so on. This suggests that while hegemonic femininities often draw upon 'natural' or 'essential' associations between the biological, sexed body and gender identities, these associations are not straight forward (Laurie, 1999: 4). The social construction of femininity is influenced by the space that it occupies. The social construction of a space can often determine the social construction of the identities that are established within it.

Feminist geographies have increasingly focussed on the strong links with space, with the growing amounts of work on geographies of masculinities (see Berg and Longhurst, 2003, Jackson, 1991, Massey, 1995) reflecting a shift within feminist geography, from work that focussed on 'geography of women', via the study of 'gender roles' and 'gender relations' to a consideration of the geographies of gender identities (Laurie, 1999: 11). Feminist geographers are now drawing on a broader range of social, and particularly cultural, theory including poststructuralism, in order to develop a fuller understanding of how gender relations and identities are shaped and assumed. The focal point of multiple identifications and the influence of poststructural theories have brought feminist geographers into discussion with other strands of critical geography such as postcolonialism (Johnston et al., 2000: 262). This however, has drawn attention to the theoretical differences among feminist geographers in 'the north' and 'the south' (see Monk, 1994, Katz, 1998).

Femininities are often represented as an absent/present. This term is used extensively by Chris Shilling (1993) to understand the study of the body. He states that 'the body is present as an item for discussion, but absent as an object of investigation' (1993: 99). Therefore when applied to my research it can be said that femininity is 'treated obliquely, as a symbol for something else…' and by reintroducing this gendered identity into academic studies of beer drinking, social scientists are retrieving 'a neglected topic and making it the focus rather than the implicit backdrop of

their analyses' (Davis, 1997: 5). The attempt to dispel the construction of femininity as an absent/present brings the notion of boundaries to the fore.

In most cases, femininities have been placed second to the more dominant masculinities. It is only recently that feminist geography has gained momentum in an attempt to blur the boundaries that are socially constructed between femininities and masculinities. Femininity is not defined as stable and bounded but instead as fluid. Rather than this gender identity having 'fixed boundaries such as male and female, this approach regards them as constantly in flux' (Sharp, 2004: 69). French and Italian feminists, in particular, argue that femininity is constructed as 'that which disrupts the security of the boundaries separating spaces and must therefore be controlled by a masculine force' (Shurmer-Smith 1994: 301). Feminists such as Cixous (see Shurmer-Smith 1994) and Irigaray (1985) regard the establishment of boundaries as a fundamentally masculinist move, a will to power through the defining and delimiting of an essence into something known (Sharp, 2004: 69). For feminist geographers such as Gillian Rose (1991), feminist knowledge is much more ambivalent, both accepting the necessity of the identity of women despite the limitations that this sets, and acknowledging that the experiences of women will always be in excess of this one identifier.

Cultural and feminist theorists argue that dominant constructions of femininity are established through the gaze (see Berger, 1972, Mulvey, 1989) thus making it a contradictory position for female geographers to

adopt. Some feminists have presented the figure of the *flâneur*, who walks through the modern metropolis unseen but seeing everything, as the voyeur of the landscape, arguing it to be an inherently masculinist position as women must always be the object of the gaze (Sharp, 2004: 73). The public arena has been traditionally associated with men and masculinity, along with social, economic, and political power, while the private sphere aligned with women, middle-class domesticity, femininity, and dependence (Bondi, 1998). Gendered divisions in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures are 'imbued with the notions of separate spheres for men and women inflected with notions of public and private, respectively' (McEwan 2002: 101). Throughout my research I examine the construction of femininities in the beer drinking cultures of New Zealand in relation to the spaces that they are included and excluded from.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, Gill Valentine (2001) has studied the multiplicity of space. Valentine suggests that a space is:

> Invested with certain meanings, which shape the way these spaces are produced and used, and, in turn, how the use of these spaces can feed back into shaping the way in which people categorise others and identify themselves (2001: 5).

Valentine continues to argue that discourses can also be more invisibly imposed across space, influencing 'what assumptions, expectations and social behaviours are expected or deemed appropriate for particular spaces' (2001: 5). Valentine also discusses the notion of space in relation to national identities.

**Masculinities and femininities as national identities**

*The Dictionary of Human Geography* (Johnston et al., 2000: 533) defines nationalism as 'a feeling of belonging to the nation'. In order to discuss 'the feeling of belonging to a nation' the focus must be towards national identities.

Benedict Anderson (1983) first used the term 'imagined community' to describe the idea of a nation. He explains that nations are:

> Imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each they carry the image of their communion (Anderson, 1983: 15).

Nations are often understood to represent the primary form of identity for the populations within them and take precedence over other subjects of identification such as gender, race and class (see McClintock, 1995, Sharp, 1996). However, it is possible for such identifications to become the dominant theme of a nation's identity, therefore making national identities and other subjects of identification such as gender, race and class relative to one another.

As Sharp (1996: 98) demonstrates, '…every spectatorship of national sports events and so on represents…a daily affirmation of national identification.' To take this idea further, the act of the victory of the national sports team represents an experience of simultaneity whereby people who are unfamiliar to each other at the one moment are aware of

the unity with their fellow citizens even though nothing unites them but imagined sounds or images (Anderson, 1983). This same idea is repeated throughout much academic literature and varies depending on the 'act of unity' (see Cooper, 1999, Kraack, 1999, Longhurst and Wilson, 1999, Phillips, 1996).

Cultures of drinking have been an important component of New Zealand's national identity and a centre for male social interaction since the colonisation of New Zealand (Phillips, 1996). National identities are produced through these processes, which foster a sense of sameness while also emphasising a differentiation from others (Valentine, 2001: 300). I argue that the representation of beer influences the creation of a national identity, which encourages a hegemonic masculinity while creating absent/present femininity.

Campbell et al (1999) suggest that beer advertising incorporates national and regional imagery and has been used throughout New Zealand's history as a key component of both regional and national identity, inevitably demarcating such identities as masculinity and femininity. Anderson (1983) and others (see Bennington, 1994, Sharp, 1996) believe that the development of technology, print and visual media plays an important part in forging and reproducing national identities. Through the enhancement of the communications between groups of people who had never had such connections before it has contributed to 'fostering a sense

among them that they shared specific interest and concerns and so belonged to a nation' (Anderson, 1983: 84).

 By defining the space of outside (other nations, the international) as 'other than us', a coherent sense of identity is created (*see* Campbell, 1992, Dalby, 1990b).  The boundaries between inside and outside were 'the result of domesticating the self through the transfer of differences within society to the inscription between society' (Campbell, 1990: 273).  These practices of security are inherent in the production of a coherent sense of national identity (Dalby, 1990a).

As Phillips (1996) discusses, it was the connection with Britain, emphasised through the First World War, that created a masculine dominance within New Zealand's national identity.  This masculinity was formed through icons and imagery such as rugby and more specifically beer, which New Zealand males found defined the 'inside' space that they occupied.  It is therefore through the consistent creation and maintenance of a hegemonic masculinity that beer drinking has become part of New Zealand's national identity.

It has become common for women to be seen as 'passive bystanders' to, and symbols for, nationalist movements even when seemingly marginalised within them.  The same can be said for New Zealand's national identity, which is predominantly masculine.  The creation of this national identity in New Zealand highlights the social constructions and

understandings of both masculinities and femininities. Alongside the hegemonic masculinities that are associated with beer drinking and New Zealand's national identity, there are hegemonic femininities. The femininities that are used tend to be symbols for, or enhancements of, the more dominant and socially accepted masculine national identities. At the same time, questions of gender, sexuality, and national identity are never simply linear and additive. Male-female and sexual identity differences do not line up on a single axis of national identity with men and women and gays and heterosexuals on opposite sides with competing roles (Agnew, 2004: 232).

A number of geographers have now begun to investigate how particular identities (including specific social differences) are constructed in association with ideas of nationhood (see Nash, 1996, Sharp, 1996, Tervo, 2001). Geographies of identity illustrate how constructions and boundaries of an identity are also predicated on privileging some axes of social difference and managing or marginalizing others (Panelli, 2004: 154). As Jan Pettman argues,

> Nationalism constitutes the nation as above politics, and so disguises the politics of its making. This is the extraordinary *power* of the nation as that thing which people will kill and die for [emphasis in original] (1996: 48).

Therefore, feelings of national identity are what prompt people to act in powerful ways, yet the politics of nationalism, how and for what reasons it has been formed in particular ways, are disguised from view.

Beer drinking has come to represent a much larger hegemonic masculine and national identity. During this process the less dominant and marginalised identities such as femininities, homosexuality and so on are excluded from the national identity that is created, whether this is a true representation or not.

Drawing on the work of Blaut (1986) and Zelinsky (1986), Berg and Kearns (1996: 100) explain the connection between New Zealand's hegemonic masculinity and nationalism this way:

> Nationalism results from a complex configuration of emotions, beliefs, and attitudes rooted in the perception of singular cultural attributes, myths, and traditions, leading to a belief in a "national community".

I argue that the national identity that is present in today's beer drinking cultures is a social construction, which does not effectively represent the identities within it. Feminist historian Caroline Daley explores the gendering of New Zealand's history in her book *The Gendered Kiwi.* She states that women have not always been part of New Zealand's national identity. Furthermore, she argues that:

> Writing women into history created a gendered history by default, but one in which women were the only explicitly gendered subjects; the gendering of men remained largely implicit (Daley 1999: 7).

Daley's remarks support my argument that New Zealand's national identity, and beer drinking in particular, has been gendered. It follows a dominant masculine discourse, similar to that of New Zealand's history. Throughout my research I will demonstrate that New Zealand's representation of beer drinking, in advertisements and spaces of consumption, gives power to one singular identity while marginalizing those that do not fit within the socially constructed national identity.

# CHAPTER THREE

## Methodology

What it means to do human geography, and how one does it, has been subject to much debate. Robyn Longhurst and Linda Mcdowell have both identified the marked growth of interest in research methods in geography (Longhurst, 1996, McDowell, 1992). This growth of new methodological approaches is concurrent with general critiques of the 'scientific', 'objective', and 'masculinist' structuring of knowledge that is commonly associated with the discipline of geography. Longhurst (1996: 143) states that:

> The epistemological questions raised by feminist, postmodernist, poststructuralist and postcolonialist theorists in the critical examination of the social construction of knowledges, have in the last few years, helped to bring about a growth of interest in what we do as human geographers and, more importantly…*how* we do it [emphasis in original].

The result of these developments within human geography indicates a noticeable shift from empirical and quantitative methods to more flexible qualitative, subjective, and inclusive methods. My research consists of feminist poststructural methodologies.

Feminist geographers are interested in situating knowledge and believe that interpretations are context bound and partial rather than detached and

universal. They are critical of the way in which patriarchy privileges the lives of men and ignores many aspects of women's lived experiences. 'They seek to redress this balance through specific studies of the everyday lives of women' (Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 18). Rob Kitchin and Nicholas Tate (2000: 17) suggest that 'poststructuralists argue that the relationship between society and space is mediated culturally through language' and believe that 'researchers then should focus on textuality, narrative, discourse and language as these do not just reflect reality but actively construct and constitute reality'. For the purpose of my research the integration of feminist and poststructural methodologies are essential.

*The Dictionary of Human Geography* defines qualitative methods as 'a set of tools developed to pursue the epistemological mandate of the philosophies of meaning' (Johnston et al., 2000: 660). Qualitative methods are concerned with how the world is viewed, experienced and constructed by society. They provide access to the motives, aspirations and power relations that account for how places, people, and events are made and represented. It was these aspects of qualitative methods that influenced my decision to conduct focus groups as part of my research. As well as the use of focus groups I carried out critical textual analysis of five advertisements. In what follows I outline in depth the methods that I have chosen to employ. I offer critical evaluation of the methods and how they were used as part of my research. The chapter concludes with a reflection and discussion of my position in the research process.

**Critical Textual Analysis of the Advertisements**

Since the Nineteenth Century, textual analysis has been associated with the hermeneutic method. According to this method, an interpretation is produced which results from the interaction between the text being studied and the intellectual framework of the interpreter (Johnston et al., 2000). Throughout the Twentieth Century, new and exciting methods of textual analysis have been put forward which arise out of post-structuralism. These include discourse analysis and deconstruction. These methods greatly influence my textual analysis.

The technique of deconstructing texts attempts to reveal the multiple meanings, ideologies, interpretations and representations of a particular text. The word 'text' in my research refers to the television advertisements that promote different brands of beer and the cultures of beer drinking in New Zealand. These are considered to be visual texts. There is a long history of human efforts to interpret symbols and imagery (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988). Poststructuralists focus their attention to the deconstruction of discourse. Deconstruction of texts and the analysis of discourses provide an important, but not exclusive, set of approaches to the analysis of texts (Hay, 2000). Throughout my research I deconstruct beer advertisements and attempt to reveal the multiple meanings that they possess. Iain Hay suggests that:

> There are multiple layers of meaning that can be derived from a text. Texts invariably contain internal self contradictions, which expose them to multiple interpretations, any or all of which might be quite unintended by the author (Hay, 2000: 127).

Hay goes further to suggest that deconstruction has a subversive intent. That is, to question the authority with which anyone can claim to have determined the 'true' and 'correct' interpretation. Deconstructionists are critical of the hegemonic or dominant view as this helps to maintain unequal power structures (Hay, 2000). For my own research I deconstruct the beer advertisements and subvert the hegemonic masculinity that is favoured within them and introduce the possibility of representing a more complex understanding of gender – both masculine and feminine.

The method of deconstruction also identifies particular characteristics of texts. It is suggested by deconstructionists that what is absent may also be just as important as what is present. Ignoring some characteristics and elevating or situating others creates a sense of what is considered 'natural' and 'normal'. By highlighting the absences through the method of critical textual analysis, deconstructionists can challenge the assumptions of the 'natural' or the 'normal' (Hay, 2000).

It is important to acknowledge the insights, which deconstruction brings to the discipline of geography. Hay (2000: 141) states that these approaches 'drive home the point that texts are neither neutral (nor natural)' and that the texts can be interpreted subjectively rather than objectively. While power structures are implicit in the readings of the text, the author intends not all of the representations (Hay, 2000).

The first step in my data collection was to contact the two major breweries in New Zealand[1] in order to obtain copies of their television advertisements. Initially I made contact through a letter requesting the assistance for my thesis. While one brewery was swift to reply the other was not. Through both phone calls and emails I created a working relationship with a representative from both breweries[2] who kept me up to date on the time frame it would take to obtain such advertisements. New Zealand Breweries sent me full copies of six advertisements. These were for Speight's, Waikato and Lion Red, all being nationwide advertisements. Lion Breweries were also very helpful in supplying a DVD of 11 Tui advertisements dating back to 1995. I found communication through email to be the most effective as the two representatives were not always in their office to receive my call. All emails were answered on the same day that they were sent and the DVDs were received within two weeks of initial contact.

During my research I watched all 17 advertisements no less than five times. Each advertisement ran for approximately one minute in length. I identified the advertisements that made strong references to masculinity and New Zealand's beer cultures. Almost all of the ads displayed this in one manner or another. The factor, which caused me to reduce the number of advertisements, was a lack of strong reference to women and tough, hard man masculinity. I finally chose four advertisements: Tui

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[1] New Zealand Breweries Ltd. and the Lion Breweries Ltd. are the two major breweries in New Zealand.
[2] Thanks are due to Josh Hartwell of Lion Breweries and Katherine Murray of New Zealand Breweries for their help in preparing and organising the advertisements.

'Brucetta' and 'Yeah Right'; Lion Red 'Tennis Tips'; and Speight's 'Dreaming'.

I undertook a critical textual analysis of the narratives for the four advertisements. I looked for common themes in the representations of masculinity, beer cultures and women. By deconstructing the advertisements I attempted to identify and expose techniques, which the producers used to structure these representations. I also placed a large emphasis on what was excluded with specific focus on women and femininity. The main purpose of this critical analysis was to identify the visual and audible signs that were used to construct a sense of masculinity and beer culture. I then shifted my focus towards interpreting the ways that these representations could be read.

I wrote a synopsis for all four advertisements[3]. I then noted the characteristics of the actors in the advertisements, such as gender, possible age, what they were wearing, and in particular the type of men that were portrayed in the advertisement. I also identified any other characters that may have been used to enhance the masculinity or beer culture of the advertisement. This included women and homosexual men. Of these two types of characters, there were distinct characteristics that I identified. I was interested in women will all types of characteristics. This was because the advertisements did not regularly include women, so when it did occur I was interested in why they used that particular feminine

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[3] See Appendix One

identity.  There was only one advertisement that included a homosexual man.  This character was wearing tight clothing, had very highly groomed features and walked in a feminine manner.  The advertisement was designed to make a point of the fact that this character was a homosexual, which made it much easier for me to identify that particular identity.

I considered the ways the product was incorporated into the advertisements, such as the packaging; who drunk the beer; and when it was drunk.  I also noted the purpose that it was being used for and the situation that was being portrayed.  I then examined in depth how women were or were not used to endorse the product.  This included considering whether they were used as beer drinkers or background extras; what characteristics the women possessed; and whether the women enhanced the male characters.  The representations of women were read in conjunction with the representations of masculinity and beer culture.  In order to extend the use of my own critical reading I also undertook two focus groups involving the viewing of these four advertisements.

**Focus Groups**

Focus groups are a form of interviewing that has become increasingly popular in human geography.  The method involves a small group of people discussing a topic or issue that is defined by the researcher (Hay, 2000).  It was not until the 1980s that focus groups began to re-emerge as a prominent method in the social sciences (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005).  As Bedford and Burgess (2001: 121) write:

> We regularly use focus groups as an efficient and interesting way of gaining insight into the ways in which people construct environmental and social issues; share their knowledge, experiences and prejudices; and argue their different points of view.

Focus groups deal with the interaction of members of a group formed to produce research data and insights into social opinions and reactions. As stated by Morgan (1988) it is the dynamics of a group that reveals the socially shaped opinions of others through the negotiations and reinforcement, which takes place in such a setting. Over the last few decades geographers, particularly feminist geographers have taken part in debates surrounding the validity and the utility of qualitative methods such as focus groups (*see* Eyles 1988; Pile 1991; McDowell 1992; Nast 1994; Longhurst 1996, 2003). Focus groups have grown in popularity over the last decade and are now used to collect data on a diverse range of subjects. It is a useful tool in understanding the interpretation of advertisements by audiences and the processes of representation and social construction. Furthermore, Krueger (1988: 18) states that a focus group is "…a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive non-threatening environment".

Focus groups are predominantly about talking to people but in ways that are self-conscious, orderly and partially structured. Krueger and Casey (2000: xi) explain that focus group interviewing is about talking to people but it is also:

> …about listening. It is about paying attention. It is about being open to hear what people have to say. It is about being non-judgemental. It is about creating a comfortable environment for people to share. It is about being careful and systematic with the things people tell you.

I moderated two focus groups, one with six female participants and the other with six male participants. All participants either knew each other or had met before. Most were friends and were connected through a friendship with myself. I first outlined those people that I thought would be suitable for my focus groups and then approached them and explained my research and the role that they would play. Once I had six participants I discussed a time and place suitable for them all. I found that all participants were very flexible with their time and had no trouble organising the focus groups. I gave each of my participants an information sheet to read before they took part in the focus group so that they would be familiar with my research topic.[4]

The meetings took place on a Thursday and Friday night during the same week. Each focus group lasted approximately one and a half hours. Each of my participants filled out a consent form[5] and a short questionnaire.[6] Both focus groups took place in lounges that had either couches or single chairs centred around a table, television and DVD player. The first focus group was held at my own home, as many of the female participants knew me very well. The second focus group was held at the house of one of the

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[4] See Appendix Two
[5] See Appendix Three
[6] See Appendix Four

41

male participants. I provided nibbles and non-alcoholic refreshments before and during the meeting and then offered beer, by request of the male participants, after the focus group had finished. The participants answered questions and viewed the beer advertisements, sometimes more than once. Both focus groups were audio taped and later transcribed in full.

I adopted the snowball method to recruit my participants. This term describes using one contact to help you recruit another contact, who in turn can put you in touch with someone else. As the term implies, through this method, recruiting gains momentum, or 'snowballs' as the researcher builds up layers of contacts (Valentine 2005: 117). The strength of this technique is that it may provide an easier method of recruiting participants. However, I had to be careful when using the snowballing method that I did not recruit those people who were so like-minded that my focus group was narrow in terms of representation of opinions. To help maintain a variety of participants I ensured that their ages were not the same and that they were not all beer drinkers. I also made sure that not all of them were close friends before the focus group rather familiar and comfortable with one another. My intention was to use focus groups as an extension of my own critical reading of the advertisements and gain an insight into the multiple readings and representations that can come from these advertisements. To achieve this I felt it best to place my participants into two groups based on gender. Not only did this provide clear differences between men and

women, it also created a relaxed and uninhibited conversation between the participants.


### *Sustaining Uninhibited Focus Groups*

I was especially determined to create an uninhibited environment for my participants to ensure that they would share their experiences and opinions comfortably.  This is partially why I used the snowball method of recruitment, as I wanted the participants to be pre-existing friends rather then a group of relative strangers.  Not only did this reduce the amount of time participants spent getting to know one another and relaxing, it also resulted in a free-flowing conversation between myself and the other members of the group.  I was trying to provide a situation that was as 'natural' in terms of the environment and context of discussion as was possible.  Kitzinger (1994: 105) also suggests that:

> Flatmates, colleagues, family and friends…are precisely the people with whom one might 'naturally' discuss such topics, at least in passing, and these major sites of 'collective remembering'…Above all it is useful to work with pre-existing groups because they provide one of the social contexts within which ideas are formed and decisions made.

The size of my groups depended on the success of my recruitment.  However, once I established six participants for each focus group I realised that this would be the most suitable size for gaining the most insightful information from the participants while maintaining the relaxed environment that I was after.  Furthermore, the size of the group helped to contribute to the location within which the meeting was held.  Using six participants

allowed me the luxury of choosing very intimate settings for the focus groups rather than large rooms that created a spacious feeling. I was also able to record the focus groups without the issue of sound quality as the participants were situated very closely to the recording device. I also wanted there to be more opportunity for the participants to express their opinions without being talked over or left out completely. Six participants in each group led to this ease in discussion. Longhurst (1996) demonstrates the use of smaller groups in reducing the amount of tension between participants. This lack of tension in the groups that I formed was evident through the humour and joking that took part between the participants. This is easily demonstrated in the following transcription:[7]

Nicole:     And are you allowed to touch any of their [men's] beer?

Melissa:    I'm allowed to but I don't choose to, I'd rather have my mum's wine [laughter] so, but when I do drink beer I usually drink Waikato…

Steph:      Yeah exactly that what it is!  And part of the reason why I don't drink beer is cos it's real fattening.

Melissa:    Beer farts the next morning! [Laughter]

Female Focus Group, 22nd June 2006

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[7] I have used specific codes that assist in clarifying the meaning regarding the dialogue (Honeyfield, 1997).  These codes are as follows:

- (//) starts of overlap in talk are marked by a double oblique;
- (.) pauses in talk were not timed but simply marked with one dot;
- … denotes omitted material;
- underlining denotes words said with emphasis;
- [inaudible] has been used when the conversation could not be heard and transcribed;
- Comments in square brackets such as [laughter] have been used to include non-verbal communication and events that help to give context to the conversation;
- Brief comments and simple acknowledgement tokens (such as yes, mm, yeah, nah) from others or me who are present have been placed in round brackets.

### *The Tale of Two Groups: The Importance of Gender*

A general design principle in setting up focus groups is one of 'intra-group homogeneity', such as gender, and between group comparisons. This internal homogeneity provides the environment where each gender can speak of their experiences relatively freely, whilst the wider design also permits the researcher to explore the differences between groups (Conradson 2005: 133). As Morgan (1988: 61) argues,

> The sharing of ideas and experiences is at the heart of focus groups, and this requires a climate of mutual respect. At minimum, the composition of each focus group should minimize suspicion and open disagreement.

The dynamics of each group were very similar. I had an agenda to which I kept the discussion within and organised questions[8] that addressed the topic of my research before, during and after viewing the advertisements. The discussions were allowed to gather momentum however I did offer my own questions if I felt the participants needed some ideas or help with the direction they were supposed to be taking. I asked those questions that would prompt discussion such as: "Do you think it follows those stereotypes, the effects of drinking alcohol as well?" "Do you know any girls who drink beer?" "So who do you think the ad[vertisement] was aimed at?" I would also offer my own opinion and viewpoint. This helped to position myself within the group not only as the mediator but also as a participant. From time to time I had to ask questions that are designed to prompt discussion such as "What do you mean?" "Why is that?" and so

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[8] See Appendix Five

on. These questions were used in moments when I felt that the topic could be expanded more but the participants had not realised it.

My own participation within the focus groups differed between the males and females. During the female focus group I was very much part of the group and identified that the participants were not inhibited by my presence. Some of the women would ask for my opinion, as they were comfortable with discussing the topic around me. In the male focus group however, I felt that I was more of a mediator than a participant. There were times when the male participants would hold back on their answers and I believe this was due to the fact that I was a female and many of the topics we were discussing were related to the female body and sex appeal. I also feel that the male participants were trying to maintain a masculine role in front of myself and the other participants during the focus group when approached with questions that related to their identity. There are times when the males would initially answer a question with what they thought was a 'masculine' answer and then as the discussion continued their more truthful thoughts appeared without them realising.

There were also moments where the male participants often contradicted themselves without knowing. Unfortunately I did not notice it either until the process of transcribing was undertaken. It was only then that I found many instances where I could have questioned the participants about their contradictions and what they mean by them. The reason for these contradictions, which are very valuable to my research, is due to knowing

the participants personally.  As a researcher, there can be disadvantages with interview and focus group methods, as you can never guarantee that the participants are telling you fair and truthful answers.  Had I not known the male participants of the focus group I would have missed some rich insights into the dynamics of their masculine identities, as well as the value of focus groups as a method of research.

Not only was I aware of when the participants were bending the truth, I also knew when their reactions and actions became uncharacteristic.  I fist noticed that many of the male participants were more passive in their answers and enthusiasm than when outside of the focus group environment.  This indicates in my research that they were able to identify when they *should* sound what they thought to be masculine.  It also indicated that they were aware of their surroundings.  I also believe that the contradictions are the result of my own presence at the focus group.  The participants as I mentioned in the previous section felt they could not say particular words, phrases or statements in front of me because I was a woman.

When transcribing the data of the male focus group I noticed the large amount of contradictions referring to the participants drinking habits.  Many times the participants would not admit to certain questions that would have the affect of constructing their identities as less masculine than they desired.  However, I believe that this has placed my research into a stronger position.  Other researchers do not have the experience of such

strong contradictions in their focus groups data, let alone the ability to know when the participants are in fact contradicting themselves and their actions. I consider this to be breakthrough in the study of focus groups methods as well as the study of masculinities. I use these contradictions to the best of my ability to strengthen my research in the following two chapters.

**Positioning Myself in the Research Process**

As the researcher my own identity and attributes are very significant. By being aware of the influence I have on my participants and the results of my research I can 'attempt to analyse and reflect upon the limitations and uniqueness of this research' (Honeyfield, 1997: 50).

> Although we can identify how gender structures our understandings of the world, this is not to say that researchers must always be prisoners of the gender relations within which we operate. By recognising that we are crucial participants in the research process, we can begin to address not only our own assumptions but can perhaps get interviewees to reflect upon theirs (Herod, 1993: 314).

By acknowledging my positionality and the subjective influences that I contribute to the research process I am able to establish a better understanding of my findings. The ability to accept responsibility of my findings through my own positioning allows me to realise that the same research could create different results, depending on the researcher. It has been suggested that:

> …a more interactional, less hierarchical, democratic, "feminist" form of interviewing in which "the relationship of interviewer and

48

> interviewee is non-hierarchical and [in which] the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship" may possibly be a more productive method (Oakley, 1981: 41; in Herod, 1993: 310).

I selected Pākehā male and female beer drinkers for my research. I targeted those aged between 18 and 30 years old. This decision was made due to the target audience that beer advertisements are aimed towards and the ability to identify myself with that particular age grouping. As a 22-year-old female student who participates in New Zealand's beer drinking culture, I find myself placed within a liminal zone between two distinct identities. The first group that I identify with is that of the beer drinkers. I identify with, and take notice of, beer advertisements and representations, all the while gaining a sense of belonging and involvement. The second group that I identify with is that of the female beer drinkers who have in many spaces become absent/present. I acknowledge within my research that there is no attempt through representations of beer to include and promote females as beer drinkers. The construction of women as beer drinkers (of 'no-frills' beer) goes against 'appropriate' that is hegemonic feminine behaviour. When women do drink beer they tend to occupy a 'masculine' position. This creates a situation where I, in fact, become the researched as well as the researcher. I therefore incorporate into the analysis my own experiences and opinions.

The fact that the participants knew me before the discussions took place also has had a bearing on the results of my research. This was significant

especially with the female participants who felt very comfortable with my presence.  However, as discussed in relation to the male focus group, the fact that the participants did know me was also detrimental to the stage where they were not comfortable sharing all pieces of information with me. I had to consider that some of my participants may have felt uncomfortable being challenged by others and discussing their opinions to people that they may in fact interact with after the research.  To combat this I stated at the beginning of the focus groups that there were no right or wrong answers and that all input was useful to my research.  I also stipulated that the material that was recorded was to be kept confidential and gave the participants the option of using a pseudonym or fake name.  I also made sure to take part in the discussion as much as I could without taking on a dominant position of mediator.

**Analysing the Qualitative Data**

Once I gathered my data from the focus groups I transcribed and organised my findings into groups, which correspond with the major themes of my thesis.  According to Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman (1994: 10) qualitative data analysis consists of '…three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.' The desired result is that these findings will in turn guide me towards creating the basis for sections within my thesis.

The dominant themes, which I wanted to focus my attention towards, were the representations of masculinity and the subversion of femininity through the beer advertisements. While I used specific questions to guide the discussions, participants also gave interesting input that enhanced my own thoughts and assumptions. Once I had transcribed the focus groups in full I set out to read them multiple times. Each time I looked for a different theme that was common or continually repeated. Under the titles of masculinity and femininity I placed other smaller ideas such as "characteristics of men and women in the advertisements", "role of women" and so on. From weeding out the ideas I found dominant themes that I have used to form the basis of my findings within this thesis.

This process is known as 'sifting and sorting' whereby the researcher uses the data that they have created to develop ideas through sifting and sorting out themes. Michael Agar (1986) calls this the 'long couch or short hall' approach. This contains stacks and piles of material accumulated on significant themes, events or topics (Crang 2005). Through the use of codes or colours the researcher is able to identify the themes and the areas in which they appear. For the purpose of my own research I used coloured pens and highlighters to identify a particular theme and when it was occurring. As stated by Mike Crang (2005: 224),

> These codes are not pre-given, and indeed they are probably not what another researcher would produce – they are in that sense creative…since they rely on you making sense of material using knowledge you have developed through research and reading literature.

What this process enables the researcher to achieve is to organise the material so that interesting relationships can be easily identified. I have used this process to help mark the areas of interest and what parts of the data I wish to use as a reference further along in my research.

After determining the common themes that were discussed during the focus groups, I separated each quote into their subsequent themes. I then numbered the quotes as 1, 2, 3… and so on to give myself quick and easy reference to them when deciding which to use within my thesis. I have found this system to be very useful and efficient. I returned to my research questions again. As well as this I revisited the theory that I intended to use and determined the direction that I had initially planned my research to take. In doing so, I was able to tighten the focus of my data and findings to incorporate the use of theory. Furthermore, I took the critical readings of the advertisements that I had conducted and used my own findings to support or contradict those of the focus group discussions. In doing so, I created themes that I was able to discuss with fellow colleagues and critique to reveal new paths that my research could pursue.

This chapter has described the process of qualitative data analysis, which I followed. The next chapters are a blending of my own critical readings, observations, relevant literature and theory and the material selected from the focus group discussions. They have formed my findings and results

that aim to answer the research questions posed at the beginning of the

thesis.

# CHAPTER FOUR

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## Blokes and Sheilas:

## National and Rural Constructions of Masculinities and

## Femininities

Beer drinking cultures are a dominant component of New Zealand's national identity. Beer television advertisements employ notions of rural space, which reinforces a hegemonic construction of masculinity and national identity. Space and place are important in the formation of masculinities and femininities in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. This chapter examines the constructions of these identities on a national and rural scale.

Firstly, I discuss a dominant form of masculinity that is commonly associated with New Zealand's most well known beer brands such as Waikato, Speight's, Lion Red and Tui. This masculinity is known as the 'Hard Man' masculinity and is the stereotypical identity associated with working class rural New Zealand men. I examine the performances of Hard Man masculinity and demonstrate the ways in which mateship is used to connect men, beer drinking, rural spaces and national identity.

I then discuss and critique in depth a form of hegemonic femininity that has been socially constructed in New Zealand's most well known beer advertisements such as Tui, Lion Red and Speight's. I focus my attention

on the use of women's bodies as the medium to enhance and enable the Hard Man beer culture. This chapter examines the ways in which masculine ideas of a feminine identity are (over)exposed in advertisements through national and rural constructions of beer drinking.

Finally, I examine the paradoxical position of hyper masculine women in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. This is an identity that is created by the spaces of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures and is considered by many men to be the 'norm'. The hyper masculine woman is a fluid identity that is placed on the boundary between 'idealised' women and rural Hard Men. I argue that this identity, while welcomed by rural Hard Man beer drinking cultures, may subsume women to be part of the masculine culture rather than creating unique cultures for themselves.

Masculine identities and places are gendered performances, sets of repeated acts that over time produce the appearance of the 'natural' and the 'true'. Repeated performances of Hard Man masculinity establish regulatory practices for many New Zealand men who drink beer. Butler's (1993) theories of performativity displace the heteronormative alignment of gender and sex by arguing that gender is 'performative'. It is also possible to displace the alignment of masculinity (a set of gendered acts) and beer drinking.

I argue that the Hard Man reinforces a particular form of masculinity through narratives such as stories, jokes and relaxed conversation. His

actual beer drinking practices, however, contradict this identity. I utilise the work of Judith Butler (1990; 1993) and her notion that gender is performative to make sense of these shifting masculine identities. In discussing the performative, Butler (1990: 136) contends:

> … acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts, which constitute its reality. This also suggests that if the reality is fabricated as an interior essence, that very interiority is an effect and function of a decidedly public and social discourse.

Hard Man masculinity is a form of hegemonic gender identity that is performed constantly until it becomes naturalised in particular places. However, the Hard Man identity may also be vulnerable and come unravelled as it is performed over and over. Slippages occur, however, and the 'other' cannot be completely excluded. This chapter, along with Chapter Five, demonstrates the performances of Hard Man masculinity in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. Data from focus groups and critical analysis of television advertisements demonstrates the contradictions that take place within the Hard Man identity.

**Hegemonic Masculinity – introducing the Hard Man**

New Zealand's beer drinking cultures are formed by representations. As a result of the constant and consistent representations of men and beer a dominant masculinity has formed. This identity is unofficially labelled 'Hard

Man' masculinity (Honeyfield, 1997).  Through the use of images that show

tough, rugged, outdoor men the Hard Man embodies a form of masculinity

that is exclusionary.  Morris (1991: 93) argues that:

> [Hegemonic masculinity] is inextricably bound with a
> celebration of strength, of perfect bodies.  At the
> same time, to be masculine is not to be vulnerable.  It
> is also linked to a celebration of youth and of taking
> bodily functions for granted.

The Hard Man strives to be self-reliant, distancing himself from women

and/or family.  He chooses rather, to be in the company of fellow men who

embody the same Hard Man characteristics.  There is also an inclination to

pursue some form of physical, hard manual labour.  At the end of the day

the Hard Man will return home to drink beer with his fellow mates while

retelling and reliving stories of the past that include accounts of masculine

activities or jokes (Honeyfield, 1997).  While taking part in this

demonstration of mateship the Hard Man must show self control and

ensure that he does not make public his feelings or emotions (*see* Phillips,

1996; James and Saville-Smith, 1994).  Connell (1995) has argued that

certain kinds of manual work such as labouring, lifting, digging; carrying

and so on are linked to a masculine sense of embodiment.

> Drinking, predicated on male force and activity is a
> bodily performance of 'hardness' through which
> young men signify a particular hegemonic working
> class masculinity (Canaan et al, 1996: 173).

The physical nature of these activities indicates a rural construction of what

a New Zealand man is required to be.  All of the beer advertisements in my

research in different ways demonstrate these rural Hard Man

characteristics.  Whether it is through their actions or appearance the men used to represent the beer brands all show this specific form of rural masculinity attributed to New Zealand's national identity.

When asked what the dominant characteristics of a New Zealand beer drinker were, members of the male focus group noted many of the Hard Man's characteristics.  In Figure 1 I have used the New Zealand comic figure 'Wal' from Footrot Flats to establish an image of the description the male participants gave.  This comic representation has been part of New Zealand's history for many years and was not shown to the participants at anytime during their discussion.  I have chosen to include it here, as a way of illustrating the dominance of a particular form of hegemonic masculinity. Participants did discuss their thoughts about what kind of identity links to beer drinking.



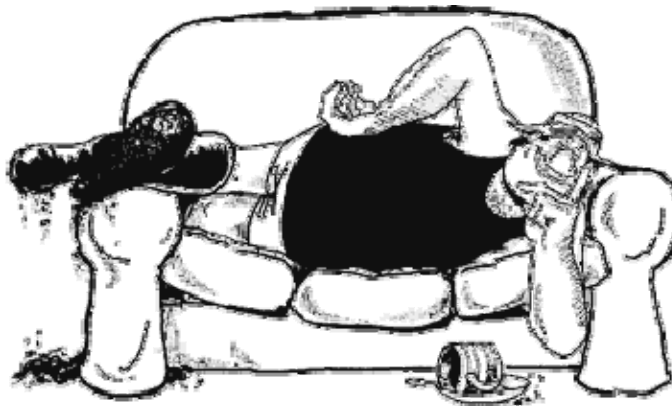Figure 1: Character from the New Zealand cartoon series Footrot Flats.
Source: Footrot Flats – The 'unofficial' site, www.oneil.com.au/footrot

Andrew:     I had a picture spring to mind.  I was thinking of an old dude wearing a swandri, stubbies and gumboots and drinking a big bottle.

John:       I was the same, 40 year old, just got back from fishing or golf or something laying on the couch watching rugby.

Bruce:        I was more picturing standing at the bar or at a club, "Jake the Muss".

John:        Nah you're wrong mate, I'm right!

Scott:        Yeah… [He] has some sort of manual job, working the land or something, farmer or builder or something like that.

Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

The female focus group also found a dominant and particular masculinity present in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. However, unlike the male participants they did not limit expressions of masculinity to strength and physical labour. Instead the women commented more about masculine beer drinker appearances in terms of clothes and age.

Steph:        …and beer bellies (yeah) that's what I think of the old man. But the young guy I think…he's developing into the old man stage [agreement and laughter].

Vanessa:        Sort of like a Fred Dagg kind of character, that rural kind of singlet and gummies [gumboots] and stubbies [extremely small shorts].

Melissa:        Stubbies, jandels and a singlet!

Female Focus Group, 22nd June 2006

Here is the first indication by my participants of the importance of space. The male focus group indicated a rural construction through the manual labour they described and the form of clothing that a New Zealand beer drinker wears. The females however, were much more specific and actually spoke of the "rural kind of singlet and gummies and stubbies". This indicates a strong discourse constructed between the New Zealand beer drinker and the rural spaces of New Zealand.

These discourses, identified by the participants, also have resonance in the Speight's "Dreaming" advertisement. A rugged, rural, outdoors stereotype is established through the use of a specific place in New Zealand, the South Island. Two southern farmers are portrayed, one aged in his late 20s and the other closer to 40 or 50. The advertisement helps establish a very specific type of Hard Man masculinity. The two men are dressed in brown swanndri-like coats with large cowboy style hats and unshaven faces. They sleep outside next to a fire and use horses as their mode of transport. The advertisement clearly shows that to these men their priorities are very simple; Speight's beer must come before anything else. The advertisement also demonstrates the masculine attitudes that surround beer. For the two southern men, cracking open a can of Speight's beer outdoors beside the open fire was the answer to any of their problems, and was always followed by the signature comment "Good on ya mate", which suggests that the problem has been appropriately dealt with.

The relationship between masculinity, beer drinking and the New Zealand rural man has been the focus of research by some New Zealand academics (*see* Laws et al, 1999; Campbell, 2000). Campbell suggests that rural pubs can actually operate as 'a key site where hegemonic forms of masculinity are constructed, reproduced, and successfully defended' (2000: 563). I take this further to argue that the connection of New Zealand's national identity with the land and rural lifestyle, contributes to the Hard Man identity commonly associated with beer. It instils a form of togetherness among male beer drinkers and enables those who drink beer

to feel part of the rural identity familiar within New Zealand.  The regulatory practice of drinking beer in a rural space is due to the repetition of the gendered performances used to represent beer drinking in television advertisements.   The masculine bodily act of standing at the bar of a rural pub with your 'mates' restates the hegemonic performances that are considered socially acceptable.   It is these repetitions that influence the national identity of New Zealand.

Importantly, members of the male focus group spoke of the characteristics of a beer drinker with a sense of pride.  I could note in their voices that they felt part of the Hard Man masculinity and felt a sense of connection to the men they described.   The female group was far more critical when discussing the men in the advertisements.  These women spoke as though they were very distant from the advertisements and did not relate to being a Hard Man at all.   I believe that this reaction by both groups is in part determined by the actions of the producers who choose the advertisements.  The male focus group forms the intended audience and therefore was the target of the producers.  Their own masculinities, which included being heterosexual, beer-drinking males were 'part of the ideological norms of masculinity held by the producers of the advertisements' (Honeyfield, 1997: 62).

**That's what friends are for – beer and mateship**

The bond between men has played a significant role in New Zealand's history since the pioneer days (Phillips, 1996).  Mateship between males is

based on shared experiences at both work and play (*see* Phillips, 1996; James and Saville-Smith, 1994). Over the years the concept of mateship has evolved to focus on sites of leisure rather than sites of work. Beer drinking has become firmly established as an activity that does not threaten the Hard Man masculinity that so many wish to maintain.

Mateship features in all beer advertisements. Men are seldom ever shown to be alone; they are almost always accompanied by another male and never drink the beer by themselves. For example, from the 1995 Tui advertisement titled "Yeah Right"; there are a number of scenes featuring a man by himself. However, the last scene of the advertisement shows each man in a group at the bar laughing and drinking beer. The pub that they were meeting in was not set in a rural area of the country; however it had the same characteristics of a 'local' small town rural pub. This advertisement demonstrates that men rely heavily on the concept of mateship. Not only to relive or retell the situations they faced earlier but also to purely enjoy their beer together. The female focus group identified on numerous occasions this need for mateship when drinking beer.

Lisa:     It's definitely a social thing for them [men] as well. They are always in big groups when they are drinking; not necessarily BIG groups but there are always more than one of them. They don't sit around drinking on their own, usually.

Steph:    I think it is a big males thing because, umm, I went away and stayed with my sister and we were staying with this little boy…and all the males went outside to have a beer and he ran into the kitchen and was like, "Can I have a ginger beer?" [Laughter]
          And he went out there and stood by the car and was, like, swigged back his ginger beer standing there with, like, his arms folded and just thought he was one of the boys.

In this exchange Steph demonstrates how important beer is in creating 'men' and the bond between men, while also demonstrating the importance of space and gender in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. Firstly, this case highlights the need for the younger boy to mimic the older men in the hopes of one day being part of the mateship they have established. This action demonstrates a performance of a Hard Man masculinity which the young boy understands to be 'natural' and 'true' (Butler, 1993). However, when critically analysed it is obvious that the representations and discourses that have been created within society have influenced this 'natural' performance on both the younger and the older men. It also indicates that the men wish to separate themselves from 'others' to maintain the sense of sacredness that is often upheld with drinking beer. By moving outdoors (away from the urban domestic space of the kitchen) to the cars the men were instantly creating a masculinity that was exclusionary to anyone who did not fit into their type of mateship. During his analysis of American beer advertisements Strate (1992: 87) identifies this notion of togetherness.

> The dominant social context for male interaction is the group, and teamwork and group loyalty rank high in the list of masculine values. Individualism and competition, by contrast, are downplayed, and are acceptable only as long as they foster the cohesiveness of the group as a whole.

Once again, the Speight's "Dreaming" advertisement best demonstrates the selective nature of beer drinking cultures in certain spaces. The audience is shown two men who assume the physical appearance of a rural Hard Man. They are arriving at the local pub to have a beer after finishing their hard work on the land. However, at the pub the men begin to speak in what might be understood as urban discourse, like businessmen. The advertisement is designed to show these two men, one older than the other, acting in a manner that does not suit or fit with their appearance. The thought of the younger man having the attributes of an urban businessman is considered a 'nightmare' and is demonstrated with the older of the two men 'waking' suddenly with a scared look on his face. A strong binary is created by this advertisement, between rural and urban masculinities and spaces.

Rural space is epitomised as 'natural', pure and tranquil, and therefore is traditionally understood to have a 'particular form of society which is regarded as being closer to nature than the sort of society which emerges in the urban space' (Valentine 2001: 270). These qualities of the rural space sit comfortably with the qualities of the Hard Man masculinity that dominates the beer drinking cultures of New Zealand. The scene therefore implies this was a bad dream and that the idea that urban men drink what is considered to be a rural beer could never be real. It also shows the contempt or distrust for what is understood as elitism and intellectualism of urban males. Therefore, mateship 'reinforces the egalitarian values which

have held prominence in the formation of New Zealand's national identity' (Honeyfield, 1997: 74).

The portrayal of drinking and mateship is problematic due to the social messages advertisements send, that beer drinking is an integral part of mateship and therefore excludes those that choose not to drink. As Honeyfield (1997: 76) states the 'beer culture represented in the advertisements contributes to the (re)creation of the hegemonic discourse of Hard Man masculinity'. Part of the Hard Man masculinity is that those who take part in beer drinking are often striving to assume such masculinity even though they are in fact far from doing so.

During the male focus group there were moments when the men were intent on maintaining a type of Hard Man masculine identity for the rest of the group, yet they did not realise that in constantly repeating this identity to each other and myself the Hard Man masculine identity was in fact unravelling itself becoming less 'natural' or 'true' and instead vulnerable. Drinking, predicated on male force and activity, is a bodily performance of 'hardness' through which young men signify particular hegemonic working class masculinity (Canaan et al, 1996). The activity of beer drinking is embodied in the successful performance of public masculinity. Further, the successful defence of masculinity is due to this very performance. In order to maintain the Hard Man masculinity that I discussed earlier in this chapter, men feel the need to perform their masculine identity to one another. However, whether it is subconsciously or a purposeful

performance, my research has shown that men are not always aware of the gender identity they are embodying.

The following transcript demonstrates some contradictions that occurred during the 'performances' of the male focus group.  In this particular excerpt the participants answer my question how they believe I want it to be answered, but soon let down their guard and after some more discussion a normative masculinity is revealed.

Nicole:     So do you feel less masculine if you put your beer into a glass?

Bruce:      No, I just can't be bothered with it.

Scott:      I don't like drinking out of a glass, I like to suck it back in a bottle, it just looks and feels better than having a glass.

Bruce:      Or if you drop it you can rescue half of it.

Matthew:    I prefer to have the ones with the handle on it than a glass.

Michael:    That's true, a jug or handle is definitely better than a glass.

John:       I dunno a pint glass is pretty *tough.*

Scott:      Drinking out of a jug, you feel *ultimate*, a massive stein thing. The beer fest has big massive steins.

Daniel:     Yeah and everyone's standing there *flexing* [arms].

Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

The words that I have emphasised demonstrate the Hard Man masculinity that the male participants began to perform as they continued their discussion.  The initial reaction of the participants was to reject my suggestion that they felt less masculine drinking their beer from a glass.

However, as the discussion developed participants contradicted themselves. This contradiction suggests that the participants were performing their gender identity to fit within the discourses of masculinity they assumed surrounded the discussion. To return to Morris' (1991: 93) notion that hegemonic masculinity is not associated with vulnerability, it can be said that the masculinities involved in beer drinking create conflict with one another.

Many times throughout my research the male participants made every attempt to not show their vulnerability. As demonstrated in the excerpt, the participants wanted to maintain the power associated with rural Hard Man masculinity. They may feel vulnerable or less masculine when drinking from a glass rather than a bottle. I believe that they were uncomfortable with revealing a masculinity that did not conform to the dominant discourse society has constructed and therefore were performing their gender to maintain a level of power within the group and society. Butler (1990) understands discourse as multiple and contradictory but always productive; it has specific effects, and this is where its power lies. Discourse in Butler's account therefore disciplines its subjects even as it produces them. The contradiction I have discussed above shows the power that the hegemonic masculine discourse has over my participants. They disciplined themselves and their gender performances to fit within the discourse.

The Tui "Brucetta" advertisement is a vivid example that gender identity is performative, that is determined by the acts, gestures and enactments these men partake in. The advertisement begins with the image of two pioneer men working hard at the local rural Tui brewery. They are dressed in masculine clothing and have large amounts of facial hair. However, the men cannot resist the temptation of drinking Tui beer and from that day on the beer is brewed by women.

This is quite ironic due to the women being portrayed as having will power and control over their own temptations for beer, something that traditionally is associated with men. The advertisement therefore assures the viewers that women can be trusted to handle the beer because they do not like it. In order to get closer to the beer, two male characters, which look suspiciously like the original pioneer men, dress up as women and get a job working in the brewery. The men are caught after one of them steals a bottle of beer and they are last seen running from the brewery with a box of Tui, Figure 2 below is an image of how the men looked as they performed their feminine identity.
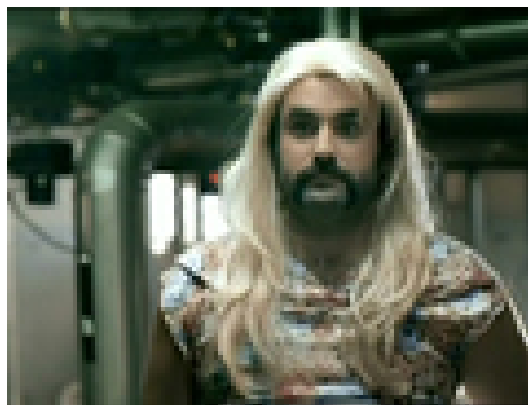


Figure 2: "Brucetta"
Source: Lion Breweries Tui Advertisement

The characters in the advertisement are shown portraying two different types of gender identity. The first identity is common throughout New Zealand's history. The pioneer men are overly masculine with large moustaches and masculine clothing. They are the epitome of the rural New Zealand that has carried through as part of our national identity. The second is that of a female. However, in this advertisement it is the men who are attempting to pass as women, giving a clear demonstration that gender can be performed through acts and gestures. The two men are now wearing dresses and long hair wigs. They have changed their names to be feminine versions of their former masculine names. For example Bruce becomes Brucetta and David becomes Davina. The advertisement for Tui demonstrates that it is through these acts that a gender identity can be performed. In a reading of drag balls Butler argues that

> A parodic repetition and mimicry of heterosexual identities at these events disrupts dominant sex and gender identities because the performers supposed 'natural' identities (as male) do not correspond with the signs produced within the performance (for example the feminine body language and dress) (Valentine, 2001: 22).

The men in this advertisement are overly rural and rugged. This indicates that the producers wanted the audience to understand that this beer is only suitable to a specific identity. Even performing femininity, it was impossible for the two men in the advertisement to completely disconnect from their rural Hard Man identity. At the same time, this advertisement was reiterating the position of women in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. In the next section of this chapter I will discuss the use of

women to enhance and further enable the masculinist constructions of rural space and national identity.

**'That a Girl!' - The Barbie Doll fantasy**

Their bodies and physical appearance largely determine the position of women in society. Adrienne Rich (1986: 212) describes the body as 'the geography closest in'. It is the primary location where our personal identities are constituted and social knowledge's and meanings inscribed (Valentine, 2001). For many years the association of women and the body has been part of a larger discourse in geographical research. There is a strong dualism that has been created and often used to explain the constructions of masculinities and more so femininities.

The distinction between the mind and the body has been gendered. The mind is commonly associated with positive terms such as rationality, control, reason and masculinity. The body is associated with more negative terms such as irrationality, nature, emotion and femininity. Gillian Rose (1993) and Robyn Longhurst (1997) have argued that the dualisms that have been created are important in shaping geographers' knowledge of space and society and how that knowledge has been produced. This dualism has been crucial in the creation of the femininities in New Zealand's beer drinking culture. During my focus group discussion with the female participants there were indications that the women who were used in beer drinking advertisements were considered to be bimbos. Below are the first comments by my participants of this particular idea.

Nicole:     How do you think the one sole woman was portrayed in the ad?

Vanessa:    Bimbo.

Melissa:    She would do anything for you, your female servant.

Vanessa:    So it's that whole southern man stereotype…

Steph:      And still she was a bit Barbie looking…

Vanessa:    Yeah she was!

Female Focus Group, 22nd June 2006

This is the first indication of the hegemonic femininity that is used in New Zealand's beer advertisements.   The female focus group participants likened the woman used in the Speight's advertisement to the Barbie doll, which is synonymous with the idea of the 'perfect' body.

In her study of bodily representations in merchant banks, Linda McDowell (1994) draws on Butlers notion of gender identity as a regulatory fiction. She uses the fictitious characters of the prince and princess, to represent the gender identities that are manifested in that particular space. McDowell argues that the financial world is largely fictional and can be best examined as if it 'literally were a fiction in the sense of a constructed narrative' (1994: 734).  I take this approach to the beer drinking cultures of New Zealand where the advertisements demonstrate a constructed narrative of not only masculinity but in particular femininity.  This use of fictional characters leads me to term the hegemonic femininity as the Barbie Doll femininity.

The idea of the Barbie Doll is an image or representation that helps to physically demonstrate the beer cultures idealised femininity. The 'perfect' body is slender and thin. It consists of large sized breasts and long, generally blonde hair. The appearance of the 'perfect' body shows a woman that cares about what she looks like and takes a great deal of time looking after not only her figure but also her hair, clothes and make-up. The normative assumption is that she works-out and eats non-fat food to maintain such an identity. Men also seek after the 'perfect' body for sexual attraction. As mentioned in the discussion above, Melissa has identified the connection between the female character and her role in the advertisement. The character is known in the advertisement as "Shaz", which is short for Sharon in most cases. She works behind the bar in the rural pub and is there to serve the men their drinks. She also has a social role – to keep them happy and satisfied. Part of the advertisement shows the two southern men accepting their drinks from Shaz and then suggesting she have one herself. As Melissa rightfully states in the focus group interview this creates the representation that the woman in the beer advertisement would do anything for the men, she is there simply to 'serve' and take directions from them.

The producers of the advertisements have demonstrated the hegemonic femininity most prominently for Tui beer. It is not clear whether this is an intentional use of women who assume the attributes of Barbie Doll femininity, however the use of these women has a large affect on the advertisement and its intended audience. As described earlier in my

research, the advertisement portrays the beer as being too much of a temptation for men to brew and therefore is now brewed by women – "gorgeous women" – as stated in the advertisement. The viewers are then shown women with 'perfect' bodies, dressed in minimal clothing, brewing the beer.[9]    Figure 3 below demonstrates the type of female body that is used in the Tui advertisement to represent a particular femininity. I have included this in my research to give a visual reference to the comments I will use from my focus group participants.



Figure 3: "Women – gorgeous women"
Source: Lion Breweries Tui Advertisement

The participants of my focus group discussions where shown this advertisement and then asked to give their general thoughts on what they saw. Below is the male participant's reaction to the Tui advertisement.

Nicole:      What part of the ad caught your attention first?

Daniel:      The shower scene.

Bruce:      The one where that girl's bending down to pick up the crate!

Nicole:      So when your watching it are you actually thinking about beer or do you completely forget it's a beer ad?

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[9] For a full synopsis of the advertisement see Appendix 1.

Scott:      A lot of its slow motion where they show them walking from behind, it's pretty exotic.

Bruce:      I just kept watching it to see what the ad was about.

Nicole:     And would you change any part of the ad?

John:       Get rid of the guys and just have girls.

Scott:      Maybe have girls with no clothes [laughter]

Daniel:     No, it was a good ad!

Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

The focus group participants above show what I believe to be typical male response.  The advertisement has caught their attention through the imagery of the women's bodies.  My participants did not necessarily know what the advertisement was trying to sell; however, they kept watching it to see, as the content –the women's bodies – was pleasurable for them.  Anna Kraack discusses the use of women by men in the study of masculinities in a South Island student pub.  She states that:

> In men's discourse and in their behaviour towards women, women are reduced to 'bodies' over which they have little or no control.  In the pub context a woman's body can be seen as the mutual property of other men (Kraack, 1999: 159).

In the context of the beer advertisements I have used in my research this statement is very true.  The women that are portrayed in the advertisements are being used for the pleasure of the men.  They are constructed as the 'mutual property of men' and have no other reason to be in the advertisement other than attracting the attention of the target market – men.  I asked the women participants of my focus group for their

74

thoughts on the same advertisement.  They responded in a much more critical way.

Nicole:     So your general thoughts on the ad?

Vanessa:    Sickening! [Laughter]

Melissa:    The first thing I picked up on was every single female is your stereotypical fantasy, and also, why do they have to be beautiful women?  And then I automatically thought the beautiful women must also, they must kinda symbolise the beer cos they are irresistible to men as well.

Vanessa:    That word at the end, that little thing "irresistible to men" [quote from the end of the advertisement] straightaway they are ruling out females.

Steph:      And their ruling out the females by saying that you know, females are able to not drink it but it's only irresistible to men. And when the men come in dressed up as females they drink it.

Female Focus Group, 22nd June 2006

The women participants have analysed this advertisement and the women that are used.  Unlike the men earlier they did not find the advertisement entertaining at all.  The men took pleasure in viewing the Tui females whereas the women were so connected to the advertisement they identified the hegemony almost immediately.  I believe that the women participants felt a need to conform to the identity and bodily shape of the Tui females.  Because of the pressure they feel from the hegemonic femininity the women instead decide to distance them from the Barbie Doll representation resulting in the critical manner in which my participants reacted.  Women's bodies are the objects of the masculine gaze frequently in this advertisement.  Young (2005) suggests that it is acceptable for men to look at, comment on or touch women's bodies in

public space and that, as a result, women are fearful that their body space may be invaded by men in the form of wolf whistles, minor sexual harassment or even rape (Valentine, 2001). I argue that in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures this particular form of 'Barbie Doll' femininity is created and performed under the direction of men. It is repeated to create a discourse that suggests the 'perfect' body is 'true' and 'natural' (Butler, 1993). Under the direction of masculine cultures these performances take place and are constructed to be shown to masculine viewers. Therefore the politics of identity and advertisements are complex. Many women want to perform Barbie Doll femininity because the discourse shown through advertisements have normalised this femininity for them.

The position that the Barbie Doll femininity maintains in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures is for the purpose of enabling the rural Hard Man masculinity and enhancing the performance of the Hard Man. These women are not considered part of the beer drinking cultures, rather an addition to them that is used for any purpose required.

### One of the Boys – hyper masculine women

Another identity that is constructed within New Zealand's beer drinking cultures is that of hyper masculine women. Women readily perform this particular identity in an attempt to become part of the beer drinking space. It is also given an absent/present status and furthermore fails to adopt a space that is exclusive to beer drinking women.

The hyper masculine woman is placed within a liminal zone between the hegemonic femininity and the hegemonic masculinity. That is, the hyper masculine woman can have attributes of both Barbie Doll femininity and Hard Man masculinity and therefore does not occupy a space of her own within the beer drinking cultures of New Zealand. The hyper masculine identity is not used in the beer advertisements shown on television, but was a large part of the focus groups discussions. The first indication of this was when I asked the male participants to comment on any women they knew who drank beer.

Nicole:     Well then, do you know any girls who drink beer?

John:       Shit yeah, go down to Wairoa – they all drink beer.

Daniel:     Yeah, Kaitaia, I went up for a 21st and they were drinking out of jugs [laughter] seriously, up there they would have all, all the girls would've drunk me under the table with beer!

Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

The importance here is the reference to rural spaces. The male participants have made the connection between rural space and masculine women. However they also make a joke of the fact that the women in those rural spaces drink beer, which indicates that they did not want their own masculinity to be affected by accepting that women can drink beer and drink it better than men. In her study of hegemonic masculinity within South Island student pubs, Anna Kraack identifies a masculine form of femininity. She states that

> Appropriation occurs when women conform to and exhibit hegemonic masculine characteristics. This

77

appropriation of hegemonic practices is not directly resistant to hegemonic masculinity as it does not challenge its domination, but it does legitimise a form of femininity that is complicit with rather than subordinate to men. Hegemonic masculinity can be seen as the currency of the pub, and in some situations women buy into this currency in order to define themselves advantageously within the pub context (1999: 161).

When asked about female beer drinkers, the men spoke with a sense that they were surprised to find a woman who would drink beer. While the men immediately associated female beer drinking with rural spaces, the women were much different. The female focus group immediately 'othered' women who drank beer and spoke about them with disgust.

Nicole:    I definitely think that when, as a girl if you drink beer you do become one of the boys and you're expected to take on those masculine traits to drink beer because it's certainly not looking good of you drink beer and then come waltzing out in your little skirt or something and giggle and laugh, they want you to be quite manly.

Melissa:   Every girl I know, one person in particular, she is, when she gets drunk, and she drinks beer, I'm like "uugh she's really gross"…and she's real loud and manly but then she also sleeps around a bit, so it's like if she was all girly and nice her beer drinking wouldn't be so gross but because she's so unfeminine with her, how she does it, everybody's just "omigod she so repulsive"…

Nicole:    That could be attached to the fact that we don't think women should drink beer.

Steph:     Yeah, so we've got it in our heads that when we see someone acting a bit silly and they've been drinking wine we completely blame it on the wine, but not the beer… [Agreement].

Female Focus Group, 22nd June 2006

78

The attitude of the female participants towards beer drinking women is very obvious.  In the example that Melissa shared, the woman chose to assume masculine characteristics such as drinking beer and being loud. This did not appeal to the female participants and it was shown through their judgement of her actions and the comments that Melissa shared; "uugh she's really gross", "omigod she's so repulsive".  As I suggested to the group, the discourse that is considered the dominant norm can have an affect on the way we view people and their actions, especially in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures with women.  Once again this demonstrates the liminal zone that women who drink beer are placed within.  Other women consider them repulsive if they assume rural masculine characteristics, but in turn are not considered part of the beer drinking culture by men if they are too urban and feminine.  As a female beer drinker, I was placed in an interesting position when this discussion took place with my focus group participants.  They showed no disgust at my actions of being a beer drinker and found it humorous at times to be discussing women beer drinkers in this manner because they did not want it to reflect the way they felt about me.  This shows that my participants are exhibiting their construction of a normative femininity, which is a rather narrow feminised construction.

I believe that hyper masculine women choose to drink beer because they enjoy it however they are pressured by the dominant discourse to perform their identities in order to be accepted.  The hyper masculine identity is the most consciously performed identity within New Zealand's beer drinking

cultures. Women do not perform this particular identity in the hopes of sustaining a hegemonic femininity, as Judith Butler (1990, 1993) would argue. Instead, they perform a hyper masculine identity that allows them to shift from the liminal zone they occupy into the same space as the Hard Man. In turn, this performance helps to establish the rural Hard Man masculinity as the dominant identity in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures, while weakening the position of femininities and the argument of feminist geographers.

Over time, feminist geographers have attempted to blur the boundaries that restrict femininities. They have attempted to create a feminine space within society that does not rely on other identities such as masculinities to exist. At the present moment, New Zealand's beer drinking cultures create spaces that are shaped to enable masculinities to dominate, while only allowing femininities to exist as their binary opposite. In this chapter I have identified the national discourse of beer drinking to be constructed in a rural space. This in turn creates a hegemonic masculinity, known as the Hard Man, which adopts rural characteristics and discourses. The national identities of beer drinking women favour their appearance in the attempt to enhance and enable the Hard Man masculinity. The hyper masculine woman while being accepted into the beer drinking cultures of New Zealand, are once more constructed in a rural space in order to be accepted into the beer drinking cultures. In the next chapter I examine New Zealand's beer drinking cultures within the urban and domestic spaces.

# CHAPTER FIVE

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## Homosexuals, Metrosexuals and Housewives:

## Urban Constructions of Masculinities,

## Femininities and Beer

The representation urban space in New Zealand beer advertisements has, for many years, been absent. Urban space is often constructed as rural's other. The urban spaces I a referring to in this thesis are the office, nightclubs, clubrooms and the home (both indoors and outdoors). Within New Zealand's beer drinking cultures homosexuals, metrosexuals and the 'ordinary' women have all been excluded due to their links to urban spaces. In this chapter I examine these three identities and their evolving position within our beer cultures.

First, I consider the 'rural Hard Man' in urban space. My research shows that urban space challenges this Hard Man identity. I demonstrate the impact that space can have on the representation and construction of identity.

Secondly, I explore more fully the masculinities that are present in New Zealand's urban spaces. Through the use of beer advertisements I will analyse what masculine identities are excluded by the more dominant rural Hard Man identity. These television advertisements dismiss particular masculinities that are seen to have attributes that are of lesser

value to dominant discourse such as non-white, gay and in some cases urban masculinity. These identities are categorised as 'other'. New Zealand's beer cultures favour a hegemonic masculinity by oppressing these 'other' masculinities and as a result they rarely feature in representations of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures.

Finally, I will address the identity of the 'othered' femininities. This includes the notion of the 'ordinary' woman and domestic housewives, who do not conform to either the Barbie Doll femininity of the hyper masculine woman. I will examine how the urban, as well as domestic space, influences the representation of this identity in New Zealand's beer cultures. In both sections of this chapter I will discuss the contradictions that took place in my focus groups and throughout my research.

These contradictions are consistent with Butler's (1993) notion of performativity. That is, each of my male participants demonstrated shifting identities that were influenced and changed depending on the space they were drinking within or the people they were surrounded by. In his study of New Zealand pubs, Hugh Campbell (2000) explores the performativity of public masculinity. He states:

> The actual attributes and ideal composition of this [hegemonic] version of masculinity are never directly mentioned or addressed by participants in this social site. Masculinity therefore is transparent – subject to endless scrutiny – and yet invisible. The entire performance enacts a particular version of masculinity that is powerful and legitimate; yet through the performance this masculinity is rendered

> invisible and, in an important sense, unchallengeable
> (2000: 566).

The invisible nature of masculinity plays a dominant role in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. What form of masculinity is appropriate and required is understood by those who are part of the cultures. In turn, the masculinity is then performed in such a way that it conforms to the social discourses that already exist.

There were many times where the male participants would try so hard to uphold the rural Hard Man masculinity they in turn demonstrated how vulnerable their identity was to change and the 'other'. In this next excerpt, the male focus group participants begin to discuss a beer that is common to the urban space.

Daniel:     That drinking Summer Ale thing is also - and you're a pussy for doing it - comes from the mentality of go hard and drink as much as you can.

Bruce:      Cos Monteiths costs twice as much!

Daniel:     That's the 'drink as much as you can get shit faced' mentality coming through. What are you drinking that crap for?

Scott:      Yeah, two boxes of Waikato for six Montieths.

Nicole:     I found it interesting that when you listed [compared] it; you listed it as Cruiser; Summer Ale and Beer. But Summer Ale is a beer.

Daniel:     It's not a traditional beer.

Michael:    Yeah, it's not a beer as such but a variety.

Daniel:     It's not a pure beer it's a sweetened…

Michael:    It's more like "I wanna be a man and drink beer but I can't handle the full taste".

What is most interesting about his passage is what is *not* said. From my experience with the participants, I am aware that all of them, at times, drink Monteiths beers. It was not until after I had completed the focus group and analysed the data that I realised how important this particular silence was. Melissa Hyams (2004) explores the importance of silences and how easily the researcher can dismiss them from the research. She states that 'silence is most often equated with absence and voice with presence – literally and symbolically' (2004: 109). Furthermore, when silence is equated with absence, it marks what should be present but is not. The absence of information in this instance demonstrates the need for the male participants to uphold a sense of masculinity in front of each other and myself. The power of what they said during the focus group does not illustrate their thoughts as clearly as what they did not say and the actions they pursue when taking part in beer drinking. It is these contradictions from the research that demonstrate the influence space has on the construction of identities.

John Beynon (2002) has identified the difficulty in trying to research masculinities:

> Many men are now upholders of a masculinity that is experienced and displayed differently at different times in different situations (Beynon, 2002: 6).

New Zealand's beer drinking cultures assume different masculinities at any given moment.  It can be said that:

> Modern masculinity has helped to determine, and has in turn been influenced, by what are considered normative patterns of morality and behaviour, that is to say, typical and acceptable ways of behaving and acting within the social setting of the past centuries (Mosse, 1998: 4).

It is these typical and acceptable ways of behaving that have created underlying multiple and conflicting masculinities.  Through the need to conform to the masculinities that are desired by dominant discourse, New Zealand's beer drinking cultures have created an environment of performed gender.  The research that I have conducted demonstrates masculine performativity that takes place during male beer drinking sessions and the complex nature of these performances.

At some stages, those who attempt to uphold the rural Hard Man masculinity while drinking beer find themselves becoming part of the urban drinking space without recognising it.  The women participants noted forms of masculinity that shifted with the different spaces occupied.  As Campbell (2000) notes the masculinity is never addressed but is performed to enable and construct that particular space.

Nicole:     If you think now about the spaces that you've been to like nightclubs or parties where there has been alcohol, is there the same gendering of beer in those spaces?

Melissa:   Well, at nightclubs I don't see men drinking beer I see men drinking bourbons and so many guys like lolly drinks, so many, so I think it is more of an afternoon, get drunk before you go to town thing.

85

Lisa: But then if you're at a party rather than at a club it is more beer orientated.

Steph: Cos I know that whenever I got out with guys and that I will always be drinking the same thing as them and it is never beer. But then beforehand I will be drinking the pre-mixes and they will be mocking me for drinking the lolly water and that while they will be drinking their beer.

Melissa: And they go – ooh that tastes nice!

Female Focus Group, 22nd June 2006

The comments above demonstrate the effect space has on the performance of masculinity. As the participants noted, there are moments when the hegemonic Hard Man masculinity is suitable in order to fit within the social construction of the domestic space. However there is an underlying or 'invisible' masculinity that males perform, which subverts the Hard Man image.

The performance that is taking place here is very complex. Men enjoy drinking beer at home; indicating that they feel the domestic space is a Hard Man space despite social constructions labelling it as a feminised space. However, at the nightclubs, the men assume a more urban, feminised identity by drinking the premixed spirits known as 'lolly water'. What is interesting here is the conflict between the two actions, as the domestic space is generally a private space, while the club space is overtly public. Here the men are demonstrating two very different masculinities in two contradicting spaces.

The urban domestic space in this discussion is gendered. Men and women are situated within spaces of the home that are socially constructed as gendered and have been negotiated as gendered among those who live within the space. Valentine (2001: 63) suggests that the home is

> An important site where the spatial and temporal boundaries in relation to both domestic space and public space are negotiated and contested between household members.

The participants of both focus groups note that the women are more suited to the inside of the home, a traditionally feminine space, while men choose to remove themselves from the inside of the domestic space to 'party' outdoors, as the outside domestic space is often associated with labour and the rural Hard Man. This gendered division of the domestic space is a clear example of the performance of the Hard Man image. By exerting their masculinity in a particular space of the home, the men in this case are attempting to naturalise and sustain their Hard Man image within the group. The actions that take place within the domestic space suggest that this is part of the 'Hard Man' space of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures, even though the location of the domestic space is very much part of an urban white collar space. This then suggests that there are not only multiple masculinities within beer drinking cultures, but also multiple masculine spaces.

To further this discussion the male participants once more contradict their actions and words when discussing the Speight's "Dreaming" advertisement.

Scott:        I thought they were hassling Auckland maybe cos they were talking about beamers [BMWs] and mercs [Mercedes].

Daniel:       They kind of were, Southern beer hassling Auckland.

Michael:      Also that beer is gonna solve problems as well, like when he woke up he cracks open a beer. As if you drink beer your problems will go away, no worries.

Nicole:       Maybe it's also showing that men have worries?

Michael:      Don't be silly [laughter].

Nicole:       So you could relate more to those guys in the ad?

John:         Sadly so yeah.

Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

Here the contradiction occurs when the participants give their interpretation of the advertisement. As Michael states the producers of the advertisement are portraying beer as a remedy for problems that the drinker may have, "your problems will go away, no worries". However, when I suggested the advertisement might personally relate to the participants their reaction was to dismiss and contradict the statement that they had initially made. Once again this contradiction demonstrates the performativity of men's gender identity in order to assume the constructions of beer drinking. Just as my participants show their gender identity through the words they say and the actions they take, so do the characters in the beer advertisements.

Feminine identities in the Tui beer advertisement may act as an 'other' in order to have the audience focus on the hegemonic masculinity of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. The notion of 'other' masculinities is

prevalent in today's beer drinking society and is used not only in the advertisements on television but also mentioned within my male focus group.

**Man, I feel like a woman! – 'othered' masculinities**

In chapter four I discussed the hegemonic masculinities and the contradictions that surround the performance of gender and masculinity in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. So far the masculinities that have been present in the research are connected to the rural aspect of New Zealand and conform to the social discourses that have been constructed. However there is a small group of masculinities that are 'othered' within the beer drinking cultures and as a consequence are devalued.

These masculinities are commonly associated with urban areas in New Zealand. They involve men who work in the business sector and generally wear suits or shirts to work everyday. They are aware of their appearance and, supposedly, are in touch with their emotions. This identity can be divided into two different categories. The first is known as 'metrosexual', an urban male with a strong aesthetic sense who spends a great deal of time and money on his appearance and lifestyle. This man is defined by his sense of style and appearance. He lives in the bigger cities and rarely takes part in manual labour. The second category is classed as homosexual men. These men have been grouped with 'race' and class as an 'other' for many years in human geography studies. A homosexual man holds many of the same attributes as a metrosexual. Both of these types

of masculinities are understood to exhibit feminine attributes and therefore are placed alongside women as an 'other' to men. They are separated not only by their masculine attributes or lack there of, but also by their class and level of income. While these forms of masculinities are labelled as an 'other' by society, they are in fact artificial. It is possible to be both rural and homosexual or a metrosexual Hard Man. It is only through the repetition of these 'labels' as docile identities, that they are assumed to be different or removed from those that are more socially accepted.

What is interesting about this 'othering' of masculinity is that it is disrupting the traditional 'other' of the working class man. Lynda Johnston (2005: 123) identifies that

> The man/woman binary has been widely considered to be universal and naturally given. Humans are considered to be either male or female and this construction is usually without consideration of space, place, times and cultures.

The identities that are evident in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures subvert this notion that the binary is 'universal and naturally given'. In this research, hard beer drinking men are understood as masculine; white; heterosexual; working class and rural. On the opposite of that women are connected to feminine, non-white, homosexual, middle class and urban. There is a distinct switch in the socially constructed binary, which can be used to show that the beer drinking cultures of New Zealand can create and sustain their own gender identities, which conflict those more socially acceptable discourses. Lawrence D. Berg (1994) discusses the issue of

90

binaries that become unravelled.  In this case Berg is studying the binary of theory versus empirical investigation.   However, his research holds similarities to my own in that he argues that gendering:

> 'Theory' as feminine and subordinate it to masculine 'empirical investigation'…runs counter to the way that Western (masculinist) philosophy has always linked femininity to nature, the body and experience (i.e. the field) and masculinity to mind, rationality and reason (i.e. theorising) (1994: 255).

As with Berg, this research demonstrates a contradiction with the typical Western binary I discussed earlier.  Berg (1994) goes further to argue that it is due to the particular way a hegemonic masculinity has been constructed in New Zealand that causes the binary to become unravelled.  For the purpose of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures, it is the construction of the rural Hard Man masculinity and its constant performance as a hegemonic masculinity that has lead to a binary that does not fit within Western philosophy.  However binaries are very mobile and are able to unravel and reform depending on the dominant discourse that is being asserted at the time.

According to Simone de Beauvoir, 'otherness is a fundamental category of human thought ... as primordial as consciousness itself' (1972: 16-17).  While de Beauvoir focussed her attention towards the othering of women against men, her concept of otherness has subsequently been extended too many different contexts. De Beauvoir argues that the Self is defined in contrast to various socially significant others.  Edward Said's (1978) work on Orientalism demonstrates how 'the Orient', as a cultural construction,

has provided white Europeans with their deepest and most enduring sense of the other.  However, the notion of the 'other' is not exclusive to women and 'the Orient'.  It can also be used in relation to class, 'race' and in this case within a particular gender.

Homosexuality and femininity constitute sites of 'resistance which subverts the dominant discourse of pure heterosexuality by revealing an alternative sexuality and a sense of the exotic' (Buchbinder 1998: 13).  These categories become the social 'other' in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures.  The rural Hard Man of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures is understood as the accepted masculinity.  The other is seen only in terms of its difference from the Hard Man.  As Gillian Rose (1993: 6) states, the masculine position 'sees other identities only in terms of his own self-perception; he sees them as what I shall term his other'.  Feminists such as Le Doeuff argue that the structure of same and other is 'embedded both in what it means to be masculine and in the production of knowledge about the world' (1993: 6).  I argue that the men who are part of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures define themselves by establishing an 'other' that is the direct opposite of the masculinity that is socially acceptable.  The male participants were quick to identify an 'other' when approached with the question during the focus group.

Nicole:     Because it's a masculine drink, are there any males that wouldn't drink beer?

Scott:      Gays!  They drink those alco-pops and that sort of stuff, or wine, they drink a lot of wine aye?

Daniel:     I don't know, you're telling us… [Laughter]

There is much to deconstruct in this short exchange.  Scott, without hesitation, identified gays as the other.  He understands gay men as an identity that does not fit within his performed masculinity.  Also, Daniel aims a comment towards Scott in order to make him feel uncomfortable about having an opinion about gay masculinity.  I believe he made this comment for two reasons.  The first is to challenge Scott's masculinity and assert his own with the sense that he holds the power over the rest of the group.  The second reason, I believe, is to reposition the attention of the discussion away from the other so as to not be drawn into a conversation that may threaten the groups - as well as individual - masculinity.  It is this example that best explains the notion that a masculinity can in fact become very vulnerable simply from the repeated performance it needs to sustain it.  By feeling the need to constantly perform their Hard Man masculinity the men have demonstrated that it is in fact always vulnerable to being associated with the 'other' masculinities it tries so hard to exclude.

The final underlying message of this excerpt is the association with another type of alcohol, wine and alco-pops.  These two types of drink tend to be more expensive to purchase than beer and usually have a higher percentage of alcohol in them.  It is usually women who drink them or those whose income levels can sustain the expense of drinking this kind of alcohol on regular occasions.  This association once again creates a binary between rural working class and urban middle class, where the rural is

connected to the manual labour and beer drinking cultures of New Zealand, while the urban is related to the business man, women or homosexual who is classed as an 'other' and inferior. It is important for me to note here that none of the male participants lived in rural areas of the country. They all identified themselves as being urban. They are businessmen who wear shirts and dress pants to work everyday. However, once they have left their space of work, my participants chose to assume the rural Hard Man masculinity, in what I believe to be an attempt to distance themselves from their 'real' urban masculinity.

The Lion Red "Tennis Tips" advertisement caused a similar reaction from the focus group participants. In this advertisement there are two young men who are not obvious Hard Men, getting ready to play a game of tennis. The two men used are not solidly built. They joke constantly with each other and make fools of themselves. The fact that they are playing a game of tennis at a club implies that they are of a class level that can afford to have a membership. The tennis club is shown to be in the middle of a city indicating an urban male rather than a rural beer-drinking male such as the Hard Man. What is not demonstrated in this thesis or during my focus groups was that this advertisement is part of a series, which shows the same characters in different situations. One other Lion Red advertisement has the same two men meeting in a corporate box of a sports game dressed in suits and ties. I believe that these men are portrayed in the advertisements as urban 'metrosexual' men. Many of my

focus group participants commented that these advertisements were part of a series.

The advertisement has a voiceover, which gives Lion Red tips for tennis. The advertisement is largely based on the humour of the two younger men.  Once they have finished their game of tennis the two men invite their opponents – two 60-year-old women – up to the clubhouse.  I will discuss the importance of the two older women further into this chapter. In the clubhouse is where the viewers of the advertisement first see the use of the Barbie Doll femininity.  In the background of the clubhouse are a large number of 'perfect' bodied women in tennis uniforms dancing and drinking beer.  The men finish by saying into the camera with a sense of accomplishment "Cheers Lion Red!"  Below is the reaction to this advertisement from the women's focus group.

Steph:      But it did still have the pretty girls in it. It still had that whole scenario, but this time they were drinking the beer, so it was … saying if you drink this beer or have this beer you can give it to the pretty girls and pick them up.

Melissa:    They will hang around you.

Vanessa:   So it appeals to the geeky kind of beer drinker guys and the jocks…

<div align="right">Female Focus Group, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2006</div>

This transcript demonstrates the use within a space for these women and their bodies.  This time, the feminine identity that was shown, enhanced the imagination of the male viewers of the advertisement.  The women were used to represent what could possibly happen when Lion Red was

chosen as the beer to drink by men. The space that I refer to is the imaginary space of men. This idea only becomes 'real' in the minds of the viewers and does not exist in the advertisement itself, leading to the women being used in an absent/present manner. This idea becomes complicated due to the fact that each intended viewer of the advertisement has a different reading of it. Therefore, how I have critically analysed the ending of this advertisement may not necessarily be the common reading.

It is also important in demonstrating that the body is not only in a space, it is a space (Valentine, 2001). The body is a surface that is marked and transformed by our cultures and discourses. It is constituted within discourse; different discursive regimes produce different bodies. In New Zealand's beer drinking cultures the masculine discourse that has been formed has inscribed itself onto the bodies of women. This in turn has lead to the use of a Barbie Doll femininity to enhance and enable the performance of the Hard Man masculinity.

At the same time the creation of a Barbie Doll femininity to promote beer drinking has produced 'othered' femininities that do not conform to the performances of the women in the beer advertisements. I will examine critically the creation of 'othered' femininities with specific reference to 'ordinary' women and hyper masculine women.

**Desperate Housewives – 'othered' femininities**

In many spaces women are 'other'. They are defined by a masculine perspective that seeks to safeguard its own disembodied status through identifying women generally with the bodily sphere (Salih and Butler, 2004). By defining women as 'other', men are able to transcend their bodies and privilege their absent status. Yet my research has so far shown that this distinction between men/women, mind/body doesn't hold. Men are embodied in complex ways, yet they may still objectify women[10].

New Zealand's beer drinking cultures not only 'other' women in their beer advertisements; they also create an 'other' within women. Through the creation of Barbie Doll femininity, many women are excluded from the beer drinking cultures because of the difference of their bodies. I argue that New Zealand's beer drinking cultures are exclusionary to multiple femininities and influence the formation of hyper masculine women.

The 'ordinary' woman is somebody who does not fit the idealised norm of the 'perfect' body, whether it is age, and size or skin colour. In society, the 'perfect' body is the image or representation of the socially accepted femininity, whereas the 'ordinary' woman is the femininity that is most commonly everyday rather than extraordinary. For the purpose of this research, the discursive space of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures determines the 'ordinary' woman to be aged 30 years or more. She does not appear to have a toned body that is tanned and consistently groomed.

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[10] This idea has been demonstrated and examined in full in Chapter Four "Blokes and Sheilas".

The 'ordinary' woman's body also has parts that are uncontrolled and overweight. The construction of this form of identity is purely through the comparison with Barbie Doll femininity. The 'ordinary' woman is the distinct opposite to the hegemonic woman used in New Zealand's beer drinking advertisements; she is coupled with the domestic space of the home. The use for the 'other' femininities in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures and advertisements are not only to enhance the masculinity but also to also reiterate and strengthen the Barbie Doll femininity. This femininity is a narrow form of identity only obtainable to very few women. Those who are unable to obtain it, while having difference of their own, are grouped within one single category of 'other' or 'ordinary'.

In the Lion Red "Tennis Tips" advertisement there is a distinct form of 'othered' femininity used. As the two young males walk onto the tennis court to begin a game of doubles tennis, they are introduced to their opponents. Not only are the opponents women – the binary opposite to men – they are also aged in their 60s, have grey hair and do not have bodies that conform to the image of the 'perfect' body. I asked my focus group participants for their opinions on why the producers of the advertisement would have chosen to use less 'socially accepted' femininities to represent the beer.

Nicole:     Why do you think they picked older women to be the tennis opponents instead of the hot girls at the end?

Melissa:    That's really weird, I don't know!

Steph:      Yeah, see I didn't really pick that up.

Nicole:      Yeah cos I seem to think it's funny that they invite the old women up to the clubhouse…

Steph:       And they aren't even 'M.I.L.F-ish' [A Mum I'd Like to Fuck] old women, but then later on he was like "now lets practice your foreplay".  I can imagine him saying that to a good looking older blonde women that's forty or something, but not women like that.

Vanessa:     Is it, could it be perhaps so that the ad appeals to young women as well, so that we are still laughing at the old ladies? [Agreement]

Steph:       So we don't think they are gorgeous and get jealous.

Melissa:     Cos the old ladies featured more than the young women and girls are more likely to be – uugh look at those skinny bitches – don't look at her!

Female Focus Group, 22nd June 2006

This excerpt shows the 'othering' of women by the producers of the beer advertisement as well as the 'othering' of women by the participants of my focus group.  Steph commented that the older women weren't M.I.L.F-ish. This term was first coined in the popular teen movie *American Pie*.  It represents a woman who has children and is aged in her 40s or 50s but still possesses the attributes of the Barbie Doll femininity.  Steph's statement indicates a level of disgust at the idea of a woman who is viewed as an 'other' being treated in the same manner as a woman who is part of the hegemonic femininity.  However Gillian Rose argues that this use of woman is intentional.  She states that

> The need for a feminine 'other' beyond, or incapable of, a discourse does not mean that the feminine never appears in that discourse: on the contrary, references to the feminine occur in order to reaffirm the superiority and reality of masculine knowledge (1993: 10).

I believe that it is the intention of the producers to not completely objectify young women in order to gain more female beer drinkers. They demonstrate this by the use of the older women that do not appeal to the younger age group at all. However, they also use a different type of masculinity in the advertisement. As stated earlier, the masculinity used is less rural Hard Man and more urban metrosexual. I believe that this masculinity, because it is less dominant in society, does not let the female viewers of the advertisement feel overpowered and vulnerable. It also allows the discourse that the rural is masculine and the urban is feminine to continue. As Vanessa points out, these women may have been used in the advertisement to allow the product to be marketed to younger women as well as men. This would support the notion that women are absent/present in the beer cultures of New Zealand. They are placed within the advertisements to enhance the masculinities but do not occupy any space of their own and are not recognised within the beer drinking cultures, despite their excessive use.

This appropriation of hegemonic masculine characteristics not only takes place in pub spaces. The male participants also indicated that it takes place at nightclubs and parties as well.

Nicole:     When you go to nightclubs or have a party at someone's house do you see that same gendering of beer drinking?

Daniel:     Yeah.

Bruce:     Pretty much.

Michael:     Very rare that you see girls drinking beer at parties, wines or KGB's [a pre mixed vodka drink].

Daniel: Yeah girls come with one bottle of something and guys come with the chilly of beers.

Nicole: If you saw a girl drinking beers as opposed to a girl drinking wine would you see her more as one of the boys or a manly female rather than the girl drinking wines?

Daniel: If a chick walked into a party with a box of 15 beers and cracked one open…

Bruce: You'd feel more comfortable talking to them if you didn't know them because you'd get along a bit easier…

Daniel: Yeah, you'd talk to them easy as you'd probably think they were one of the guys.

Bruce: You'd feel like they didn't think they were higher than you.

Scott: Upper class and stuff.

Michael: Yeah, there's sort of two ways to it, if they look I guess, if they come in butch as and they come in with a box of beer your gona go "whoa" [with disgust], if they are attractive your gona go "oooh".

Daniel: Like the Tui ad!

Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

This transcript has many important ideas embedded within it. The first is the spaces that determine the types of identities that are performed. I asked the participants to discuss both the nightclub space as well as parties that take place in domestic spaces. This was a deliberate question, as I knew that these two spaces created two very different atmospheres. The male participants identified that females do not drink beer at parties that are within the domestic space. These parties are generally situated outside in the backyard or within a garage, depending on the weather. The inside of the house is feminised while the outside

tends to encompass the Hard Man masculine traits. In the transcript space continues to be gendered. The male participants spoke of enjoying the company of women who carry the same drinking characteristics as themselves. What makes this interesting is that the space within which the beer drinking is taking place is urban. Yet the male participants are intent on representing the beer drinking as something that it is not – rural Hard Man.

In this chapter I argue the importance of the urban space in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. By identifying the 'other' femininities and masculinities that are commonly forgotten in the representation of beer, I demonstrate that they have a space within the beer drinking cultures as well. What is interesting about this space is that it is constantly used by the rural Hard Man as a drinking space, despite his attempts to constantly distance himself from an urban identity. In the next chapter I conclude my arguments, return to my research questions and offer my ideas of future research for New Zealand's beer drinking cultures and the study of gender and identities.

# CHAPTER SIX

## Conclusions

Through the use of different discursive and material spaces and places, New Zealand's beer drinking cultures continuously (re)construct identities that are dominant, exclusionary and contradictory. Beer advertisements, therefore, are not used to simply sell a product but are also used to shape cultural norms within society. In the first section of this chapter I revisit my original research questions in order to recap my argument. I acknowledge the theoretical and methodological positions that have help to guide my research and findings. In the final section of this chapter I offer my own opinions for future research into New Zealand's beer drinking cultures and the representations of gendered identities in society.

My first research question is: What kinds of masculinities are present in New Zealand's beer drinking culture and why? Robert Connell (1995) suggests that there are multiple masculinities, rather than one permanent masculinity. By examining the gendered nature of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures I demonstrate that masculinities are not only multiple but also conflicting. Through the need to perform their masculinity, New Zealand's rural Hard Men create a masculinity that is both hard, yet vulnerable. The constant repetition of the Hard Man masculinity sees it become repeated and unstable. This gives 'othered' masculinities such as

metrosexuals and homosexuals the ability to construct a space within the beer drinking cultures for themselves. Through the use of these spaces the 'other' is able to destabilise the binary that society has constructed within the beer drinking cultures. New Zealand's beer drinking cultures no longer accommodate one dominant identity. Rather they enable those within the cultures to assume multiple identities in multiple spaces.

The dominance of masculinities in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures is also connected to the national identity of the pioneer man (James and Saville-Smith, 1994, Phillips, 1996). The beer drinking cultures construct themselves around the notion that rural space is more masculine than urban space. Therefore, in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures the hegemonic masculinity, often identified as Hard Man masculinity, is centred on rural characteristics and images. This goes against the dualism common to the discipline of geography that constructs rural as urban's other. I demonstrate within my research the importance of rural space in the construction and representation of identities and the relationship between the rural and urban spaces and the national identity of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures.

My second question was: How have femininities become performed and 'othered' in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures? Femininities are multiple and fluid as is the masculinities present in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. Femininities are commonly constructed in dominant discourse as the 'other' to the 'norm' masculine identity. Rose (1993) and

Longhurst (1997) have studied the gendering of dualisms and the importance they hold in shaping geographical knowledge. Within this research I identify three important feminine identities present within New Zealand's beer drinking cultures; Barbie Doll femininity; 'othered' femininity and hyper masculine women. The pressure on women to conform to the bodily regimes of the Barbie Doll femininity, while still attempting to fit within a masculine beer drinking culture, has lead to the liminal identity of hyper masculine women.

Performances of femininity are highly mobile and for many beer-drinking women it requires them to assume two different spaces - the feminine and masculine spaces. They are also faced with the challenge of whether, and how, to occupy rural or urban spaces of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. To occupy the rural space would be to enhance and encourage the dominant masculine Hard Man identity. However, to occupy the urban space would mean in some cases that women would need to conform to the dominant discourses that place them within a domestic urban space. Through the gendering of my focus groups I have found that it is not only the othering between women and men that is prevalent in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures but also the othering between women themselves.

The final research question is: How can hegemonic masculinities and femininities of beer drinking in New Zealand become unsettled or subverted? Diattima De Boni (1997) in a critical opinion of brewery advertising on television, argues that the target audience is '…a specific

market of beer drinkers – socially retarded young men who need no encouragement to drink' (cited in Honeyfield, 1997: 118).  I believe that the producers of the beer advertisements play on the discursive nature of discourses and create advertisements that uphold and enable the dominance of masculinity in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures.  It is the repetition of these identities and rural spaces in beer advertisements that help to shape the idealised norms of identity.  Those who are not included in the intended audience of the producers such as metrosexual and homosexual men; hyper masculine and 'ordinary' women, read these advertisements with different sentiments and ideologies.  These readings can undermine the 'preferred readings' and negotiate and subvert the intended meaning of the advertisement (Honeyfield, 1997).

Through the influence of representations, men and women have found the need to perform their identities constantly in the hopes of maintaining the desired 'norm' of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures.  The (over)performance of identities, both masculine and feminine has lead to them becoming vulnerable.  This has in turn given the 'othered' identities the ability to assume their own spaces within our beer drinking cultures without being overshadowed by the more dominant discourses.

I hope my research has provided new ideas in the study of identities, space and beer drinking.  I have been able to question the strength of dualisms that connect men with rationality and the mind while associating women with emotion and the body.  I have also demonstrated in my

research that the binaries of urban and rural space are constantly shifting. James Honeyfield (1997) argues the importance of the rural space in beer advertising. In this thesis I have taken that a step further to introduce the role of the urban space in beer drinking cultures. My research has lead to the unsettling of dominant binaries that place the urban as the important space rather than the rural. In New Zealand's beer drinking cultures the urban male and urban space are considered to be 'othered' or feminine. It is through rural imagery that the beer cultures of New Zealand operate.

## Future Research

There is a need for further research into the multiplicity of identities. Through the use of groundbreaking material from scholars such as Judith Butler (1990), Gillian Rose (1993), Robert Connell (1995) to name a few, the study of gendered identities has grown in strength. However, in the course of my research I identify the intricacy of these identities and performances within New Zealand's beer drinking cultures and find there to be an absence of discussion regarding how and why these identities become so complex. New Zealand's beer cultures have only recently been questioned by academics in regards to the discourses of gender and identity that are represented (Law et al., 1999).

A large part of New Zealand's national identity is the consumption of alcohol, in particular beer. With this in mind, it is important to give the appropriate attention towards the construction of these drinking cultures. There must be an understanding of the beer cultures that exist in New

Zealand as alcohol consumption and abuse is becoming a serious problem.  The more attention given to how the cultures are created and sustained the easier it may be to create solutions too many of the problems New Zealand may face.

As feminist geographers gather more strength in human geography research, it is important to draw attention toward other alcoholic drinks that construct and shape identities.  There is a space within research for the study of "women's drinks" such a wine and pre-mixed spirits.  The construction of these cultures and the dynamics of femininities within drinking cultures is an avenue that has not been explored.  These particular drinks are also part of the urban drinking space.  Previous research has shown there to be a favouring of the rural space when discussing beer consumption.  Future research should take the opposite step and focus attention towards the urban spaces that create drinking cultures.  This includes the domestic space of the home and the urban spaces of the nightclubs, offices and roadside café's.

There is also room for research that focuses on beer drinkers of different age, race and sexuality.  Through the use of feminist theories the representation and construction of metrosexuals and homosexuals in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures can be furthered.  This would allow the link with other alcoholic drinks such as wine and spirits and enhance feminist studies of discourse and the other.

One of the many constructions of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures is the constant use of Pākehā men as the representation of masculine identity. A kaupapa Maori perspective using postcolonial theories would strengthen the academic literature of spaces of beer drinking. This would introduce different rural and urban spaces to the study and bring greater understanding of the Maori culture. By critically examining all areas of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures the studies of gendered identities and space will become stronger.

# Appendix 1

**Lion Red "Tennis Tips"**

A red screen appears with the words 'Tennis Tips for Lion Red Drinkers:' a man's voice repeats these words as an introduction to the advertisement. The voiceover continues describing the tennis tips. It says "Tennis is a game rich in etiquette", we then see two young males dressed tennis whites hopping out of a small red car driven by an elderly women as they say "Thanks for the ride Wayne's mum". They are carrying a box of Lion Red. The voiceover says "make sure your properly attired in white" as it shows the two men walking onto the court in slow motion throwing their racquets in the air. The voiceover says, "Before serving make sure your opponents are ready". The men serve the ball to two elderly women aged in their 50s or 60s. The women are stretching and miss the serve while the men yell 15 - love. The voiceover says, "After a point is played return the balls softly back to your opponents". The ball is hit into the ladies head. The voiceover then says "It is considered good conduct to respect the calls of others", the ladies call the ball out after it was hit 20m past the court. The men mock the ladies eyesight saying they have Glaucoma. The voiceover says "Regardless of whether you win or lose thank your opposition before inviting them up for a quiet drink in the clubhouse". In the clubhouse there are many younger 20-year-old women drinking Lion Red and partying while the two men and two elderly women are practicing their "Foreplay".

**Speight's "Dreaming"**

Shows a pub that is very rural and rustic. The focus is on two 'southern' men standing at the bar. One is in his 40s and the other is in his late 20s. The older one asks "Busy day?" the younger man begins to describe how bad his day was by telling the older man that he had trouble parking the BMW. He asks the bar lady – Sharon – if it's still happy hour. The men continue to discuss their life, which includes the stock market, flash cars and their wives. In between they pick up their margaritas from the barmaid and toast to each other. The older man notices the younger has a new hat and comments on it. The younger says his wife bought it for him and that he thinks it suits him well. All of a sudden we flash to the older man waking from a bad dream. He asks if the younger man has a new hat. When he says no, the older guy opens a Speight's can and says "Good on ya mate".

**Tui "Yeah Right"**

Two missionaries knock on the door waking a young male in his 20s who is asleep in a very messy flat. He is not in the mood to listen to them so when one of the missionaries ask, "isn't it a lovely day?" he states, "yeah right" and shuts the door on them. Skip to the next man clothes shopping with his partner. When he looks at the female shop assistant his partner gets mad and gives him her handbag to hold while she is trying on some clothes. While she is gone, a 'gay' man walks past and notions to the man with the handbag. He says "yeah right". Skip to the next man having dinner with a woman. He orders a steak and when he gets it, it is small

and petite.  He looks at it and says "yeah right".  Skip to the next two men who are at a karaoke bar having some Tui's.  The guy singing is really bad so one of the two men says "yeah right" and pull out the power plug.  The advertisement then shows all of the men at the bar together drinking Tui and laughing.  The caption reads "Brewed with attitude".

**Tui "Brucetta"**

The advertisement begins with two colonial settlers, one tall, lanky and young.  The other is short, fat and old.  It shows them frighting the temptation to drink the Tui beer while it is being brewed.  The voiceover explains that women –gorgeous women – now brew it, as the men cannot resist the beer.  It then skips to loud music and the Tui brewery full of the typical beautiful women, dressed in sexy clothes.  Each women has a job in the brewery and all of the clothes that they are wearing are part of a mans fantasy i.e. overalls, short shorts and so on.  One of the girls finds a beer missing.  The women in charge of that area are two men trying to pass as women.  Both men are dressed to look like men passing as women.  They have long dresses and wigs on but still have their moustaches to show that they are not really women.  Brucetta gets fired and says that his friend Davina is in the showers washing up.  Flash to Davina in the shower with a lot of other women and the alarm sounding to say there has been breach of the brewery.  Skip to them running away with beer in their hands.

# Appendix 2

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

**Participants**

> **My name is Nicole Hardy and I'm a Masters student in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental**
>
> **Planning at the University of Waikato.**

Over the years advertisements representing beer drinking in New Zealand have increased in popularity and numbers.  There are various different brands of beer on the market in today's society each with their own image and identity.  Being a female beer drinker I have begun to notice a specific masculine theme dominating the advertisements shown on television and the spaces that beer drinking is most common and it prompted me to think of how women were represented in these promotions and why they were being 'forgotten'.

The aim of my research is to explore the masculine representation of beer in New Zealand and use this to challenge the use of women to represent beer. Some of my research questions include:

- What kinds of masculinity are present in New Zealand's beer drinking culture and why?
- How have femininities become absent/present in New Zealand's beer drinking culture?
- How can hegemonic masculinities of beer drinking in New Zealand become unsettled or subverted?

**WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE A PARTICIPANT IN THIS RESEARCH?**

You have a choice of being involved in either a focus group or an individual interview. A focus group is much like having coffee with a group of friends, and will consist of four to ten people and myself. We will meet at a time and place that suits everybody. Our discussion will be audio tape-recorded, and will last between an hour and two hours.

An individual interview will be a discussion between you and me, and will last between an hour and two hours. Again, the discussion will be audio tape-recorded, and we will meet at a time that suits us both

**WHAT ARE MY RIGHTS AS A PARTICIPANT IN THIS RESEARCH?**

If you choose to be a participant in this research, you have rights that protect your personal safety. These rights are:

- The right to refuse to answer any particular question(s)
- The right to ask any further questions about the research that occur to you during your participation in the research
- The right to withdraw from the research at any time without question.
- The right to obtain a copy of the taped focus groups session at anytime upon request.

**WHAT WILL WE TALK ABOUT?**

This research is interested in finding out about <u>your</u> experiences of New Zealand's beer drinking culture. The sorts of things we will be talking about are:

- What you think of New Zealand's beer drinking culture;
- Why you think beer drinking is represented as masculine;
- Your opinion of selected beer advertisements that I will provide.

There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers – I am interested in hearing your opinions towards beer drinking in New Zealand.

**WHAT WILL THE INFORMATION BE USED FOR?**

The outcome of this project will be a thesis, which is a requirement in fulfilment of a Masters degree at the University of Waikato. It may be used for future publications and reports. My thesis will be lodged at the University Of Waikato library.

I will keep anything we talk about confidential and a pseudonym (fake name) will be used in any publications and presentations so that you remain anonymous.

**SO YOU WANT TO BE INVOLVED?**

You can call me on 07 847 4921, text or call me on 021 135 9777 or email me at nhh2@waikato.ac.nz so I can organise a time to meet if you wish to be involved. You can also ask me any more questions you may have about the research. Or if you wish you can contact my supervisor Dr Lynda Johnston of the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand (phone: (07) 838-4466 Ext. 8795, mobile: 0273 22 5415, e-mail: lyndaj@waikato.ac.nz) who will be more than willing to answer any questions you may have.

The University of Waikato FASS Ethics Committee has approved this research. If you have any comments or queries you can contact them through the details below:

FASS Ethics Committee
C/- Charlotte Church
University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton
Ph: 07 838 8604
Email: charl@waikato.ac.nz

I look forward to hearing from you!

# Appendix 3

**Department of
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## CONSENT FORM

DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT: The aim of my research is to explore the masculine representations of beer in New Zealand and use this to challenge the absent/presence of women to represent beer.

I (your name) _____ **agree to participate** in the research project, which is being carried out by Nicole Hardy of the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning, University of Waikato (phone 07 847 4921 or 021 135 9777; email nhh2@waikato.ac.nz)
I understand that:

a) All the data collected will remain **secure** under lock or on a computer database accessible by password only.

b) I wish to be identified/not identified in this research (please delete the option that does not apply)

c) If I choose to withdraw from the research my tape recorded material will not be used in any publication.  I can withdraw anytime up to 4 weeks after the focus groups without explanation.

d) Information will be used for a **Masters Thesis**. As stated earlier, individuals and companies will **NOT** be identified by name in any publications or reports.

e) I will be given a copy of the audiotape or a transcript of the focus group

if requested.

_____ (to be signed and dated by participant)

_____ (to be signed and dated by Nicole Hardy)

# Appendix 4

Department of
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## QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to gather data from participants before viewing the advertisements and beginning the focus group.  I aim to use this data strictly to demonstrate the dynamics of the groups I have used during my research.

1. Are you:
   ☐ female
   ☐ male

2. How old are you? *(tick the box which applies to you)*
   ☐ Less than 18 years old
   ☐ 18 – 24 years
   ☐ 25 – 29 years
   ☐ 30 – 34 years
   ☐ 35 – 39 years
   ☐ 40 – 44 years
   ☐ 45 – 49 years
   ☐ 50 and over

3. Which ethnic group do you consider yourself belonging to? (*tick the box or boxes which apply to you*)
   ☐ New Zealand European
   ☐ New Zealand Maori
   ☐ Samoan
   ☐ Tongan
   ☐ Chinese
   ☐ Indian
   ☐ Other (such as New Zealander, Australian, Cook Island, German etc
   ........................................................................... please state)

4. What part of New Zealand are you from? (Give as much or as little information as you like regarding the place you are familiar with in New Zealand)
   ...........................................................................

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5.  Do you drink beer?
    ☐  no
    ☐  yes (if yes, please answer question 6)

6.  Which brand(s) do you prefer to drink?
    ☐  Steinlager
    ☐  Heineken
    ☐  Tui
    ☐  Waikato Draught
    ☐  Export Gold
    ☐  Lion Red
    ☐  DB Draught
    ☐  Speights
    ☐  Other (please state) ...............................................................


Thankyou for you co-operation in completing this questionnaire.


Nicole Hardy
Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
University of Waikato

# Appendix 5

**Focus Group Questions**

**Women**

**Before the Advertisements:**

- What are your experiences with beer drinking?
- What characteristics does the average beer drinker possess?
- Do you think that New Zealand's beer drinking culture is favourable to one gender over the other? How and Why?
- What are your opinions on how New Zealand's beer culture is represented?
- Do you feel part of New Zealand's beer drinking culture?
- Are there particular drinks that are better suited to women and men? What are they?
- Why are drinks constructed this way?

**Questions for EACH advertisement:**

- Who is this advertisement aimed towards?
- What are the characteristics of those people drinking beer?
- Does this advertisement make you want to drink beer?
- How are both men and women represented in the advertisement?
- What do you think of these representations?
- How do these representations make you feel?
- Would you change any part of this advertisement? How and Why?
- What part of the advertisement caught your attention first?

**After viewing the advertisements:**

- Do you think that women should be included more in beer advertisements? Why, Why not, How?

- How do you think we could increase the number of female drinkers?

- Would this increase the number of female drinkers?

- Do these advertisements influence your ideas and opinions about New Zealand's beer drinking culture?

- Are the advertisements representative of real life situations and spaces?

- Is this gendering of beer the same in spaces of alcohol consumption, such as nightclubs, parties etc.? How? Why do you think that is?

- Are there any problems or reactions if you are drinking beers instead of RTD's?

# Focus Group Questions
## Men

**Before the Advertisements:**

- What are your experiences with beer drinking?
- What characteristics does the average beer drinker possess?
- Do you think that New Zealand's beer drinking culture is favourable to one gender over the other? How and Why?
- What are your opinions on how New Zealand's beer culture is represented?
- Do you feel part of New Zealand's beer drinking culture? What makes you feel part of it, or feel like an outsider?
- Are there particular drinks that are better suited to women and men? What are they?
- Why are drinks constructed this way?

**Questions for EACH advertisement:**

- Who is this advertisement aimed towards?
- What are the characteristics of those people drinking beer?
- Does this advertisement make you want to drink beer?
- How are both men and women represented in the advertisement?
- What do you think of these representations?
- Would you change any part of this advertisement? How and Why?
- What part of the advertisement caught your attention first?

**After viewing the advertisements:**

- Do you think that women should be included more in beer advertisements? Why, Why not, How?
- Do you think that we should be trying to increase the number of female beer drinkers? Why, Why not?

- Do these advertisements influence your ideas and opinions about New Zealand's beer drinking culture?

- Are the advertisements representative of real life situations and spaces?

- Is this gendering of beer the same in spaces of alcohol consumption, such as nightclubs, parties etc.? How? Why do you think that is?

- Are there any problems or reactions if you are drinking RTD's instead of beers?

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