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(Re)crafting belonging: cultural-led regeneration, territorialization and craft beer events

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ABSTRACT

This paper contributes to debates on the use of cultural events to regenerate urban areas. Cultural geographers have identified the influence of such events in informing urban belonging, whilst being cautious towards the politics associated with claims of diversity and inclusion. Yet, what seldom features in such geographic accounts are the ways events influence, and are influenced by, inclusions and exclusions beyond their temporal and spatial confines, including how territorial processes flow in and across both online and offline spaces. In this paper, we thus adopt Brighenti's (2010) relational approach to territoriality to reveal the fluid and heterogeneous ways the Independent Manchester Beer Convention renders processes of inclusion and exclusion within, and beyond, the time and space of the craft beer event. Utilising fieldwork observations at the 2018 and 2019 conventions and 4,300 social media posts associated with the 2019 convention, we identify how particular subjectivities come to be included and excluded in different ways through the event. We argue that recognition regarding the fluidity and heterogeneity of territorial boundaries, and the role of affordances in shifting such boundaries, are imperative in the utilization of cultural events in generating inclusions through cultural-led regeneration.

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Introduction

This paper interrogates how cultural events influence urban belonging. More specifically, we explore processes of inclusion and exclusion produced through the territorialization of craft beer events, with a focus on the UK's Independent Manchester Beer Convention ('Indy Man').

Cultural events are increasingly central to urban regeneration (Edensor et al., 2010). As identified by Finkel and Platt (2020), the UK's post-industrial cities, in particular, have recognized the value of cultural outputs in driving economic growth through aiding regeneration of urban areas, promoting the city to residents and visitors, and encouraging community involvement and cohesion. Key to the success of cultural events is their promotion as symbols of diversity and inclusion. Diversity refers to the presence of multiple identities along the intersectional lines of gender, class, sexuality, age, ethnic

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identity and so on; with inclusion indicating the ability of a diverse range of identities to experience a sense of belonging (Duffy et al., 2019). Constructing perceptions of inclusion and diversity has been successful in attracting residents and visitors because they represent the possibility for heterogeneous experience. Whilst, somewhat paradoxically, perceived inclusion at events is generally created through constructing 'imagined' communities (Anderson, 1983) and a shared identity – a process perceived to overcome difference.

Such notions of diversity and inclusion are problematic because they are often largely dependent on the aspects of identity evoked by the event itself (Duffy et al., 2019), with large variations in outcomes. Typically, therefore, certain identities come to be included more than others (Edensor & Millington, 2013, 2019); raising questions regarding who holds the rights to take part, and belong. Global patterns, Young (2008) notes, have generally favoured the inclusion of white, middle class, male, heterosexual, urban and employed identities. Duffy et al. (2019) thus suggest that, in attending to issues of diversity and inclusion within event contexts, we need to consider the politics of belonging, and the way it is embedded between people and place – both within and beyond the temporal and spatial confines of events, which we contribute insights into.

Importantly, urban renewal and its attendant place-making is not just a top-down process following a pre-constructed 'vision'; but processual and fluid, resulting from the performances of those within a particular location (Edensor & Millington, 2013, 2019). What is thus needed, is research that renders insights into the ways broader social relations flow through and beyond event time and space, contributing to urban belonging. This includes how inclusions and exclusions flow across *online* and *offline* spaces, which is somewhat neglected in extant understandings of events, place-making and urban renewal.

We focus on the urban context of Manchester: a city aiming to develop 'a programme of festivals, events and exhibitions distinguished by innovation and diversity that transforms the urban experience' (Manchester City Council, 2010), whereby 'events that celebrate diversity and are relevant to ... residents' (Manchester City Council, 2019) are favoured. Greater Manchester's (2019) *Strategy for Culture and Creativity* further recognises how '... not all our residents have the opportunity to contribute to, participate in or access our rich culture and heritage offer', thus the City Council aims to offer more representative cultural events to its diverse communities.

We take the craft beer event, Indy Man, as our case study. We study craft beer events because they are not just new spaces in which to consume and socialise but are also part of broader cultural-led regeneration projects seeking to promote new, or renewed, modes of urban living (Bell, 2007). More specifically, craft beer events represent a distinct turn in the use of events in urban place making agendas. The role of mega-urban events in cultural regeneration is well known (Smith, 2012), but they have come under increased scrutiny because one-off, mega urban events require large sums of public funding whilst often conflicting with the cultural milieu of place, producing questionable returns on investment (Smith et al., 2019). Urban place managers have instead placed greater value on the potential for more frequent, smaller-scale cultural events which are typically perceived as more embedded within the pre-existing atmospheres of place, whilst still attracting potential residents and visitors (Getz, 2016). Crucially, singular events are not required to do the work alone in attracting visitors and celebrating diversity; rather, temporary and recurring events fuse together, leveraging a stronger sense of cultural

inclusivity across the urban landscape. Whilst research into craft beer events and cultural-led regeneration is limited, such events are increasingly part of contemporary 'place making agendas' in post-industrial economies (Wallace, 2019).

Indy Man is consistently discussed as part of Greater Manchester's ever-shifting craft beer landscape, where it is just one of around 200 craft beer events taking place annually in the city of Manchester and wider sub-region (Sowerby, 2019; The Ale in Kayleigh, 2021). Visit Manchester, Greater Manchester's Destination Marketing Organization, consistently draws on Indy Man, alongside other breweries and craft beer events, to present Manchester as a food and drink destination and 'craft beer hub' (cf. Visit Manchester, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2019). At the same time, Indy Man is often identified as unique within Manchester's craft beer landscape because of its atmosphere, broad range of beers, and heritage venue (Hawkes, 2013; Naylor, 2019). Manchester, however, is not alone in its utilization of craft beer events as cultural regeneration tools; these events have increased internationally, including across Europe (Ikäheimo, 2020), South Africa (Hermann et al., 2020), and North America (Manis et al., 2020). Rather than claiming Manchester to be a unique case study, what interests us is the city's acknowledgement of culture as a regeneration tool, alongside the ways that craft beer events have become caught up in the making of an 'inclusive' and 'diverse' Manchester.

We first discuss shifting geographies of alcohol and craft, before introducing Brighenti's (2010) territoriological approach, which we utilise in exploring three themes: *Assembling Territories*, *Territorial Exclusions*, and *Deterritorializations & Reterritorializations*. They together reveal how the event is territorialised through processual and pre-existing power relations, which flow beyond the time and space of the event to include and exclude particular subjectivities. We conclude that recognition of the heterogeneity of territorialization processes is imperative if cultural-led regeneration is to understand urban belonging.

The shifting geographies of alcohol and craft

There is an established body of literature surrounding alcohol, drinking, and drunkenness within geography (Jayne et al., 2008), with existing research concerning the gendered (Campbell, 2000; Chapman et al., 2018; Holloway et al., 2009; Leyshon, 2008) and classed (Thurnell-Read, 2016a; Wallace, 2019) aspects of drinking. In recent years, there has been an increase in academic publications relating to craft beer, more specifically, notwithstanding a climate of attrition surrounding the traditional 'drinkscape' (Wilkinson, 2017) of the pub, with an estimated 14 pub closures per week in the UK (Campaign for Real Ale, 2019). Conversely, craft breweries have been rising, with an estimate of over 2,000 breweries currently in the UK, growing from just 150 in 1980 (Wallace, 2019).

Increased craft beer production and consumption aligns with rising engagement in craft and crafting, alongside notions of care, quality, haptic skill, ethics and providence (Carr & Gibson, 2016). Initial academic focus on craft and creativity was with the creative class; however, problematizing this narrative, geographic attention has turned to more mundane, marginalized formations of craft and creativity (Edensor et al., 2010); embracing '... marginal, un-sexy, and less-than glamorous' creative practices, and moving beyond a narrow focus on economic returns (Edensor & Millington, 2019, p. 28). Platt (2019), for instance, considers the mundane practice of knitting, and the ways such practices craft

identities and place. Edensor and Millington (2013) likewise draw attention to everyday creative practices of Christmas light displays and contested classed identities. Yet, such forms of craft and creativity rarely receive esteem nor support from government, cultural institutions, or the private sector because of restrictive constructions of creativity (Miles & Ebrey, 2017).

Craft beer production and consumption complicate conceptualizations of craft and creativity. The skill and know-how required in craft beer has been reappraised, with 'cultures of enthusiasm' attached to ideals of tradition, curation, flavour and quality; ensuring that the crafting of beer has become an everyday practice, prevalent within disused, undervalued sites and driven by inclusive, small-scale community mindedness (Hubbard, 2017). However, craft beer is also highly valued as an economic practice, recognized for its ability to anchor retail regeneration and attract predominately white males to purchase and consume niche alcoholic beverages (ibid).

In the UK, the rise in craft beer has also been facilitated through legislative shifts – most notably the introduction of the Progressive Beer Duty in the 2000s, meaning lower tax levies for smaller brewers, reducing barriers to entry. Whilst the 2003 Licensing Act made it easier for individuals to obtain on-licences to serve alcohol in certain contexts. With the traditional pub market increasingly difficult to sustain, the craft beer industry has sought new routes to market through taprooms, microbars, and events – the latter of which is underexplored (though see Spracklen et al., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2016a, 2016b on real-ale festivals). Vacant infrastructure within post-industrial cities (e.g., industrial estates, railway arches, decaying buildings) is often utilized, appealing to connections between craft beer and industrial working-class heritage (Wallace, 2019). These are established forms of 'temporary urbanism' (Shi et al., 2019) offering opportunities to experiment and attract significant numbers of consumers without the risks associated with more permanent establishments.

The topographies of Manchester's alcohol consumption have been reconfigured through these shifts, aligning with broader trends around the use of temporary spaces to counter uncertainties of British austerity (Hubbard, 2019; Shi et al., 2019). New drinking spaces are, thus, being established, co-constructed through place managed gentrification and progressive forms of craft and creativity enacted by craft beer producers and consumers. These emergent spaces can address the growing vacant sites found on Britain's high streets and help counter social isolation by providing places in which local communities can socialise (Hubbard, 2019).

The reuse of industrial spaces for consumption, however, can also potentially reduce affordability and accelerate gentrification (Matthews & Picton, 2014). Hubbard (2019) highlights that the success of craft beer within the context of regeneration is dependent on the enthusiasm of landlords and customers. As Hubbard warns, however, such enthusiasm remains a distinctly white, male and middle-aged pursuit. He thus suggests that these new geographies of consumption emergent through microbrewery 'pop-ups' come with territorial practices that might limit the possibilities for varying consumption performances to evolve.

The spaces and places for beer consumption have long been positioned as exclusive. Pubs, specifically, are often read as sites of hegemonic masculinity (Campbell, 2000), regulated through certain drinking practices, such as drinking to excess and engaging in banter (Leyshon, 2008). Hence, whilst providing an important site of community for

some men (Holloway et al., 2009), and a vital social space for rural communities (Markham & Bosworth, 2016), pubs have also been considered more exclusionary spaces. More recent scholarship has suggested that an ideological conflation between femininity and illegitimacy also surfaces in craft beer culture (Chapman et al., 2018; Darwin, 2018). Real and craft beer consumption is also notably classed, with cultural capital integral to acceptance into the scene (Spracklen et al., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2016a). It is suggested that beer drinking has become slightly less masculinized through the emergence of new spaces of beer consumption (Darwin, 2018), such as craft beer events, indicating the complex, heterogeneous and dynamic territorialization processes in play. However, despite Chapman et al. (2018, p. 14) notably exploring the gendered ‘policing [of] the boundaries of craft beer spaces’, less is known about the ways craft beer discourses and performances shift and assemble across and beyond urban event times and spaces – informing the ways processes of inclusion and exclusion simultaneously unfold.

A territorological approach

To examine processes of inclusion and exclusion through craft beer events – and, more specifically, our case study of Manchester’s Indy Man – we draw on a territorological approach. Inspired by Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980), such an approach seeks to understand the boundaries created within and around spaces and places, which result in belonging for some, while potentially leading to others feeling out of place. Others have adopted a territorological lens to study a range of urban environments such as public squares and precincts (Kärrholm, 2017); urban parks (Cheetham et al., 2018); (pop-up) retail (Kärrholm, 2009, 2013; Shi et al., 2019); urban mega-events (Duignan & Pappalepore, 2019; McGillivray & Frew, 2014); and urban processions (Platt & Medway, 2020). This paper builds on this work, whilst also being novel in utilising a territorological lens to explore craft beer events, and the territorialization processes that shift across online and offline spaces.

‘Territory’ and ‘territoriality’ have long been studied in geographical discussions of space and power (Raffestin, 2012); but early conceptualization typically considered a ‘territory’ to be static, fixed, and enclosed (Kärrholm, 2017; Shi et al., 2019). We engage with Brighenti’s (2010) territorological approach, which instead considers the fluidity, processual and ‘eventful’ dimensions of territorialization; to examine how things temporally and spatially assemble in ways that produce inclusions and exclusions. For Brighenti (2010), a territory is not an object or reduced to the place in which it emerges but an act or practice that takes place *through* places. Whilst materiality forms part of territorializing assemblages (Kärrholm, 2017), the place itself, for Brighenti, is not the primary focus. Instead, the ways through which place is constructed and inscribed through the relationships among people are foregrounded, whereby ‘selective inclusion and exclusion combine into series to form an ordering mechanism that becomes the basis for the formation of social groups’ (Brighenti, 2010, p. 58).

Inclusions and exclusions, therefore, are processual and relational, opening and closing through their becoming, and constructing certain ordered social relations, whereby particular relationships become perceived as dominant through displays of ‘superiority and submission, which define priority’ (Brighenti, 2010, p. 67). Concern here is with the ways territories are constituted by the assemblage of things (norms, bodies, atmospheres,

materialities, legalities, etc.) through time and space, the processes through which territorialization arises, and what the consequences might be. Rather than taking the ontologies of power and space for granted, attending to territorialization in this way allows insight into how things assemble spatially and temporally in heterogeneous ways.

Accordingly, Brighenti (2010), borrowing from Deleuze and Guattari (1980), draws on three territorial movements: deterritorialization, reterritorialization, and territorialization. Deterritorialization being a movement away, reterritorialization being a movement towards, with territorialization being the movement that emerges from acts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. These three movements cannot be considered independently, nor as a linear, sequential process; rather each movement is consistently becoming, in different ways. Through Brighenti's work, we therefore investigate the territorial processes flowing through and beyond Indy Man.

Manchester's Indy man and Victoria baths

The Independent Manchester Beer Convention ('Indy Man') takes place annually in Manchester's Victoria Baths, a venue aligned with processes of urban decline and cultural-led regeneration. Victoria Baths is an Edwardian, Grade II listed building constructed in 1906, and located in Manchester's south-east suburb of Chorlton-on-Medlock. On opening, it was promoted as a 'water palace of which every citizen of Manchester can be proud' (BBC, 2013). In 1993, however, Manchester City Council closed the site due to the high expense of its maintenance. In response to the closure, the Victoria Baths Trust was formed by local residents to prevent 'Manchester's Water Palace' slipping into further decay, and to manage the venue on behalf of Manchester City Council since 2000 (Victoria Baths Trust, 2020). The initial impetus of the Trust was that the site would become a 'Healthy Living Centre' to address health inequalities and social exclusion, encourage sports participation, achieve economic regeneration and increase access to a heritage listed building; with an aim to reopen at least one of the swimming pools for public use (UK Parliament Minutes, 2001).

Since 2003, a series of restoration projects have been funded by a number of sources (Victoria Baths Trust, 2020). One of the pools is now available for swimming for 1 week a year for £15; an initiative that was established in 2017 as part of the Trust's 'Swim for Restoration' project (Manchester Evening News, 2019). Indeed, the long-term aim of the Trust remains with restoring the baths as a swimming pool, with further funding applications planned (Victoria Baths Trust, 2020). However, for now, it primarily relies on its position as a heritage visitor attraction (£7 per tour), and revenue received from its extensive cultural events portfolio to ensure economic sustainability (Victoria Baths Trust, 2020). It appears that it has not been possible for the Trust to resist the hegemony of cultural-led regeneration, whereby heritage becomes valued for its potential to offer unique urban experiences (Matthews & Picton, 2014); with regular events including weddings, book fairs, vintage fairs, film screenings, Christmas markets, and yoga sessions.

Despite the Trust's aim to re-establish the site as a space for all of Manchester's communities, Victoria Bath's events, website and social media channels remain notably white. This contrasts with Manchester's diversity, whereby the proportion of residents identifying as 'white' fell from 81.0% in 2001 to 66.6% in 2011, 19.4% below the average for England. All other ethnic groups have increased in terms of population during this

time period (Manchester City Council, 2011). Subsequently, in 2020 the Trust produced an Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Policy, which recognized the work required to promote the space to all of Manchester's communities (Victoria Baths Trust, 2020).

Indy Man has become an annual fixture at the Victoria Baths, beginning as a one-day event in 2012 with around 500 attendees. In 2019, the event took place across four days and included six sessions, with around 1,000 attendees at each (Manchester Evening News, 2019). The venue is crucial to the event, with its atmosphere afforded by the unique architectural heritage and spatial layout. Brewers are mainly located within the three empty swimming bathrooms, whilst the mix of changing cubicles, mezzanine seating and side rooms (e.g., the wash baths and rest room) render a contrasting mixture of open and intimate spaces. Whilst there are now a large number of craft beer events across Manchester (for an overview see *The Ale in Kayleigh*, 2021), the founder of Indy Man, Johnny Hayes, contends:

IMBC was one of the first festivals to focus on modern British 'craft' breweries rather than cask ale breweries. Before Indy Man, most ... big beer festivals were CAMRA-led which often meant the exclusion of most of the new wave of progressive, exciting brewers ... (Hayes, quoted in Croasdale, 2019).

The event also prides itself on being 'open-minded, inclusive and modern' (Indy Man Beer Con, 2020), with Hayes claiming 'IMBC set out to be inclusive, so anyone of any experience could come and enjoy it ...' (Hayes, as cited in Croasdale, 2019). Hayes further suggests Indy Man overcomes exclusionary processes seen at other beer events, as '... more women and young people are drinking beer and it's losing it's [sic] stuffy, old man image ... something was lacking in Britain's beer festivals ...' (Hayes, as cited in Flanagan, 2014). As we will reveal below, however, belonging was not a given, and rather unfolded in dynamic and complex ways through the event.

Method

Fincher and Iverson (Fincher & Iverson, 2008) identify events as useful spaces through which to explore the diversity and inclusion of our cities, as they provide insights into small-scale and unpredictable encounters. We conducted participant observation at the 2018 and 2019 Indy Man events, attending both Friday and Saturday, and daytime and night-time sessions, to capture the temporality of territorialization (Kärrholm, 2017). Both researchers attended as consumers, with the first author also serving as a volunteer during a 2018 session. During these visits, we purchased beer tokens, tasted and served a variety of craft beers, chatted to other volunteers and attendees, and explored each area of the Victoria Baths venue. Detailed fieldnotes, photographs and videos were taken to capture the discursive, embodied, and multi-sensory aspects of the convention. Both researchers are female and in their early thirties. Whilst each had attended other beer events prior to the research, both recognized their peripheral social location at Indy Man and the broader craft beer 'scene'. Such reflections of positionality are considered in the fieldnotes and during data analysis.

To understand how processes of territorialization flow spatially and temporally through and beyond the event, we used Keyhole analytics software to collect over 4,300 online posts from Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram using the hashtag

'IndyManBeerCon', across a one-month period (2 weeks before, during, and after the 2019 event). Keyhole data only capture public posts, enabling insight into deliberately public discourses and performances, whilst minimising disruption to online communities. Notably, 76% of the collected Keyhole data posts were from 'male' identified accounts. We follow Mclean (2016) in recognising online spaces as productive simulations of the 'real', whereby desires enacted in online spaces offer insights into the ways performances unfold during events. Through blending online and offline methods, we could grasp territorializing flows through and beyond the traditional geographic positioning of a temporally and spatially confined event; as well as understand how Indy Man is intimately connected to the broader territorialization processes of its urban context.

Observations and social media data were analysed together using thematic analysis, which enables the identification of multiple perspectives and acknowledgment of the differences and similarities between and within narratives. Given the large number of posts, the dataset was divided between the researchers. Through several readings, each author independently identified major themes and subthemes (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which were then shared between authors to determine alignment – with processes of territorialization highlighted by both as significant. Pseudonyms are provided for all social media posters; the names of brewing enterprises have not been anonymized.

The territorialization of craft beer

Assembling territories

The craft beer 'scene' – of which Indy Man forms a part – sprawls temporally and spatially beyond the confines of the event time and space. Thus, in order to understand the territorial processes in motion at the event, this broader porous territorial network must first be considered. Following Brighenti (Brighenti, 2010, p. 316), a scene 'is a territorial ensemble of actors', which are 'dislocated in positions of centrality versus marginality ...' The production of a 'scene' is dependent upon construction of what is, and what is not, part of that group's territorial assemblage, which can shift and flow over time given the temporality of territoriality (Kärrholm, 2017). Within the context of the craft beer scene, reflecting the cultural capital expressed by those seeking to belong to the 'real ale' community (Spracklen et al., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2016a), this is achieved, in part, through the act of sharing knowledge, including of the ever-evolving forms of craft beer available from a broad and shifting range of brewers, alongside value judgements related to those beers and brewers:

Jack: First sampling of @boundarybrewing 'like a glove' grma [thank you] James [brewer at Boundary Brewing], more beers like this please. Low abv [alcohol by volume] and dancing with balanced flavour #slainte

Jess: Was serving it last weekend @IndyManBeerCon and people kept telling me I'd given them the wrong beer – so much flavour for a SIPA [session Indian pale ale]!

Due to craft beer being small-scale and hand produced, there are often numerous variations even within one brew; ensuring consistent disagreement as to taste and value (Brighenti, 2018). Craft beer is thus a material in evolution, consistently being (re) made through processual relations within the scene (brewers, brewing and tasting), and

entanglements with the scene's vocabularies. It is these heterogeneous elements that enable such intimate investments in constitutions of this scene. For if the material was mass produced, such discursive negotiations regarding value would be redundant due to greater material consistencies. The sensing body undertakes an important role in rendering value judgements regarding craft beer, whereby smells, sights, and tastes are drawn on, alongside text and talk, to share these values. Knowing about brewers and their styles, therefore, is crucial to the scene's boundary making – with many utilising online and event spaces, not only to signify their belonging within the scene but sometimes to even influence brewing directions, further (re)territorializing the scene:

Duration Beer: Duration Turtles [beer range] are 1 year old! They first swam out in the world @IndyManBeerCon. What shall we hatch from the Turtle family?

Nick: Turtle Eclipse Black IPA

James: West Coast please. There's still not enough of them. Cheers.

David: Sea Turtle dry-hopped gose [warm fermented beer]

Duration Beer: Now you're talking

Matt: Leatherback Turtles [American imperial stout]

Finn: Leatherback Leatherback Leatherback

Tom: Leatherback!

Through the deterritorialization of more 'traditional', fixed drinking spaces (e.g., the pub), emergent craft beer events, such as Indy Man, are in themselves a form of reterritorialization. Whilst a spatial ontology, such as Indy Man, is not required for a territorial scene to be framed, spatial ontologies do, however, often form part of a scene's assemblage (Kärrholm, 2017), in ways that facilitate social relations (Brighenti, 2010) and generate public visibility (De Backer, 2019). With the performance of drinking together and the exchanging of views working to further construct the scene. But Indy Man is not just a physical place, nor is it a temporally and spatially confined event; it is a discursive and ideological formation that informs the scene's identity, networks and territories:

Enjoying a quiet half near the station at the end of @IndyManBeerCon day in Manchester. As always bumped into so many awesome folk from our local beer communities in Liverpool and Manchester. And Beyond! Good beer brings people together ...

In the online post above, we can see the craft beer scene is not so much geographically fixed (being inclusive of Manchester, Liverpool 'and beyond') but is rather tightly woven through shared acknowledgment of 'good beer' and 'awesome folk'. Indeed, Indy Man is only one element of the broader territorial assemblage that flows in and out of Manchester, the UK and internationally. Within Manchester, for example, Indy Man forms part of a broader network of craft beer fringe events taking place at the same time as part of the 'Indy Man Beer City' concept, with one brewer referring online to Manchester as having 'craft beer paved streets'. The territorializing assemblages discussed above, therefore, ebb and flow across the city and beyond.

Whilst part of broader craft beer networks, however, there is also a valued singularization (Kärrholm, 2013) to Indy Man, meaning it is not reduced to simply another craft beer event. This is ensured through the affordances of its spatial ontology, alongside attendees' embodied and discursive knowledge of this event, made possible through repeat, annual attendance. Indeed, one online poster referred to Indy Man as an 'annual pilgrimage'; whilst the first author observed how there seems to be '... a loyalty to this Manchester event – a capital enabled through knowing the venue and how the space worked ...' (*Author 1 fieldnotes*).

Intimacy with the event venue was also established through the ways social networks melded online and offline spaces, which assisted in establishing territorializing flows between the multiple sessions and craft beer spaces. To illustrate this, a number of social media posts discussed hiding unspent tokens for friends attending later sessions, with online spaces utilized to send 'cryptic messages' regarding where such tokens might be located within the offline event venue. Others shared beer recommendations online, with such knowledge flowing into the time and space of the event, while many posted images drinking beer with friends within the unique event space. The changing booths and Turkish Rest Room were particularly valued by attendees, as they created small, intimate areas within the larger event space. For instance, feeling conspicuous as a lone female attendee, the second author sat '... sipping a beer hidden away in one of the changing cubicles' (*Author 2 fieldnotes*) to create a 'private' drinking bubble. Such findings illustrate how the performance of craft beer consumption intersected with the architectural qualities of the venue.

Thus, whilst Indy Man is just one element in a broader territorial assemblage, the topological space – Victoria Baths – affords the assemblage of these networks, where particular connections unfold. Following Kärrholm (2013), as something becomes singularized it generates an identity, becoming the place whereby certain groups come together. This process serves to reterritorialize Victoria Baths, temporarily transforming it from its desingularized use as a multi-use event space.

Repeated attendance – and the knowledge this builds – also leads to some territorializing the space upon arrival through enacting what Kärrholm (Kärrholm, 2017, p. 695) refers to as 'territorial tactics'; that is, '... materially expressed spatial claims'. Attendees often carefully plan the beers to consume before arrival, aided by the 'beer list' available through the event app, as well as staged social media announcements by event organisers and brewers. Such pre-event strategising led to large groups often quickly occupying the larger tables in the middle of the three main rooms, typically near more exclusive international brewers, placing items on seats and laying out drinking information on tables to signify occupied space. Knowledge of sought-after brewers is a further signifier of belonging, with brewers located beyond an imagined 'local' particularly valued through notions of rarity, contrasting with the typical prioritization of local craft beers within Manchester's more fixed craft beer spaces.

The territorial assemblages discussed above further intersect with multiple identity positions, informing belonging within Indy Man and the broader craft beer scene for some, whilst potentially excluding others, to now be explored further.

Territorial exclusions

Following Holloway et al.'s (2009, p. 828) contention it is important to consider the multiple 'axes of social difference' experienced in drinking landscapes. Indy Man was visibly a largely white, middle-class, and male-dominated event, that required an able body possessing the capacity to consume high volumes of beer over long periods. Such perceived exclusions occurred before the event had even taken place, through territorialization processes that produced a mythical masculine, middle class and able-bodied norm. For example, due to Indy Man's rising popularity and its annual temporality, challenges over securing tickets are reflected in many online posts seeking to attend the most sought-after Saturday sessions. To ensure attendance, attendees must remain closely attuned to event organisers' announcements, and ready to purchase tickets immediately upon release. Without taking heed from past experiences, some are unable to attend altogether, or miss out on preferred sessions, as the authors experienced first-hand:

... My heart sinks: I'm already half an hour late. I go onto the ticket website as fast as I can, with my hands shaking ... Feeling panicked, I go to my first-choice ticket - Saturday night-time - and am frustrated ... they've already sold out. I scramble to secure tickets on my second preferred timeslot: Saturday daytime. Again, I quickly realise that these tickets have also sold out ... (*Author 2 fieldnotes*).

Echoing Wallace's (2019) observations of class-based distinctions in the craft beer scene, as well as the typical middle-class privileges of cultural-led regeneration (Edensor & Millington, 2013), the cost of attendance and beers is rising each year, with some beers costing three tokens at the 2019 event, contrasting with the flat one token rate in previous years. We can see here, therefore, how the event's territorial processes are informing shifting relational positions (Brighenti, 2010) through the changing pricing structure, with some continuing to be excluded from attending Indy Man altogether; whilst others, once feeling included, are now led to question return attendance:

Scott: Can't we go back to one token for any beer? Might need to remortgage for #IMBC2020 at this rate

Sophie: It's obscene. I love craft beer, but come on – who can afford this?

Carol: @IndyManBeerCon best thing I had tonight was chips and popcorn chicken. I won't waste my money next year.

Indy Man is dependent on the economic exchange of a high-cost commodity: craft beer. Attendees must buy a ticket (£10–15), then purchase beers individually with tokens. Beers are served as 1/3 pints, with the assumption that attendees are able to consume a high number of different beers. Each individual session lasts for 5 hours – meaning that not only are high amounts of beer consumed, but also food purchases are also, generally, required. Therefore, those possessing a higher social value within this space are those who can comfortably afford, and have the bodily capacity, to consume high volumes of expensive alcohol (and possibly food). It can be difficult to become aware of the exclusionary pricing mechanisms before the event, without knowledge of having attended before, because pricing lists are not generally made public until tickets have sold out. This was witnessed by the first author during her volunteering session when asked by a first-time attendee if they could have a beer. Explaining the token-based system, the attendee

became visibly upset and chose to leave, not having realized that the £15 ticket was not inclusive of the beer; highlighting the value in repeat attendance in understanding how the event unfolds.

Indy Man presents an undetermined, or not yet occurring, social context; yet behaviours and expectations aligned with the historical legacies of beer consumption appear to have influenced the event to a certain extent (Kärrholm, 2013). The event's marketing narratives highlight inclusivity and diversity; however, the territorialization processes of the craft beer scene rendered, for some, an imagined masculinized craft beer consumer. Given that territory can be an 'imagined entity' (Brighenti, 2010, p. 58), as noted above, this led some individuals to imagine a mythical masculine norm at Indy Man, even before attendance, based on past experiences and historical drinking discourses; crafting, for some, a sense of fixity to the space, despite its processual dimensions. As Raffestin (Raffestin, 2012, p. 132) observes, 'territory ... is an invitation to contemplation, to emotion, to dreaming, to creative imagination ...'. Accordingly, the second author felt anxious before attending the event in 2019 due to 'territorial associations' (Kärrholm, 2017, p. 696) formed between craft beer events and men:

It's the morning of the beer fest and I'm feeling quite anxious. This is being driven by my anticipations of... the high proportion of men I am imagining will be dominating the place based on my past experiences at beer festivals (Author 2 fieldnotes). Owing to such historical associations between men and beer, the presence of women, although not uncommon, seemed somewhat less visible. A level of hostility was also present in some social media posts, whereby a number of instances were shared regarding exclusionary acts towards women:

Kate: @IndyManBeerCon So Indy Man was fun until some guy threw his glass at me in one of the changing booths

Sarah: So today a guy knocked me over because he wanted to get a bottle of beer. @IndyManBeerCon

Informed through such gendered performances, certain attendees apparently signified 'unwanted', or unvalued subjects within the territorialised space of Indy Man. This worked as a form of social control enacted by some attendees seeking to identify the space as associated with a certain category of user, demonstrating the prevalence of a masculine territorialization within Indy Man. This also led some women to feel that they could not occupy this space with ease. To illustrate, reflecting the masculine dominance identified in the posted images of tasting sessions (Figure 2), the following exchange unfolded through Twitter:

Lily: Every year I regret not going to IndyManBeerCon and then I see the pictures from it and I'm like nah I'm ok TBH [to be honest]

Jade: I don't know what it is but the name alone suggests I'd rather shit in my hands and clap

Lily: Honestly the name is SO BAD

Indeed, when women were present, they usually appeared to be in mixed gender friendship groups or with partners, reminiscent of how women are not ordinarily accepted unchaperoned in rural pubs (Holloway et al., 2009). All of which highlight the influence of pre-existing, imagined territorial boundaries in influencing event encounters.

Such territorial boundaries, however, are not static; but rather complex, ambiguous, and always in the process of (un)becoming.

Deterritorializations & reterritorializations

Whilst Indy Man – and the broader craft beer scene – is territorialised in particular ways, such territorialised assemblages are not static; rather, they constantly mutate, transform and break up, for ‘territories are on the move’ (Brighenti, 2010, p. 60). The territorialization processes of Indy Man are, therefore, always under production through consistently unfolding discourses, performances, affects, materialities, and atmospheres.

Given that territories can be produced more unintentionally (Brighenti, 2010; Kärrholm, 2017), the craft beer industry has been significantly impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic at the time of writing, with 200 million fewer craft beer pints brewed in 2020 (SIBA, 2021). Due to the temporary closure of pubs, bars, restaurants, and events, everybody has been temporarily excluded from these places, with craft breweries enacting innovative strategies to survive (e.g., beer deliveries and online events). However, the temporality of Indy Man pre-pandemic also offered opportunity for craft beer consumption to unfold in different ways, bringing the construction of a white, masculine, middle-class, and able-bodied norm into question.

As previously noted, Indy Man’s historic Victoria Baths venue boasts unique multi-sensory and material qualities, which shift through the annual temporal rhythms of the event’s breweries and beers, as well as through embodied performances, music, lighting, smells, decorative elements, layout and so on. All of which intersect in different ways throughout the time and space of the event, shifting Indy Man’s atmospheric qualities:

Everything is quite civilised at the beginning of the evening, with people politely sipping their beer, seeming more contemplative. However, as the night progresses and more beer is consumed, the lighting in the room seems to become dimmer; the music and chatter louder. People appear more animated ... sometimes swaying along to the music ... the rooms getting increasingly packed, and some spilling drinks from being bashed by others (*Author 2 fieldnotes*).

We can see above how, in the earlier stages of drinking sessions, civilized drinking performances dominated the event, potentially leading those who do not possess high levels of craft beer cultural capital to feel excluded. Accordingly, rather than being a passive backdrop of experience, atmospheres can also possess ‘ambient power’ (Allen, 2006) – with the capacity to inform affective belonging and processes of territorialization. Indeed, over time a more convivial atmosphere emerged, revealing how the differing multi-sensory qualities of the event spaces rendered fluctuating inclusions and exclusions:

Each room and passageway has its own unique combination of multi-sensory elements intermingling to create different vibes. The ‘*token room*’ overwhelming, with bright lighting, tightly packed crowds, and thundering music. The ‘*Deya room*’ playing funk and soul music, with inflatable crocodiles flying overhead creates a quirky ambience. Whilst the quiet and dingy ‘*white room*’, where people seem to be hiding from the crowds, appears sterile and lifeless. In some of these rooms I feel more comfortable than others (Fieldnotes, Author 2, Room names referred to are those given by the author).

Further shifting the atmospheric qualities of Indy Man, online and offline techniques were used by certain networks of attendees to enable a more feminized territorialization of space to unfold. This was most notable through a 'meet up' organized at the 2019 Indy Man event. In the days before the event, Indy Man hashtags were utilized alongside #womeninbeer and #beeryladies, inviting a number of British-based, women-only craft beer groups to come together during the event. Using online networks, attendees were able to connect and plan attendance, enabling a visible presence during the event; with the meet-up taking place in one of Indy Man's main rooms. During the meet-up, attendees associated with these groups spread bags and coats across a number of tables and took photos from the mezzanine level. Such territorial strategies and tactics (Kärrholm, 2017) worked to ensure this meet-up rendered a noticeably physical presence (De Backer, 2019).

Importantly, however, whilst this group enacted this visible process of territorialization, they were not confined by it; highlighting through social media posts how they too networked with a wide range of brewers and consumers. Through accumulation, reverberation and reshaping, this territorial act enabled small-scale reconceptualization regarding the geographies of craft beer; introducing ambiguity and multiplicity to the perception, for some, of Indy Man as a fixed masculine space. Through the use of the event hash tag and frequent online sharing of images relating to the meet-up, this performance also influenced territorializing processes beyond the event. This stretched what was a spatially and temporally contained dimension of Indy Man into something larger, through the use of online spaces.

Territories are temporal, enabling the scene's territorialization processes to unfold in rhythmic ways. Rhythms, following Brighenti (2010), are not repetitions of the same, but rather, slight differences nested inside patterns of repetition. Indy Man and social media, thus, offer an opening for things within the scene to be arranged differently; presenting alternative and multiple becomings in regard to the ways territorialization unfolds within the craft beer scene. The meet-up, discussed above, interfered with any preconfigured perceptions, shifting the territorialization of the scene by challenging the hierarchy of existing territorial productions. In considering events as processual there is potential to recognise future territorial 'unclaspings' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980; Shi et al., 2019), whereby such new ways of women – and other non-dominant subjectivities – to utilise the affordances of craft beer events and online spaces, to lead to alternative, or multiple, territorial formations.

Conclusion

Manchester's version of cultural-led regeneration follows the UK's broader aim to attract 'creative' residents and visitors, and entice dynamism and inclusivity through craft and creativity (Edensor et al., 2010). In doing so, cultural-led regeneration has been criticized for facilitating a dominance of certain social subjects who territorialize spaces in exclusive ways through discursive, performative and material markers – whether intentionally or not.

Whilst temporary events are not often perceived, in and of themselves, to play a role in the exclusionary and inclusionary processes of the urban landscape, we demonstrated how events are not spatially nor temporally bounded; rather, they inform – and are

informed by – a broader politics of belonging. By drawing on territorialization, and revealing how territorializing assemblages, including pre-existing power relations, flow across online and offline spaces, we contributed insights into how cultural events, such as craft beer festivals, are spaces producing heterogeneous and fluid processes of (not) belonging.

Focusing on Indy Man, we highlighted how cultural-led regeneration, alongside the rise of craft and creativity within the context of UK craft beer, produces forms of culture that tend to predominantly be territorialized by those aligning with a narrowly defined creative, white, middle class, masculinized identity. This, in part, is because Indy Man is prefaced on the requirement of organisers to generate an economic return on the events that take place within the Victoria Baths venue, as well as the online and offline territorialization performances enacted by those who find meaning in the event. This reflects the limited ‘territorial complexity’ (Kärrholm, 2009, 2013) that can sometimes be evident in approaches to cultural development found in urban spaces – whereby events that appear inclusive and creative typically afford and reinforce the performances and discourses of certain subjectivities.

The politics of belonging at events is, however, not predetermined. Events are social and temporal encounters, constituting acts, movements and relations that unfold in differing, heterogeneous ways, offering opportunity for shifting territorial processes. Fluid atmospheres flowing through and beyond Indy Man generated by fluctuating embodied performances, materialities and multi-sensory constellations, rendered varying affective intensities, inclusions and exclusions, thus at times unsettling pre-existing perceptions within the craft beer scene.

If events – such as craft beer festivals – are used in cultural regeneration, then we need to understand how processes of territorialization unfold in these heterogeneous ways through and beyond event times and spaces, and the implications of this for urban belonging; particularly in light of the initial aims oft used to fund many urban cultural spaces being prefaced on their role in bringing diverse local communities together. Central to understanding such territorialization processes, we argue, is not just analysis of the temporally and spatially bounded event itself. Rather, we need to conceptualise how territorialization moves in and through the physical spaces of craft beer production and consumption – including, importantly, online spaces and the broader spaces of the city. There is thus further work to be done in, for example, assessing the relationship of craft beer events with visits to the local pub, ale trails, pub crawls and so on, to expand understandings of how territorializing assemblages intersect within broader drinking landscapes.

We hope that, through unravelling the heterogeneous territorial inclusions and exclusions generated through craft beer events, our paper can in some way assist reflections on the politics of belonging in our cities.

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