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Gendered performances of spaces and beer drinkers in New Zealand

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Abstract

This paper examines the ways in which spaces become gendered through the practices and representations of beer drinking in New Zealand. Feminist poststructuralist identity debates provide the theoretical framework for this research. I use qualitative methods specifically, focus groups and critical textual analysis of beer advertisements of some of the most popular beer brands in New Zealand; in particular Tui, 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 continually perform their identity, men create a rural hegemonic masculinity that is both hard, yet vulnerable. Second, within urban spaces of beer drinking - such as nightclubs - homosexual and 'metrosexual' masculinities are 'Othered'. These identities are defined in relation to the hegemonic norm - 'Hard Man' masculinity - in negative ways. I use contradictions from my focus group participants to unsettle the 'Hard Man' masculinity of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures.

Introduction

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 New Zealand, 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 little, however, written about the relationship between beer advertising and space.

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). Television advertisements are prime examples of representations, which are partial and subjective. Poststructuralists argue that the medium of language (and representation) is largely important to the construction of the individual, as well as methodological and epistemological issues (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

In this paper a primary concern is how and why hegemonic masculinity is used to represent beer and New Zealand's identity. My research is guided by two questions 1) What kinds of masculinities are present in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures and why? 2) How can hegemonic masculinities of beer drinking in New Zealand become unsettled or subverted?

I focus not only on media representations but also the 'actual' gendered spaces of beer drinking at local and national scales. I examine the spaces that were introduced by my participants during the data gathering process. Two different qualitative methods were used: 1) focus groups, and 2) critical discourse analysis of beer advertisements. The choice of qualitative methods employed in this research has been influenced directly by the poststructuralist basis of this study. The two

methods stated above allow me to examine multiple conflicting discourses that construct beer-drinking cultures in New Zealand.

I chose these two methods to gain an understanding of the cultures of beer drinking in New Zealand. 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. I conducted two focus groups which were separated by gender. I realised that I would succeed in gaining more insights into the gendered spaces of beer drinking if men and women were in separate focus groups. This internal homogeneity provides the environment where men and women can speak of their experiences relatively freely, whilst the wider design also permits the researcher to explore the differences between groups (Conradson 2005: 133).

My position in this research is multiple, just as the identities which I study are. As a young woman 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. I acknowledge within my research that there is no attempt through representations of beer to include and promote women 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.

In what follows I first consider the rural construction of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. I identify the hegemonic masculinity that appears in beer advertisements and is connected to the rural image of drinking. I examine this masculinity and suggest that men constantly perform their masculine identities and in turn create confused and conflicting identities. With comparisons to the rural hegemonic masculinity I turn my attention to the construction of homosexual and metrosexual men as the 'Other' in urban spaces. Finally I consider how hegemonic identities of New Zealand's beer drinking cultures maybe unsettled and subverted by highlighting participants' contradictory performances.

National Constructions of Masculinities

Space and place are important in the formation of masculinities and femininities in New Zealand's beer drinking cultures. Beer television advertisements employ notions of rural space, which reinforces a hegemonic and normative construction of masculinity and national identity. There is 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' (Honeyfield, 1997) masculinity and is the stereotypical identity associated with working class rural New Zealand men. Bodies 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.

The Hard Man identity reinforces a particular form of masculinity through narratives such as stories, jokes and relaxed conversation. 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. 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, as seen in Speight's, Waikato, Lion Red and Tui advertisements. 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 particular hegemonic working class masculinity (Canaan et al, 1996: 173).

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. The following exchange highlights a type of 'Wal' of *Footrot Flats* identity.

- Andrew: I had a picture spring to mind. I was thinking of an old dude wearing a Swannndri, 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, jandals 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.

The relationship between masculinity, beer drinking (specifically Speight's) 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).

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. 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.

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 paper, 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.

Many times throughout my research the male participants made every attempt to not show any signs of 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 (see the Tui 'Distracting the boys from the task at hand since 1889' web page <http://www.tui.co.nz>). 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.

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.

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, 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".
- Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

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 *is* said during the focus group does not illustrate their identities as clearly as what they did *not* say and their performances when taking part in beer drinking. It is these contradictions from the research that demonstrate the influence space has on the construction of identities.

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.

Shifting spaces and 'Other' masculinities

There are instances when 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 drinking 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.
- 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. 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'. 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 complex spaces.

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.

There is a group of masculinities that are 'Othered' within the beer drinking cultures and as a consequence are devalued. My participants identified men who work in the business sector and generally wear suits or shirts to work everyday as not 'real' men. Business men 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. A homosexual man may hold 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 thereof, 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 and/or a metrosexual Hard Man. It is only through the repetition of these 'labels', that they are assumed to be different or removed from those that are more socially accepted.

Homosexuality and aspects of 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]
Male Focus Group, 23rd June 2006

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 to note here that none of the male participants have ever lived in rural areas. They all live in urban centres and they are 'businessmen' who wear shirts and dress pants to work everyday. Once they have left their space of work, however, the participants chose to perform the rural Hard Man masculinity, in an attempt to distance themselves from what they perceive to be 'Other' urban masculinities.

Conclusion

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.

Throughout this research I have been questioning the kinds of masculinities that 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.

New Zealand's beer drinking cultures resonate with a national identity based on the pioneer man (James and Saville-Smith, 1994, Phillips, 1996). 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 the Hard Man, is centred on rural characteristics and images. I demonstrate 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.

Given the construction of hegemonic masculinities (and femininities) of beer drinking in New Zealand it is important to ask how can they 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, 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).

Honeyfield (1997) argues that rural space is important in beer advertising. Building on this work I have shown that a focus on urban identities offers another way to unsettle and subvert hegemonic gendered performances of spaces and beer drinkers in New Zealand.

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