

A GEOGRAPHIC FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING NEOLOCALISM:
THE CASE OF TEXAS HARD CIDER

by

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DEDICATION

To Jennifer. Your support means the world to me.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
ABSTRACT.....	xvi
 CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Purpose Statement and Research Questions	8
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.1. Local Food Networks.....	9
2.2. Beer	14
2.3. Cider.....	16
2.4. Neolocalism	21
2.4.1. Neolocalism and Local Food Networks.....	22
2.4.2. Neolocalism and Beer	27
2.4.3. Neolocalism and Cider.....	33
2.4.4. The Geography of Neolocalism	35
2.4.5. Neolocalism and Sense of Place and Attachment.....	39
2.4.6. Criticism of Neolocalism	42
3. METHODOLOGY	46
3.1. Site & Situation.....	46
3.1.1. Research Population.....	48
3.2. Conceptual Framework.....	49
3.3. Data Collection	52
3.4. Analysis/Technique.....	55
3.5. IRB Management	61

4. RESULTS	62
4.1. Research Population Characteristics.....	62
4.2. Research Question 1: To what extent do Texas craft cider producers employ neolocal traits in the identity and marketing of their products and place?	63
4.2.1. Houston Cider Company.....	64
4.2.2. Austin Eastciders	73
4.2.3. Hye Cider Company	78
4.2.4. Trinity Cider Company	83
4.2.5. Texas Keeper Cider.....	86
4.2.6. City Orchard.....	92
4.2.7. Moontower Cider Company	95
4.2.8. Argus Cidery.....	99
4.2.9. Permann’s Cider Company	103
4.2.10. Rohan Meadery	104
4.2.11. Fairweather Cider Company	106
4.2.12. Locust Cider.....	110
4.2.13. Summary	116
4.3. Research Question 2: Do geographic, relational, or value-based traits hold greater influence when employing neolocalism in Texas craft cider?	117
4.3.1. Geographic Proximity	118
4.3.1.1. Local Ingredients	120
4.3.1.2. The Tasting Room – On-Site Distribution.....	125
4.3.2. Relational Proximity	133
4.3.2.1. Physical Inputs	134
4.3.2.2. Ownership, Financing, and Growth	136
4.3.2.3. Tasting Rooms, Education, and Community Space.....	139
4.3.2.4. Collaborations	141
4.3.2.5. Place of Residence	144
4.3.3. Values of Proximity	147
4.3.3.1. Single-Strength Apple Juice	147
4.3.3.2. Heirloom and Cider Apples	152
4.3.3.3. Social Causes	154
4.3.3.4. Conservation Efforts	157
4.3.3.5. Knowledge	158
4.3.3.6. High-Quality Craft Cider	161
4.3.4. Summary	164
4.4. Research Question 3: How, and under what conditions, does the role of neolocalism and the traits employed in Texas craft cider production vary by location, reflecting local sites and situations?.....	165

4.4.1. Two Views of Houston	165
4.4.2. Attracting Millennials	169
4.4.3. Local Food Culture	171
4.4.4. A Little Rock and Roll.....	174
4.4.5. East Austin Cool	176
4.4.6. Rural Relaxation	178
4.4.7. Summary	180
4.5. Research Question 4: Among Texas cider producers who personally participate in neolocal activities, are these same neolocal traits reflected in their cideries?	181
4.6. Neolocal Product Model	191
4.7. Further Research	191
4.7.1. Model Modifications.....	193
4.7.2. Discussion	195
5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	211
5.1. Neolocal Traits in Identity and Marketing.....	212
5.2. Use of Geographic, Relational, or Value-Based Neolocal Traits	213
5.3. Neolocalism Reflected in Local Sites and Situations	213
5.4. Producer’s Personal Participation in Neolocal Activities.....	214
5.5. Neolocal Product Model	215
APPENDIX SECTION.....	217
LITERATURE CITED	237

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Survey data.....	55
2. Definition of neolocal traits and trait expressions.	56

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Importance of being locally made in purchase decision for beer, wine, and spirits. Modified from Nielsen QuickQuery Omnibus Survey Feb 12-17, 2015 (Nielsen Company 2015).....	16
2. Number of U.S. cider maker starts by year. Note: 2018 data is through January 2018 only. (CyderMarket 2018).	19
3. Current U.S. cider makers by year. Note: 2018 data is through January 2018 only. (CyderMarket 2018).....	20
4. CSAs in the United States in 2004, by county. (Schnell 2007, 553.)	37
5. Microbreweries by zip code, 2002. (Schnell and Reese 2003).....	37
6. Percentage of U.S. microbreweries and CSAs found in each of the twelve county types, compared with the percent of the U.S. population residing in each county type. (Schnell 2013a, 79).	39
7. Texas cideries studied.	47
8. Original Neolocal Product model modified from Eriksen (2013) and Schnell (2013a).	50
9. Houston Cider Company product labels for cans.	68
10. Houston Cider Company and Town and City Brewery tasting room.	70
11. Houston Cider Company outside seating and Truegrid permeable landscaping.	72
12. Austin Eastciders' wordmark.....	75
13. Hye Cider Company cans. Image copyright Hye Cider Company.	78
14. Hye Cider Company interior of tasting room.	81
15. Hye Cider Company exterior of tasting room and cidery.....	82
16. Trinity Cider Company in refurbished warehouse or retail space.	84

17. Texas Keeper Cider product labels featuring pecan leaves, cypress trees along a river, and a windmill.....	88
18. Texas Keeper Cidery outside seating area and raised bed gardens.	89
19. Texas Keeper Cidery tasting room.	90
20. Moontower Cider Company homepage.	97
21. Moontower Cider Company can.	97
22. Argus Cidery’s bottled aged ciders.....	100
23. Rohan Meadery tasting room bar and production area.	106
24. Fairweather Cider Company’s tasting room.	108
25. Fairweather Cider Company can art. Common Cider and Tejano Dreams Cider.	110
26. Locust Cider's freshly remodeled building.	113
27. Locust Cider's tasting room in a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. The building across the street is shuttered and next to it is an empty lot.	114
28. Neolocal Product model for Texas craft cider producers.	118
29. Geographic Proximity traits.....	119
30. Austin Eastciders local-Texas Texas Honey Cider featuring Texas honey and Ruby Red Grapefruit Cider featuring Texas grapefruit. Photo copyright Austin Eastciders.	123
31. Trinity Cider Company tasting room and production area.	127
32. Relational Proximity traits.	134
33. Values of Proximity traits.	148
34. Texas Keeper Cider Neolocal Product Model.	196
35. Rohan Meadery Neolocal Product Model.....	197
36. Houston Cider Company Neolocal Product Model.	198

37. Hye Cider Company Neolocal Product Model.	199
38. City Orchard Neolocal Product Model.	200
39. Argus Cidery Neolocal Product Model.....	204
40. Fairweather Cider Company Neolocal Product Model.....	205
41. Trinity Cider Company Neolocal Product Model.....	206
43. Locust Cider Neolocal Product Model.	207
42. Moontower Cider Company Neolocal Product Model.	208
44. Austin Eastcidery Neolocal Product Model.	209

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to develop and test a new conceptual framework for the geographic analysis of neolocalism through an examination of Texas craft cider producers. James Shortridge (1996) introduced the term neolocalism, defining it as the striving for a conscientious and sustained attachment to local places. I interviewed the owners or spokesperson for twelve Texas cideries to determine their engagement with neolocal traits. Incorporating geographic, relational, and values of proximity along with the identified neolocal traits, I created a visual representation of neolocal engagement, the neolocal product model. My findings suggest that the cideries interviewed make a conscientious effort at incorporating neolocal traits into their business to create products embedded in place. The model visually demonstrates how Texas craft cider producers' ability to create a locally-embedded product imbued with neolocal traits are affected by how the producers situate themselves within a local food network, reflect local resources and values, and present their cidery within a chosen landscape. Additionally, the model documents a wide variety of traits and expressions of those traits producers can engage in making a product local.

1. INTRODUCTION

The past three decades have seen an increasing demand for locally grown and produced food in the United States. As consumer demand for local food products has grown, numerous alternative economic models of financing, production, and distribution including farmers' markets, community supported agriculture, farm delivery services, food hubs, and farm-to-table restaurants have emerged. This constellation of alternative food production and distribution models varies across space and time and forms the local food network. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) tracks local food sales transactions as direct-to-consumer sales and sales to intermediaries such as local restaurants, grocery stores, or distributors. In 2015, United States (U.S) farm direct-to-consumer sales were an estimated \$3 billion (USDA 2016). Farms participating in direct-to-consumer and intermediate channels increased from 107,200 in 2008 (Low and Vogel 2011) to 163,675 in 2012 (USDA 2014).

Numerous researchers attribute the emergence and success of local food networks to people's desire to feel a connection to the community in which they reside (Flack 1997; Sharp, Imerman, and Peters 2002; Feagan 2007; Schnell 2013a; Schnell 2013b). This connection has been lost or weakened by economic globalization and corporatization, creating vast and opaque global supply chains that define modern U.S. daily life (Feagan 2007; Schnell 2013a). Currently, in much of the U.S., an individual can order anything they need online and have it delivered anywhere within 48 hours, no direct human interaction required. To counter this trend and restore a connection to place, consumers have turned to their local food producers, among other local sellers.

Twenty-three years ago, James Shortridge (1996) introduced the term neolocalism, defining it as the striving for a conscientious and sustained attachment to local places. Shortridge was bemoaning the current lack of professional interest in regional geographic study and was using his personal and professional experience as the core of his argument of regionalism's importance. He noted a rising level of interest among Kansans in their local landscape, history, and culture, despite Kansas being considered by the rest of the country as "bland." Shortridge postulated, "The nascent supposition here I call neolocalism – a deliberate seeking out of regional lore and local attachment by residents (new and old) as a delayed reaction to the destruction in modern America of traditional bonds to community and family. We are feeling a need to forge better geographical identities" (Shortridge 1996, 10). Food systems were among the first to display this deliberate re-localization and re-spatialization movement (Feagan 2007).

Since the initial supposition, neolocalism has been further refined and studied in local food networks (Shortridge and Shortridge 1998; Schnell 2007; Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi 2009; Bean and Sharp 2011; Schnell 2013a), microbreweries (Flack 1997; Schnell and Reese 2003; Patton and Mathews 2013; Schnell 2013a; Eberts 2014; Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014; Schnell and Reese 2014; Fletchall 2016; Holtkamp et al. 2016), and heritage tourism (Haverluk 2002; Fletchall 2016).

Geographically, there is very little agreement on what local food is, by either consumers, producers, or researchers. Various, it is defined as a set distance from producer to consumer, the directness of the sale between producer and consumer, sale within a specific political boundary such as a state, or even the ways in which the product was grown, raised, or crafted (Maye, Holloway, and Kneafsey 2007). Academic

researchers have examined the traits present within local food network literature and found some commonalities. Schnell (2013a) identified eight dominant local themes present in neolocal activities, with overlap between the various themes. Taking a broader approach, Eriksen (2013) summarized three domains of local proximity: geographical proximity (explicit physical spatial/geographical locality), relational proximity (direct relations between local actors, usually producer and consumer), and values of proximity (different, usually non-market values, that different actors attribute to local food) present in the research literature. However localness is defined, local food sales continue to increase, which spurred research on local food systems and what drives them. To this end, this research aims to advance the relationship between neolocalism, local food, and the producer's perspective by further defining what local food is.

Supporters of local food networks cite numerous benefits for consumers, producers, the economy, and the environment. Focusing on farm producers, Hunt (2007) showed that farmers perceive benefits to being part of the local food network, including having greater independence over their business, what they produce, production methods, and what they charge. Compared to traditional farmers, local food producers were more satisfied with their profession, the quality of life it affords, and their ability to contribute to the well-being of their customers, employees, community, and the environment (Lass et al. 2003; Ross 2006; Conner, Campbell-Arvai, and Hamm 2008). Of these perceived benefits - connection with consumers, economic independence of businesses, and contributing to the wellbeing of people and the environment - are representations of neolocal themes identified by Schnell (2013a) in local food networks.

Neolocalism's benefits, however, are not necessarily applied equally throughout society. Critics of neolocalism point to its potential for elitism, defensive localism, and gentrification. Farmers markets, CSAs, farm-to-table restaurants, and foodie hotspots tend to be dominated by a white ethnic group, creating an upscale, exclusionary space. Producers of neolocal products often court an educated, elite, high-earning clientele who can afford to support their often more intensive production methods. Cities embracing redevelopment initiatives, and producers and consumers looking for inexpensive real estate, can create and accelerate neighborhood gentrification. Condominiums and craft breweries take root, displacing long-term residents who may then feel unwelcome in their neighborhoods. While this may not be the intent of the neolocal producers and consumers, it is a potential outcome.

Notably, local craft beverages – generally regarded as those beverages made with traditional ingredients, that have limited production, and are from local privately owned businesses - are a significant part of the expanding local food network. The U.S. has seen a surge of craft beer producers in the last three decades and a younger generation of beer consumers considers the origin of production a major factor in their purchasing decision (Watson 2015). From a low of 89 beer breweries in 1978, brewpubs, microbreweries, and regional breweries increased in the U.S to 6,266 in 2017, the vast majority being microbreweries and brewpubs (Brewers Association 2018b). This growth has been occurring against a backdrop in the overall beer industry of zero or negative production growth. Craft brewers' success is due in large part to the re-localization trend and re-spatialization of food systems in the United States. Schnell and Reese (2003, 46) attributed the success to “the desire of people to break away from the smothering

homogeneity of popular, national culture, and reestablish connections with local communities, settings, and economies.”

Surprisingly, one of the most studied forms of food neolocalism – the rise of small, independent craft beer breweries – use core ingredients that are often not local. Few beer brewers grow their hops and barley or buy them locally. Yet, all beer brewers are reliant on them, whether they are located next to the hops fields in Washington or two thousand miles away in Florida. While a few brewers do grow their ingredients or buy them locally, and others have begun incorporating local ingredients such as honey, herbs, and fruit (Schnell and Reese 2014; Lewis, Hornyak, and Pouder 2017), most craft beer is local in its production but not its core ingredients’ origins. To this end, microbrewers and brewpubs must foster a local identity in other ways, including product and company naming, employing local imagery, storytelling, and sustainability and community involvement. Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore (2014) and Myles and Breen (2018, 168) noted that even the brewers themselves create local identity where “the skills, knowledge, and context of that brewer is rooted in place and, thus, the resulting product is also placed - and therefore ‘local’ despite the origin of some of its key inputs.” In other words, much of the neolocalism embedded in craft beer comes not from ingredients but from the brewers, their skills, and breweries’ involvement with the place they inhabit.

Aside from Reid et al. and Myles and Breen’s contributions, the majority of geographic research conducted on craft beer’s connection to the local food movement and neolocalism has been from a product and consumer standpoint. Little existing literature discusses the brewers themselves and their neolocal intent. Do brewers want to embed themselves in the local community, or do they simply want to brew good beer and make a

profit? While previous research has demonstrated traits of neolocalism found in craft beer and desired by local consumers, it has not investigated the craft producer him/herself or his/her connections to identity, locality, and place.

However, beer is not the only local craft alcoholic drink gaining in popularity. Apple cider, America's original fermented drink of choice, has seen a resurgence after virtually disappearing in the 20th century. In the U.S., fermented apple juice is often referred to as hard cider. Post-prohibition data is sparse, but according to Cydermarket (2018), there was only one known U.S. commercial cider maker in 1962. Cidery openings began to rise after 2000 with dramatic growth occurring after 2008. As of January 2018, there are 820 commercial cider makers in the 48 contiguous states and the District of Columbia (Cydermarket 2018). Though occurring later than that of craft beer, cider's upward trend follows a similar trajectory. A review of the popular cider literature, websites, and marketing material show similar neolocal marketing techniques in place for craft cider.

Cider producers have a potential advantage over beer brewers in positioning their product as local: Apples can, and historically were, grown almost everywhere in the U.S from as far north as New York to as far south as Texas' Pecos Valley (Texas Department of Agriculture 1911). The earliest settlers planted apple trees, and, by 1899, the U.S. was producing 55 million gallons of cider (Janik 2011). Prior to Prohibition in 1920, almost every homestead had apple trees, most planted from seeds. These were locally adapted, hardy, long-lived, and reliable fruit producers. Depending upon their characteristics (texture and taste), apples were either eaten fresh or cooked, preserved through drying,

stored whole for over-winter eating, fed to farm animals such as pigs, or crushed for juice (Janik 2011).

Most commonly, seed-grown trees produced apples too bitter to eat but whose sugary juices were easily converted and preserved, with no additional ingredients, into alcoholic cider to drink year-round (Janik 2011). Unlike beer, cider was never mass-produced in cities and remained a rural farmstead- or tavern-produced drink. In the early 20th-century industrial beer production increased, cider fell out of popularity, and Prohibition restrictions eliminated the remaining cider industry. During and after Prohibition, farmers moved to the city looking for work, abandoning apple orchards or, if they remained, converting orchards to apple varieties better for eating. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of unique varieties of apples went extinct (Nabhan 2009). Today, many modern craft cider producers lack the one thing they most need for an entirely local product – locally grown apples. Despite its local potential, at this time, craft cider’s main ingredient may be far from local.

Currently, even less is known about craft cider producers than of craft beer brewers, though their products seem to occupy a similar neolocal production/consumption niche. Numerous newspaper and magazine articles have profiled these new cider makers, but scholarly analysis remains scarce. Such research must explore whether craft cider producers are actively trying to create what Schnell calls “a new narrative of place” (2013a, 83), using the unique neolocal traits available to craft cider producers.

1.1. Purpose Statement and Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to develop and test a new conceptual framework for the geographic analysis of neolocalism through an examination of Texas craft cider producers. In developing the framework, I will address the following questions:

- To what extent do Texas craft cider producers employ neolocal traits in the identity and marketing of their products and place?
- Do geographic, relational, or value-based traits hold greater influence when employing neolocalism in Texas craft cider?
- How, and under what conditions, does the role of neolocalism and the traits employed in Texas craft cider production vary by location, reflecting local sites and situations?
- Among Texas cider producers who personally participate in neolocal activities, are these same neolocal traits reflected in their cideries?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Local Food Networks

Food has historically been local. If not hunted, grown, raised, or made on-site, its distance from farm to plate was dictated by technological limitations of transportation and preservation. In the U.S. prior to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, perishable food traveled less than a day's journey to market (Giovannucci, Barham, and Pirog 2010). Consumers purchased directly from their butcher, dairyman, or baker and knew seasonality often dictated availability. Rapid technological advances made during WWI and WWII led to the large-scale industrialization of agriculture and as advances in food processing, packaging, and preservation. Americans lost their connection to the farm, and even seasonality, as global food commerce made products available year-round (Buratti and Hagelman 2016). So while a global industrialized food system has produced more food than ever before, it has often done so at the expense of the environment, workers, and even the quality and nutrition of the food it creates. The global industrial food system began to be associated with the loss of biodiversity, animal cruelty, environmental degradation, loss of cultural identity, outbreaks of food-borne illness, and obesity. Some producers and consumers began looking for an alternative in sustainable agriculture.

Modern local food networks are largely an outcome of the rise of sustainable agriculture. While sustainable agriculture is a broad term, its U.S. origins can be attributed to the writings of J. I. Rodale starting in the 1940s (Robertson and Harwood 2013). Rodale's books and *Organic Farming and Gardening Magazine* promoted non-chemical farming techniques, which were first widely commercially adopted in California and later formalized as organic certification (Guthman 2003). Another form of

sustainable agriculture that appeared in the U.S. was community supported agriculture (CSA), in which members pay a farmer in advance for a share of her crops. Some scholars believe the CSA model was initiated in 1986 as a takeaway from Steiner's biodynamic farming practiced in Europe (Strochlic and Chelley 2004) while others credit the start of the CSA to the teikei movement in Japan in 1965 (Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi 2009; Schnell 2007; Strochlic and Chelley 2004). These alternative forms of agriculture were a reaction to industrial-scale, chemically-dependent agriculture that had come to dominate post-World War II U.S. agriculture. Consumers were demanding a more direct connection with their food and many producers were willing to supply that connection (Strochlic and Chelley 2004).

Farmers, ranchers, and retailers increased their offerings to the local food consumer in the ensuing three decades. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) counted 8,716 farmers markets in 2016, a 394 percent increase since 1994 (USDA 2018). The 2012 USDA Census of Agriculture reported 12,617 farms participating in marketing products through CSAs (USDA 2014). Restaurants, urban farms, community gardens, pick-your-own farms, CSAs, farm stands, farm delivery services, home gardening, and even industrial food services in hospitals, schools, and nursing homes now offer local food options.

Such a diversity of options, all falling under the heading of 'local,' illustrates the lack of agreement over what 'local food' is. In the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 (HB 2419 2008) the U.S. federal government defined local produce as produce consumed within 400 miles of its source or within the state it was produced.

Geographically, this ensures variation from state to state given the differences in areas

between states. The 2016 USDA publication *Direct Farm Sales of Food* (USDA 2016) used the often cited 100-mile definition of local popularized by the 100-mile diet (Smith and MacKinnon 2007), which many consumers also associate with local food (Pirog and Rasmussen 2008).

Academic researchers have tried to define what ‘local’ is by surveying the traits presented within local food network literature. Eriksen (2013) summarized three domains of local proximity present in the literature between 2000 and June 2012: geographical proximity (explicit physical spatial/geographical locality), relational proximity (direct relations between local actors, usually producer and consumer), and values of proximity (different, usually non-market values, that different actors attribute to local food). Schnell (2013a) identified eight dominant local themes employed by neolocal advocates: the “local” as non-global; the “local” as transparent; the “local” as non-corporate; the “local” as unique; the “local” as environmentally responsible; the “local” as empowered and self-sufficient; the “local” as community-building; and the “local” as authentic. Additionally, Schnell (2013a, 71) recognized that the “local” might be all of the above as its participants attempt to “unify many of the idealizations of the local.” Eriksen’s (2013) and Schnell’s (2013a) categorizations of neolocalism can be mapped on to the broader body of local food research.

In addition to the actual products grown or created, each method of local food production, distribution, and consumption offers neolocal connections: through farm tours, product inserts, marketing materials, educational workshops, on-farm dinners, social media posts, blog posts, seasonal menus, livestock and equipment sponsorships, and even on-farm date nights. Cities large and small have embraced the local food

movement, providing prominent space for farmers markets or updating city codes and ordinances to accommodate everything from urban farms to backyard chickens (Buratti and Hagelman 2016). In food insecure areas, the movement has been towards providing fresh, healthy, locally grown food to counter the effects of urban and rural food deserts (Alkon 2008; DeLind 2011).

Consumers of local food have been shown to be concerned less with price and more with non-monetary, social credence attributes and values, including supporting local farms and farmers (Cooley and Lass 1998; Winter 2003; Stephenson and Lev 2004; Berlin, Lockeretz, and Bell 2009; Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi 2009; Bean and Sharp 2011), product quality and safety (Cooley and Lass 1998; Brown 2003; Winter 2003; Stephenson and Lev 2004; Berlin, Lockeretz, and Bell 2009; Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi 2009; Bean and Sharp 2011; Jekanowski, Williams II, and Schick 2000), protecting the environment (Cooley and Lass 1998; Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi 2009; Bean and Sharp 2011), investing in the local economy (Stephenson and Lev 2004; Hunt 2007; Schnell 2007), supporting rural communities and open spaces (Stephenson and Lev 2004; Hunt 2007; Berlin, Lockeretz, and Bell 2009), or enjoying the buying local experience (Stephenson and Lev 2004). These intangible benefits are difficult to measure, but we can measure the significant number of consumers who are willing to pay more for the perceived benefits of participating in their local food network (Jekanowski, Williams II, and Schick 2000; Stephenson and Lev 2004; Bean and Sharp 2011).

The USDA Economic Research Service analyzed the economic impact of local foods in the U.S market; the USDA considers both direct-to-consumer (farm-to-consumer sales defined as farmers markets, roadside stands, on-farm stores, and community

supported agriculture arrangements) and intermediate marketing channels (farm-to-reseller-to-consumer defined as sales to regional distributors and grocery stores, restaurants, or other retailers) to encompass local food sales. In 2008, locally produced food sales accounted for \$4.8 billion, or 1.6 percent of all U.S. agricultural products (Low and Vogel 2011) and had almost doubled to \$8.7 billion in 2015 (USDA 2016). Farm-to-consumer sales experienced steady growth since 1992, almost doubling in value from just over \$600 million to \$1.2 billion in 2007 (Low and Vogel 2011) to \$3 billion in 2015 (USDA 2016).

Small family farms, which the USDA (2009) classifies as farms earning less than \$250,000 gross sales annually, accounted for 81 percent of all farms reported as engaged in local food sales in 2008, or 86,726 farms (Low and Vogel 2011). Intermediate and large farms are also engaged in local food sales, although small farms were much more likely to be engaged in direct-to-consumer (farmers markets, roadside stands, on-farm stores, and CSA arrangements) sales only. The total number of farmers participating in direct-to-consumer sales increased 58 percent between 1992 and 2007, to 136,000 (Low and Vogel 2011). From a neolocal standpoint, connections would be greater between a farm and local consumers as opposed to other intermediate consumer channels. Producers, consumers, and retailers often have differing, even conflicting, definitions of what constitutes “local,” however, the common thread would be the consumer having a more direct and one-on-one relationship with the producer, their food, and where it comes from. The strong desire for connection and community, both on the part of farmers and consumers, is neolocalism at its core.

2.2. Beer

Beer brewing knowledge came to the U.S. with multiple waves of immigrants, including English, Germans, and Czechs, each bringing their preferred styles. As beer was heavy to transport and spoiled rather quickly, local breweries and saloons were common across the frontier. American breweries peaked at 4,131 in 1873 (Flack 1997). As transportation and refrigeration improved, industry consolidation began to eat away at the number of local breweries. By the time Prohibition was enacted in 1920, the U.S. had around 2,000 breweries. After Prohibition ended in 1933 about 1,000 breweries came back into production. By 1985, massive industry consolidation eroded that number to approximately 40 with three major brewers, Anheuser-Busch, Miller, and Schlitz-Stroh, dominating the market (Tremblay and Tremblay 2005). A majority of the beers produced were light pilsner-style lagers. This lack of diversity set the stage for the rise of craft beer.

Since President Jimmy Carter signed the act repealing the law against home brewing in 1978, the home and craft brewing industry began to take off, from a low of 89 craft breweries in 1978 to 6,266 in 2017 (Brewers Association 2018b). Craft beer brewing began to surge in the 1990s, plateaued in the early 2000s and has had rapid growth since 2010. Craft brewers offered a diversity of beers the multinationals would not: pale ales, stouts, wheat beers, and lagers among many others. The Brewers Association Beer Style Guidelines 2018 Edition recognizes 159 styles of beer (Brewers Association 2018d). In 2017, the overall beer industry, dominated by massive multinational brewers, had a 1 percent decrease in sales volume, while “craft brewer sales continued to grow at a rate of 5% by volume, reaching 12.7% of the U.S. beer market by volume” (Brewers Association 2018a). Craft breweries also continue to grow retail sales,

increasing 8 percent in 2017, capturing 23 percent of the \$111.4 billion U.S. retail beer market (Brewers Association 2018a). While overall beer volume purchased decreased, craft beer increased in both volume purchased and in retail sales. The vast bulk of that growth has occurred in the microbrewery and brewpub segments. The Brewers Association defines craft microbreweries, brewpubs, and regional breweries based on production volume, sales location, and styles of beer produced:

An American craft brewer is small, independent and traditional.

Small

Annual production of 6 million barrels of beer or less (approximately 3 percent of U.S. annual sales). Beer production is attributed to a brewer according to the rules of alternating proprietorships.

Independent

Less than 25 percent of the craft brewery is owned or controlled (or equivalent economic interest) by a beverage alcohol industry member which is not itself a craft brewer.

Traditional

A brewer that has a majority of its total beverage alcohol volume in beers whose flavors derive from traditional or innovative brewing ingredients and their fermentation. Flavored Malt Beverages (FMBs) are not considered beers.

Microbrewery

A brewery that produces less than 15,000 barrels (17,600 hectoliters) of beer per year with 75 percent or more of its beer sold off-site.

Brewpub

A restaurant-brewery that sells 25 percent or more of its beer on site. The beer is brewed primarily for sale in the restaurant and bar.

Regional Craft Brewery

An independent regional brewery with a majority of volume in 'traditional' or 'innovative' beer(s). A brewery with an annual beer production of between 15,000 and 6,000,000 barrels.
(Brewers Association 2016)

Craft beer growth has paralleled the local food movement, and many brewers emphasize their connection to the local community in which they brew. In a 2015 Nielsen survey, 53 percent of 21-34-year-old beer drinkers said “being locally made” was most important to their beer purchasing decision (Figure 1) (Nielsen Company 2015).

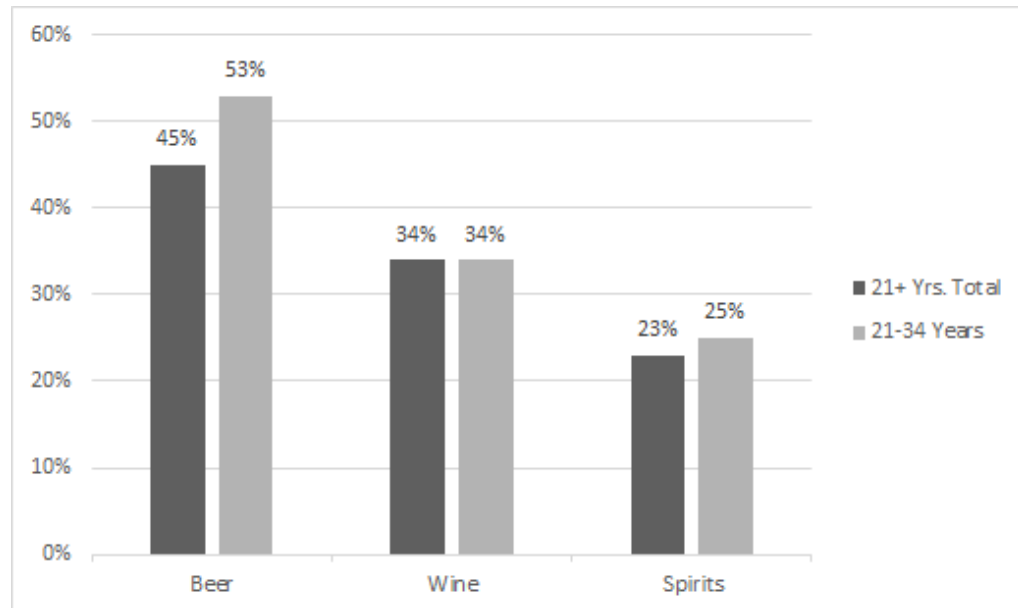


Figure 1. Importance of being locally made in purchase decision for beer, wine, and spirits. Modified from Nielsen QuickQuery Omnibus Survey Feb 12-17, 2015 (Nielsen Company 2015).

2.3. Cider

Cider, often referred to as hard cider in the U.S., is defined by the federal government as a fermented fruit wine containing only apple juice, water, and sugars (Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau 2016). This simple description belies the complexity and variation found in ciders made not only across the U.S. but also around the world (Alworth 2015). While now considered a niche or craft beverage, cider was America’s original alcoholic drink. Early settlers brought the apple seeds and fermenting knowledge with them to the new world. Once established, apple trees were prolific and

easy to maintain, and turning apples into alcoholic cider gave settlers an easy way to store their bounty of fruit. In 1623, William Blackstone planted the first cultivated apple tree in the New World in Boston (Blackstone 1974; Mazza and Murooka 2009) and the first apple orchard in Rhode Island in 1635 (Mazza and Murooka 2009). An estimated 1 in 10 farms in New England operated a cider mill by the time of the American Revolution (Janik 2011). It is hard to overstate how ubiquitous cider was before 1900. Frontier families commonly bartered cider for goods and services and it was often the first drink of the day, considered safer than local surface waters. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were known cider producers, both experimenting with hundreds of varieties of apple trees (Janik 2011). In 1899, the U.S. produced 55 million gallons of cider (Janik 2011).

Despite its early prevalence, historians debate what caused the decline of cider consumption in the U.S; some cite the rise of the industrial revolution as farmers migrated to the cities to work and abandoned apple orchards. At the same time, immigrants from Germany and northern Europe brought their beer-brewing culture and knowledge to the U.S. (Janik 2011). Americans embraced modern technology, including factory-brewed beer while rejecting cider, considered a poor man's frontier drink (Kerrigan 2014). Unlike beer brewers, U.S. cider producers manufactured their product in small, rural operations, never industrializing their methods. Unfiltered, unpasteurized, and unregulated, harmful bacteria occasionally made people sick, further securing cider's reputation as a poor person's drink (Smith 2012). State and federal food safety laws introduced for consumer protection made production even more difficult for small operators. Another possible factor adding to cider's decline were orchards in New York

succumbing to infestations of codling moth and apple scab disease (Blocker, Fahey, and Tyrrell 2003).

Finally, the Temperance movement took aim at cider's popularity. Unadulterated cider, with a relatively low alcohol content usually around 7 to 10 percent, appears to have not been a primary Temperance target. However, producers often increased cider's alcohol content by freezing cider, which removed water and created applejack, adding sugar while fermenting, mixing it with rum, or further distilling it to produce brandy. Temperance leaders then grouped cider with "Demon Rum" and targeted it as a villainous drink. Whatever the cause, production had already fallen to 13 million gallons when Congress enacted the National Prohibition Act in 1919 (Janik 2011).

Beer brewers lobbied intensely to repeal Prohibition and, once repealed in 1933, beer made a quick comeback. Cider production, however, did not. This could be due to the longer time needed to establish new orchards, the conversion of cider apple orchards to sweet eating apples, orchards reverting to the forest as small farmsteads were abandoned and agriculture modernized (Janik 2011), or simply changing American tastes. Whatever the reason, cider production practically disappeared from the U.S. for decades.

The 1980s saw the establishment of commercial cider producers as part of the homebrewing revival. According to the Cydermarket.com, a website dedicated to tracking cider production in the U.S., the recent increase in cider producers began around 2010 (Figures 2 and 3). Production of cider more than doubled from 1.2 million gallons in 2010 to 2.5 million gallons in 2011 (Northwest Agriculture Business Center 2015) and doubled again in 2012 to 5.2 million gallons (Peck and Miles 2015). The number of new producers grew steadily then surged between 2014 and 2017 with the number of new

starts increasing 115, 176, 128, and 96 annually (Figure 2). To put the growth in perspective, 90 percent of the U.S.'s 820 cideries have opened since 2008 (CyderMarket 2018). Even with the increase in cider producers to 820, there are relatively few compared to 8,583 wineries (Wines and Vines 2015) and 6,266 craft breweries (Brewers

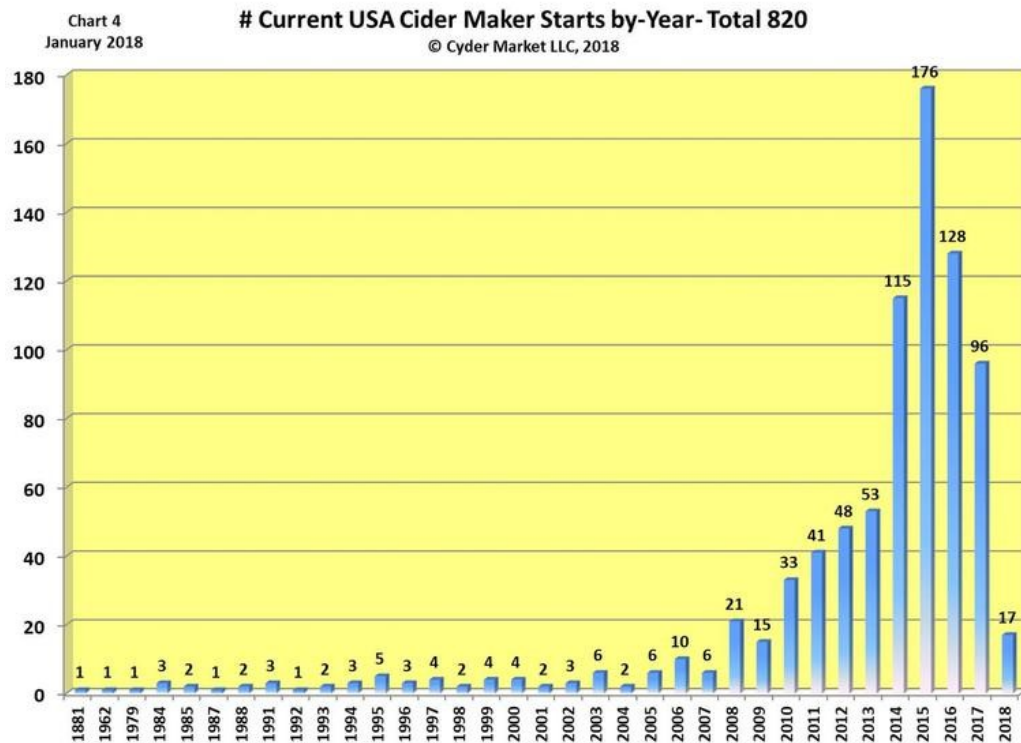


Figure 2. Number of U.S. cider maker starts by year. Note: 2018 data is through January 2018 only. (CyderMarket 2018).

Association 2018b) operating in the United States. The CyderMarket survey also noted that 31 percent of cider makers primarily produce another alcoholic beverage, either wine, beer, or mead. Additionally, 45 cider makes have stopped making cider, consolidated, or closed/retired since the survey began in 2011 (CyderMarket 2018).

Between 2011 and 2015, the cider industry has become the fastest-growing alcoholic beverage industry in the U.S., with annualized revenue growth of 27.3 percent to \$300.4 million (Petrillo 2016). That is only 1.1 percent of the value of the total craft

beer market's \$26 billion annual sales, but its growth rate caught the eye of the alcoholic beverage industry. Multinational brewers Anheuser-Busch InBev, MillerCoors, and C&C Group PLC, along with craft brewing paragon Boston Beer Company, moved into the cider market and dominated sales through economies of scale and large advertising

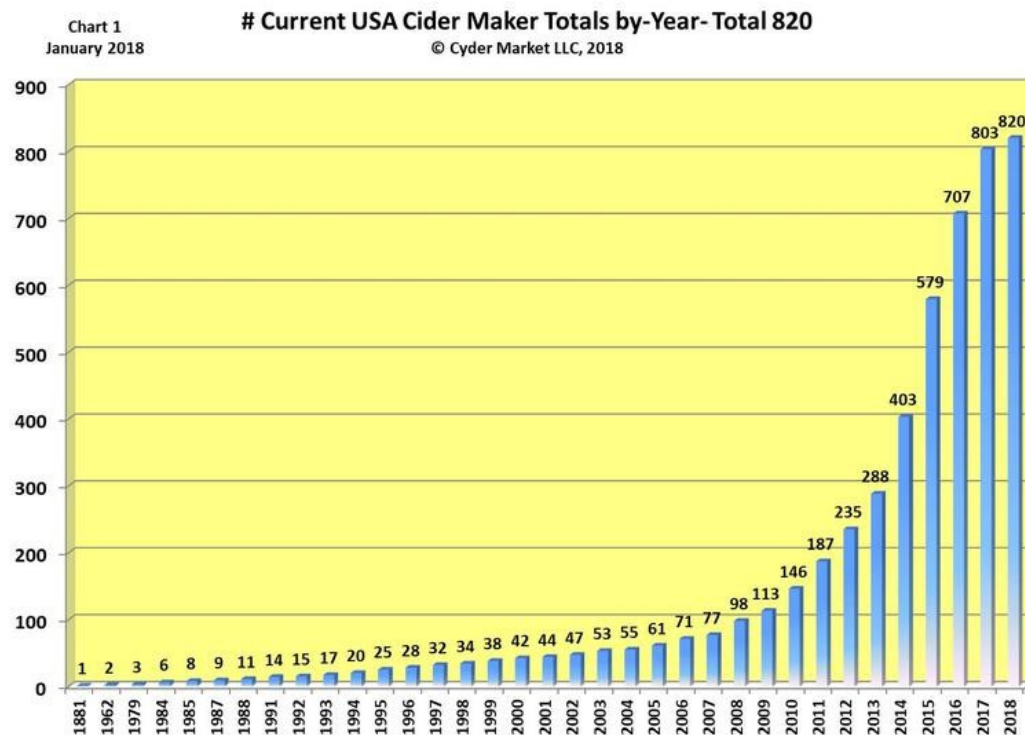


Figure 3. Current U.S. cider makers by year. Note: 2018 data is through January 2018 only. (CyderMarket 2018).

budgets with the top four companies accounting for 69.2 percent of the U.S. cider industry revenue (Petrillo 2016). However, this is less than the 77 percent of the beer market controlled by major non-craft brewers and imports (Brewers Association 2018a).

As described by the 2016 IBISWorld U.S cider production report (Petrillo 2016, 9), major brewers “preemptively infiltrated the Cider Production industry to capture some of the rapid growth that has revived hard cider.” IBISWorld predicts a significant slowdown in the growth of the industry. However, just as craft-labeled beer made by the

major industry brewers, often called faux-craft, has failed to retake market share from independent, locally made craft beer, it is likely industrially-produced cider market share will erode as small and regional craft cider producers create unique, quality, locally inspired products. The *Cider Market Trends Executive Summary: 2017* (U. S. Association of Cider Makers 2018) bears this out with national brands sales collectively down 11.5 percent and regional and local brands sales up 30 percent and volume up 32.2 percent. Furthermore, research shows cider appeals more to women, with a 50-50 split between male and female drinkers, where beer runs 70-30 male-female (Keri 2015) creating a different consumer demographic. Additionally, unlike beer, cider is gluten-free, further tapping into another alternative consumer market.

According to a 2013 Extension survey of cider producers attending CiderCON, the cider industry tradeshow and conference, the plurality (37 percent) of cider makers responding were small-scale producers (1,000-4,999 gallons in 2012) with another 12 percent producing less than 1,000 gallons (Peck and Miles 2015). Twenty-five percent of those responding had not yet started producing but planned to begin within the next two years. While the bulk of industry profits are currently going to only four major producers including Boston Beer Company (34.6 percent), C&C Group PLC (23.3 percent), Anheuser-Busch InBev (5.9 percent), and MillerCoors LLC (5.4 percent) (Petrillo 2016), hundreds of local, craft cideries are entering the market.

2.4. Neolocalism

Having established the connections between local food networks, craft beer, and cider, we can explore the literature that focuses on neolocalism and its interplay with the geography of place.

Two years after James Shortridge introduced the theory of neolocalism he would write of it again with Barbara Shortridge in the *Taste of American Place* (Shortridge and Shortridge 1998). The book begins with these words, “Food is a sensitive indicator of identity and change in American culture. Everyone eats, of course, and the overall wealth and diversity of peoples in the United States have generated an unprecedented variety of foodstuffs from which to select. Each time we reach for even a snack, we are making a conscious decision that serves to define us.” (Shortridge and Shortridge 1998, 1). They argued that neolocalism, as manifested through locally grown and produced food, provided a “sense of community and region to provide an anchor of identity” (Shortridge and Shortridge 1998, 7). Over the next two decades, geographers explored the theme of locally produced food and beverages and the connection to community and identity they provide as pathways to neolocalism.

2.4.1. Neolocalism and Local Food Networks

As mentioned previously, originally all food was local, which may explain why food systems were among the first to attract consumers and producer seeking neolocal connections. Both consumers and producers wanted a more direct connection between themselves and where their food came from and the identity it helped instill. The models of food production and distribution that comprise local food networks are active forms of neolocalism and create those connections. Schnell (2013b) interviewed CSA members, and among the many reasons cited for participating, connection with place was common, or what Schnell called “the more intimate, directly experienced nature of local places” (2013, 625). Rarely, however, do researchers refer to the connections to place and identity created in local food networks as neolocalism. They instead reveal the many

“traits” (Schnell 2013a) or “domains of local proximity” (Eriksen 2013) associated with a product or producer I characterize as neolocalism. A product can be local without it being part of a neolocal connection. It is when the local product is part of a consumer’s or producer’s conscious effort to foster a local connection and identity that it becomes neolocalism. Researchers, consumers, and producers will speak of values, motivations, connections, community, quality, place, and the environmental, economic, and social impacts, among other terms, all of which are conscious forms of neolocalism.

Consumer research has shown a wide variety of motivations to “go local” when purchasing through local food networks. Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi (2009) studied CSA participant motivation. They examined their participant survey data through the theoretical framework of transaction cost economics, seeking to understand why these transactions were not achieved through standard markets. Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi (2009) surveyed both CSA participants and non-participants to determine what variables influenced their choice to participate. Compared to non-CSA households, the survey indicated CSA households cared more for credence attributes and values, such as local environmental and local social impacts, not addressed in standard markets (Bougherara, Grolleau, and Mzoughi 2009).

Other research has also indicated that local food consumers show concern for supporting local farmers and the local economy. Attempting to identify and profile consumers interested in organic and local foods, Bean and Sharp (2011) surveyed 4,100 Ohio households. Using cluster analysis, they were able to identify five distinct categories of consumers based on their inclination towards local and organic food: disinclined, locally inclined, organically inclined, moderately inclined, and super

inclined. The categories were further refined using frequency of purchasing and willingness to pay. Concern about farming and farmers was highest for participants considered super inclined toward both organic and local food, while those categorized as locally inclined were a close second. However, Bean and Sharp noted those categorized as locally inclined rated highest the statement that “Overall, farming positively contributes to the quality of life in Ohio” (Bean and Sharp 2011, 250). From a neolocal standpoint, this could indicate a concern with changes to the local character and positive connections created by Ohio farms and farmers. Schnell (2013b), through in-depth interviews with CSA members also noted, “Community creation/sustenance” and “Connection with place and with local ecology” as two common sentiments of participants.

Less research exists on the producer-side of the neolocal food network relative to the consumer-side. Schnell (2013a) interviewed farmers and participants of CSAs and found a common desire to create direct connections between local customers and local producers. Sharp, Imerman, and Peters (2002) studied the potential of CSAs to develop and advance positive relationships between farmers and non-farmers in the urban-rural interface in Ohio. Their in-depth interviews of several participating producers and observations from organizational meetings revealed two primary motivations, “a commitment to building stronger community and environment through local food production and a desire for a larger market for their respective production” (Sharp, Imerman, and Peters 2002). The authors theorized that the increased interaction between consumer and producer might translate into increased local support for farmland preservation and other agricultural developments.

Hunt (2007) surveyed Maine farmers market vendors and consumers to test several hypotheses. Those most relevant to neolocalism were: “1. in direct market situations, consumers, and producers exert influences on each other that may alter the kind of product offered and/or the agricultural practices used to provide a product; 2. farmers markets are inherently social places with consumer decisions being affected by such motivations as wanting to help farmers and supporting agricultural open space” (Hunt 2007, 54). Hunt reported farmers market vendor motivations that fall under the umbrella of neolocalism, including having a direct relationship with customers (62 percent) and independence and control of their business (27 percent). The majority of the market farmers (95 percent) felt more involved with the community since they began selling at the market and 91 percent credited interaction with customers as the source of that involvement. The social space of the farmers market appears to be building community for farmer participants. Hunt also observed that geographic proximity and locality are important to the context of the farmers market, further allowing consumers to “identify visibly with the farmers as being part of the community and its physical landscape” (Hunt 2007, 64). Farms and farmers that are part of the community increases the connectedness felt by farmer market participants.

In one of the most extensive studies of local food producers, over 300 CSA farmers/managers responded to a survey designed to create a statistical snapshot of CSA farms across the U.S. in operation in 2001 (Lass et al. 2003). Again, while not explicitly designed to identify neolocal characteristics, the survey did find a large majority of CSAs (73.5 percent) did organize community-building events (potlucks, farm tours, and educational programs) for shareholders and their local community. CSAs hosted events

specifically to bring the community closer to the farm. Many respondents also said operating the CSA improved their quality of life (56.8 percent), their community involvement (64.4 percent), and the farmer's ability to meet operating costs (73.4 percent) (Lass et al. 2003). Considering the geographic breadth of the survey, it is impressive to see such agreement on neolocal characteristics creating a sense of local community and identity.

In a smaller-scale study, Ross (2006) interviewed thirty-two successful Maine farmers participating in local or regional food production and marketing. These in-depth interviews identified connections with customers and community connections as top reasons for success. Ross refers to this as "civic involvement" tying it to the definition of civic agriculture from Lyson (2000) in which agriculture is "grounded in a place, relies on local resources, serves local markets and customers, and is committed to social justice, ecological sustainability and 'mutually supporting social relations'" (Ross 2006, 155). Connecting with the customers, building community, and engaging in civic involvement are producer traits of the neolocal food connection.

Local producers know they are actively connecting consumers to the land on which they farm and are the lynchpin of consumers' neolocal food connections. "People who work with their hands, whose very livelihood is entwined with the geography of where they live, are those used to represent the 'true' place" (Schnell and Reese 2014, 179). Local food network producers, as participants of neolocalism, display all eight of Schnell's (2013a) views of the local in a myriad of ways: non-global, transparent, non-corporate, unique, environmentally responsible, empowered, and self-sufficient, community building, and authentic. Of the many alternative food network options

available to producers and consumers, the CSA is potentially the most comprehensive and impactful regarding neolocalism. The “CSA is also a powerful geographic idea, because it promotes the formation of local direct ties between people and the farmers and landscapes that sustain them” (Schnell 2007, 50). This combination of product, people, and place unite geography, values, and relationships present in neolocalism

2.4.2. Neolocalism and Beer

The connection between the craft beer industry and neolocalism is well researched. Local, craft beer presents itself in direct opposition to national and international corporate beer brands. Microbreweries and brewpubs reside within the community where they produce and sell their product and are especially well positioned to reinforce neolocal traits and a sense of place. They actively and consciously market their geography and specific, well-defined connection to place. Flack was one of the first geographers to hypothesize the connection between the rise of the local microbrewery and neolocalism. “America's rootless angst has spawned a cultural countercurrent ‘neolocalism.’ Microbreweries are one example of this self-conscious reassertion of the distinctively local” (Flack 1997, 38). While much of the article was a general history of craft beer in the U.S. and the geography of the rise of the microbrewery, Flack believed these new local microbreweries, most of which were less than 20 years old, had not yet had time to become entwined with “the symbolic place-consciousness of their localities” (Flack 1997, 49). He cites the now 100-year old Spoetzl Brewery of Shiner, Texas, brewer of the state-favorite Shiner Bock beer, as an example of a small brewery and town inextricably linked with a shared history. Flack speculated the continued success of

microbreweries might hinge on their perceived distinctiveness and attachment to the local sense of place.

Six years later Schnell and Reese (2003) set out to examine Flack's hypothesis and investigate the usage of beer naming and visual marketing imagery to tap into neolocal beer consumer desires, fostering local loyalty and identity. After an extensive history of the craft beer boom, bust, and boom again, Schnell and Reese examined a survey of 1,500 breweries regarding the names of their beers and the stories behind the names to seeking insight about regional identities. With over 400 responses, their content analysis and mapping quickly revealed not regional identities, but something else that they felt is key to the local brewer's success: their "attachment and devotion to the proudly, idiosyncratically local. What brewers and customers alike are after is not regional identity, but rather a sense of place unique to that location and that location alone" (Schnell and Reese 2003, 57). They believed these same neolocal forces are what prevented locally successful breweries from finding success outside their local area. Responses to the survey showed that brewers and owners were deeply committed to being attached to and representing their locale. Schnell and Reese (2003) called these connections "rootedness." They observed rootedness in the buildings occupied by the breweries and brewpubs, the names of and imagery present on the beer packaging, and the use of seasonal and local harvests. All of these connections are then passed on to the consumer providing a strong neolocal connection (Schnell and Reese 2003).

Craft breweries also embedded themselves in local communities by supporting local charities and conservation causes, what Eriksen referred to as values of proximity (2013). Gatrell, Reid, and Steiger (2017) noted the Great Lakes Brewing Company had

donated over \$400,000 towards sustainable waterways. Schnell (2013a) and Schnell and Reese (2014) later observed brewers “typically rely on different means to evoke localness,” as the key ingredients in beer – barley and hops, do not grow where most breweries reside. Unlike a CSA, the ingredients in beer are often not local. The narrative, the craft in craft beers, is what creates rootedness. Dryja (2013), however, did find many brewers who were actively participating in the farm-to-table movement, collaborating with local chefs for food pairings, but also attempting to source all their ingredients locally. Brewers unable to source ingredients locally made sure to know the growers they purchased from believing the personal relationship was a key component to the narrative, their place in it, and the final product’s quality, demonstrating Eriksen’s (2013) relational proximity. While some brewers have begun incorporating local ingredients such as honey, herbs, and fruit (Dryja 2013; Schnell and Reese 2014; Lewis, Hornyak, and Pouder 2017), most craft beer is local in its production but not its core ingredients’ origins. To this end, microbrewers and brewpubs must foster a local identity in other ways including product and company naming (Schnell and Reese 2003; Schnell 2013a; Eberts 2014; Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014; Schnell and Reese 2014; Holtkamp et al. 2016; Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski 2017), employing local imagery (Schnell and Reese 2003; Schnell 2013a; Schnell and Reese 2014; Eberts 2014; Holtkamp et al. 2016), history (Schnell and Reese 2003; Eberts 2014; Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014; Schnell and Reese 2014; Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski 2017), employing geographic features (Eberts 2014; Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski 2017), storytelling (Schnell and Reese 2003; Schnell and Reese 2014; Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski 2017), and sustainability and community involvement (Schnell and Reese 2003; Schnell 2013a;

Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014; Schnell and Reese 2014; Holtkamp et al. 2016; Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski 2017).

Mathews and Patton (2016) examined neolocal microbrewery marketing from the particular viewpoint of race and ethnicity. Their research attempted to move beyond neolocalism expressed through brewery and beer names, imagery, graphics, history, and geography. They gathered data to assess race and ethnicity by examining 1,564 microbrewery websites, categorizing brewery and beer names, logos, and labeling materials. Relatively few of the microbreweries expressed race or ethnicity in their text or graphics (71 microbreweries or 4.5 percent of the breweries researched). The authors believe this small number may be because the industry itself lacks diversity. When discussing their research, the authors noted the difficulty of researching neolocal marketing due to the “ultralocalness” of the product and their lack of local knowledge, echoing the problem experienced by Schnell and Reese (2003).

Twenty years of research appear to confirm Flack’s hypothesis and speculation regarding brewer’s continued success and ties to neolocalism. Moreover, while researchers recognize craft beer branding is yet another form of specialized marketing, it is also “an overt statement of pride in the distinctiveness of place, an expression of neolocalism” (Schnell and Reese 2003, 65).

In one of the few research articles to comment on the character of the brewer’s themselves, Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore (2014) write a wide-ranging geographic discussion of the craft beer industry. They, too, cite neolocalism as one of the main reasons for the success of craft beer and observe the use of local history, naming, landscapes, imagery, and the support of local charities by brewers. Of note, citing the

brewer's websites, they write that the language the brewers use to describe themselves is as revolutionaries, creating something unique for a chosen few. This is the same language used in the title of a comprehensive history of the emergence of craft beer by Steve Hindy, *The Craft Beer Revolution: How a Band of Microbrewers Is Transforming the World's Favorite Drink* (2014). Other similar terms used by researchers and brewers include renegade, rebel, pioneering, innovative, and artists (Fallows 2010; Eberts 2014; Patterson and Hoalst-Pullen 2014; Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014; Jordan 2016; Lamertz et al. 2016; Hayward and Battle 2018). It seems many craft beer brewers are self-consciously marketing themselves as local and exclusive. Such marketing is an interesting decision considering a common criticism of the local food movement is its potential for defensive localism, creating food and markets that are elitist and exclusionary (Winter 2003; DuPuis and Goodman 2005). However, as many craft breweries are local in their marketing and the craft and skill of the brewer is actively used to create the local connection, an image of exclusivity may assist in promoting their neolocal connection with benefits outweighing the negatives.

Examining the geographies of sustainability of craft brewers Hoalst-Pullen et al. (2014) surveyed U.S. regional craft breweries. The survey assessed each brewery for the Three Pillars of Sustainability – economics, environment, and equity. Hoalst-Pullen et al. reported 100 percent of responding breweries supported the local community through sponsorships, donations, and charity events. As reported by other researchers, these types of events embed the brewery in the local community. Another neolocal observation was the brewer's use of local ingredients including hops, grains/cereals, yeast, and adjuncts. They also observed a preference for local ingredients over certified organic ingredients.

The authors concluded that the equity (social) pillar had the highest level of support from brewers. Hoalst-Pullen et al. believe that the return on social actions is the creation of connections with its customers and their purchasing loyalty. This is not surprising given that it falls squarely within the ability of a brewery to embed itself locally, strengthening its neolocal connection.

Calling upon microbreweries' rather well-documented engagement with neolocalism, Holtkamp et al. (2016) attempted to create an assessment tool to determine neolocal engagement. Three factors were used to measure engagement: "1) use of local names and images in labeling and marketing, (2) environmental sustainability, and (3) social and community engagement" (Holtkamp et al. 2016, 67). The researchers felt these three indicators were not unique to microbreweries and, if successful, they could apply the assessment tool to other products and services. Using the information provided on brewery websites, they scored brewery practices in an assessment rubric matrix for each neolocal factor. Not surprisingly, the use of local naming and imagery had the highest average score. Holtkamp et al. (2016) felt the tool provides a valid methodology for assessing business or product neolocalism, but more extensive data collection and an expanded set of criteria would benefit the assessment.

Fletcher (2016), researching Montana's microbreweries and brewpubs, added to the body of knowledge with information gained through interviews with tourists. Tourists felt that visiting local breweries "provided an opportunity to connect with locals and to learn about the area from a local perspective" (Fletcher 2016, 18). In addition to confirming the use of local history, naming, landscapes, and ingredients, Fletcher confirmed brewpubs are seen as a part of the local by the non-local. Eighty-three percent

of respondents indicated they felt “more connected to the place you’ve visited after visiting one of its breweries” (Fletcher 2016, 21).

Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski (2017), studying craft beer neolocalism and tourism in West Virginia, noted that brewers presented being local as multi-scalar, spanning from community-specific to statewide. The brewers themselves had not only a strong attachment to the specific towns in which they sited their breweries but to the state as a whole. This attachment engendered a strong sense of community and cooperation among the state’s breweries. Craft brewers have a reputation for cooperation amongst themselves, though it is often seen at a much more local level (Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski 2017; Lewis, Hornyak, and Pouder 2017; Myles and Breen 2018).

While brewers and beer drinkers are certainly creating and buying local craft beer to access a higher quality, unique product, they are also actively and conscientiously creating and buying local goods and their place in that locality. Murray and Kline (2015) found among visitors to two rural microbreweries in North Carolina that the desire for unique products, product quality, and product satisfaction were secondary motivational factors for product loyalty compared to a brewery’s connection to the local community. Among Montana craft beer drinkers Fletcher noted, “For many patrons, the purchase of a product that is made locally, by a local business, is more important than the use of local ingredients” (2016, 20).

2.4.3. Neolocalism and Cider

Researchers have undertaken little academic work on the new generation of cider producers and their participation in neolocal activities and marketing. Peck and Miles (2015) surveyed cider makers at the annual tradeshow and conference, CiderCON, in

2013 and 2014. In addition to gathering basic production and geographic information, they wanted to determine research and Extension Service needs of cider producers and apple growers (Peck and Miles 2015). While not investigating neolocalism, from Peck and Miles' survey research, we can report some neolocal traits. Specifically, and significantly, 33 percent of respondents grew their fruit. Of those growing fruit, the majority were not growing specialty cider apples. Those growing specialty cider apples grew less than nine acres. A minority of producers, 46 percent, purchased fruit or juice based on local or regional proximity. The authors did not disclose how local or regional was defined. We can assume the remaining 54 percent of producers had concerns other than proximity, such as cost, variety, or quality. Similar to small farmers in the local food network, cider makers who owned, rented, or leased orchards were working on a very small scale of 1 to 9 acres.

Looking at the cider producers themselves, as well as secondary sources, we can make a few general observations. Borrowing from the local food CSA movement, Whitewood Cider Company started a community supported cider (CSC), asking subscribers to pay in advance for that year's production costs, and presold three years of production (Whitewood Cider 2015). Whitewood's owners state that they personally participate in CSAs, "From vegetables to chickens, eggs, beef, pork, turkey, you name it; we have been chronic CSA subscribers and small producer supporters ourselves over the years" (Whitewood Cider 2015). Within my research area of Texas, Texas Keeper Cider, a small cidery located in south Austin, Texas founded in 2016, has hosted many outreach and education events, including an apple tree-grafting workshop where participants learned to graft fruit trees. They have also collaborated with other local food network

non-profits including Farmshare Austin and the Texas Organic Farmers and Gardeners Association, hosting events for their members (Texas Keeper 2018). Their name also refers to a lost variety of Texas apple, the Texas Keeper. Wildcraft Cider Works in Eugene, Oregon hosts a Community Apple Drive that encourages locals to donate extra apples, pears, and plums in exchange for cider or juice. Wildcraft then produces four annual ciders called the Community Cider Series, with a percentage of sales benefitting “community groups focused on land conservation, stewardship, and food education” (Wildcraft Cider Works 2018). These events could presumably strongly reinforce neolocal connections with their participants.

2.4.4. The Geography of Neolocalism

Geographers have used the indicators of local food networks, including farmers markets, CSAs, and microbreweries to map neolocalism in the U.S. Flack’s cultural geography research into the rise of the microbrewery noted the U.S. West Coast and Colorado led the nation in establishing microbreweries. He attributed this to the “strong environmental sentiment of the region [that] breeds a powerful local pride and commitment to community” (Flack 1997, 44). However, it should be noted that California, Washington, and Oregon were the first states to legalize brewpubs (Fallows 2010), with early legalization certainly influencing establishment.

In an attempt to determine where and why CSAs were abundant 20 years after their arrival in the U.S., Schnell (2007) examined demographic, political, and geographic data. Schnell noted, “CSAs are more likely to be found in rapidly growing, heavily urbanized or suburbanized areas, confirming what numerous observers and many of my own interviewees have stated anecdotally” (Schnell 2007, 554). This included New

England and the northeast megalopolis region, the upper Midwest, the Front Range of the Colorado Rockies and northern New Mexico and much of the West Coast. The geographic distribution of CSAs looked “strikingly similar” (Schnell 2007, 557) to the distribution of microbreweries from Schnell’s previous research on microbreweries with Reese (Schnell and Reese 2003) (Figures 4 and 5). Schnell and Reese’s research on microbreweries as a tool of local identity, following the lead of Flack’s work a decade earlier, found fewer microbreweries in the Plains states and the South and an abundance in the West Coast, the Front Range of the Rockies, and the upper Midwest (Flack 1997; Schnell and Reese 2003). Overall, the distribution indicated microbreweries were “important purveyors and promoters of place attachment in local communities” (Schnell and Reese 2003, 47).

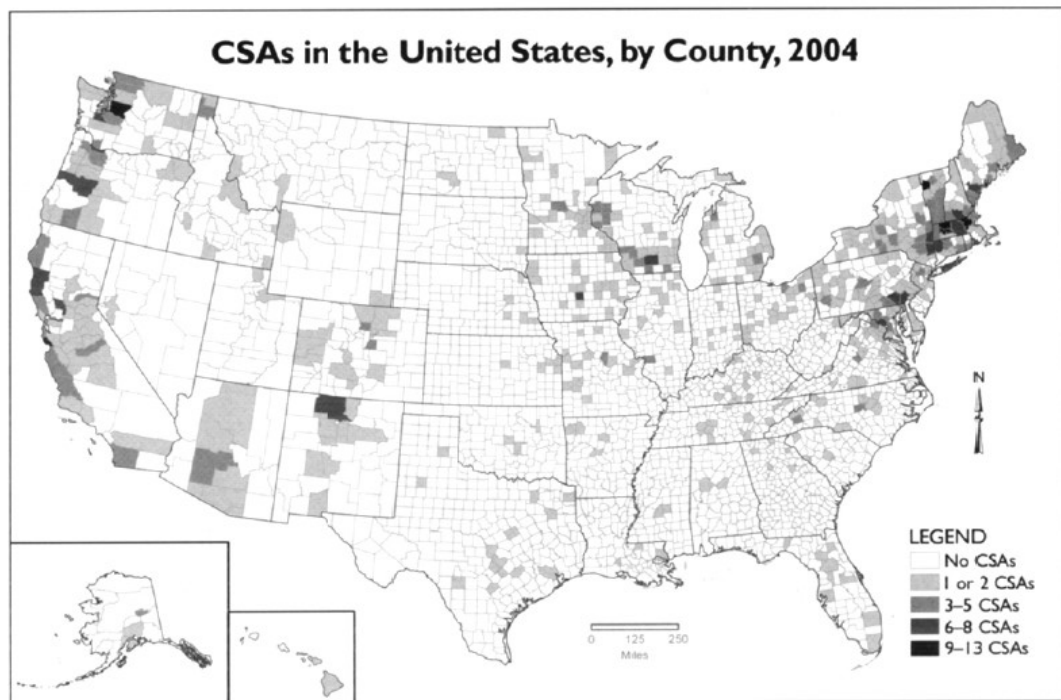


Figure 4. CSAs in the United States in 2004, by county. (Schnell 2007, 553.)



Figure 5. Microbreweries by zip code, 2002. (Schnell and Reese 2003).

In some of the most thorough work on the geography of neolocalism, in 2013 Schnell painted a much more nuanced picture of where in the U.S. neolocal phenomena were taking place. More recent mappings of CSAs and microbreweries reinforced that both occurred most frequently in the “urban and suburban northeast, the upper Midwest, western Oregon and Washington, and Northern California, as well as along the Front Range of the Rockies, and in areas around college towns” (Schnell 2013a, 77). Schnell compared the percentage of CSAs and microbreweries found in each county type with the percentage of the population found in that county type across the U.S. He classified counties using a twelve-county type classification system created by Dante Chinni and James Gimpel for the Patchwork Nation project. The largest overrepresentation of CSAs and microbreweries were in Boom Towns, followed by the Monied Burbs, the Industrial Metropolis, Emptying Nests, and Campus and Careers. Heavily under-represented were Immigration Nation, Minority Central, Tractor Country, Service Worker Centers, and Military Bastions. Mormon outposts were equally divided while Evangelical Epicenters were over-represented in CSAs and under-represented with microbreweries (Figure 6). While cautioning against over-generalization regarding who participates in neolocal trends, it does appear to be more prevalent in populations that have been on the move (Schnell 2013a; Schnell and Reese 2014). Schnell noted, “Counties with a CSA or microbrewery also have a smaller percentage of their population born in that county than counties without such enterprises” (Schnell 2013a, 77). However, many instances of over- and under-representation did not always follow the expected demographic trend. Schnell posited that there “is a decided libertarian streak to many neolocal enterprises,

one that cuts across and confounds traditional political categories in this country”
(Schnell 2013a, 79).

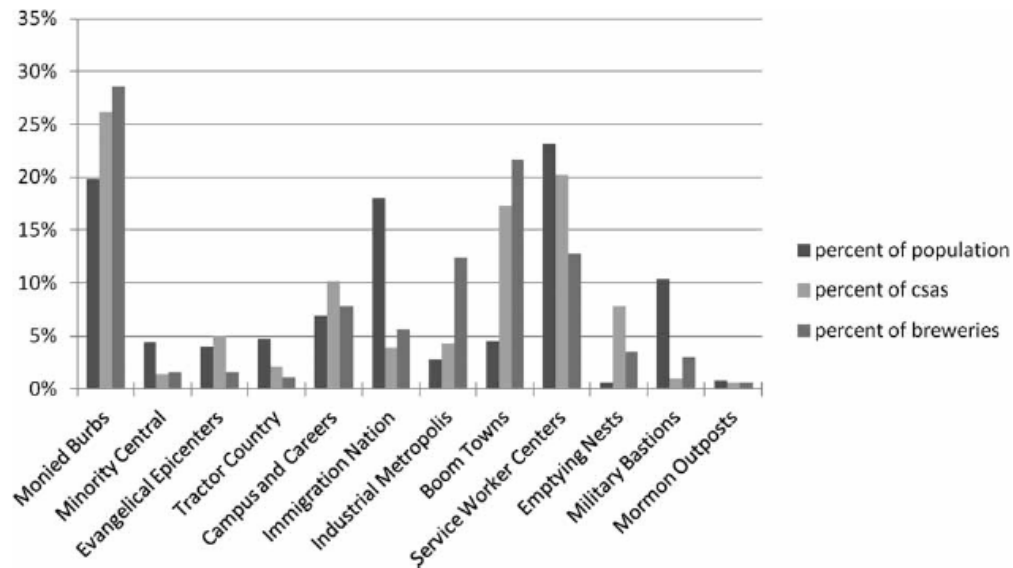


Figure 6. Percentage of U.S. microbreweries and CSAs found in each of the twelve county types, compared with the percent of the U.S. population residing in each county type. (Schnell 2013a, 79).

2.4.5. Neolocalism and Sense of Place and Attachment

In his original article, Shortridge did not pinpoint the cause of neolocalism, rather generically characterized it as a “delayed reaction to the destruction in modern America of traditional bonds to community and family” (Shortridge 1996, 10). Thus, while we do not know what part of modern American life he believed was to blame, we can tell Shortridge felt it had been occurring for some time, at least long enough to create observable neolocal reactions.

Building on Shortridge’s theory, geographers looked for neolocalism’s root cause and the ways society addressed it. Many researchers cited Yi-Fu Tuan’s writings on space and place not only as an explanation for the rise of neolocalism but also as an explanation

for its inner workings. Flack positions neolocalism as a counter-culture disdain for national culture created by the rootlessness and frequent migrations present in Tuan's modern America (Flack 1997). The beer industry was the perfect incubator for neolocalism as industry consolidation left only three manufacturers producing 82 percent of the beer sold in the U.S. in 1997 – all of which were producing largely indistinguishable, mass-market pale lagers. Microbreweries countered this disdain of homogeneity with a “self-conscious reassertion of the distinctively local” (Flack 1997, 38) that fulfilled “the desire of people to break away from the smothering homogeneity of popular, national culture, and reestablish connections with local communities, settings, and economies” (Schnell and Reese 2003, 46).

Local food network advocates viewed neolocalism as a reaction to industrial agriculture and food production's global homogenization and loss of local food culture (Ross 2006; Schnell 2007; Trubek 2008; Feeney 2015). While there are a whole host of environmental, economic, political, and social concerns revolving around industrial agriculture and food production, it is the connection to the local - the farms, farmers, economics, communities, and the identities they impart - that motivates the neolocal response (Sharp, Imerman and Peters 2002; Strohlic and Chelley 2004). Ross (2006, 120) summarizes it well:

“This personal connection, and the quality it represents and guarantees, offer a means to distinguish the product from that of industrial agriculture. Although mass-produced products make wide use of farm names and attractive pictures to cash in on consumer associations between quality and

local agriculture, longer food supply chains will find it difficult to replicate the presence of an actual farmer.”

In the same way, industrial brewers cannot easily replicate the connection to the local neighborhood brewmaster.

Multiple geographers cited Tuan’s writings to explain the methods employed by neolocal activities, including: the use of narrative or storytelling, such as the story behind a beer’s name or the blog of a CSA farmer retelling that week’s labor of love to get an heirloom tomato from field to plate (Schnell 2013a; Schnell 2013b; Schnell and Reese 2003, 2014); the use of history or regional lore for the naming a strongly idiosyncratic product or the reuse of a derelict post-industrial building as a modern tap room (Schnell and Reese 2003, 2014; Holtkamp et al. 2016); the careful selection of language and culture that would only be known to a local or insider (Patton and Mathews 2013; Schnell 2013b; Holtkamp et al. 2016). All of these methods help make a space become a place (Tuan 1975, 1991). That place and the products created in them - whether cider, cheese, or heirloom tomatoes - create a sense of place attachment sought by neolocal activists (Mathews and Patton 2016; Fletchall 2016)

Other researchers included not only the creation of place in new geographies and boom towns by craft breweries and brewpubs but also the re-establishment of place in forgotten, neglected, and industrial spaces. As Jennifer Jordan points out in her hometown Milwaukee, with its rich brewing history now filled with the “hulking ghosts of past breweries” (Jordan 2016, 4), a wave of craft breweries, brewpubs, and microbreweries are making place. Brewers are taking over these often long-abandoned spaces creating unique craft beverages. It is an example where taste-making is place-

making (Jordan 2016). Mathews and Picton (2014), taking a somewhat more critical view of the use of craft breweries in industrial renewal schemes in Toronto, document the desirability associated with craft beer brewing and its ability to lend industrial authenticity to a post-industrial development. However, the industrial space need not have historical ties to brewing like those in Milwaukee and Toronto. The very popular West Sixth Brewing of Lexington, Kentucky operates in a former Rainbo Bread Factory (Myles and Breen 2018).

In what is a strong indicator of the power of a brewery to create neolocal attachments, researchers have documented successful breweries creating place in modern, faceless, industrial, urban sites. Low rents, light municipal zoning oversight, and proximity to a large metro area attract brewers to these sites. Myles and Breen (2018) document this at the Port Brewery Row of West Sacramento, California, where three successful breweries have taken root amidst a light industrial park. As not all cities are awash in inexpensive post-industrial space, and it is far more likely to find a new craft brewer in the industrial park than in a historic building.

2.4.6. Criticism of Neolocalism

Neolocalism, as represented by the activities most visibly associated with it, including CSAs, farmers markets, and craft beer, is rightly not without criticism. They have the potential for elitism, defensive localism, and gentrification. Guthman noted the problem at the very beginning of the commercial organic and local food movement in the San Francisco Bay Area. Organic salad mix and its associated ‘California cuisine’ was an “elite commodity” (Guthman 2003 p54) and “Northern California’s young nouveau riche were the primary consumers of this new cuisine” (Guthman 2003, 52). Local organic

food quickly became a classed product. Local food network participants have long been described as white, middle-class, and higher educated, both from the consumer and producer standpoint (Hinrichs and Kremer 2002; Slocum 2007; Alkon 2008; Jarosz 2008; Alkon and McCullen 2011; Byker et al. 2012) unless accompanied by a concerted effort toward inclusion.

Local food participation has historically had a very similar demographic to craft beer consumers (Tremblay and Tremblay 2005, Murray and O'Neill 2012; Watson 2014; Withers 2017) and producers (Brewers Association 2013; Sozen and O'Neill 2018) with mostly male consumers. Craft beer is a product often described in elitist, exclusionary terms (Slocum 2007; Murray and O'Neill 2012; Mathews and Picton 2014) like artisan, unique, select, and a "high order prestige good" (Baginski and Bell 2011, 175). Similar exclusionary terms are used for craft beer consumers (Flack 1997; Feeney 2015; Jordan 2016) including discerning, sophisticated, and affluent. Ottawa's Mill Street Brewery offers an "'MBA program' - Master of Beer Appreciation - which targets an educated clientele and provides a platform to build knowledge and skills relating to beer consumption" (Mathews and Picton 2014, 343).

Craft beer's targeted marketing towards a taste-educated consumer is to the exclusion of the masses. Watts, Ilbery, and Maye (2005, 29) note, "the ability to distinguish subtly different flavours, for example in wine, can function as a class marker." Whether intended or not, craft beer often positions itself as a classed product.

This target demographic is attractive not just to beer brewers and farmers markets, but to developers as well. Studying craft beer as a catalyst of urban change across the development of two industrial heritage sites Mathews and Picton (2014, 337) observe,

“Craft beer production and consumption are used to aestheticize the industrial past and pacify resistance to central-city gentrification.” They believe that “As beer lends legitimacy...it emboldens the process of gentrification and pacifies concern for housing affordability” (Mathews and Picton 2014, 352). Myles and Breen (2018) observed similar gentrification of a largely African-American neighborhood in Lexington, Kentucky, when a Rainbo Bread factory was converted to West Sixth Brewing and extra space rented to non-profit and civic-minded businesses. The influx of mostly white customers, as well as increasing property values and other incidents, created a sense of alienation and displacement for the original residents. This pattern appears to repeat where neolocal activities, including craft beverage production, are occurring (Jarosz 2008; Mathews and Picton 2014; Myles and Breen 2018; Myles et al. In Press).

Neolocalism, in its embrace of people, places, and products deemed authentically local share the problem DuPuis and Goodman observed toward unreflexive localism, that “the local’ as a concept intrinsically implies the inclusion and exclusion of particular people, places and ways of life” (DuPuis and Goodman 2005, 361) and “provide(s) the ideological foundations for reactionary politics and nativist sentiment” (DuPuis and Goodman 2005, 360). Alternative food scholars have cautioned against the defensive localism prominent in local food systems, (Hinrichs 2003; Winter 2003) whereby “localization becomes elitist and reactionary” (Hinrichs 2003, p37).

Another danger of a neolocal consumer or producer prizing local food above other considerations, as expressed by Born and Purcell (2006), is the assumption locally produced goods are more ecologically sustainable and socially just versus goods produced in a larger-scale system. Since scale is socially produced, its qualities will be

dictated by actors who may have a very different agenda than the consumer. As neolocal consumers and producers, especially those of craft beer and presumably cider, are seeking a product made locally above all else, they may be inclined to overlook social or ecological impacts that would negatively affect their product perceptions.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Site & Situation

I conducted this research on the cider industry in the state of Texas. I chose Texas for many reasons. As a southern state, research suggests Texas should lag in neolocal trends (Flack 1997; Baginski and Bell 2011; Schnell 2013a; Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014; Schnell and Reese 2014), but a high rate of domestic migration, approximately 140,000 new residents a year between 2010 and 2016 (U. S. Census Bureau 2017), may be overcoming other southern demographic attributes. Most new arrivals were from California (McPherson and Wright 2018), a leading state in neolocal activities. Texas's population growth is mainly in its metropolitan regions, which Patchwork Nation community classification system mostly classifies as Boom Towns (Patchwork Nation 2018). Schnell's research demonstrated that Boom Towns were the most over-represented in neolocal activities of craft breweries and CSAs. Also over-represented were Monied Burbs, which in Texas often adjoin Boom Towns, and Industrial Metropolis, which classifies Houston's Harris County, home to the fourth most populous city in the nation. These factors suggest that Texas should be a robust research site for neolocal activity. As suggested, Texas has a robust craft beer market and ranks 9th nationally with 251 craft breweries, 8th in the volume of production, and 3rd in economic impact (Brewers Association 2018c) and is a good site for expanded research in neolocalism. Texas craft breweries, being located thousands of miles from the source of their core ingredients, must become local in other ways (Reid, McLaughlin, and Moore 2014; Mathews and Patton 2016). This research investigated whether Texas cider producers are following the state's craft beer trends.

Central Texas has the largest concentration of cider producers, within or adjacent to Austin, Texas (Figure 7). The Dallas and Houston metro areas also have multiple cideries.

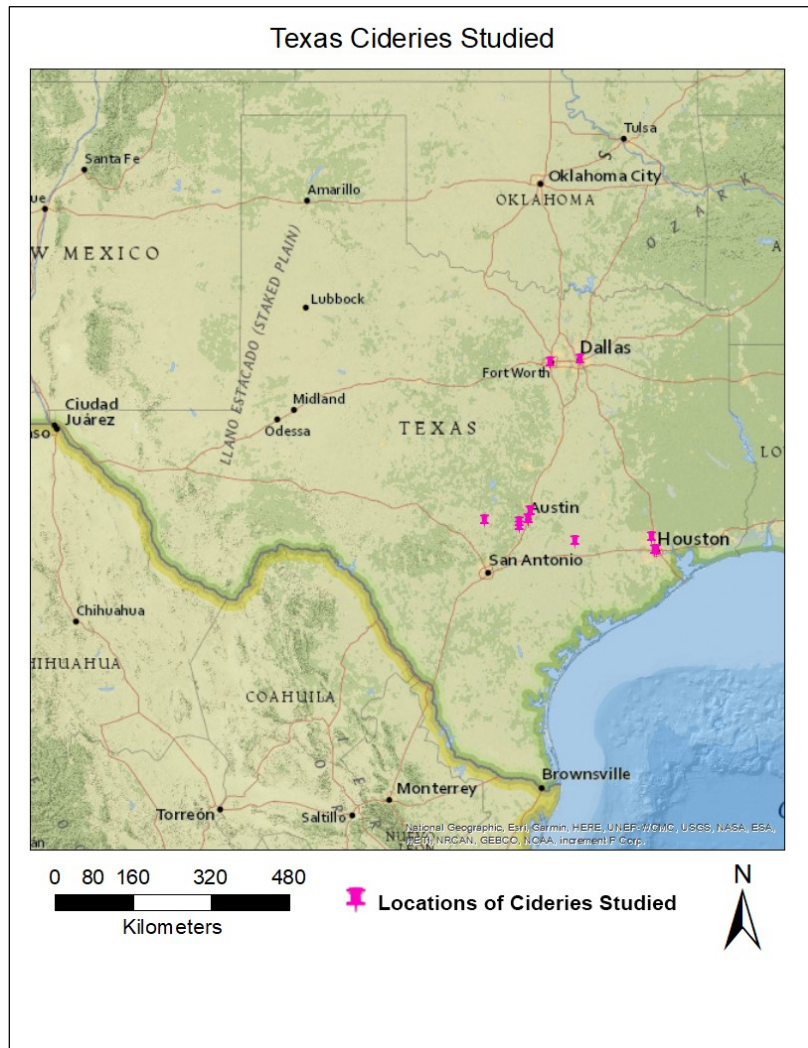


Figure 7. Texas cideries studied.

While Texas is not known for its production of cider or apples, the state's vast size and diverse growing regions do allow for commercial apple production. Texas had documented commercial apple production as early as 1911 as detailed in the Report of Committee of Apples in *The Proceedings of the First Meeting Texas State Farmers*

Institute (Texas Department of Agriculture 1911). Apple growing regions stretched from the northern Red River District and the cross-timber region, west to the Llano Estacado (staked plain), and south to Fort Stockton, Alpine, and the Rio Grande Valley. Mr. Landrum, a grower in Hereford, Texas (50 miles southwest of Amarillo), told the committee, “I report a very profitable business in the apple growing industry with and without irrigation... Winesap, Arkansas Black, M. B. Twig, Missouri Pippin, Gano, Jonathan, Ben Davis, and many other varieties of apples are grown here successfully. The quality is extra fine and the apples are excellent keepers and large population” (Texas Department of Agriculture 1911, 158).

Most modern, successful, commercial apple production is located in the Davis Mountains and the High Plains region, near Lubbock (Kamas, Nesbitt and Stein 2018), though there are some central Texas hill country orchards as well (Davidson 1994). In 2012, Texas had 390 farms cultivating 476 acres of apple orchards (USDA 2014). The Texas Department of Agriculture (TDA) estimates that Texas’ apple consumption deficit was over 1.1 billion pounds in 2014 (Texas Department of Agriculture 2014).

3.1.1. Research Population

I identified cider producers through the Texas Alcoholic Beverage Commission’s (TABC) online database of licenses and permits (TABC 2018). The list provides addresses and phone numbers of Texas cider producers. Additionally, most commercial cideries also provide their contact information online. The federal government classifies cideries as wineries, and initial identification was through the use of the word “cider” or “cidery” in the company name. As a winery, businesses can produce wine fermented from grapes, honey, apples, pears, or any fruit. This does mean wineries will exist that are

producing cider but not using the word cider or cidery in their name and could potentially be overlooked. To address this possibility, I performed a thorough web search to identify additional Texas-made ciders. I identified one traditional grape-based winery as having produced cider in the past but no longer making cider at the time of this research. One successful meadery (honey wine) was also identified as producing cider and perry (pear wine) and added to the study population.

I identified eighteen Texas cideries of varying size, ranging from pre-production to serving on-site only to multi-state distribution (Appendix C: Texas Cider Producers). Three cideries ceased production either before or during this research, one of which I was able to interview the owner.

3.2. Conceptual Framework

As the literature review demonstrates, products can be perceived as more or less “local”, regardless of the sourcing of their ingredients, ownership, distribution, or other qualities. Eriksen’s (2013) three domains of local proximity - geographical proximity, relational proximity, and values of proximity - can be used to identify local products broadly, but it does not provide much fidelity. Schnell’s eight views of neolocal participation (2013a) provide a more detailed examination of what is perceived by participants as local. However, the framework acts as a nominal, present/not present form of evaluation. It, too, lacks a complete picture of local inputs and outputs that create a neolocal identity. Bringing these ideas together into a conceptual framework of neolocalism, I have created a model of neolocal production that incorporates components of Eriksen’s three domains of local proximity, Schnell’s eight views of neolocal participation, and other perceived neolocal traits present in the literature (Figure 8).

Eriksen's three domains of proximity comprise the outside of the model. Neolocal traits comprise the inner ring and reside within a domain of proximity. Inputs and

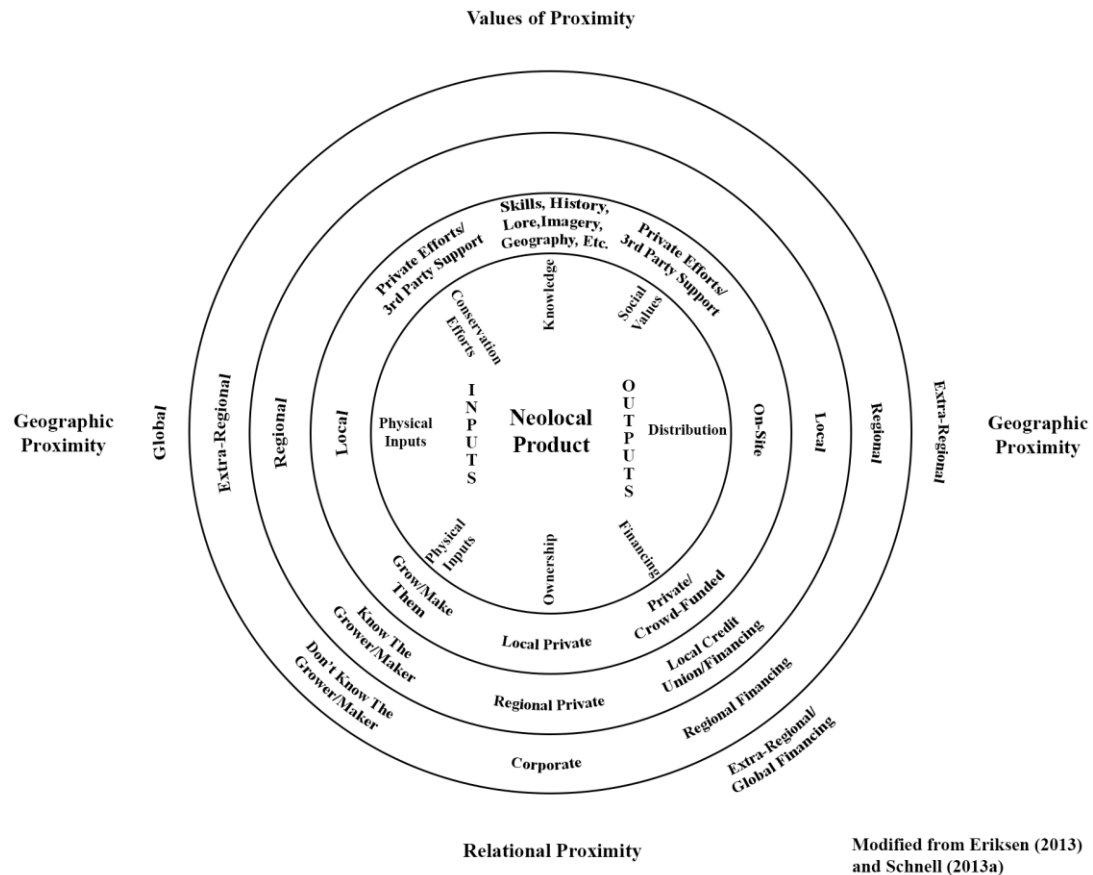


Figure 8. Original Neolocal Product model modified from Eriksen (2013) and Schnell (2013a).

Outputs, along with Geographic Proximity, comprise the left and right side of the model. Some items, such as Physical Inputs, belong to multiple domains of proximity. For example, cider apples (physical inputs) have Geographic Proximity (how closely are they sourced) and a Relational Proximity (does the producer grow them or know the grower). Some traits, especially those in the value of proximity quadrant, function both as inputs and outputs to a neolocal product. Within the rings are levels of engagement with individual neolocal traits, from most engaged, to least engaged.

The model creates a visual method to evaluate the overall neolocal qualities of a product. The more neolocal traits a product displays, and the closer those traits are to the center of the model, the greater the chances of the product being perceived as neolocal. Mapping multiple products on to the model may also help determine which traits and domains of proximity have the greatest influence in a product's neolocal perception.

While Shortridge and Shortridge (1998) acknowledge the expression of neolocalism through something local such as a microbrewery, they framed the theory as a regional phenomenon. They suggested it was best demonstrated by the increased interest in books on state history or a category of products associated with a region, such as gumbo representing Louisiana and cheese Wisconsin. However, the two phenomena most closely associated with neolocalism - local food and craft beer - show a more geographically narrow scope and a more significant emphasis on the creation of place and identity. Based on two decades of research, neolocalism is not, as originally proposed, a regional phenomenon, but an intensely local one (Flack 1997; Schnell and Reese 2003). Both local food and craft beer play to their neolocal strengths: local food emphasizing the minimal geographic distance between production and consumption and its myriad of producer to consumer relationships; craft beer emphasizing producer and product relationships with consumers in the place of production and consumption in the form of a tasting room.

When compared to local food and craft beer, cider has the potential to be local in all realms and traits of neolocalism, and the individual craft cider producer is the most knowledgeable source of information for this type of evaluation. Using the survey and

interview data, I can situate Texas craft cider within the conceptual framework of the neolocal product model (Figure 8) creating a visual geographic analysis of neolocalism.

3.3. Data Collection

This research uses mainly qualitative data gathered through what Creswell calls an exploratory sequential design (2014), in which a survey (Appendix A. Survey Questions) precedes an in-depth semi-structured interview (Appendix B. Interview Questions). Participants were the owners, co-owners, and founders of the identified cideries, except in the case of Austin Eastciders, in which the interview participant was the company's brand manager. Preliminary research indicated that in most instances, the owners were also the active producers, making the cider themselves. Cidery owners and founders were my preferred interviewees, as I believed they would have the greatest influence on and insight into the cidery's neolocal activities.

Since there are a very small number of cider producers in Texas and asking the right questions is key to effective interviewing, I attempted to pilot the outreach, survey, and interview process with up to five local, central Texas wineries to perfect the process. The fermentation process for wine and cider is fundamentally the same. Both are reliant on quality fruit/juice and winemakers are known to go to great lengths to understand and promote their wine's connection with the land, often described as *terroir* or the taste of place (Trubek 2008). Central Texas is home to a large number of wineries, most with on-site tasting rooms.

I submitted my IRB application mid-June 2018, and approval came in late August. I revised the language of the survey and interview questions for winemakers. The winery survey was administered on the university's Qualtrics account and approval

routed through Dr. Hagelman. I then contacted a dozen central Texas winemakers via email the first week of September. I had no responses. It was only then that I discovered it was now the start of the Central Texas wine grape harvest season and no winemakers would be available to meet with me for at least two months.

I decided to forego piloting the survey and interview with winemakers and proceeded to contact Texas cider makers. The cider maker survey was administered on the university's Qualtrics account and approval routed through Dr. Hagelman. I shortened the final survey from the initially proposed survey to encourage participation and completion. I felt many of the original survey questions would be better answered in an interview. The survey included questions on distribution methods, production locations, fruit and juice sourcing, factors affecting fruit and juice sourcing, use of local ingredients, community engagement, financing, perceived success factors, and company ownership (Appendix A. Survey Questions; Table 1. Survey Data). Having the aforementioned information gathered before the interview allowed me to use my interview time better to address topics relevant to each cidery and home in on each producer's individual neolocal experiences. The survey employed closed-ended questions rendering nominal data (Appendix A: Survey Questions).

Between September 6th and November 29th, I reached out to twenty-one cider makers via email or web contact forms if no email address was listed on their websites. I sent follow-up emails within ten days. I then progressed to phone calls, texts if they indicated texting was acceptable or preferred, and Facebook messenger. I received twelve completed surveys, with two being from cider makers with whom I was unable to arrange an interview after multiple attempts. Two cider makers were interviewed but never

completed a survey. I received only one outright refusal to interview citing their discomfort with the written release. Four cideries expressed interest in an interview but failed to arrange a time to speak after multiple follow-up emails, texts, and phone messages. Three cideries never responded to any form of contact.

Between September and November, I conducted seven in-person interviews at cideries in Hye, Manchaca, Austin, Houston, La Grange, and Fort Worth, and one in-person interview at an Austin coffee shop with a cider maker that did not yet have a tasting room. I conducted four phone interviews: one cidery was not in active production, one was yet to open, and two of which were too busy to meet in person, though I did visit their tasting rooms in Dallas and Austin. I visited every production cidery with a tasting room in Texas over the course of my research, regardless of whether I had interviewed the cidery owner. Interviews ranged in length from 15-minutes to 1-hour 54-minutes.

I believe interviewing in the location where the cider is produced and consumed created not only a greater level of comfort for the participants but also allowed for the observation of phenomena that would not occur via a phone call or other off-site location (Merriam and Tisdell 2016). This includes observations of the neighborhood setting, architecture, and imagery in use at the facility and its products. I employed a semi-structured interview technique. This method allows for the inclusion of specific questions but also gives the flexibility to probe with open-ended or new, exploratory questions while conducting the interview. A semi-structured interview allows for a more thorough exploration of the research questions than either an unstructured or a standardized interview (Merriam and Tisdell 2016). Standardized written- and verbally-informed consent introductions proceeded each interview. Participants were not compensated for

the interview. Interviews were digitally audio recorded. The audio files were then downloaded to a laptop, cleaned of background noise, and enhanced for voice clarity with Adobe Audition. The audio files were then uploaded to Temi.com for the creation of a computer-generated transcript. At Temi.com, I manually reviewed and corrected the transcript of interviews. I downloaded and imported the final transcripts into ATLAS.ti 8.4 for analysis (ATLAS.ti 2019).

Table 1. Survey data.

Nominal Data
Name of business
Type of ownership
Production location
Apple/juice source
Factors for growing their own apples
Factors for purchasing juice
Distribution methods
Use of local ingredients
Participation in alternative financing methods (co-op, crowd-sourcing)
Participation in supporting local charities/non-profits
Factors for success of the cidery
Business ownership model

3.4. Analysis/Technique

Qualitative research is an emergent process, and the ongoing analysis of transcripts, field notes, photographs, and observation during the investigative process is critical. Failing to engage in ongoing analysis during the interview phase can result in missed or overlooked topics (Merriam and Tisdell 2016). Ongoing analysis helps tailor subsequent interviews to gather additional relevant information. The process of editing the interview transcripts after creation on Temi.com gave me the opportunity to listen to each interviews multiple times, contributing to my understanding of the individual

interviews and the overall interview process. As machine learning at Temi.com allowed for the creation of transcriptions in minutes, I was able to begin my editing process shortly after I completed the interviews. The quick interview transcriptions creation allowed me to adjust interview questions early in the process. In ATLAS.ti (ATLAS.ti 2019) my coding followed the neolocal product model traits in addition to other themes which stood out from the interviews, resulting in forty-four codes (Appendix D: Interview Codes). I grouped codes into inputs, outputs, geographic proximity, relational proximity, and values of proximity.

While analyzing the transcripts, I derived the following definitions from the producer's perspective for use in the neolocal product model.

Table 2. Definition of neolocal traits and trait expressions.

Geographic Proximity	
Physical Inputs	Local – Ingredients, usually adjuncts, sourced as close to the cidery as possible, usually within the city or community. Examples: Local honey, grapes, wine, or herbs.
	Regional – Ingredients, usually adjuncts, sourced within Texas but often hundreds of miles from the cidery. Examples: Grapes or wine from the Texas high plains.
	Extra-Regional – Ingredients sourced from outside of Texas but within the U. S.
	International – Ingredients sourced internationally .
Table 2. Continued	
Distribution	On-site – Served or distributed at the point of production or neighboring tasting room.
	Local – Distributed within the city or community in which it was produced.
	Regional – Distributed within Texas.
	Extra-Regional – Distributed outside of Texas.

Table 2. Continued	
Relational Proximity	
Physical Inputs	Grow/Make Them – The cider producer grows, gathers, or makes some of their ingredients, usually adjuncts. Examples: Grapes, herbs, wine, or honey
	Know The Grower/Maker – The cider producer knows the person who grows or makes their ingredients. Examples: Orchard owner, farmer, beekeeper, or winery owner.
	Don't Know The Grower/Maker – The cider producer does not know who grows or makes their ingredients and is purchasing them on the open market from a third party.
Collaborations	Many – The cidery consistently cooperates with an unrelated entity, such as a brewery, winery, distillery, farm, non-profit, artist, chef, or restaurant, among others to produce products or events.
	Some – The cidery occasionally cooperates with an unrelated entity, such as a brewery, winery, distillery, farm, non-profit, artist, chef, or restaurant, among others to produce products or events.
	Few – The cidery rarely cooperates with an unrelated entity, such as a brewery, winery, distillery, farm, non-profit, artist, chef, or restaurant, among others to produce products or events.
	None – The cidery has never cooperated with an unrelated entity, such as a brewery, winery, distillery, farm, non-profit, artist, chef, or restaurant, among others to produce products or events.
Ownership	Local Private – The cidery is locally owned and privately held.
	International/Corporate – The cidery is owned by a corporation, or internationally-based third party.
Owner Residency	Native Resident – The owners were born, raised, and live in the city or area the cidery is located.
	Non-Native Resident – The owners live in the city or area the cidery is located, but were not born there.
	Non-Resident – the owners do not live in the city or area the cidery is located.
Financing	Private/Crowd-Funded – The cidery was financed privately by the owner or a small group of investors, usually family and friends. The cidery was financed through crowd-funding.
	Local Bank/Financing – The cidery or expansions were financed through a traditional local bank or SBA loans.

	Extra-Regional/Venture Capital – The cidery was financed by non-local banks or third-party venture capital firms or angel investors.
	International Financing – The cidery was financed by international investors or corporations.
Distribution	Direct (Producer to Consumer) – The cidery distributes directly to the customer, usually via a tasting room.
	Direct (Producer to 3rd Party) – The cidery distributes directly to resellers, usually restaurants, bars, and stores.
	Indirect (3rd Party to 3rd Party) – The cidery uses a distributor to distribute their products.
Values of Proximity	
Physical Inputs	Higher Quality – The cidery uses one-hundred percent pure apple juice, not from concentrate including the use of cider and heirloom apples, pears, and unique ingredients. If back sweetening, the cidery uses fruit-based sugars.
	Lower Quality – The cidery uses apple or other juice concentrates. If back sweetening, the cidery uses non-fruit sugars including white sugar, brown sugar, or corn syrup.
Conservation Support	Business Efforts – The cidery directly participates and supports local conservation/environmental efforts. Examples: energy conservation, hosting events, participating in events, or providing education.
	3 rd Party Efforts – The cidery donates products, prizes, or small funds to local conservation/environmental efforts.
	None – The cidery does not participate in any conservation/environmental efforts.
Knowledge	More Skills, History, Lore, Imagery, Geography, Etc. – The cidery uses a hands-on, often labor-intensive production process, often experimenting to achieve new knowledge and unique ciders. The cidery uses local history, lore, imagery, and geography in their marketing, branding, and tasting rooms.
	Less – The cidery uses a less hands-on production process, possibly relying on more technology to guide the fermentation process and results. The cidery uses little or no local history, lore, imagery, and geography in their marketing, branding, and tasting rooms.

Table 2. Continued	
Social Support	Business Efforts – The cidery directly participates and supports local social causes. Examples: hosting events, participating in events, or providing education.
	3 rd Party Efforts – The cidery donates products, prizes, or small funds to local social causes.
	None – The cidery does not participate in any social causes.
Quality	Higher Quality – Unique ciders made with high quality/unique ingredients displaying the cider maker’s knowledge, skills, and a hands-on approach. May also feature traditional or innovate methods of production.
	Lower Quality - Cider made with lower quality ingredients often associated with a more industrial, automated, less hands-on approach by the cider maker. Often back sweetened with non-fruit sugars.
Quantity	Limited – Ciders produced are often limited by the more intensive, hands-on production process. Examples: aged, barrel-aged, limited edition, seasonal, or single-varietal ciders.
	Mass Produced – Cider produced in a highly industrialized process maximizing quantity.
Other Traits	
Transparency	The cidery provides relatively unrestricted access to its production process, ingredients, people, and place.
Authenticity	The cidery is a true representation of oneself and one’s business, its products, processes, people, and place.

The last trait in Table 2, authenticity, frequently appears in research about local food and craft beverages and in the marketing of the products themselves. The definition that most closely matches the authenticity experienced at Texas craft cideries comes from Cole’s work on craft spirit tourism:

Three primary elements could be thought to define an authentic craft experience: the story of the distiller and the distillery, the geographic connections to place, and the physical space of a craft distillery. All of these factors are integral to the heritage connections of a craft distillery (Cole 2017 p30).

These three elements are embraced by a number of the producer's interviewed as are other traits noted in craft beer research with Eades, Arbogast, and Kozlowski noting that "craft breweries have emphasized authenticity through localism while incorporating familiar cultural markers to tout their products." (2017 p64). The brewers studied conveyed authenticity through the use of local imagery, geography, history, lore, the use of local culturally significant materials in their taprooms, and "recognize that their most authentic asset is the people who live in the community," (Eades, Arbogast and Kozlowski 2017 p67)

As Merriam and Tisdell (2016, 15 emphasizes original) noted, "qualitative researchers are interested in *understanding the meaning people have constructed*; that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world." Direct quotes from interviews used in my reporting were sent back to participants to assure the quote's validity, intent, and consent to its use. Editorial changes were made when requested. Online searches, product procurement, in-person observations, and photographs provided additional qualitative content relevant to my research, such as product labeling, use of local imagery, geographic features, history, or storytelling.

It must be noted that I have based these research findings on interviews with a limited population of Texas cider makers, and they may not represent the Texas cider maker population as a whole since not all producers participated. However, I made extensive outreach efforts to assure that every cider maker who wanted to participate could.

3.5. IRB Management

This research required Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. I completed the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) Basic Course in the protection of human subjects Social and Behavioral Research in 2013 and a refresher in 2016 and 2018 (Appendix E. CITI Course Certification). Dr. Hagelman and I submitted the research survey, interview questions, informed consent, and recruitment scripts for review. I submitted my application in mid-June 2018, it was revised twice and approved in late August 2018.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Research Population Characteristics

The majority of the cideries studied are relatively new, small in size, and have limited distribution. Seven of the twelve cideries have been in production for less two years, and one will start production in 2019. The oldest, Argus Cidery, was established in 2010. Rohan Meadery was established in 2009 but did not begin producing cider until 2016. Other than Austin Eastciders and Argus Cidery, who did not provide production data, all other participating cideries are small scale, producing less than 3,000 gallons per month. Austin Eastciders, according to industry publications, is on track to produce somewhere between 270,000 to 337,000 gallons per month in 2018 (Craft Business Daily 2017; Heiselberg 2018). Argus is reported to be producing 4,954 gallons per month, on average (Austin Business Journal 2019). Locust Cider in Fort Worth is an expansion of a Washington-based cidery and is only producing cider on-draft in Texas with canning operations in Washington. Also of note is that, other than Permann's Cider Company, which is no longer producing, all the cideries were increasing their production volume annually, if not monthly.

Within Texas, cider makers can both self-distribute and contract with third-party distributors. Among the cideries studied, four cideries contract with third-party distributors, and all but two self-distribute in their local area. Four cideries distribute outside of Texas with Argus Cidery available in twenty-one states, Austin Eastciders in fourteen states, Locust Cider in five states, and City Orchard in two states once they begin production. The eight remaining cideries' products are only available in Texas and the majority only in their city of production.

4.2. Research Question 1: To what extent do Texas craft cider producers employ neolocal traits in the identity and marketing of their products and place?

If the consumer side of neolocalism is the active seeking out of connections to place through a product, business, or activity, then the producer side is the active development and creation of that business, its products, and the places where those activities and connections are made and sustained. When done successfully, neolocalism is a big-picture effort made through conscious attention to the details of the locality and all its neolocal traits. Exposure to some neolocal traits through naming and branding are obvious to both the producer and consumer, while others, such as conservation and social efforts, community involvement, collaborations, or ingredient sourcing are equally important but sometimes less well known to the consumer. It is the consumer's exposure to these traits through producer marketing, products, and interaction of place that creates identity and the connection to place.

The neolocal traits I was looking for included those themes identified previously by Schnell (2013a); non-global, transparent, non-corporate, unique, environmentally responsible; empowered and self-sufficient, community-building, and authentic; those identified by my literature review including social responsibility, collaborations, limited production, local and quality ingredients, personal relationships, consumer education, and knowledge, skills and craft; and any new traits exposed by my research, like place of residence (Appendix D: Interview Codes).

Additionally, not all neolocal traits practiced by a producer may be readily identifiable in their business and marketing materials, especially considering the limited scope provided by one interview and an examination of their products.

The most visible neolocal trait a business can employ is using a known geographic place name in its business and product names. This displays their knowledge and residence in the area and creates an immediate connection to place. Seven of the twelve cideries studied use some form of geography in their business name. Three of the cideries use the location of production in their name: Houston Cider Company, Austin Eastciders, and Hye Cider Company. Four cideries used other forms of geography in their business names: Trinity Cider Company, Texas Keeper Cider, City Orchard, and Moontower Cider Company.

Another neolocal trait a business can employ that also demonstrates their residence in the area is the use of a family name. Three of the cideries used their family as the company name: Argus Cidery, Permann's Cider Company, and Rohan Meadery. One cidery name had personal significance to the founder: Locust Cider Company. The remaining cidery name was concept-based: Fairweather Cider Company. The use of a neolocal trait in a cidery name generally indicated an embrace of other neolocal traits as well. However, the lack of a neolocal trait in cidery naming did not preclude a strong adoption of other neolocal traits by a cidery.

4.2.1. Houston Cider Company

Houston Cider Company is a craft cider maker located in the Houston Heights neighborhood, one of the city's oldest planned neighborhoods dating to the late 1800s.

Houston Cider Company made a conscious decision to use their location in their name based on the geography of Texas. Justin Engle, co-owner, explained:

We see Texas as multiple states within a state for the most part. So we were just thinking you have Portland Cider Company, Seattle Cider Company, most of the other cider companies and Downeast Cider in Boston. Like pretty regional or city-specific names. And we had Austin Eastciders, and it's just like, well, screw Austin. Houston Cider Company. Let's plant our flag in our territory. Let's be proud of where we're from.

Originally brewing beer as Town and City Brewing at the same location, the owners saw a niche in Houston for cider. Since cider production began in January 2018, they have seen a steady increase in the demand for cider, both from consumers and local retailers:

...we've just seen so much of demand within just the super-local territory. ...The grocery stores, so Kroger, H-E-B, and Whole Foods around here are just chomping at the bit for our product to hit the market. Because what they see it as, particularly HEB and Whole Foods, less so Kroger, is having the most local product on their shelves. And yeah, they'll still carry Austin East and Argus and Bishops, but they're trying to look for, 'we want the local stuff.'

Neolocal traits, both visible and invisible to the consumer, run throughout Houston Cider Company's operations. Houston Cider Company's logo features iconic Houston skyscrapers, adding a visual component to the geography of the name (Figure 9). Justin Engle explained:

So yeah, the main logo is like an apple sunrise over the city of Houston. ...You have Chase Tower right there, and then the old Chevron building, Enron and I think that one's. Oh, I can't think of the energy company now. But yeah, it's the iconic [buildings]. ...Our tagline has been 'Real. Houston. Cider.' Because we're doing the no B.S. type of ingredients in it. ...I mean one of the things that we're trying to really convey is that we have nothing to hide on what we're using, what we're adding.

Product labels (Figure 9) featured their logo, ‘No B.S.’ tagline, ‘Texas Made’ including two outlines of the State of Texas, along with visual ties to apples including the can color, an apple tree whose roots list minimal ingredients, and an apple to indicate the level of sweetness. They also have a short paragraph to describe the product and process and a web address for consumer education. Houston Cider Company carries the theme of place, authenticity, and transparency throughout its marketing.

Another important neolocal trait revolves around the term ‘craft.’ Like the term local, craft has no defined set of parameters allowing anyone to claim they produce craft cider. However, even if they take issue with the term, the producers themselves can define what craft means to them and how it contrasts with non-craft or mass-market cider. Generally speaking, craft represents the cider maker’s skill, knowledge, and personal work that go into the cider making process. When asked if he was craft cider maker, Engle at first vacillated but then provided a detailed response:

Yeah, I guess so. I'm a craft brewer. Sometimes I have to take issue with the word ‘craft.’ Craft and artisan. I will say that it is a very hands-on, labor-intensive process. A lot of blood, sweat, and tears go into it. Lots of sweat. [laughs] And mosquito bites. But yeah, I definitely say that I'm a craft cider maker. There are certain aspects that I wish I could have more control over, but particularly being in Houston and particularly Texas, which is a very apple poor state, [we] don't really have too much we can go with other than sourcing apples from other parts of the nation.

Contrasting craft cider and mass-market cider Engle delved into what it means to be craft:

Most of the process becomes automated, and there's very little, I don't want to say care, but there's very little human-to-product interaction. Like particularly for us when we receive our juice. I'm a chemist by background, so I'm taking pH reading, sugar readings, like doing everything and just being like, ‘Okay, so this is what we received.’ I always want to peg for a certain pH and a certain alcohol. So I'm just

doing everything [laughs]. When we get the [juice] totes in, there's like all these calculations on the totes just because a sharpie and cardboard works a lot better sometimes. And I think when you're on the mass side of things, everything is just input into the computer. Computer just does the rest, and a couple of weeks later a product gets pumped into a can. I think that's where the mass market kinda is. On the craft side, I think it's still more of the hands-on aspect. ...Whereas on the mass-marketing, mass-producer's side, you don't really have that. It's just intake-output.

About fifteen minutes later in the conversation, another aspect of craft versus mass-market cider dawned on Engle:

Oh, so yeah, another thing about the whole craft versus mass market, it seems like the mass producers add a lot more adjunct sugars than what's probably needed. So a lot more white and brown sugars. Whereas the craft makers are more of, 'Let's use natural juices, natural ingredients. Let's keep things good.'



Figure 9. Houston Cider Company product labels for cans.

The Houston Cider Company tasting room is an essential part of its success and marketing. In its first year in production Houston Cider Company only distributed on-draft products onsite and at area bars. Without canned product on store shelves, the tasting room in The Heights creates consumer awareness. Engle said:

The Heights is a very thirsty place [laughs]. People in The Heights, and I'll vow for this too: we like walking to places. It's either walking, biking. If you're walking, you're bringing your dog, or you're taking your kids on a stroller. It's also very family oriented.

The brewery, cidery, and tasting room all share one building. Engle explained their tasting room identity and experience:

...My business partner and I, Steve, we met in Colorado. We're used to the smaller kind of breweries and taproom experience. So we wanted something that was air-conditioned and something that was also very personable and felt pretty nice. And when we first opened, we got a lot of comments saying, 'Oh, this looks like I'm in my house' or 'This looks very cozy and comfortable.' And so we were trying to just go with a lot of soft tones. A lot of wood, even though we're also trying to keep some industrial type components, like the exposed steel beam for our building, concrete countertops. But even with those hard elements, we're trying to keep it softer, too.

In a historic neighborhood filled with Craftsman-style homes, the new brewery and cidery could feel at once old and familiar. Engle and his partner designed it to be a social community space (Figure 10). Engle said, "for the most part, it's really gearing towards more like a social-type atmosphere, where people come to socialize, play games, kind of do like the pre-cellphone chit-chat."



Figure 10. Houston Cider Company and Town and City Brewery tasting room.

Houston Cider Company's involvement with the community goes well beyond creating a tasting room that invites the locals to come and stay awhile. They donate product and money to numerous fundraisers and host events for neighborhood associations, parent-teacher associations, civic organizations, artist's groups, and even their local fire station. In the short interview, Engle rattled off a half-dozen recent community events that they had donated to or hosted onsite. When asked why they were so community engaged, Engle replied:

For one, it just shows that we care about the community. It goes back into the old sense of what like breweries - and I don't know about cider houses for the most part, but I'm going to throw them into the same category - but particularly the community breweries are always a good source of local information.

Houston Cider Company sees themselves as a traditional community gathering spot for an exchange of ideas and information among locals.

Conservation efforts are abundant at Houston Cider Company practicing both energy and water conservation. They use digital relays on their equipment to run cooling pumps only when required, have high-efficiency natural gas burners for their beer brewing and water filtration, run their air conditioning cool only during business hours and with a high set point when customers are not in the building, and their delivery van is diesel and sales vehicle is a Prius. Engle shared that some other academic research on their business:

We actually had a master's student from Harvard do an energy study on us. ... We were in the top 20 of breweries with conservation based on our size.

Houston Cider Company's parking lot and outdoor seating area are made of Truegrid, a permeable material that holds the small stone in place, replacing concrete (Figure 11). Engle said:

The Heights typically doesn't flood, except the streets have flooded lately because of poor city infrastructure. So for us going into the more permeable aspects was, well, yeah, this isn't going to be a tax on the community. We're not going to flood out our neighbors. This was an open lot long ago, so all the rainwater would just collect here. We want to try and make sure that the rainwater would still collect and drain out.

For its cider product, Houston Cider Company sources its single-strength apple juice (100 percent pure apple juice not from concentrate) from the Pacific Northwest from a wholesale juicer. However, they are investigating buying single-variety juice direct from orchards when their business model will allow it. Engle explained:

...we'd like to get to the point that we can get some more, like single varieties and kind of more of the crafty type varieties. Something different, something unique. Particularly stuff that you can't find in Houston because we're apple deficient.

Any adjuncts added to the ciders for flavor Engle tries to source as local to



Figure 11. Houston Cider Company outside seating and Truegrid permeable groundscaping.

Houston as possible, employing a neighborhood spice dealer to track down the most geographically local sources.

When asked if his cider is local Engle replied:

I'll go out onto the proverbial limb and say 'yes, it's local.' What makes it local is that all the fermentation is done here locally. I would say it is local because ninety percent of the processes is done here. The fermentation is done here. The kegging, the packaging, the tender loving care that's given to the tank every day. And then particularly with some of our use of like, for lack of better words, a process. Like the infusion ingredients. We try to stick as local as possible. If we can't get the ingredients local we're using

local vendors to get those ingredients. We're using local chefs to give us culinary ideas. The only thing that isn't local in it, and it's unfortunate because I think there used to be a lot of apple orchards down this way, but no apples.

Engle considers its customers' previous experience with products and place when it is crafting its cider. Engle continued his explanation of being local:

So, we're trying to bridge that gap of, you have people from all across the U.S., all around the world, that has had some sort of cider before and it could have been a local cider from either their local pubs in England or like Pacific Northwest, New England area, and even the North Midwest. I'm used to having these really good ciders, but like what we're doing, traditionally to start out, we're kind of going on the more commercial juice route. But as we build our repertoire and as we build our branding, it will be easier for us to actually go out to work with orchards for single varietals and actually introduce those varietals into the Houston market and be like, 'Hey, you may have grown up in Wisconsin. You may have heard of this apple before, but you know that we made a still wine, still cider with it and we're using Hill Country lavender in it?' So we're trying to be as local as possible.

4.2.2. Austin Eastciders

Austin Eastciders has used the city's popularity, along with 20 million dollars in recent investments (Heiselberg 2018) and a staff of seventy-six employees (Kovach 2018) to turn itself into a regional powerhouse with national distribution. Their large production volume, along with their production methods, makes their inclusion as a craft cider maker doubtful, but their use of geography in marketing is purely intentional. Not only do they employ the city's name, but also the cultural popularity of East Austin. Since the 1990's East Austin has rapidly gentrified as the DotCom boom brought major changes to Austin's population with an influx of people attracted by Austin's comparatively inexpensive real estate, year-round sunny weather, and musical, laid-back roots. East Austin is generally considered the part of downtown Austin to the east of Interstate 35 that bisects the city and was traditionally home to Austin's minority

population. Its less expensive rent initially attracted artists, bands, and students, later followed by restaurants, clubs, and high-tech start-ups. As Brand Manager Chris Lowrey recalled, “He [founder Ed Gibson] loved the creative spirit of the east side [of Austin], and that really drives the brand, too.” Other Texas cider makers recognize the benefit of being associated with Austin as noted by City Orchard’s Patrick Kwiatkowski in Houston, which sources its apples from family orchards in New York:

You know, one of the things that Austin Eastciders benefits from is having the word ‘Austin’ in it. I mean people in New York want to drink Austin cider, which blows my mind because New York was the apple state... [laughs], and we're like, what's happening here? So there's your marketing right there.

From a founder so enamored with East Austin that he built his product brand around it, other neolocal traits are also present in Austin Eastciders. Eastciders uses its name, a wordmark or logotype, for its branding, featuring Austin Eastciders within an arrow pointing to the east and a golden apple with a lone star (Figure 12). The words “Austin, Texas” were featured on its original 16-ounce cans but Eastciders removed that

reference when they changed cans to 12-ounce six-packs. Other than the Texas Honey Cider, the cans do not feature any additional references to geography or place.



Figure 12. Austin Eastciders' wordmark.

Austin Eastciders donates to local non-profits and community groups as well as offering grants. Chris Lowrey explained the program:

So we started the arts and crafts program, and that is we are giving one-time grants to organizations that are in that arts and craft space that we think are doing some really cool work and that we want to get involved in. ...We also took this to some of our other bigger cities. So we did something in Dallas, down in San Antonio, in Houston.

With the opening of a tasting room in late 2017, The Collaboratory, Austin Eastciders was able to interact directly with their consumers. Lowrey described the space:

“And the idea is it is a space where we can kind of have fun. We can experiment. We can do a lot of interesting things. So, you know, that goes for the cider. I've mentioned some of the collaborations and interesting flavors that we've launched. ...It's just kind of a fun public space over on the east side where people can come, hang out, do something interesting, and have a cider.”

The interaction with the public is less focused on providing community space for local residents than on visitor's entertainment with education for those interested in cider as well. Lowrey described the opportunities for education:

The other thing too, that's really important to us, and one of the big things that I love and that we all love about The Collaboratory is it's a great opportunity for education. ...But we do have people who are from out of town or from the other side of town that just might not have had the cider before. So, it is a really great opportunity to educate people on what cider is and what it isn't. And some of the different styles. It's really great. Our taproom manager is a sommelier. So, the way he can talk about beverages is pretty unbelievable. ...So, obviously, we do not want to be pretentious or anything like that, but it is a good opportunity to educate people on cider and just help them learn a little bit more about cider.

In a discussion of local ingredients, Lowrey stressed their use of Austin-sourced ingredients for some of the small batch ciders available in the taproom. He also noted the use of Texas honey in the aptly named Texas Honey Cider and Texas grapefruit in the Ruby Red Cider, both of which are part of their main product line. He also elaborated on collaborations Austin Eastciders has had with some local businesses, including an urban farm. As for their juice sourcing, Austin Eastciders is using mostly apple juice concentrate. Lowrey explained:

The large majority of our apples are coming by way of concentrate from a few different sources in Europe. And really, for us, we think about using concentrate as, especially because we're getting apples from overseas, it just makes so much more sense, and there's consistency, shipping it as concentrate form.

That use of apple juice concentrate is a dividing line for the majority of cider makers interviewed, between craft cider and not craft, or commercial mass-market cider. When asked if he considers Austin Eastciders craft cider Lowrey stated their use of

European bittersweet and bittersharp cider apples is what constitutes the craft component of Austin Eastciders explaining:

I think the word ‘craft’ is just, I mean it's evolved a lot. It can mean a lot of different things, but we're still getting our apples, a lot of our apples from overseas, and then some here in the U.S. And our big thing is our blend is a bittersweet-bittersharp blend from overseas, from Europe. And then we also blend them with dessert apples here in the U.S. So yeah, I mean it is kind of a handcrafted recipe handed down from Ed's. So, yeah, I think we definitely, even though we have obviously grown quite a bit since 2014, we definitely still consider ourselves a craft cidery.

When asked if he considers Austin Eastciders local Lowrey replied:

Yeah. I mean, I think very much so. And you know, we started in Austin, and we've always been here, so all of our product is produced and packaged here in Austin. And [it is] not like we're producing fifty-percent here and twenty-percent elsewhere. All of it is made here in Austin. This city continues to drive pretty much everything we do. I mentioned we are in fourteen different states now, but at the end of the day, Austin is the most important to us. We are not going to make any decision that would estrange Austin or anything like that. That's still what drives us. So, I still consider us very much like we are a local product. We're headquartered here. All of our product is made here. So yeah, I definitely consider us still local and honestly having the taproom open finally. It's been open for a year now; it's great because that gives us, again, that local presence on the east side.

Acknowledging their roots in Austin continue to be the source of their inspiration, despite their large size and volume, and citing the fact their entire production happens in Austin, Lowrey argues Austin Eastciders is a still a local product. However, their large production volume, venture capital-style funding, large staff, and international sourcing decreases transparency while increasing corporate management and globalization, removing them from their neolocal origins.

4.2.3. Hye Cider Company

Hye is an unincorporated community located in the Texas Hill County, a regionally well-known winemaking area. U.S. Highway 290 bisects Hye, and the road is marketed as the 290 Wine Road and the Texas Wine Trail by area tourist organizations. Among Texas wine drinkers, Hye is part of a known destination and Hye Cider Company, the smallest of the three Texas cideries opened in 2018, uses this place name recognition to their advantage. Hye Cider Company was the only cider maker to include its place of residence in its business and product names (Hye Stylin', Hye Bay, Hye Hops, Hye Heaven, and Hye Note) further driving home its small town's name. The use of Hye in the product names was intentional as Cassandra (Cherry) Graham noted, "We want all of the names to obviously be Hye, but we want to give you an idea of what you're getting but not tell you what you're getting." Their product labeling employs the tagline "Taste the Hill Country" and the subtle use of topographic lines to reinforce the



Figure 13. Hye Cider Company cans. Image copyright Hye Cider Company.

hills in the Hill Country (Figure 13). When asked why Hye and why Hye Cider for a name Graham explained:

The location dictated where we wanted to live. We wanted to move out to the country from Austin years ago. ...At first, it was just country, general. Anywhere in the country. And then I got a job working at the Hye Market here as their beer specialist. And after my second day of work, I went running home to Travis [her spouse and a partner in Hye Cider] I said, 'You know what, it's way more specific than the country. We are moving to Hye.' And it was 'cause he just relaxed and was a different person, and I can see him smile for the first time, his eyes twinkled. So I knew that we had to get out here. We had to get out to the country. So we would have done it wherever we could, but we wouldn't have done it anywhere but Hye.

Graham's description of place and the feelings it invokes reoccurs throughout the interview as Hye Cider Company's description of what they hope visitors to the cidery and tasting room will experience.

Being the smallest production cidery in the state has not kept Hye Cider from engaging in neolocal activities. Hye Cider and its staff participate in supporting Hye community events like the Heritage Club, local fire department, and annual heritage festival. Hye Cider Company sources their single-strength apple juice from a small juicer in the Pacific Northwest that Graham described as the "under, under, underdog," valuing the relationship with a small producer like themselves. The value Hye Cider places upon relationships incline them towards buying juice directly from growers, but they have yet to find the blends required for a consistent product. Hye Cider's sources the remainder of their ingredients as local as possible; Graham said they might even grow their own herbs capturing carbon dioxide from the fermentation process:

We're planning on tacking the greenhouse on the back of it [the cider fermenting space]. So we get local ingredients whenever humanly possible and if we can start growing them here. Like we'll do a lavender cider at

some point, and we'll use Hummingbird Farms. We do all herbaceous weird things, so it's not like your pineapple, and it's not going to be the pear ciders. It's nnnnn. It's a little off the beaten path. I want to do a rosé with mustang grapes. That is my little naah to the wineries. Or it's like, 'Oh, I'm going to take your weed and make something delicious out of that.' And I'm homies with all the wineries out here, so it's playful.

Being in an apple-growing region of Texas, Graham stated she also plans to make a locally sourced Texas cider:

I'm actually working with a winery in Mason because they use all Mason County grapes. And there was one year that they could not get any grapes. They couldn't get enough to make a bottle. So they decided to make cider, and they used all Mason apples, and they got the shredder, and they got the press to do it all. So we're going to do a cider with them. So at least there's going to be some probably specialty limited release that will be 100 percent Texas cider.

When asked if she considered herself a craft cider maker Graham replied succinctly, "I sure do." When pressed for what that meant to her, she elaborated:

Well, okay, so you're sitting across from me. Do you see the smile on my face? Do you see the twinkle in my eye when I'm talking about cider? That's what makes it craft is the love that goes into it. I mean, obviously, there's always the quality of the ingredients, the knowledge that goes in behind it. But what really makes it special is the way the person feels about it.

She quickly contrasted craft with mass-market cider:

Somebody loved that cider at some point. That's the way I feel about it. I credit every cider maker that's ever come before us because I wouldn't be here if it weren't for them. I don't know if there's as much love behind it as there once was. There's probably a lot more machines than hearts, but there was love behind it at one point. Otherwise, it wouldn't be where it is.

Hye Cider's tasting room and cidery are housed in a former automotive shop, with concrete floors, exposed wood rafters, a corrugated tin roof, and a sizeable metal-sliding barn door (Figures 14, 15) creating a unique relaxed space.



Figure 14. Hye Cider Company interior of tasting room.



Figure 15. Hye Cider Company exterior of tasting room and cidery.

Currently distributing onsite and at a half-dozen local stores, Graham was also concerned with Hye Cider becoming too big and saw value in remaining smaller, local, and exclusive:

I don't know, I kind of want to be hard to find. I want it to be something where it's like, 'Oh shit; they've got Hye Cider!' You know? I don't know. I don't think I want to be any bigger than that. I mean, I don't know what that capacity is, but "Oh Shit!" that's my capacity.

When asked if her cider is local, Graham replied, "It's as local as I can possibly make it." When pressed on what makes it local Graham invoked place:

Besides the ingredients that I can get? It's part of Hye. You know, like I said, it's a community thing. Everyone out here supports everyone else. So I mean you can't get much more local than community.

Graham's sense of belonging and acceptance as a local is obvious when asked about resistance to their cidery opening:

When I first moved out here, I was afraid that my husband and I would get resistance because, you know, I had purple hair and covered in tattoos, nose rings, and he's the big burly, bald-headed guy with lots of tattoos, and we are definitely a little bit more outspoken than a lot of people. And so we expected to get some pushback, but honestly, we have been nothing but warmly welcomed.

Graham and her business partners eagerly share the welcome acceptance they feel with visitors, creating an authentic local product and place.

4.2.4. Trinity Cider Company

Trinity Cider Company picked their name after some thoughtful deliberation regarding local and regional geography:

So we wanted something that was local but not be called Dallas Cider Co. ...We thought about calling ourselves Deep Ellum Cider. But then we were concerned we might get sued by Deep Ellum Brewery. ...So we decided to do another locality, which is the Trinity River. So that's why we went with Trinity Cider 'cause people in Dallas could recognize that name. But outside of Dallas, it wouldn't be, you know, Dallas Cider Co.

By choosing Trinity Cider Company, they rejected a more recognizable geographic name, Dallas Cider Co., in preference of something even more local. The use of Trinity, a local landmark, gives the cidery local appeal and insider status to those who know its origin, as would have the originally considered Deep Ellum Cider. Within Dallas, Deep Ellum is a well-known arts and entertainment district.

Trinity Cider Company had not yet been open a month at the time of the interview, but in addition to their name, they were already developing other neolocal traits. Their commitment to the Deep Ellum neighborhood was evident. The cidery and tasting room are located in refurbished warehouse or retail space, with aged exposed brick and paint left to lend post-industrial authenticity (Figure 16). Large roll-up doors welcome the crowds that walk the Deep Ellum neighborhood.



Figure 16. Trinity Cider Company in refurbished warehouse or retail space.

When asked about Trinity's use of local ingredients, they replied:

We're getting ready to unroll one that's got Texas honey. We tried to get stuff local. The farmers market is right by Deep Ellum, so we try to get some stuff from there. Our prickly pear infused one, that's the fruit of a cactus. ...With the ingredients, we try to do as much Texas-local as possible.

Trinity Cider Company explained the importance of using local ingredients:

Because we want to be a Texas cidery. And so not only do we want to be Texas-sourced, we want to be as close to Deep Ellum-sourced as possible

just because, when you're trying to create that community up front, you want to get the support to those around you. But also you're creating the story that helps with the people who frequent that area.

Trinity Cider Company recognizes that sourcing locally not only supports other businesses in the area and in turn garners their support, but it also creates a story that helps tie customers to their product, place, and brand. As they are currently only distributing on-site creating customer loyalty and bringing them back is essential for financial success. Trinity sources their single-strength apple juice from the Pacific Northwest and hinted that it was from a family-owned orchard, but provided no details.

Deep Ellum attracts a younger crowd and Trinity is actively marketing to and trying to re-educate their audience:

We're going towards millennials, and our big thing is, is we're trying to re-educate the market also. Because in Dallas, I think the entire State of Texas, specifically Dallas, everyone basically associates cider with apple juice. Sweet. Too much sugar. ...That's the challenge that we're working on is we're re-educating a market that just because it's dry doesn't mean it can't be good and flavorful. So our goal is to have like a smooth, flavorful [cider]. Like we take a position.

Trinity was the only cidery to run a successful crowd-funding campaign to help fund the cidery's startup. Their Kickstarter campaign raised \$11,506 from 67 backers (Kickstarter 2019). Their appeal emphasized the creation of a locally sourced, community-based, unique, high-quality cider:

Not only will we be handcrafting our cider on-site at our Deep Ellum location, but we'll utilize local ingredients and create a unique product that appeals to the community. We are all about innovation, edge, and imaginative new flavor profiles. (Kickstarter 2019).

When asked if they were a craft cider maker, Trinity cited their process, ingredients, and products, not only what they use but what they do not, contrasting it with mass-market cider:

I think we're absolutely a craft cider maker. ... We're doing dry, flavorful ciders. We're not sacrificing the product. With other people, you can literally just take it and jam some sugar in there trying to hide a bunch of imperfections or impurities, and you'll be like, 'Oh, okay.' So, we're not doing that. We're more concerned with the process of making the cider and letting that speak for itself as opposed to it, 'What's the cheapest we can make it that we think people might like it.'

4.2.5. Texas Keeper Cider

Texas Keeper Cider wanted its name to invoke thoughts of Texas and apples. Co-owner Lindsey Peebles explained:

Texas Keeper is what is assumed to be an extinct apple varietal. Hicks Texas Keeper. It was first grown, like just east of Dallas. ... We just liked that no one thinks of Texas really when they think of apples generally. And so we like that it's like, 'Oh, apples can grow everywhere,' you know? And also just the oldness of it. ... And so there's only a few in [Creighton Lee Calhoun Jr.'s book *Old Southern Apples*] that are actually from Texas and that one, we just thought it had a good ring to it.

The Texas Keeper name creates not only connections to place but also to the now lost past when Texas was a more prolific apple growing state.

Texas Keeper Cider embodies neolocal characteristic throughout its operations, from its century-old tasting room to its apple sourcing to its collaborations and community involvement. Co-owned by three native Austinites, Texas Keeper's production and tasting room are located just south of Austin. Unlike most Texas cider makers who source from wholesale juicers in the Pacific Northwest, Texas Keeper sources their juice from one apple grower in New York Graham described as "a super

nice guy.” After the owners found him on a cider Internet forum and flew to New York to meet with him and see his orchard, Texas Keeper has stuck with him ever since. They visit the orchard annually for quality control and to further the relationship.

Texas Keeper Cider produces small-batch craft cider and is available only in large format 500ml and 750ml bottles and on draft at the tasting room, with some timed and limited releases throughout the year. Having a direct source to the orchard, they focus on that connection and crafting quality, single-varietal ciders, and heirloom-apple only ciders. When asked about adjunct ingredient sourcing, Peebles explained, “I try and get a local element in everything else that we do.” They use local pecans, honey, and grapes, among other ingredients.

The product labels have an artistic flair and imagery that will be familiar to anyone who has spent time in Central Texas, including cypress trees, windmills, grackles, and pecan leaves (Figure 17). Peebles works with a graphic designer sharing ideas meant to invoke Austin for product labels. When speaking about the design of the Auguste Cerise cider label, Peebles said:

I really love it because it was taken from me and Nick's idea of when we go to Barton Springs, and you look up at the pecan trees, you know? So it's supposed to be like the leaves. And then Cider Noir is grackles on a tree, and that's just so iconic Austin.

The information provided on the bottle lets the consumer know the owners speak as native Austinites, giving Texas Keeper Cider even more agency over the claim of local:

OUR STORY

Texas Keeper was started in 2013 by a group of longtime friends born and raised in Austin. Our name comes from an extinct 19th century Texas apple called Hicks Texas Keeper.

We built our small cidery at the confluence of Bear and Onion Creeks with the philosophy that the best cider is made with the least interference.

We work with small growers to ensure that we have great fruit that can speak for itself.
Enjoy!



Figure 17. Texas Keeper Cider product labels featuring pecan leaves, cypress trees along a river, and a windmill.

Texas Keeper has the good fortune of their cidery and tasting room being situated on a relatively undeveloped piece of land dotted with mature live oaks and cedar elms in Manchaca, Texas, within Austin's extraterritorial jurisdiction. Peebles described the tasting room:

...obviously some of it's from the forties. We think the original structure is from the mid-1800s. There definitely was some kind of church-slash-school house on this spot around the 1870s called the Old Rock Church.

There is comfortable indoor seating with exposed wood and limestone and lots of outdoor seating on picnic tables surrounded by tall trees, raised-bed gardens, chickens, beehives, and occasional Austin-based food trucks (Figures 18, 19). Peebles says:



Figure 18. Texas Keeper Cidery outside seating area and raised bed gardens.

I think it's pretty perfect. The best compliment I've gotten, and I've gotten it a couple of times now, is that it reminds them of old Austin. Which I'm like 'Yes! That's awesome.'

For Peebles, having their cidery and its atmosphere compared to 'old Austin' is a sure sign of having hit the local mark just right. This is the Austin that native Austinites fondly remember before the 1990's Dot-Com boom, when the city's population was smaller, rent and home were less expensive, and South By Southwest (SXSW) was not an international event.

Other cideries recognize the value of the Texas Keeper's physical surroundings and historic buildings. When Texas Keeper's tasting room came up during the Argus Cidery interview Wes Mickel, who is close friends with the Texas Keeper owners commented, "They've got a beautiful... [pauses] Every time I'm just like, 'Screw you guys, man. [laughs] I love you, but screw you' [laughs again]," reinforcing that place and setting is not to be underestimated in creating neolocal connections.



Figure 19. Texas Keeper Cidery tasting room.

Peebles also sees that the space is conducive toward educating consumers, describing the typical scenario as:

Maybe someone who's been dragged here by a friend and says, 'I don't like cider. It's too sweet.' ...They have all of ours, and they love them, and their minds are changed. I mean, how often do you get to change a person's mind? It's really hard these days. I feel like that happens on the regular.

Texas Keeper is very active in community engagement donating product, money, or meeting space to multiple local organizations. Peebles particularly focuses on organizations that are food-related nonprofits including the Austin Food and Wine Alliance, Farmshare Austin, Texas Organic Farmers and Gardeners Association, or the Houston Beekeepers Association. She noted, “Last year our Honeyfest supported the Houston Beekeepers Association, and they put the money toward [replacing hives] because a lot of the local beekeepers lost a bunch of hives in Harvey.” The cidery is also a pick-up spot for a local organic farm’s community supported agriculture program.

When asked about collaborations with local businesses, Peebles said:

I mean, it's hard to answer these because I feel like that's almost everything we do. It feels like it's a collaboration in some form. I mean we did a collaboration a couple of years in a row with Blue Owl [Brewing], it's called Co-op Curiouser. And then, before that, we did one with ABGB [Austin Beer Garden Brewing] called Co-op Saisonniers.

When asked if Texas Keeper is a craft cidery, Peebles talked about the hands-on nature of their product and contrasted that with higher volume producers, stating:

Yeah, I mean, to me we're far from not being craft. You know what I mean? Like we'd have to totally change our production size because everything, like we're touching all of it. You know? And I guess that's what I would consider craft. It's being bottled here. It's like we have a hand in all of it and then, I mean the quantity that we're making is so small. And then I think when you move towards concentrate, to me that is like a shift that at which point you, if you're scaling up to that point then maybe you're not craft anymore.

Like many cider makers interviewed, Peebles talks about the hands-on nature of the work that demonstrates the knowledge and skills associated with their craft production process.

When asked if their cider is local Peebles answered:

I think so. Yeah, I think it's local. I mean we make it here, and all of our relationships with the exception of where we get our apples from are local. Which is probably my favorite part about having the business is just making those relationships. You know, like Two Hives Honey. La Flaca Farms has our garden space. I feel like those things make it local in whatever way the sourcing of the apples detracts from it.

Peebles recognizes the main ingredient, apples, are not local but that the rest of the process, and most importantly to her, the relationships established through the cidery are local.

4.2.6. City Orchard

Houston's City Orchard cidery originally considered naming themselves HTX Cider, a common abbreviation for Houston, Texas, but due to the potential confusion with Houston Cider Company and after additional consideration, Patrick Kwiatkowski concluded:

Houston does not have the same name connotation that Austin does. You know, nobody thinks Houston's cool. So I don't think we can use Houston as a brand driving for us, other than local. And so yeah, we want people to know that City Orchard's in Houston, but we also want them to know that you know, we're the real deal. We are farmers, too.

They chose to anchor their identity by connecting consumers with where they are located – the city – and where their roots are, and their cider originates – the orchard. Specifically, orchards they help manage in the Great Lakes region and New York. Kwiatkowski explained the name:

City obviously invokes the fact that we're urban and we're here. We're making cider in Houston. But, you know, the apples come from an orchard. We want people to be connected to that, to the farm, to the orchard.

City Orchard chose their name with neolocal connections in mind despite the fact that their orchards are 1,200 to 1,600 miles away. The relational proximity of owning their orchards is equally important as the geographic proximity of making the cider in Houston. Kwiatkowski expounded on that direct relationship with the orchard and fruit:

I have a business partner who is a third or fourth generation orchardist. His family has apple orchards. And we'll be getting some of our juice from them. And obviously, if you have an orchard, you have friends who have orchards. So we have a very strong connection to our product in New York State, Wayne County. It's the largest apple-producing county outside of Washington State, I believe, in the nation.

But since we do own orchards that's very important to us to let people know that we actually planted some of these trees ourselves. If we get big enough, obviously our orchard may not be able to supply with us with everything, so we're not going to be purists to spite ourselves. But there's definitely enough great fruit in New York and Michigan to make really phenomenal ciders, and we're going to play that up. We're playing our Great Lakes connection. We just have to be careful to not be too Yankee, and not be too Texan. And that's a fine line to dance on, right?

Kwiatkowski recognizes that to be local, they need to be careful in how they draw their connections to distant places. City Orchard is presenting themselves as farmers and caretakers of the orchard, and the quality and unique variety of the fruit they can source can foster a strong neolocal connection.

Owning the orchard also gives City Orchard the opportunity to participate in conservation efforts not available to other Texas cideries. When asked about conservation, Kwiatkowski replied:

Yeah, I think the closest thing we could be doing when it comes to conservation is to repopulate America's orchards with cider apples. A lot of other people are trying to do that as well. I mean, these orchards were destroyed during prohibition and the only things left standing were culinary apples. So we are interested to bring these back. It's a long process. It's going to be a generation.

City Orchard will start production in Houston in 2019. Since they are not in production, they have not sourced any ingredients locally yet, but do plan to buy local whenever possible. Kwiatkowski stated, “You know if it's not coming from Houston or Texas, then we have no reason to go anywhere else but New York because those are the two places that we are calling home.”

Their marketing plans also involve connecting their cider to the apple tree and its origins; Kwiatkowski has some product names already picked out:

We're focusing on the apple tree. Stages of growth of the apple. So one of the stages is called Silver Tip. It's when the bud starts to grow in the spring. Full Pink is another one that's also a stage of the apple blossom. That'll be our rose cider. We've got another product along those lines. King Blossom will be another one. And then we're going to play around with some Texas names.

As City Orchard is not yet open, they did not have marketing materials available to view.

When asked if he considers himself a craft cider maker, Kwiatkowski replied:

Yeah, we do. I mean, we're going to use modern techniques. I think ‘craft’ is maybe an over-used term nowadays. But we're picking the apples. I mean not literally picking them, although we have picked some ourselves, but we select them rather. And we design the ciders. So you know, that's hands-on. That's craft.

City Orchard’s tasting room will occupy a renovated warehouse near the heart of Houston’s Washington Corridor. Kwiatkowski described the area as gentrifying with a mix of residential, retail, and entertainment. They hope to use the tasting room to educate consumers on cider. Kwiatkowski explained, “I think we have an opportunity to really reinforce what a good cider is by educating people where these things come from.” They are tying education to sourcing to stewardship to place.

Despite City Orchard's ties with Michigan and New York, the owners consider themselves Houstonians. Explaining their connection with Houston, Kwiatkowski says:

My partner is almost in the same situation. He's from New York State, and he's lived down here for, I don't know, over 15 years. So we're both transplants, right? Yeah. My daughter was born here. My son was raised here. I feel like I'm just as Houstonian as the next person. So why not, right? ...And that's kind of the Houston way. It's like anybody can do anything here if they put their mind to it.

Kwiatkowski calls on geography and community when asked if City Orchard's cider will be local, while acknowledging the difficulty of claiming local:

Well, that's the trick, right? It's local. And my argument is like, 'Where did the brewer down the street grow his wheat or his oats or his barley?' He didn't grow it here. I know for a fact he didn't grow his hops here. So it's no less local... I think local means we're here; we're making it here. We're making it for our population. We're making it for the palate of the people here, and we're vested in the community. It just so happens we have to get our juice outside of Houston because we don't grow apples here. ...Local to me is bringing our favorite orchards to our favorite city.

4.2.7. Moontower Cider Company

Knowing the origin and history of Moontower Cider Company's name promotes neolocalism through local insider information. Benjamin Weaver, the owner of Moontower Cider, explained:

I wanted a name that resonated with Austin, with the local market. That would be the core base always. But that could also travel if it needed to. And I thought that [Moontower] accomplished both of those things. ...That people in Austin might know about that landmark, but people outside of Austin wouldn't have any idea what it means. ...But if they don't, it still has some kind of connotation.

Austin's moontowers are outdoor lighting that the city installed in 1894; fifteen of the 165-foot structures are still in operation throughout the city and are listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Prince 2018). Moontower Cider is based in East

Austin in the shadow of Austin Eastciders, the state's largest cider producer. Despite the David and Goliath comparison, Moontower does not shy away from its roots. On its digital media and product labels, it states, "Traditionally inspired craft cider made in East Austin, Texas" (Figure 20, 21). It also calls on Texas history proclaiming "Come and drink it" with a pint glass adorned with a single black star – a reference to the 1835 Battle of Gonzales and the first skirmish of the Texas Revolution. Mexico attempted to capture a locally held small cannon but failed. A flag flew over Gonzales featuring an image of the cannon, a single star, and the words "come and take it" (Lindley 2019). The cans also feature an outline of the state of Texas and "Proudly made in Austin, Texas" with a lone star. All of these images and phrases steep the product in Texas history and geography. If consumers want to know more Moontower's website features not only the history of Austin's moontowers but also cider in the US. When asked about the geographic and historical associations, Weaver explained, "The types of cider, the names, the image, the branding, all of that is with Austin in mind. So it's very much intentional."

Moontower does not yet have a tasting room so its emphasis, for now, must remain on the product alone.



Figure 21. Moontower Cider Company can.

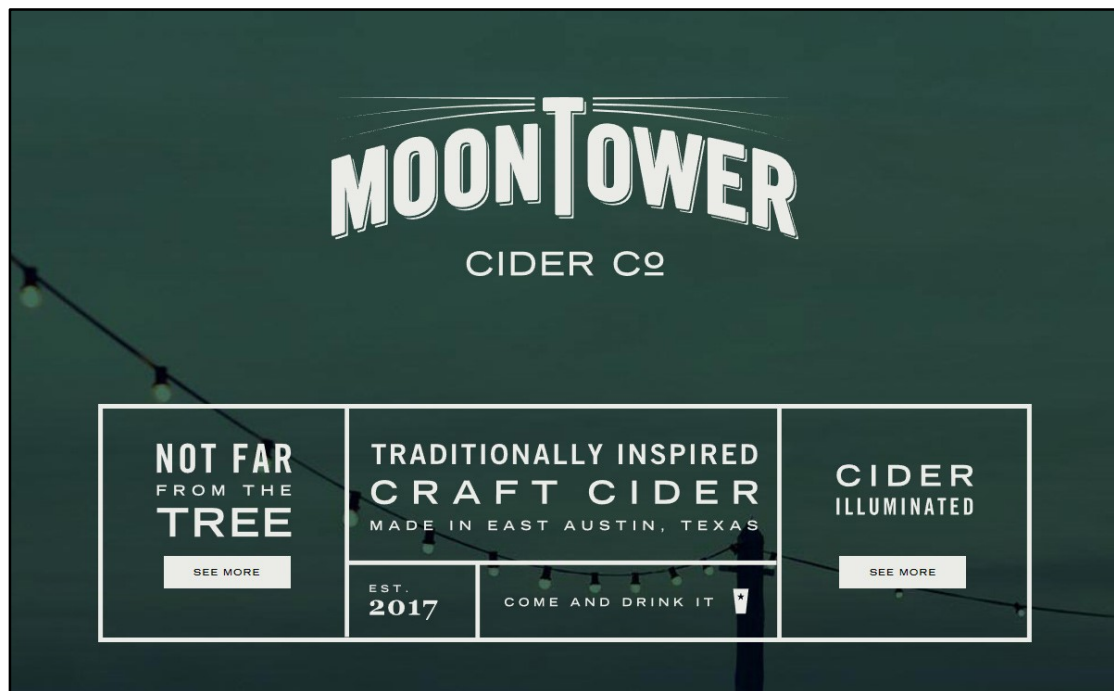


Figure 20. Moontower Cider Company homepage.

Moontower has plans to open a tasting room in 2019 and was actively scouting locations in East Austin, a very competitive real estate market. Weaver understands his attachment to place, to East Austin, creates value for the brand but also a difficulty for a fledgling business, explaining:

That's another challenge, speaking about the tasting room and so on. East Austin is one of the hardest places to find space for those kinds of things. And if I was willing to go elsewhere that would be a lot easier north, south. But I've always lived in, from day one, I've lived in East Austin. And lived and worked and gone to school, not in East Austin, but right there [points to a neighborhood adjoining the east Austin coffee house we're meeting at]. And so it's always been kind of my universe in Austin.

While not a native Austinite, Weaver made a very emphatic claim of attachment to and representation of East Austin and the need for a tasting room. He described the value a tasting room will bring to Moontower and the knowledge that it will create place for him, his products, and the people who value them:

There's no replacing that [a tasting room] for its ability to develop brand affinity for people who really want to know what you're about and having that personalized, intimate experience. ... That's my number one priority is to get [the tasting room] going because I think that's where we'll really shine. Like I said, both Erin and I, my employee, have a lot of experience in fermentation and I have the rigor behind it that I'm excited to be able to show talents in that arena.

Moontower sources its single-strength apple juice from Pacific Northwest wholesalers who can provide the quality benchmarks and varieties they require. However, they do plan to source different juice once their tasting room is open to produce a broader range of products. Moontower, currently with a production range of three ciders, limits their use of other local ingredients to a Texas high plains wine blend. A staff of two also limits Moontower's community involvement and collaborations though

they do donate to charitable causes. As their operations expand, so too will their neolocal opportunities.

Weaver cited his use of single-strength apple juice when asked why he considers himself a craft cider maker:

Because we're using single-strength apple juice to make our cider. I think as long as you are using real apple juice to make your cider, I think you can legitimately call yourself craft cider. There are no large, top five producers that are using apple juice and I think you can still make crappy craft cider. But that's the main drawing line for me is whether you're using single-strength ingredients.

He also refers to the skill it takes to make good craft cider, acknowledging good ingredients can still make bad cider. Weaver also thinks consumer education about cider is lacking, but that craft beer has opened that door and cider needs to move through it:

People are, I think, very versed in craft beer at this point. And that will translate a little bit toward, just at least being open and willing to learn about cider. But even people who are very versed in other craft alcohol they know very little about cider.

When asked if Moontower cider is local, Weaver affirmatively cites the local value-added process as seen by producers:

Ninety-eight percent of people who considered their products local are basing that claim on the value-added step. And whether that's beer or wine or cider or bread, I think popularly the understanding that people have of a locally made product is the value-added step. And so that's what we mean by locally made.

4.2.8. Argus Cidery

Argus Cidery, located southwest of Austin, is Texas' oldest cidery founded in 2010 by Wes Mickel. Argus' first commercial release was made with all Texas sourced apples. Mickel recalls, "Yeah, Bandera Brut was the first one, and that was all apples

from Bandera-Medina, Texas.” Argus produces both large format, 750ml bottle, limited edition, aged, craft ciders (Figure 22) sourced from Texas and Arkansas single-strength apple juice and a more commercial 12-ounce canned and bottled line, called Argus Fermentables, made with single-strength juice sourced from Washington. Both use single-strength juice and their ciders are not pasteurized or back sweetened, a process of adding sugars after fermentation. Argus is the most widely distributed Texas cider, available in 21 states.



Figure 22. Argus Cidery’s bottled aged ciders.

Mickel’s care in fruit selection encompasses not only proximity, but also the quality and knowledge of the apple growers he is purchasing from, explaining, “For the large format stuff, our cellar program, that ranges from a single orchard in Arkansas that we work with that has incredible growing practices and an orchard in Canadian, Texas.”

Mickel's original intent was to source from Texas, which in turn, strongly influenced the cider he produced:

You know, even here at the beginning of the company, it was like, well, we get this Texas fruit. We're not able to sit there and select things the way that people can up there [in the Pacific Northwest]. So it's more, 'How are we going to make this fruit shine?' Not, 'I need you to give me this kind of fruit so I can make this end product.' So we've never had that luxury, even from day one it was like, we're going to be reflexive to what we can get. That was part of the fun at the get-go. Yeah. I mean it's still the joy of it.

Argus uses other Texas-sourced ingredients including Texas grown hops and rye whiskey barrels acquired from a neighboring distillery. Mickel was one of the few producers to point out that sourcing locally is expensive, matter-of-factly stating, "Yeah, Texas ingredients are really expensive." The final price reflects the added production cost charged by the producer, yet, research shows consumers are willing to pay more for locally sourced and created products (Jekanowski, Williams II, and Schick 2000; Stephenson and Lev 2004; Bean and Sharp 2011).

Argus' use of quality ingredients was the key to his definition of craft versus non-craft, but he also acknowledged an even more strict definition of craft, stating:

I think the difference between what we do is, it's just based on our commodities. Our commodities are extremely expensive because we do 100 percent fruit, whereas most commercial producers will be cutting it somehow with a different sugar than that derived from apples. I think that that keeps it true to what it is. And if that would be the definition of craft cider, then functionally, yes, we definitely do that. I think if you're going to talk about true craft ciders, those start with apples, and they are pressed and go into bottles. But that's an extremely expensive undertaking that I'm sure we'll get into here in a little bit.

Argus Cidery initially focused on building out its production and distribution infrastructure, but is now concentrating on their tasting room, connecting with, and educating consumers:

...let's pivot and think more about onsite and providing people with more kind of what you're sitting down to talk about. Like the education of cider. Give people an experience so that maybe they walk away with a better understanding of this is why this one is like this, this one being a cider, and this is why this one is like this.

Interestingly, Mickel says that more than half of the tasting room visitors are from out of town and are seeking them out specifically during their visit to Austin:

"It's a lot of people from out of town, honestly. It's not a lot of local people. ...There's a lot of return customers, but for the most part, I would say above 50 percent is people from out of town. ...And those people that come out are specifically looking for us."

This suggests that visitors are specifically and actively seeking out Argus Cidery as part of an authentic Austin cider experience.

When asked if Argus cider was local Mickel was one the only cidery to say no, and apply a strict definition to what is local: "I would say that we're a local producer, but we don't encapsulate the meaning - to me - of local." When asked for his definition of local Mickel referenced his education as a chef:

It follows the food formula, just because that's my background. And that would be, 'Okay, we're sourcing within a 50-mile radius and putting it on a plate, and doing all of our handling and processing onsite.

Mickel also notes that 'local' can be abused because with no regulation of the definition of the term, as previously discussed in the literature review, any product can claim to be 'local':

Over the course of doing this business - maybe jaded is the right word - but I've kind of found that a lot of, especially the alcohol consumers, they would rather buy into the branding of it than the reality. And there's nothing that truly regulates calling things 'craft' or calling things 'local.' I mean, hypothetically [Austin] Eastciders is using concentrated from Rio [Grande Valley, Texas] fruit. Okay. If you're going to apply that formula, then technically that's a [local] Texas product.

Being the only Texas cidery to craft Texas-sourced cider, Mickel has a claim to the 'local' title more than any other cidery.

4.2.9. Permann's Cider Company

Permann's Cider Company is based in Houston, and its cider is made by a third party in Portland, Oregon and labeled for sale in Texas. Permann's Cider Company's last production run was in 2017, and they were not planning another production cycle in 2018. They did not have a tasting room, and their remaining product was for sale at select Houston events at the time of the interview.

Permann's sourced their single-strength apple juice from Washington and Oregon, but their original intent was to import apples from connections in Mexico and Columbia. Owner Andrea Permann explained:

The idea, like the Utopia idea, was to source apples from South America, from Colombia, and from Mexico because apples from South America have two harvests. In North America, you only have one. These apples also have the balance in acidity and tannins that I was looking for in my cider. But there's certain laws that prevent you from importing apples from South America because you can't import the apple whole. You have to import the juice because they're afraid that you're going to like smuggle something or maybe the apple has a disease or something like that.

Due to their inability to find a satisfactory distributor, the high cost of operation, and lack of resources, Permann's is no longer producing cider and may cease operation.

While I was in Houston, Andrea Permann canceled the in-person interview and a later cut short a phone interview after fifteen minutes, so little else was learned of their operation.

4.2.10. Rohan Meadery

Rohan Meadery produces fifteen styles of mead, six styles of wine, and four styles of cider and perry. They introduced cider and perry in 2016. Rohan Meadery is part of the Blissful Folly Farm in rural La Grange, Texas, located about 70 miles west of Houston's outer loop. Wendy Rohan, co-owner of Rohan Meadery, says up to 75 percent of their sales are to out-of-town visitors, most of whom are driving over an hour to reach the tasting, sales, and production room.

The quality, variety, and sourcing of ingredients are of primary importance to Rohan Meadery for all their products. The Rohans had initially sourced single-strength apple juice from a Texas grower, but currently source through the Brewers Supply Group that sources its apples from the Pacific Northwest. Blissful Folly Farm is experimenting with its own pear trees, and Rohan Meadery does blend in their own fruit juices when available. Other ingredients they supply or supplement include honey, peaches, blackberries, lavender, and grapes. Rohan Meadery also works with wineries in central Texas purchasing Italian and black Spanish grape varieties.

Being farmers, the Rohans also personally support local food initiatives, subscribing to a local CSA, and purchasing from other local organic farms. The winery supplies the wine for a monthly farm-to-table dinner hosted by a local farm. They also donate products and gift baskets to local charities, school fundraisers, community events, and other fundraising events.

A trait common to neolocal producers and described in detail by Wendy Rohan is the attention to detail and quality, attributed to the knowledge and skill she brings to the production process. Wendy Rohan explained:

I will say that I really pay attention to every ingredient that we put in. We don't over-manipulate anything. We're very patient, so we're not going to use clearing agents. We're not going to use fining agents. We're not going to. You know what I mean? It's just not what we do. I don't buy imported honey because unless I go down and see what's coming out of South America and who's making it, I'm not interested because I'm not going to trust it.

That to me, when you talk about somebody crafting something and having that purpose, you have that angle in mind. You have the end result that you're looking for. That end product and what you want those parameters to be. But also knowing exactly what everything that's going into it and how it's being made and what's happening to it and being transparent about it.

Wendy Rohan directly ties her production process into the consumer experience she aims to provide in the tasting room. Production and consumption share floor space with the two only separated by a serving bar giving transparency to the process and the people behind it (Figure 23):

It's a huge part. I mean, that's why it's like 'Here you are and here you are on the production floor' [as she points across to the fermentation tanks]. Which isn't ideal, by the way, because we can't make too much noise when people are here. So, but even if we do build a bigger building and have a separated production space, we still want it to be very transparent. We want to be open and honest about what we do and how we do it. Maybe that's what people see in craft, and it's what appeals to them. As people look more and more about what they're putting in their body and not trusting the FDA to look out for them. That kind of thing. Maybe that's what it really boils down to is that that trust and somebody telling you 'This is what I've done. This is what I've made it out of.'

The Meadery and farm are active in the local community but also have a family history in the area:

We're very involved in the community. My husband, so his great, great grandfather came over from Moravia in the 1880s and settled in High Hill just south of here. So my husband has an aunt in town and cousins in town that are Rohans. So people knew the name when we moved here.

A black and white photo of the Rohan's La Grange ancestors hangs above the door to the tasting room, visually enforcing family ties to place while lending additional authenticity to the Rohan's claim as local.



Figure 23. Rohan Meadery tasting room bar and production area.

4.2.11. Fairweather Cider Company

John Staples, co-owner of Fairweather Cider Company in Austin, explained Fairweather's name and products are concept-driven:

Really we just see that there's this climate of 300-plus days of sunshine. It's either hot, or it's not. We want something that's very, very dry and we want to make a very dry cider that isn't going to be perceived as sort of

like an acid bomb. I mean, even the fact that it's in a can. You know, whether the market sort of craves this outdoorsy lifestyle experience of a weekend or whether or not they're traveling even, [Fairweather] is just something that we feel is very conducive to that.

Fairweather sources their single-strength apple juice from a packing house and juicer in Oregon noting they would like to work with individual growers to have access to heirloom apple varieties in the future. Interestingly, Staples had seriously considered growing his apples in the Hill Country west of Austin, explaining:

Initially, we wanted to grow apples. We had a site that we prepped in Johnson City. Sent the soil to A&M. Had a plan to make the amendments. Putting our costs together. And then it's just like, 'Well, I'm opening an orchard now, but I want to open Fairweather.' I don't want to open an orchard that has like a chill little taproom out in the Hill Country. As fun as that would be, I would view that as more of like a rich man's hobby and I'm just certainly not there.

Staples had worked for an Austin farm-to-plate grocery delivery service and used the knowledge he acquired there to source local ingredients including chilies and honey. He goes further afield for his Texas high plains grapes and further still for Oregon fruit purees.

Fairweather Cider Company also shows strong support for social and environmental causes and the arts, donating as requests arise. Staples gave a few examples:

It's just like dude, the environment or children in need is like a no-brainer. We're supporting Salvage Vanguard Theater for the fall season. ...And then I'm donating next week to a fundraiser for a groundwater rights advocacy group that is trying to raise money to protect a lot of the Edwards Aquifer along the [Highway] 290 corridor.

Fairweather Cider self-distributes in the Austin area and has a tasting room and production area in north Austin warehouse space, close to a large number of craft

brewers. The interview took place at Fairweather Cider's next door neighbor, 4th Tap Brewing Cooperative. Staples acknowledged the appeal of being in a known brewing area:

The best part is we just have all these neighbors. You know, we have Adelbert's, Celis, Oskar Blues, Forth Tap, Circle, Austin Beerworks, and soon to be Hop Squad. And then we have the homebrew shop at the end of the street.



Figure 24. Fairweather Cider Company's tasting room.

Austin, home to five cideries, has more than any other city in Texas and Staples is aware of how that plays into their position in the market:

Fairweather exists because this is the opening in Austin. This is the vacancy. And Austin has a few really solid cider options. And this is where we fit in.

Their tasting room (Figure 24) is an integral part of the Fairweather concept and marketing, explained Staples:

You just have to have a tasting room experience nowadays. I mean, you're just shooting yourself in the foot if you don't offer that because people look you up. People find out about you on Instagram. It's a great source of income. It's a great place for us to try things that are working or things that are not working. It offers exclusivity to the people that are true fans of the business. If we release a product, they know that they can get it straight from the teat first. We're always going to have the freshest products and the most experimental and that's why that has what has made it so that we have regulars. And a lot of our regulars, they come in, and they know that they can always get something different. Not just from what is in the rest of the market, but maybe from what they had last week.

The unique products, noted exclusivity, and the fact Fairweather Cider has regular customers after having been in business less than a year at the time of the interview speaks to the ties between product and place. Fairweather is competing in a market with four other cideries that have made vigorous, successful claims on local and state geography. To compete, Fairweather has embraced creativity in their marketing over the use of locality:

We don't write 'Austin, Texas, local cider, look at me. Like Austin, Austin.' We don't put the [Highway] 360 bridge on our cans. ... You know, any way that you can convey a story without using a location as a crutch, to me, it's just another avenue to express some creativity.

Staples described an outright rejection of explicit geography, in what is already a very crowded geographically-oriented marketing space, in favor of creative storytelling that runs throughout the company (Figure 25). When asked if their cider is local, Staples approaches it with the subtle understanding that local can be many different things:

So our cider is sold as ‘local’ everywhere. And you know, reading between the lines, we are, and we aren't. In my pure, honest opinion. I mean, we are a local business that is creating local jobs and offering a locally produced product to its market. So, from an economic standpoint, you know [pauses]. I mean it would be a different question if people were growing apples in Texas. But if you go to Whole Foods right now next to my cider, it says ‘local’ and then the price. So, yes, yes, and no. These are Oregon apples.

While rejecting explicit geography, Fairweather Cider Company embraces other neolocal traits including creative storytelling, community involvement, and customer interaction to create connections between product and place.



Figure 25. Fairweather Cider Company can art. Common Cider and Tejano Dreams Cider.

4.2.12. Locust Cider

Locust Cider, located in Fort Worth, is an expansion of a cidery founded in Woodinville, Washington, in 2015. Co-owned by two brothers originally from Fort Worth, they felt Texas was a promising expansion location after opening two additional

taprooms in Washington. Locust Cider's canning line remains in Washington and their Fort Worth cidery and tasting room produces for on-site draft and keg distribution in north Texas. Their product labeling currently reflects its Washington roots, but they are changing the label to reflect their Texas presence.

Sourcing in Washington, Locust Cider buys both single-strength apple juice and apple juice concentrate. Patrick Spears explained that large processors supply the base juice concentrate, but they occasionally work with growers directly for more specialized apples:

...for some rare stuff we have a contact. He'll [his brother] go to orchards. ...Like cider apples or some heirloom stuff and they'll press it onsite and cold store for us. We sign contracts saying, 'Yeah, we're entitled to this much, and we'll just take as needed.'

Having a direct connection to one of the largest apple growing regions in the nation, yet having a Texas-based location presents both neolocal advantages and challenges to Locust Cider. Most self-branded craft cider makers in Texas draw the line at the use of apple juice concentrates. However, Locust sees each of its cideries as producing products using local ingredients that appeal to the local consumer. When asked about ingredient sourcing for the Fort Worth location Spears said:

Apple juice will continue to be from our main source in Washington. I'll get some other fruits up there from time to time, like cranberry or cherry. Yeah. 'Cause it just makes too much sense to continue to do at Washington, but in the cases like grapefruit or even like prickly pear, that'd be something I'd want to do down here. I just drove out to Waxahachie to pick up some local honey. So our honey pear coming up is going to be the first official cider to actually include locally sourced ingredients.

Spears mentioned he is already trying to find Texas sources for grapefruit and peaches. At the time of the interview, the cidery had only been open two weeks, and already the creation and popularity of locally unique products were noticeable to Spears, commenting:

Here in Fort Worth, we've done more spicy ciders than we have in the last three months up in Washington. I mean, people like that a lot more here. So that's another aspect I like to being back here is that those don't fail for us. It's worth doing.

As for the use of concentrate, Spears cited both practical and quality considerations:

We'll use concentrates at times just because it's a lot easier to store that way. For a while, we were receiving juice from a few sources, and it ended up starting to ferment before we even received it.

Being Fort Worth natives, and already having three locations in Washington, Locust Cider chose their Fort Worth location and building with care:

Neighborhood, I think place plays into these more than anything. ...So coming here we wanted to choose the right neighborhood, and everything just lined up perfectly to have a space available in this neighborhood on South Main where all the focus is starting to shift on Southside. ...Magnolia [another nearby redeveloped district] can take care of itself at this point because they're already well established. And this is the main focus for the near Southside now, South Main.

Magnolia and Southside are in varying states of gentrification, with a large number of still abandoned retail, warehouse, and residential buildings, and numerous empty lots. Spears commented, "My parents would have never brought me to this area." However, dotted throughout the area now are new coffee and tea shops, warehouse apartments and condos, restaurants, bars, and breweries. Locust Cider resides in a remodeled warehouse and retail space (Figure 26):

This particular unit used to be a plumbing supply store, and on the other side, it used to be a firearms store. So, the developers completely scrapped this entire building, including everything but the four exterior walls. So ceiling was ripped out, and it was just four walls for the longest time.



Figure 26. Locust Cider's freshly remodeled building.

Locust Cider's neighboring businesses in the building will be a coffee shop and an eat-what-you-cook cooking class/restaurant. A craft brewery resides less than half a block away. Across the street sits an abandoned building and empty lots (Figure 27).

Spears explained his hopes for the tasting room to educate visitors and provide them with a unique experience:

We use our taprooms mainly being an ambassador for the company. Especially here in Fort Worth, and cider's still kind of a new thing and growing. [We] use it mainly to introduce people to the concept and the idea of cider and show them what we can do with it and what it's capable of. First and foremost, I want them to learn something. You know, whether it's just that, 'Oh, hey, cider can be dry, or it can be sweet. It can be anything really.' Or just to feel welcomed and comfortable and feel like

a sense of familiarity with this place even though they've never been here before.



Figure 27. Locust Cider's tasting room in a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. The building across the street is shuttered and next to it is an empty lot.

Locust Cider dedicates all of its energy in social causes to supporting the Hydrocephalus Foundation since the founder's daughter suffers from the condition. As Locust establishes itself in Fort Worth, they will likely contribute to local causes. Spears added, "Obviously, since we're so new there hasn't been much opportunity, but we're open to any and all ways that we can help contribute to the growth of the city or help add to the culture."

When asked if Spears thinks Locust Cider is local he replied:

I do now, because one, we can officially legally say that we are producing in Fort Worth. You know, ingredients, you can source ingredients from wherever. But the fact that you're producing something here, you're employing people that live in Fort Worth, you're catering to the people of the area, I think that's what makes us local. We were born here, so that's

another. It's another leg up we have on anybody that might be transplanted here. But yeah, it's something that people can physically [experience]. We have something tangible here now, which is great. I think that's what makes it local and if we can continue to source local ingredients, I mean that's just a plus.

Spears initially dismissed the importance of ingredient sourcing in favor of the physical and economic presence of the cidery in Fort Worth. He cites the local creation of a product designed for the palate of local consumers. Tellingly, he yet again cites the fact he and his brother were born and raised in Fort Worth as if to certify their claim to local. Local ingredients become a bonus to the mantle of local.

Interestingly, the remainder of Spears' answer cited the community welcome he received upon opening Locust Cider in Fort Worth, something he had not experienced at other locations:

You know, coming back here I've noticed everybody's a lot more willing to cooperate or go out of their way to do something for someone else. Because even after we just opened up people from all the craft breweries in the area came by to talk to us or say congrats, give us some beer or something. Neighbors from all over came in to say congrats. One of the reps from Bishop [Cider] in the area even came by; he told me congrats. We don't get that a lot in the other areas that we've opened up in. So it's awesome that that's happening here and kind of our way to reciprocate that is sourcing locally when we can, where we can.

The welcome Spears received from fellow producers is documented in the craft beer industry as a form of coopetition, where like-minded business both compete and cooperate to create a synergistic environment where all the businesses have a better chance to succeed (Myles and Breen 2018).

4.2.13. Summary

It is clear the Texas cider producers interviewed make conscientious and ample use of neolocal traits in the identity and marketing on their products and place throughout the production, distribution, and sale of their ciders. Interviews, company branding, and product labeling showed a dedication to the use of local and high-quality ingredients, community involvement, conservation efforts, and traits I broadly defined as knowledge including the use of local and regional history, lore, imagery, geography, and cidermaking skills. Those with or planning tasting rooms also emphasized their direct relationship with the consumer created through interactions of product, people, and place. Even Austin Eastciders, who has moved beyond craft to mass production, practiced some neolocal traits.

The neolocal traits observed are all employed in the identity and marketing of Texas craft cider makers' products and place. Texas Keeper Cider, Argus Cidery, and City Orchard emphasize the use of high-quality, personally-sourced apples. Houston Cider Company, Hye Cider Company, and Texas Keeper Cider emphasized their collaborations and connections with the community in which they reside. Rohan Meadery, Houston Cider Company, and Fairweather Cider Company strive to improve the environment through their actions and donations. Austin Eastciders, Trinity Cider, and Houston Cider Company focus on their social commitment. Moreover, all acknowledge the importance of their tasting room for creating place-bound connections with the consumer.

A neolocal trait not explicitly identified in the literature, but which often occurred in my interviews was that of the cidery owners claiming residency in the location of

production. Texas Keeper Cider, Locust Cider, and Rohan Meadery all make use of the fact that their owners are natives or have a family history with their area while City Orchard, Moontower Cider Company, Hye Cider Company, and Fairweather Cider Company all proudly claim to be adopted locals; if not native, the next best thing. The producers use this residency status to lend legitimacy to their local claim, and through their products and place, they are sharing their local status with the consumer.

All of these traits, to varying degrees by cidery, create a product laden with neolocal connections to place.

4.3. Research Question 2: Do geographic, relational, or value-based traits hold greater influence when employing neolocalism in Texas craft cider?

Fourteen neolocal traits I identified being employed by Texas craft cider makers as expressed in interviews and marketing materials were mapped to Eriksen's (2013) three domains of local proximity - geographical proximity (explicit physical spatial/geographical locality), relational proximity (direct relations between local actors, usually producer and consumer), and values of proximity (different, usually non-market values, that different actors attribute to local food) – creating the final version of the neolocal product model (Figure 28). The usage and importance of each trait was examined across all participating cideries to determine which domain of proximity, if any, held greater influence among Texas craft cider producers.

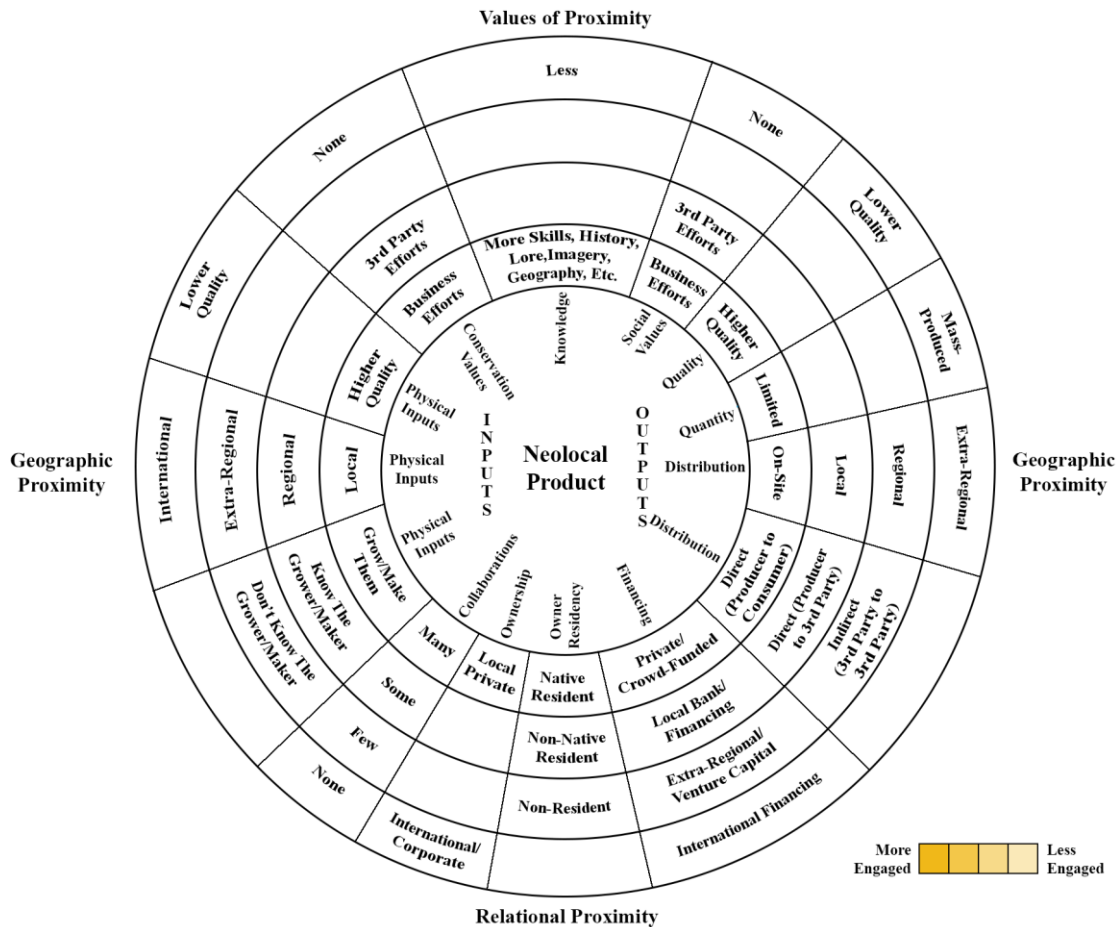


Figure 28. Neolocal Product model for Texas craft cider producers.

4.3.1. Geographic Proximity

Eriksen (2013 p51) defines the domain of geographic proximity as “The explicit spatial/geographical locality, (e.g. area, community, place or geographical boundary) distance and/or radius (e.g. food miles), within which food is produced, retailed, consumed and/or distributed.” When examining the neolocal product model, two traits fall under geographic proximity – the origin of physical inputs and the distribution of the physical outputs. Analyzing the interviews, fewer instances of neolocal traits were categorized under geographic proximity than those of relational- or values of proximity among Texas craft cider makers. On the surface, this appears to be at odds with an

examination of neolocalism and the people's desire to connect with place. What is more important to place than an explicit physical, geographical locality? However, the occurrences of a neolocal trait do not reveal the importance of that trait. Within geographic proximity are two neolocal traits of paramount importance to Texas craft cider producers: the producer's emphasis on local ingredients and the on-site distribution of product to customers in the form of a tasting room (Figure 29).

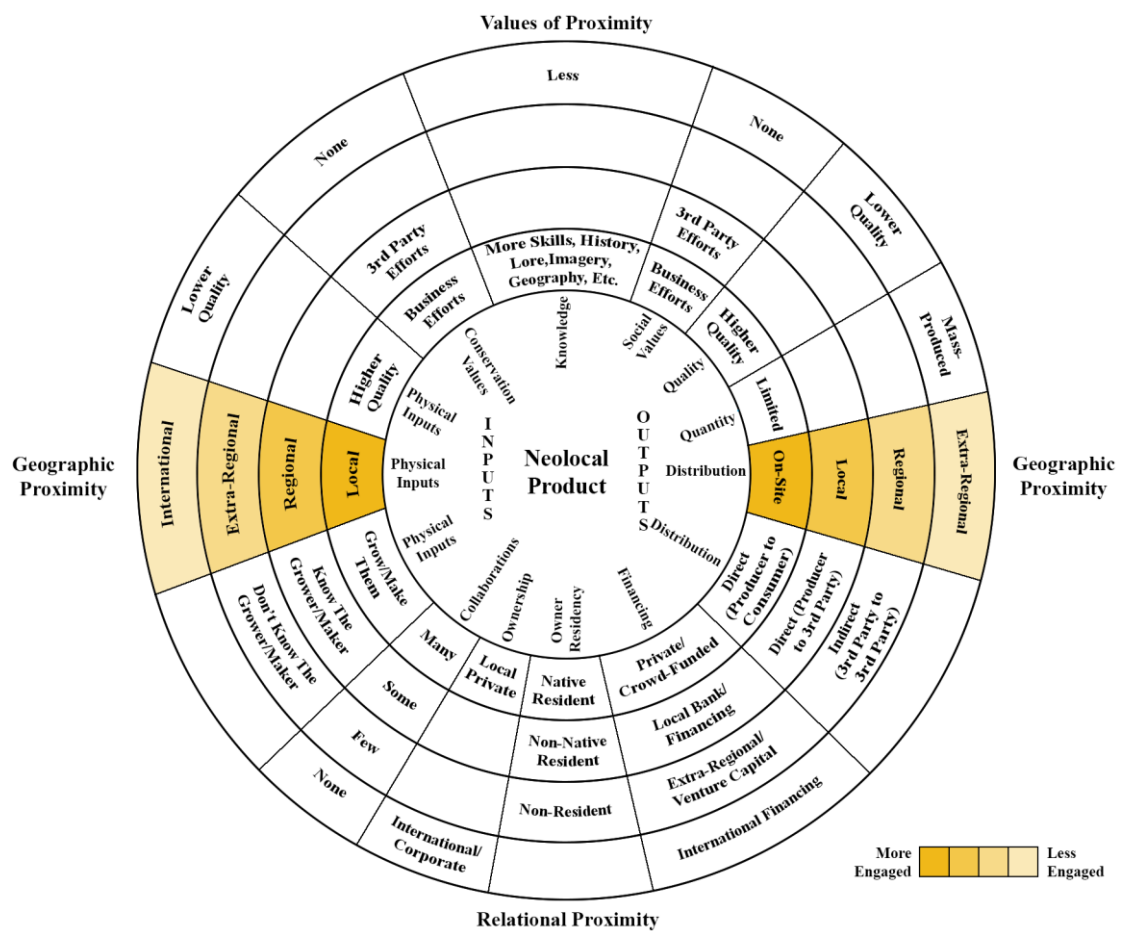


Figure 29. Geographic Proximity traits.

4.3.1.1. Local Ingredients

Cider in its pure form is 100 percent fermented apple juice. The importance of the source of the apple juice towards a cider being considered local is not lost on Texas' cider makers most of whom source the majority of their apple juice from the Pacific Northwest or the Northeast U.S. Four cider makers acknowledged that if you use only the geographic origin of their juice to determine what is local, they do not qualify or that their juice's origin detracts from their ability to label their cider as local.

As City Orchard's Patrick Kwiatkowski stated, "Apples are grown in all 50 states, but I think we would be hard pressed to call this a locally sourced product, especially if you're talking Houston where apples don't grow." John Staples at Fairweather Cider Company sources their juice from Oregon and feels similarly, saying, "You know, reading between the lines, we are, and we aren't [local]. ... I mean it would be a different question if people were growing apples in Texas."

Many of the cider makers stated that apples are not grown in Texas or their region, which is not entirely correct. More likely, they mean the types of apples or the quantity they need are not grown in Texas. Most cider producers are buying the juice of culinary apples that are not grown in large quantities in Texas. Benjamin Weaver of Moontower Cider Company, knowing something of the supply of apples in Texas, actually laughed when asked if he would use local apples if they were available:

[Laughs] I mean, sure, but they're just never going to be. This is a terrible climate for apples. ... You can grow them up in the [Texas] Panhandle, and there's at least one or two orchards up there. But to grow in an appreciable amount to get the juice at a cost that we can sell, I don't ever foresee that being an option.

Nonetheless, most cider makers expressed a willingness to source apples from Texas if the supply were there. Several of the cider makers interviewed have looked for apples in Texas but encountered multiple reasons local sourcing is not feasible. Lindsey Peebles at Texas Keeper Cider said she would love to source apples from Texas but explained:

It's hard to imagine because I have talked to a few [Texas] apple growers, but they make so much money off of just selling unpasteurized juice to their customers that they would want to charge me, I mean I can't remember. It was something insane, like \$8 a gallon. [laughs] ...And that's awesome for them. So the advantage we have over an applesauce maker like Mott's or something, they're paying pennies on the dollar, and we're paying a premium in comparison. But we can't compete with the direct-to-the-consumer kind of thing.

Argus Cidery has sourced some of his juice from Texas since the start of production in 2010. As the quantities are limited, Argus uses these Texas apples in their large format, aged ciders. Argus's owner, Wes Mickel, is on his third Texas apple provider and iterated it is financially difficult for a Texas orchard to supply juice for cider:

I actually had a conversation with him [his supplier in Canadian, TX] a couple of days ago about producing juice. ... 'Everyone's going to gouge you on pricing because if it's coming out of Washington is going to be as cheap as it gets. So if you can match that with freight, and get a little more per pound, it's possible.'

Mickel is also aware that customers often paid less attention to the physical source of the apples than to the geopolitical boundaries of their source area, considering Texas apples local but not those he sources from Arkansas:

I mean, it's fascinating. The apples we get from Arkansas were actually closer by mileage than the ones we were getting from Idalou [Texas]. And you know, it just always blew me away that you can call that, to some

people, you could call that ‘local.’ Whereas to others, they'd be like, ‘Well that’s Arkansas stuff.’ Even if you showed them a map and put pins down, but it happens all the time.

Moving from local to international, Austin Eastciders is also the only Texas cider maker interviewed that sources its primary ingredient globally. In the interview, Chris Lowrey identified the source of its bittersweet and bittersharp apples as Europe three separate times. Eastciders’ original Gold Top Cider was made with apples sourced from the United Kingdom, and it featured prominently in their marketing. However, Austin Eastciders’ no longer touts that information in marketing, and they are likely sourcing from another high-volume apple producing country, such as Turkey, that does not have the same geographic, culinary, or historical appeal as the U.K. The use of internationally sourced apples is yet another dividing line for many cider makers between craft and non-craft cider. However, the U.S. apple market is organized around culinary apples has not shifted production to meet the relatively new demand for cider apples (Frochtzwaig 2014).

With the case for geographically local apples all but dismissed, the case for other geographically-proximate ingredients is nearly universal. Every producer interviewed, except Permann’s, was using or planned to use local ingredients. With no standardized definition of what local is, each cidery used their own definition of local.

Chris Lowrey at Austin Eastciders acknowledged two separate definitions saying “...now at this point there's local-Austin, and there's local-Texas and all that.” Lowrey provided local ingredient sourcing that fell under each definition. For local-Texas, Lowrey said:

Our honey is Texas honey. That is from outside of Houston; it's called Texas Honey [Cider]. Then our Ruby Red Grapefruit [Cider]. We do get grapefruit juice from south Texas. (Figure 30)

For local-Austin Lowrey said:

We were actually able to partner with Springdale Farms, which shares the road with our taproom, and they were able to get us lots of rosemary to actually put into our pear-rosemary. We've done local partnerships. We worked with Cuvée Coffee and got cold brew from them. We worked with Juiceland and made a collaboration with them. So on the small batch side, we love to do local [-Austin] stuff.”

Houston Cider Company uses a neighborhood business to source local ingredients. Justin Engle explained:



Figure 30. Austin Eastciders local-Texas Texas Honey Cider featuring Texas honey and Ruby Red Grapefruit Cider featuring Texas grapefruit. Photo copyright Austin Eastciders.

We actually have a spice dealer here in The Heights. He's an importer-exporter, and we tasked him with a job: get us as local as possible. It is a challenge.

Houston Cider Company demonstrates not only a commitment to local ingredients but also a commitment to the local neighborhood and its businesses. Engle then explained

in detail the difficulty involved in attempting to source dried hibiscus flowers locally. Despite the fact that hibiscus grows well locally, in the southeast US, and the Caribbean, the primary supplier for culinary uses is Nigeria.

It was Patrick Spears of Locust Cider, who used his recent transplant status from Washington to describe some of the appeal of local Texas ingredients saying “That was part of the allure of coming down here as well as opening up an avenue to completely different fruits that, while Washington produces a lot and has a significant variety, it's just not the same.” For Spears, this meant using Texas chilies, pecans, and cactus fruit.

The most common locally sourced ingredient was honey, in use by eight cideries. Texas-sourced ingredients included apples, pears, peaches, honey, hops, wine, wine grapes, wine grape skins, wine grape juice, grapefruit, orange peel, lemon peel, figs, chilies, lavender, rosemary, bay, rosebuds, prickly pear, and pecans.

Interestingly, when asked about local ingredients, two cideries included their re-use of wine or distilling barrels from nearby producers. Lowrey at Austin Eastciders stated:

You know, we've done barrel aging where we use barrels from wineries out in the Hill Country and distilleries here in town, like Treaty Oak. ...This past year we've done a rum barrel aged. We've done a bourbon barrel aged. We did a red wine barrel aged. We've done a tequila barrel aged. That's four.

Argus Cidery produced cider in “rye barrels from a producer down the street,” then was surprised at the cider’s popularity:

It's crazy how much people like the rye-aged [cider]. They go, ‘It's whiskey? Okay, I'll buy it.’ Seriously? Okay. Sure.

Since the barrels impart flavor to the ciders, producers regard them as an ingredient. They also consider them local since their most recent use was by a nearby winery, brewery, or distillery, despite whatever the barrel's original origins.

Houston Cider Company, Hye Cider Company, Rohan Meadery, Texas Keeper Cider, and Trinity Cider Company all make an effort to source as close to their place of production as possible. Rohan Meadery, Texas Keeper Cider, and Hye Cider Company were producing or planned to produce some of their own ingredients, including pears, honey, and herbs. For these cideries, the connection to place was evident in their commitment to using local ingredients. As Trinity Cider phrased it, "And so not only do we want to be Texas sourced, we want to be as close to Deep Ellum sourced as possible." The use of geographically local ingredients in their ciders creates yet another neolocal connection to place that can be extended to the consumer.

There is no small amount of irony in arguing for the importance of locally sourced adjunct ingredients while dismissing or downplaying the geographic importance of the primary ingredient, without which you cannot have cider. So, if localness is not imbued by the geographic proximity of the cider's primary ingredient, can any other geographic trait overcome this hurdle in making a neolocal connection? Texas craft cider makers believe the on-site tasting room creates that local connection.

4.3.1.2. The Tasting Room – On-Site Distribution

The importance of the tasting room and on-site, direct to customer distribution to the craft cideries studied cannot be overstated. If the core of neolocalism is the active seeking out of connections to place, then the cidery tasting room at the site of production is the physical space that ties a consumer to the product/company and the

product/company to their local geographic place. The cidery and its products become a shorthand definition of a specific geography. After a tasting room visit, drinking a cidery's beverage brings the consumer back to their previous experience of place, embodied and cemented by their trip to the tasting room. For the producer, the tasting room provides the space for the numerous relational- and values-based proximity interactions that encompass a neolocal connection creating connections to place. It is very difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, to separate the physical geographic proximity of the tasting room from the relational- and values-based proximity interactions that occur there, but I shall endeavor to highlight some distinctions as made by the producers interviewed.

Of the twelve cideries studied, nine had or were planning tasting rooms and production facilities that shared the same building, if not the same room (Figures 23, 31). Austin Eastciders and Locust Cider both produced their canned products in separate locations and produced small batch, on-draft cider at their tasting rooms. Permann's did not have a tasting room and produced and packaged their cider in Oregon. As if to emphasize the perceived importance of tasting rooms, the owner of Moontower Cider had just sold his house to help finance the purchase of a tasting room and production facility. Starting in 2019, consumers can experience cider being made at eleven of the twelve cideries studied and purchase and consume cider at on-site tasting rooms.

Fairweather Cider's John Staples emphasized the personal consumer experience associated with a tasting room:

You just have to have a tasting room experience nowadays. I mean, you're just shooting yourself in the foot if you don't offer that. ...To me, and me as a consumer, the best experience to experience someone's product is in their tasting room. ...We're just trying to create the experience that we ourselves want. Your whole concept is predicated on having convinced

yourself that you are an earnest, discerning consumer so much so that you can throw out there and experienced what others are gravitat(ing) towards.

Staples believes the visit to the Fairweather's tasting room is a part of the individual consumer's identity and their belief that they are an "earnest" and "discerning" person willing to have new experiences. Wes Mickel at Argus Cidery also mentioned his desire for the tasting room to "give people an experience" and contrasted it with visiting a bar. People visit bars to have a drink. People visit Argus Cidery's tasting room to experience Argus in its place of production with the people that produce and appreciate it. It is an experience of product in place often by people who have previously discovered the product and now want to discover the place behind it. Argus's visitors drive past numerous other tasting experiences to get to the one they are specifically seeking:



Figure 31. Trinity Cider Company tasting room and production area.

Those people that come out are specifically looking for us. Like they're coming out to Argus. They're not coming out to hit up Jester King [Brewery], go to Trudy Oak [Distilling], go to Last Stand [Brewing Company] and stop by Argus. It's like, 'No, we came out here to see you guys,' which is fantastic. And so that's why it's like opening a bar versus having a tasting room.

Houston Cider Company's Justin Engle was also at a point where customers had already tried their products before they visited the tasting room and were now seeking a placed-based experience at the cidery:

We're kind of at the point that we don't get people who are new to our product on the cider side. On the cider side, we get the people that have had our cider somewhere, and then they look us up on Google and are like, "Oh, we can go there! This is actually really cool!"

Houston Cider Company then paired the consumer expectation with a comfortable, air-conditioned, homey environment; Engle said, "When we first opened, we got a lot of comments saying, 'Oh, this looks like I'm in my house,' or 'This looks very cozy and comfortable.'" Engle contrasted their tasting room experience to Houston's burgeoning craft brewing industry experience:

Because most of the times you just go and drink in a [brewery] warehouse, which during non-summer seasons are fine, but during summer seasons you're sweating in a production area drinking. And it's just not the greatest type of atmosphere to it.

Houston's City Orchard also felt the city's craft brewery experience was not the best and drew inspiration from California wineries to create a better tasting room experience:

You know, there's a lot of breweries in town and breweries have that, kind of, I don't know, I wouldn't say rustic charm. I would say kind of grungy charm. You know, picnic tables, no AC. We want to be a little fancier. We want to be like a vineyard, like a winery. Like a Napa-type thing, but not quite that over the top. I want it to be a place where you can take a girl on

a date. Or take a boy on a date and feel like, ‘Oh, this is a nice place.’ But at the same time, I want people to know they're in a production facility, right? I want them to see the tanks. I want them to smell it. I want to see people in working gear with hoses. So I want it to be that mix. And that's how we've designed it.

Kwiatkowski wants the cidery tasting room space to be a multi-sensory experience; taste, sight, sound, and smell should all confirm that craft cider is being made in the tasting space by real people with real ingredients.

Hye Cider contrasts itself with the ‘fancy’ wineries that are its close neighbors in the Texas Hill Country. Co-owner Cherry Graham’s outgoing rock and roll personality is reflected throughout Hye Cider’s physical space. Music paraphernalia adorns the walls and the fermenting takes are just behind the serving bar. Graham explained that they designed the cidery and tasting room to be informal and comfortable, like Hye itself:

We wanted to do something a little different than the wineries. You know, I love the wineries. You get to feel fancy in a winery. I don't want you to feel fancy here. We're a little greasy. We get some dirt under our nails, you know? ...You got to give people the opportunity to try it and see.

Being located on a rural farm, Rohan Meadery also provides a different experience of place than their urban counterparts. Wendy Rohan described the desired- and common-visitor experience:

Just to relax and appreciate the beautiful countryside and just kinda reconnect with the people they're with. Two things that I see when people come out, if they are coming out from the cities, which most of them are, is how long they stay. Just ‘cause they just get comfortable and just decompress. And then secondly, I don't see cell phones out unless people are taking pictures of animals. We have chickens running around or whatever. And so, I think it's just nice to come out and relax, reconnect and slow down a little bit. ...And this is our best sales place because this is where we tell our story. You know, this is who we are and what we're doing, and you can just see it all around you.

The rural farm setting provides visitors with a space conducive to disconnecting from technology, relaxing, and simply being in that place.

Texas Keeper Cider, located just south of Austin, still feels - for the time being - like a rural location. The area around it is fast developing, with a subdivision under construction across the street at the time of the interview. Perhaps it is their semi-rural setting, but Texas Keeper shares in the desire for visitors to experience their cidery as a place to slow down, relax, and de-stress. Peebles said:

I just want people to relax and not be stressed out. I mean, I spent a lot of time being stressed out, and I just don't want to feel like that. I don't really feel like it's anything we particularly did except maybe not try and change too much. But I feel like people come out here and they're in a good mood. It is very rare to get someone who's like a rude customer or anything like that. It's like they just come out here and slow down and they seem pretty happy.

Peebles also hopes their cidery and tasting room evokes connections to Austin.

Patrick Spears, being a native of Fort Worth, wants the tasting room to extend his native status to all who visit it. Spears wants visitors to:

...just to feel welcomed and comfortable and feel like a sense of familiarity with this place even though they've never been here before. We don't want to come in feeling like we're outsiders, because we are from Fort Worth. I've wanted to be back ever since I moved away and to be able to open up something like this is just a complete bonus. [I] want to be like a kind of neighborhood spot for people in this up and coming area.

Spears conveys his personal connection to Fort Worth, very clearly stating he is not an outsider and he does not want his visitors to feel like outsiders either, even if they have no previous connection to Fort Worth. The tasting room is meant to create connections, showing a potential awareness of the 'outsider' status associated with newcomers to a gentrifying neighborhood.

Austin Eastciders' tasting room is located in what is arguably one of the fastest gentrifying neighborhoods in Texas: East Austin. A 2017 study conducted by Realtor.com rated Austin as the tenth fastest gentrifying city in the country (Pan 2017). In the 1920s, Austin officially segregated the east side of Interstate 35 to African American and Latino residents. In the 1990's East Austin's inexpensive real estate and proximity to downtown created a perfect atmosphere for rapid gentrification displacing many minority residents. Austin Eastciders is one of the hundreds of businesses to take up residence in East Austin

Eastciders designed the tasting room space for the relaxation and entertainment of guests. When asked to describe The Collaboratory Eastciders' brand manager Lowrey said:

The idea is it is a space where we can kind of have fun. We can experiment. We can do a lot of interesting things. So, you know, that goes for the cider. And then it also goes in the programming and the things that we're doing over there. So, one night we'll have trivia, another night we have a comedy night. We're doing a bunch of different things over there. It's just kind of a fun public space over on the east side where people can come hang out, do something interesting, and have a cider. ...I mean, one of the biggest things of that space is we wanted it to just be very laid back, right? So, like it should be kind of a neighborhood community space where people can just stop in and have a cider.

Austin Eastciders wants to entertain guests and, if they interested, to educate them on cider as well. Trinity Cider Company in the Deep Ellum neighborhood of Dallas has also deliberately designed its tasting room to entertain – and specifically to entertain a millennial generation:

We want people to sit there and just think, 'This is a really cool, fun area.' It's designed to be more of a lounge bar. It's not going to be your traditional tasting room. Like you walk in, we've got the Edison bulbs. We've always got music going. We've got the subway tile in the back. So,

it's designed to be a lounge bar that serves craft cider. So hopefully the decorum coupled with the flavor and the style of cider will help produce the brand that we're looking for as we expand.

Unlike most of the cidery owners interviewed, those at Trinity Cider Company speak about the tasting room as part of the company's branding experience. Located in the carefully chosen geographic place of Deep Ellum, the tasting room is a physical space deliberately designed to complement the styles of cider produced to create a branded place attractive to millennial consumers. Deep Ellum is also experiencing gentrification, with long-time businesses and first wave gentrifiers being pushed out by increased rents and large-scale redevelopment.

It is worth noting no cidery owner expressed any resistance to their establishing a tasting room in their chosen location. Quite the opposite, most said they were warmly or enthusiastically greeted. Trinity reported, "We were welcomed with open arms," and Austin Eastciders spokesman said there was:

Not [any resistance] that I know of, and I think a lot of the reason why they're likely wasn't resistance was we were kind of always in that space. ... We really were one of the first folks over there because, when we first moved in, and granted, I wasn't there at the time, but even just talking with people, there wasn't a lot in that area. ... I don't think there's been any resistance. I haven't heard anything, at least.

Unlike Locust Cider, which is also located in a gentrifying space but claims that space as Fort Worth natives, Austin Eastciders' spokesman seems unaware of the potential negative impacts of their contribution to East Austin gentrification. The connections created at the Collaboratory is part of an East Austin claimed by a new generation of Austinites and visitors, with little regard for the area's history or the claims on it.

The lack of any noted resistance or negativity is all the more remarkable considering Austin Eastciders, Houston Cider Company, Locust Cider, and Trinity Cider are all located in or adjacent to neighborhoods experiencing gentrification. While the tasting room holds considerable value for the cideries, there appears to be a lack of awareness associated with businesses' contributions to gentrification and the potential for elitism and defensive localism associated with craft alcoholic products.

Through this sampling of Texas cider tasting rooms, we see a wide variety of intended producer experiences. The geographic proximity created through the direct, on-site distribution of product to the consumer in the tasting room is key to a successful neolocal experience. Each tasting room creates a unique geography pairing producer, consumer, product, and place.

4.3.2. Relational Proximity

The neolocal traits associated with relational proximity in Texas craft cider are many. Eriksen's (2013 p51) definition of relational proximity: "The direct relations between local actors (e.g. such as producers, distributors, retailers and consumers) reconnected through alternative production and distribution practices such as farmers markets, farm shops, cooperatives, box schemes, food networks, etc." has been expanded for cider production and distribution to include additional actors. The actors include physical inputs (ingredients), ownership, financing, distribution (tasting rooms, education, community space), collaborations, and the cider producer's place of residence (Figure 32).

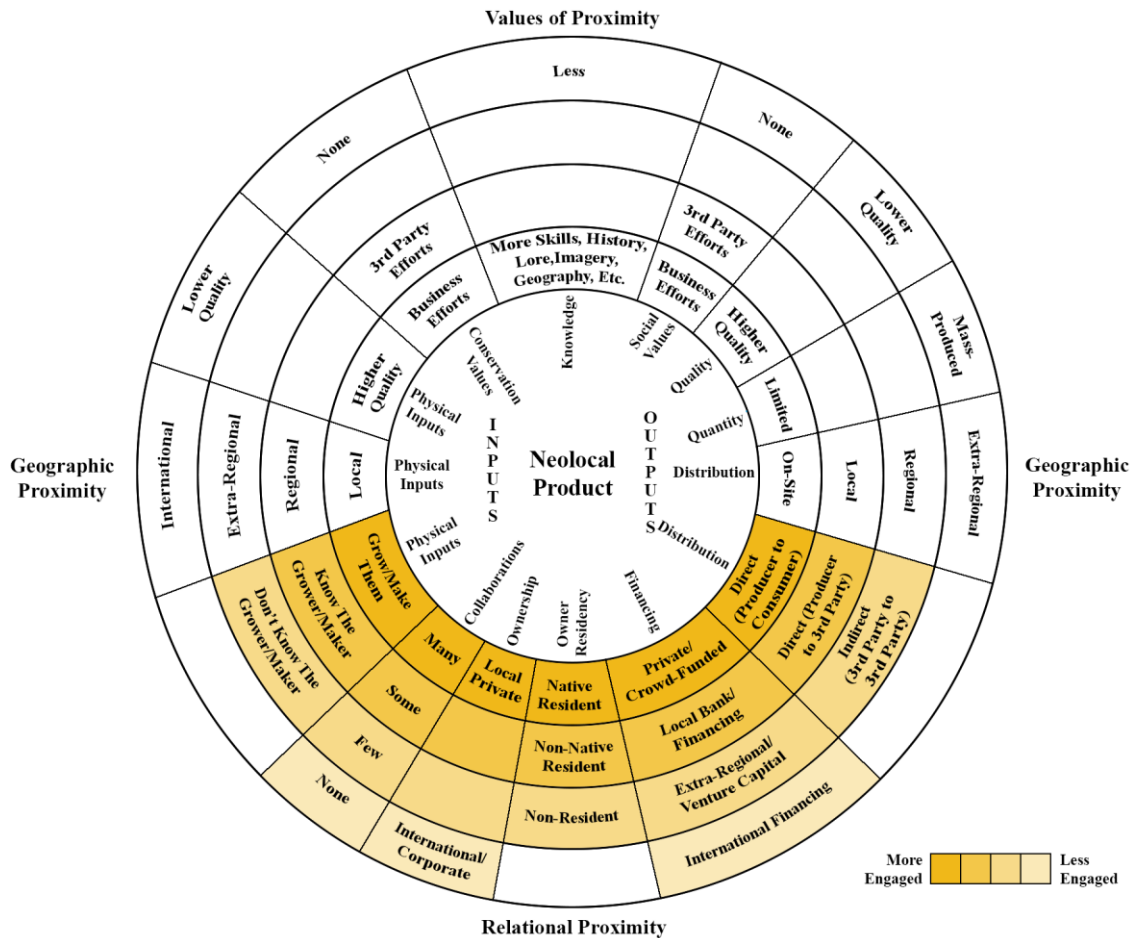


Figure 32. Relational Proximity traits.

4.3.2.1. Physical Inputs

One of the potentially most impactful relationships a cider producer has is that with the fruit and juice itself and its production and acquisition. Producers can either grow their fruit, purchase their juice from an individual grower, or purchase it on the open market from commercial packing houses/juicers or cooperatives. The majority of Texas cider producers do the latter and have no personal relationship with the producer of the juice they use. A small handful, however, have close relationships with those who supply their fruit.

Texas Keeper purchases their juice from one apple grower in New York whom co-owner Lindsey Peebles met on a cider maker's Internet forum, trying to sell his fruit.

Peeble's explained:

He posted that he had all these super cool apples and that he just had to move it. And I called him that night, and I was like, 'Yes, please!' So we flew up there, and he's a super nice guy. We have a really nice relationship with him. So that's been the guy we've stuck with. ...We really value that relationship, you know, and just knowing that if he has an interesting apple, he's going to tell us about it. That kind of thing. ...And then there's lots of people who want apples from him, so...

Not only did the relationship with their apple grower help get Texas Keeper Cider into production but they continue to solidify their relationship with annual visits to New York, inspecting the orchards and socializing. In turn, Texas Keeper's apple grower has kept them abreast of new apples he is growing while maintaining their relationship in the face of higher demand for his apples.

Argus Cidery purchases the juice for their large-format, aged ciders from two orchards in Texas and Arkansas. During our brief interview, we were not able to discuss the relationships at length, but it was clear that owner Wes Mickel had chosen the growers based partially on their "incredible growing practices." He later told a story about giving apple pricing advice to the Texas orchard owner, indicating a relationship of some personal familiarity and that the orchard owner's success was important to Mickel.

The only participating Texas cidery growing their own apples was City Orchard of Houston, Texas whose co-owner is a "third or fourth generation orchardist" in New York. Not yet in production, City Orchard plans to source from their orchard and their "friends who have an orchard down the street" if demand exceeds supply. Co-owner Patrick Kwiatkowski described the relationship:

And obviously, if you have an orchard, you have friends who have orchards. So we have a very strong connection to our product in New York state. Wayne County. It's the largest apple producing county outside of Washington state, I believe, in the nation.

Their direct relational value with the fruit and the growers is going to be featured prominently in City Orchard's operation:

"Since we do own orchards that's very important to us to let people know that we actually planted some of these trees ourselves. We're actually planting these apple trees. We're actually doing it. So we have to market that somehow."

As mentioned previously, even the City Orchard name is meant to convey their relationship with the main ingredient - apples. Moreover, having the closest relationship with the apples among Texas cider makers, it will be used to set them apart. Interestingly, Kwiatkowski was also aware of potential negative associations with New York, saying:

We just have to be careful to not be too Yankee, and not be too Texan. And that's a fine line to dance on, right?

The remainder of the cideries purchase their juice from suppliers and apple packing houses in the northwest U.S. The size of these companies vary from Hye Cider's previously mentioned "under, under, underdog," juicer to large businesses like BSG CraftBrewing and Milne. These relationships are less personal and more transactional.

4.3.2.2. Ownership, Financing, and Growth

Among the Texas craft cider makers interviewed almost all the cideries were started with personal financing, which often extended to a small group of investors, usually family and friends. The most common ownership model was two or three members holding the controlling interest in the company as a limited liability

corporation, with others holding smaller percentages. As companies grew, U.S. Small Business Administration loans were also used to expanded operations at a few cideries.

Private, local ownership can be associated with transparency. As a consumer, knowing the person serving you cider or delivering the kegs to your business is the owner verifies they have a stake in the success of the business and your satisfaction as a customer.

Texas Keeper Cider and Trinity Cider Company both used crowd-funding and their relationship with their customers to partially fund their operations. Crowd-funding converts consumers to supporters, creating a relationship in which an individual has a vested interest in helping a business succeed and feeling like they are a direct part of that success. Texas Keeper raised \$15,000 to fund their tasting room and also received a \$10,000 grant from the Austin Food and Wine Alliance, a local non-profit. Trinity Cider Company funded the majority of its operations with traditional bank loans but raised \$11,500 through Kickstarter:

[The Kickstarter Campaign] made sure we could, even though we're a small place doesn't mean we can't be world class. So it helps prevent us from not being able to put out what we think of [as] the best cider out there.

After shopping their idea around, Cherry Graham of Hye Cider found two “amazing” outside investors to finance the cidery. While not having absolute control, Graham said:

My investors, they really are like the angel investors because they're like, ‘I don't want to make cider. I don't want to work the tasting room. I don't want to impact your recipes. I don't want to do any of that.’ And I said, ‘Good because I don't want to know how to use Quickbooks. I don't want

to have to do social media. I don't want to have to respond to people.' It's perfect.

Austin Eastciders did not discuss ownership and financing during our interview, but public sources show they have received \$20 million in recent investments (Heiselberg 2018) from angel investors and venture capital firms which helped finance a 33,000 square foot production and administrative facility in southeast Austin in 2016 (Brewbound 2017). In terms of relational proximity, this places Austin Eastciders furthest away from local ownership and financing.

The size of the company can also be viewed in terms of relationships. Smaller companies have the potential to have a more direct relationship with their staff and customers. At many Texas cideries, an owner or cider maker is always on-site and even serving cider behind the bar. When asked about how big they would want their company to grow, some responded in terms of relationships. Wes Mickel at Argus specifically mentioned employees, saying:

I think our goal here is to say I have happy employees and keep our doors open. And that's enough work right there.

Justin Engle at Houston Cider Company focused more on his relationship with the Houston community:

I think the community aspect is the strongest aspect of what all we could be. Being Houston Cider Company, we have a lot of communities that we can participate in, which is why one of the ideas is to have like the multiple cider houses. Go through, like keep 'em small but keep 'em also very community-oriented, community-focused.

Even Patrick Spears at Locust Cider, who wants to expand beyond its four tasting rooms and sees no limits to their growth, imagines its expansion in a way that is focused on relationships:

I don't think there's even a cap on that [growth]. I mean, [laughs] we'd like to expand and grow as much as we can. ...I would rather have local tap rooms in order to kickstart or support distribution. I wouldn't want to go somewhere and just be a faceless brand or a soulless brand. I'd want to expand somewhere where people can actually interact with someone with the company and try something direct from the source.

Without community relationships and connections, Spears believes a brand is soulless.

4.3.2.3. Tasting Rooms, Education, and Community Space

As mentioned by both Engle and Spears, the place where relational proximity is the closest is in the tasting room. The direct distribution of product within the tasting room creates space for a wide variety of interactions including education, relaxation, exclusivity, and creating community space. As John Staples of Fairweather Cider Company explained it, the tasting room gives the cider maker the opportunity to be “intentional.” In that place, a cider maker has the greatest control of their product and the relationship they build between themselves and the consumer. Austin Eastciders, Houston Cider Company, Rohan Meadery, and Texas Keeper Cider all mentioned wanting to create a place where visitors can relax, disconnect from technology, and connect with people over a drink.

Being a relatively new U.S. consumer product, but one with historical roots, cider makers know creating an educated cider consumer is in their best interest. While only Austin Eastciders employs a professional sommelier in their tasting room, most cideries studied consider educating visitors a vital and enjoyable customer interaction. As City

Orchard's Patrick Kwiatkowski put it, "[Texas cider makers] all have a stake in educating the public about the different types of cider." When asked about the Locust Cider tasting room experience, Jason Spears does not hesitate to educate, "First and foremost, [I] want them to learn something." Moreover, that learning almost always involves creating a relationship with the customer, and it occurs so often Spears knows one common script by heart:

A guy and a girl come in. She is kind of like an every now and then cider drinker. He's a beer drinker. He's very apprehensive at first. He's like, 'It's all gonna be sweet.' 'Well, do the fly [flight].' That's what I always recommend to people who've been in for the first time. 'Do the flight. You can choose whatever you want. There's no set limit to it. You can just keep trying stuff.' And without fail there's always at least one cider that someone is left really enjoying after they've come in.

Houston Cider Company's bar staff is the front line of education for tasting room visitors:

Our bartenders are very well-versed, and so the bartenders are more apt to talk to the customers, and the customers actually learn quite a bit about our process, about the product.

Creating community space is a theme that recurred in several interviews, none more so than at Houston Cider Company. As previously mentioned, Houston's first production cidery is located in one of Houston's oldest neighborhoods, Houston Heights. Houston Cider Company's co-owner Justin Engle lives in the Heights community, and his cidery and brewery are actively involved in supporting community causes through product and monetary donations and hosting numerous community events. When asked why they are so involved, Engle said:

It just shows that we care about the community. It goes back into the old sense of what like breweries - and I don't know about cider houses for the

most part, but I'm going to throw them into the same category - but particularly the community breweries are always a good source of local information.

Engle sees his brewery as a vital part of the fabric of the Houston Heights community, and importantly, his community.

Hye Cider's rural setting allows for interactions with the cider makers themselves connecting people, process, product, and place. Cherry Graham described the tasting room experience in terms of relationships:

I mean, I think that's one of the important parts of the tasting room is you get to see the people that make it. You could see their personalities; you know? ...Like we want groups to commingle, we want people to talk to each other. We've got kind of separated seating because of limited space, but I want everyone to sit together on a bench and get to know each other.

4.3.2.4. Collaborations

Collaborations require active cooperation between two usually unrelated entities. Research in craft beer indicated a spirit of coopetition among brewers, with breweries collaborating on unique efforts (Lewis, Hornyak, and Pouder 2017; Myles and Breen 2018). Similar alcohol-based collaborations were found among Texas cider makers, but they also included a more diverse set of actors. Cider makers, thanks to the diversity of the product they produce and their potential place within the local food movement, have a wide variety of collaborations in which they can choose to participate.

City Orchard, Houston Cider Company, Locust Cider, Moontower Cider Company, and Rohan Meadery were exploring or participating in more traditional cider and food-based collaborations with breweries, distilleries, bartenders, and chefs. City Orchard's Patrick Kwiatkowski's accounting is similar to other cider makers interviewed:

I want to collaborate with other brewers, too. There's others that are very keen to work with us to make a beer-cider product. We could make graff, for example; half-wort, half-fresh cider. We will also probably end up having a distiller's license, and then we'll work with local distilleries as well. So, there's lots we can do that are actually directly linked to our product, but also then the food and prepared food, but also bakery. Cheese people. You know, those are the fun things to talk about.

Houston Cider Company's collaboration with chefs was also similar to other chef pairings mentioned by Rohan Meadery:

We have a lot of chefs that come through here, and we're actually planning in November a seven deadly sins dinner. It's seven courses. ...The chef that's planning it has already put his finger on a couple of dishes that he wants paired with our ciders. ...He wants a particular acidity level as well as base to it. So it's just trying to see if we can get that small batch done for him in time to get that cider particularly paired for his dish.

As mentioned previously, Lindsey Peebles expressed a sense of collaboration in everything Texas Keeper Cider does. They have participated in traditional collaborations with local craft beer brewers:

So, we did a collaboration a couple of years in a row with Blue Owl [Brewing], it's called Co-op Curiouser. And then before that, we did one with ABGB [Brewing] called Co-op Saisonniers.

However, their collaborations go well beyond brewers:

I mean, it's hard to answer these [questions about collaborations] because I feel like that's almost everything we do. It feels like it's a collaboration in some form. ...So the Honey Fest is a good example, because I'm co-hosting it with Two Hives [Honey], and then we have like 15 vendors, and they're all local businesses and then we're donating the ticket proceeds to AFWA - Austin Food and Wine Alliance - and that will fund a grant this year. Last year it was a different thing. I guess I just kind of naturally think like whenever we're thinking of an event, I'm like, 'Oh, well, who can I bring in that I want to work with or that I hear about?'

Moving beyond cider and even local food, Peebles sought out independent artists, businesses, and non-profits that she felt held a similar relationship with the community.

Trinity Cider Company described their partnerships with a local fitness group as a collaboration:

We've already done some collaborations with a health and fitness group because we have a couple of ciders that are sugar-free. So, the health and fitness community is starting to gravitate towards us because they still want to go out to eat and drink, but they want to stay away from the beers or the really sugary ciders that are like 99 percent of all ciders out there. They don't want to do mixed drinks, either. So, if you can get a smooth sugar free cider, they're all in on it.

While this is certainly not a traditional collaboration, both parties feel they benefit from the relationship, each supporting the other's needs.

Austin Eastciders named their tasting room The Collaboratory, which is a conjunction of collaborative laboratory, to emphasize the collaborative nature of the space. The tasting room hosts a wide variety of events, and it serves as a multipurpose space for personal and community collaborations and interactions. Eastciders' produces its small-run local ciders here that are often the product of local business collaborations. One of the more interesting collaborations described by Chris Lowrey was Austin Eastciders use of East Austin artists to create the packaging artwork for their new limited edition Maker's Stash cider series:

That kind of creative spirit of the east side of Austin is what drives a lot of what we do. So, we thought it'd be cool to actually work with an artist who's on the east side to actually make one of our cans. We had the flavor made. We had the concept, everything like that. We said, 'How would you describe this flavor?' So she got to taste it and said, 'Hey! Lemon ginger.' 'How would you draw it out?' She was like, 'You know, the citrusy of the lemon. Then you have the pow of the ginger,' and I think that really came to life nicely on the can. So that was really cool, and I think for all of our Makers Stash line we're going to try to work with local artists as much as possible to actually do the can artwork and really just kind of let them run with it and have fun.

Fairweather Cider Company also mentioned the collaborative nature of their relationship with the artist who designs their packaging (Figure 25) and how their finished product is part of their intentional communication with the public:

And so there's a really hyper-connected relationship there with the artwork and my personal history with [artist] Paul Wyndell. And so just with our relationship, it's very easy to communicate an aesthetic and a beverage and what I want a consumer to feel.

These relationships go beyond a simple agreement between complementary businesses to support each other. They extend to viewing any participant in the production, distribution, or consumption process or other unrelated business having similar values or relationships with their clients residing in the local community to be a potential partner and collaborator.

4.3.2.5. Place of Residence

The dedication and loyalty that Texas cider makers have to their community, whether adopted or native-born, rural or urban, was expressed throughout the interviews. A cider maker's relationship with their place of residence and how they represent it through their cidery is important to them. It was often stated plainly and directly as in the case of Fairweather's John Staples' feelings toward Austin: "This is where we've been living. This is where we want to continue to be." Benjamin Weaver of Moontower Cider, who moved to Austin for graduate school, was more specific about his relationship to Austin:

I've always lived in, you know, from day one I've lived in East Austin and lived and worked and gone to school, not in East Austin, but right there [points to a neighborhood adjoining the East Austin coffee house we are meeting at]. And so it's always been kind of my universe in Austin.

As previously mentioned, Weaver was unwilling to move his cidery to any other part of Austin even though it would be much more affordable. Founded by another non-native Austinite, Austin Eastciders still takes its relationship with the city seriously according to Brand Manager Chris Lowrey:

This city continues to drive pretty much everything we do. I mentioned we are in 14 different states now, but at the end of the day, Austin is, that's the most important to us. We are not going to make any decision that would like estrange Austin or anything like that. That's still what drives us.

The only cider makers originally from Austin, Lindsey Peebles and her two partners in Texas Keeper Cider make their native claim to Austin on the label of every bottle: "Texas Keeper was started in 2013 by a group of longtime friends born and raised in Austin." The first line of their story solidifies their relationship to Austin.

Another native-born Texan, Locust Cider's Patrick Spears, felt it is an advantage to his Fort Worth location and noted a sense of community support not present at his Washington cidery locations:

We [he and his co-owner brother] were born here, so that's another leg up we have on anybody that might be transplanted here. ...So we don't want to come in feeling like we're outsiders, because we are from Fort Worth.

Houston is a city of new arrivals and City Orchard's Patrick Kwiatkowski, and the company co-owner are both from the northern U.S. but claim Houston as their own:

My partner is almost in the same situation [as me]. He's from New York State, and he's lived down here for over 15 years. So we're both transplants, right? Yeah. My daughter was born here. My son was raised here. I feel like I'm just as Houstonian as the next person. And that's kind of the Houston way. It's like anybody can do anything here if they put their mind to it.

Claims of belonging and connection were also common at Texas' rural cideries. After living in Houston for almost a decade, Wendy Rohan and her husband started looking for land in the country. They settled on La Grange after driving through the area while evacuating for a hurricane. Wendy said:

I'd really not spent any time here [La Grange] and just fell in love with this area. Just fell in love with the slight rolling hills and little less humidity but still green enough to grow stuff. Soil to grow stuff.

Additionally, her husband's family connection to La Grange goes back over a century:

So his great, great grandfather came over from Moravia in the 1880s and settled in High Hill just south of here. My husband has an aunt in town and cousins in town that are Rohans. So people knew the name when we moved here. ...We fit in really well. We're very involved in the community. ...So we do the annual wine fest. We do the annual Schmeckenfest, which is a wassail tasting. Very involved.

Another rural Texas location inspired Cherry Graham of Hye Cider to flee Austin for the Hill County and the tiny town of Hye:

So I knew that we had to get out here. We had to get out to the country. So we would have done it wherever we could, but we wouldn't have done it anywhere but Hye.

Hye is much of a younger group, more movers and shakers doing things their own way, being a little funky, going against the norm, working their asses off. And that's what I see about Hye. And everyone who's here, they're all in it for each other. We're all here to help each other out. You'll never find a winery in Hye that says, 'Oh, don't go to that other winery in Hye.' It's just a really good community, and it's vibrant.

All of these cider makers, whether natives or transplants, have a meaningful and dynamic relationship with the community in which they chose to open their cidery and in which they reside. That relationship strongly influences how their product and its place of production and consumption are conceived and presented to the public.

4.3.3. Values of Proximity

Eriksen's (2013 p51) research into values of proximity identified a wide variety of non-monetary attributes described as "The different values (e.g. place of origin, traceability, authentic, freshness, quality, etc.) that different actors attribute to local food," and the (p53) "positive associations, symbolic or qualitative meanings of local food." Many of the same social credence attributes and values were identified in craft beer research. Applied to Texas craft cider, there was significant overlap of values including supporting social causes through community involvement' conservation efforts, cider maker's knowledge, and creating unique and high-quality products. Additionally, there were values of proximity associated only with cider making including input quality using single-strength apple juice and heirloom and cider apples (Figure 33).

4.3.3.1. Single-Strength Apple Juice

The value that appeared to hold the greatest importance to Texas craft cider makers was that of using high-quality, single-strength, one-hundred percent pure apple juice, not from concentrate. Cider makers usually paired this with the refusal to use non-fruit juice based adjunct sugars, such as white or brown sugar or corn syrup if back sweetening their cider, the process of adding sweeteners after fermentation. Every craft cider maker interviewed that used single-strength apple juice pointed to it as a defining value and quality of their cider. Pure juice is also much more expensive than using apple juice concentrate as is using fruit juice based sugars. Conversely, craft cider makers viewed apple juice concentrate use as a move away from high-quality craft cider and a change to the personal values behind the product. John Staples at Fairweather Cider called it an ethical choice:

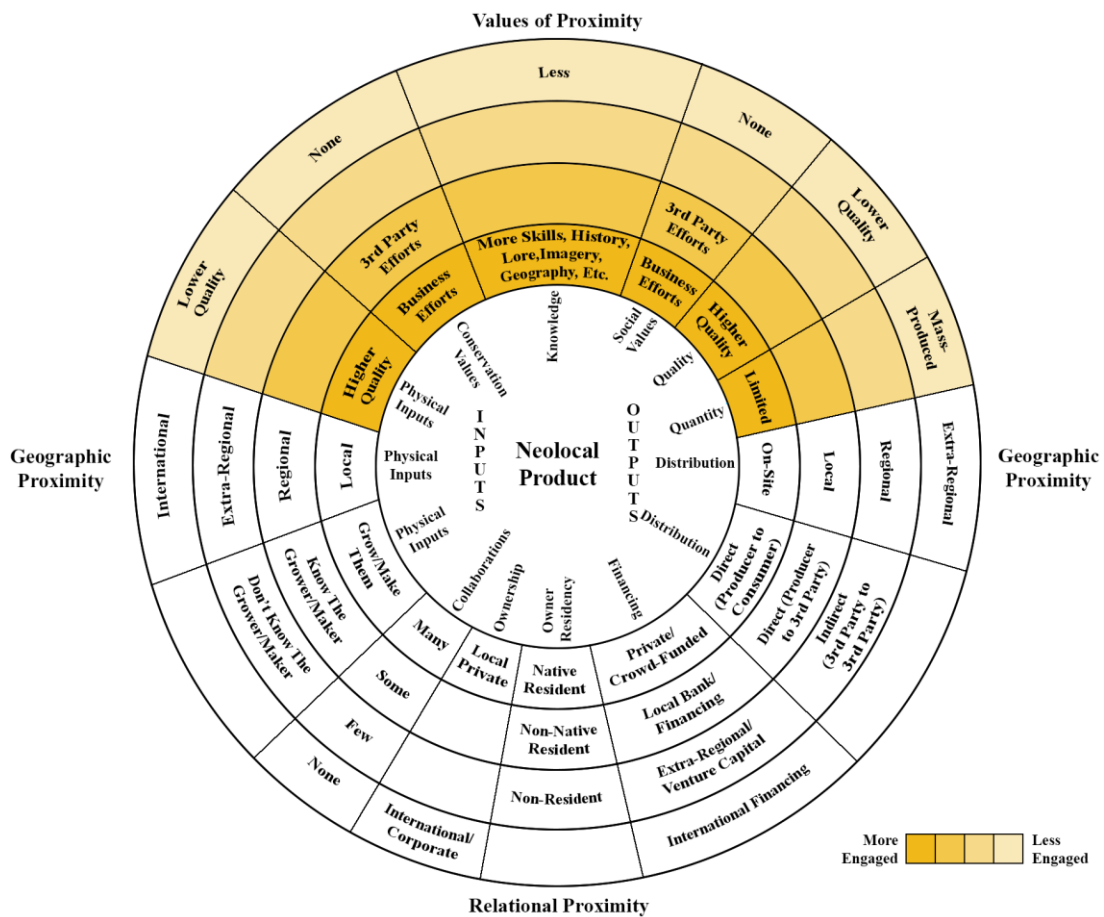


Figure 33. Values of Proximity traits.

We've never, nor will we ever, make our cider from concentrate because that's just a whole other can of worms where we've drawn like an ethical line.

Houston Cider Company advertises their use of pure apple juice and no adjunct sugars, knowing it is important to them and their target customers:

So our ciders, we take the line 'No B.S.' So, we don't use any adjunct sugars in it, and we back sweeten with actual apple juice or other fruit juices. I mean, one of the things that we're trying to really convey is that we have nothing to hide on what we're using, what we're adding.

Wes Mickel at Argus Cidery also acknowledged the same point, and points out the expense entailed:

Our commodities are extremely expensive because we do 100 percent fruit, whereas most commercial producers will be cutting it somehow with a different sugar than that derived from apples.

Argus' canned products have both a narrative and ingredient list that informs consumers of what they are and are not getting:

Apple Bomb. Ciderkin's big brother, Apple Bomb is our full-bodied, pub-style cider with traditional apple profiles that balance the Bomb's high gravity. Our Apple Bomb is unpasteurized, free of back sweetening and added sugars. [The can then lists] 100% Apples. No sugar added. Naturally gluten-free.

As noted previously, Argus Cidery uses both single-strength juice from Washington and single-strength single-varietal juice sourced from two orchards in Texas and Arkansas. Working with local orchards adds additional values of proximity not available to other Texas cideries. Justin Engle of Houston Cider Company is originally from Pennsylvania apple country and recognizes the value of unique, high-quality fruit that he does not yet have access to:

We'd like to get to the point that we can get some more single varieties and kind of more of the crafty-type varieties. Something different, something unique. ...And so it's probably about two to three years we'll be able to start sourcing from different orchards. Just some single varieties from the Great Lakes and New England area.

City Orchard's tagline is "Real apples. Real cider." and co-owner Patrick Kwiatkowski wants to emphasize that fact:

We also are reminding people that we're actually using one-hundred percent apple juice. We're not using concentrate. We're not using anything but natural juice selected from, in part, our own orchard, and our friends who have orchards down the street.

Owning an orchard, City Orchard can not only source single-strength apple juice, but also they can choose what apple trees to plant. City Orchard has values of proximity

accessible only through apple orchard ownership including fruit quality, unique varieties, and environmental stewardship. They recognize these values are worth advertising:

But since we do own orchards that's very important to us to let people know that we actually planted some of these trees ourselves. ... We use a lot of northern spy, for example, which is a widely grown apple. But is a good cider apple. We're also planting thousands of cider apple trees. We're planting things like Dabannette, Ashmead's Kernel. We're planting a lot of Golden Russet, which is a native cider apple that was used pre-prohibition. And of course we're experimenting with, I don't know, I think he's got like twenty different varieties in the ground right now.

Benjamin Weaver of Moontower Cider tied the use of single-strength juice to the skill of craft:

We're using single-strength apple juice to make our cider. I think as long as you are using real apple juice to make your cider, I think you can legitimately call yourself craft cider.

When pressed on why the use of apple juice concentrate is not craft, which implies it does not have the same values of proximity, either of quality or of skill, Weaver replied:

You can make decent cider with concentrate. I'm not saying that you can't, it's just that generally people don't. [Laughs] It's like once you've made the decision to make apple cider with concentrate it's a different concept. You're conceiving of the whole thing a little bit differently and your, yeah, your motivation is...

Benjamin Weaver let the thought trail off, and let me provide my own conclusion: that it is lesser. This is a common sentiment among the Texas craft cider makers interviewed and their regard of concentrate whose use is a value on which they are unwilling to compromise. Furness and Myles (2019) recorded a similar sentiment from small scale craft cider producers in Herefordshire, England reacting to comment that large scale cider production was the “right way” to make cider, saying “Well, [their

process] is not honest. When I talk about difference, what I'm really talking about is honesty. What you see on that label is what you're getting..." The values of industrial cider are not the same as those of craft.

John Staples points out that deception is often involved in the marketing of cider made with apple juice concentrate that helps it earn its lesser value:

Mass-market cider is predominantly made from apple concentrate and they have craftier ways of labeling it on labels now, like the first ingredient is 'hard apple cider' and then 'water' [laughs]. So, you know, there are ways to get around that, to not have to use the word 'concentrate' on a can.

Framed as a values-based decision, Cherry Graham was more philosophical in her assessment of mass-market cider:

Somebody loved that cider at some point. That's the way I feel about it. You know, I credit every cider maker that's ever come before us because I wouldn't be here if it weren't for them. So, I don't know if there's as much love behind it as there once was. There's probably a lot more machines than hearts, but there was love behind it at one point. Otherwise, it wouldn't be where it is.

Austin Eastciders, the state's largest cider maker, does not hide the fact it uses concentrate in its cider. From its website (Austin Eastciders 2019):

Some cideries feel the need to hide the fact their juice comes from concentrate. Not us. Importing juice lets us use the best apples, reduces our footprint, and keeps unnecessary preservatives out of our process.

Chris Lowrey, Eastciders' spokesman, provided a similar explanation focused on the quality of the fruit that is a bittersweet, bittersharp cider apple blend:

So, you know, we've never shied away from saying that we use concentrate because we're proud of the fact that we are getting the best apples from Europe.

Austin Eastciders aims this message at their national competitors, all of whom are using apple juice concentrate, but perhaps not being as forthright about it, as John Staples has already noted. However, a can of Austin Eastciders Texas Honey Cider ingredients list fails to mention apple juice concentrate; instead, it lists “hard apple cider, filtered water, honey, sugar, brown sugar, malic acid, sulfites to preserve freshness and carbon dioxide.”

4.3.3.2. Heirloom and Cider Apples

Another value related to apples was the use of heirloom varieties and true cider apples. While there is no strict definition of heirloom apples, the popular consensus is any apple variety developed before 1945 is considered heirloom. Cider apples are apple varieties grown with high levels of acid, tannins, or sugar that impart flavor to cider. Most cider made in the U.S. and Texas is produced from a blend of culinary apples. Texas craft cider makers are producing outstanding cider with culinary apples, and Lindsey Peebles of Texas Keeper Cider explained why she cautions people not to be hung up on the use of culinary apples:

And like so Gold Rush. We do a single varietal of gold rush [apples], and that's not a cider apple, but it just happens to make a good cider. So like that word, like it could be a dessert apple, but if it has the right acidity and stuff, then it might make a good cider. I mean I think you could probably make a good cider from, if you treat it right, from a gala [apple].

Benjamin Weaver at Moontower described a process mentioned by a couple of the cider makers interviewed who went into the details of cider making using the culinary juice blends available:

The two things that far and away - again, when you're only using dessert fruit, culinary fruit - it's acid and sugar content. Those are the two things that really matter. And so as long as you're maintaining that or adjusting

for that somehow. So I shoot for a particular benchmark, a certain pH and as long as you have [apple] varieties that are on both sides of that, you can blend in something. It's usually like five or six different apples. Also, unlike most wines, cider tends to benefit from complexity, from different varieties.

Despite the ubiquity and acceptance of culinary fruit, cider makers with access to heirloom and cider varieties were using them. In the case of Moontower, Weaver uses a classic cider apple, Dabinett, in their flagship semi-dry cider. Argus Cidery, Texas Keeper Cider, and Locust Cider all produce heirloom blends or single varietals in large format or limited edition ciders. Hye Cider Company, Fairweather Cider, Moontower Cider Company, and Rohan Meadery all had plans to acquire heirloom apples shortly, and in the case of Rohan Meadery, heirloom pears. City Orchard, whose co-owner is a “third or fourth generation orchardist” has planted thousands of cider apple trees and over twenty varieties.

Multiple cidery owners interviewed said their base juice was a cider apple juice or a cider and culinary juice blend, but Wes Mickel, owner of Argus Cidery, the state’s oldest cidery, believed they might be misinformed:

It's all culinary. Anyone that says they can get... [pauses and shakes his head] is just completely full of shit. It's like, ‘All right. Okay. How much are you paying per pound? All right.’

As most Texas cider makers buy their juice blends from large packing houses or brewing suppliers, they have no way to confirm what they are receiving independently and must rely on the integrity of the supplier.

4.3.3.3. Social Causes

Support for social causes was universal among Texas craft cider makers. Cidery owners reported that solicitations for support were frequent, and usually fulfilled. Most cideries supported a wide variety of causes based on personal interests. Many prefer to offer their support to local organizations within their community. John Staples of Fairweather Cider said:

I get hit up for donations all the time, and I try to help out everyone that I can. I just try to make it a diverse offering. Independent arts are always going to be an easy sell, and that's what I do a lot of donations to. So just local artists, local businesses. We're supporting Salvage Vanguard Theater for the fall season. It would be a goddamn shame if such a creative city didn't have a thriving independent theater scene, you know, from a cultural standpoint?

As mentioned previously, Houston Cider Company actively engages community social causes. They support organizations and causes both large and small such as Houston Heights' five neighborhoods civic organizations, the Northside Management District, First Saturday Arts Market, local parent-teacher associations/organizations (PTA/PTO), and even their local fire station. Justin Engle described some of their efforts:

Most of the time the organizations just ask us to provide small funds, usually \$50 to \$100 once a year for just printing of their neighborhood magazines that go out. Multiple tablets or pages that go out like once a month of just doing community happenings and what's going on. And they just give us a little tiny ad section blurb. It's like, 'Okay, that's cool.' But some more of the bigger events, we've been hosting a lot of PTA groups, parent-teacher association groups for elementary and the middle schools. ... We've been getting a lot of like PTO fundraisers here. They'll sell drink tickets. And then the proceeds from the drinks go to their cause.

Through the course of the interview, it becomes clear Engle is not only supportive, but is very well informed, knowing the history, city politics, and funding issues behind the causes Houston Cider Company supports. This informed involvement

goes well beyond offering a case of cider to any non-profit that asks and likely deeply embeds Houston Cider Company in their local community.

As previously mentioned, Texas Keeper Cider is very involved in its local community, supporting a wide variety of collaborations with like-minded civic organizations and businesses. Many of these events also involved social and charitable causes. Lindsey Peebles described a recent series of events Texas Keeper hosted:

Well, so for a while we were doing these Chix Brunches with [Chef] Deepa [Shridhar], and each time we would do it we would support a local, generally female-oriented nonprofit. The Chix Brunches were born out of Trump getting elected and just wanting to feel like we were doing something.

Supporting social causes is not restricted to urban areas, and Cherry Graham described an event she is planning at Hye Cider:

We're going to be doing a run for cider out here. We're going to have a couple of other wineries. We don't have dates. It's still in its infancy planning stage, but we want to help to build the historic aspect of Hye and help raise funds for that. We always are volunteering to the fire department and the Albert Community Club and things like that. Albert's right over there. It's a population of zero, so we keep the historic aspects of it.

At the time of the interview, Hye Cider had been open five months and had a staff of three. Volunteering time to plan fundraising events is a significant undertaking and shows commitment to their community. Rohan Meadery located on a farm north of La Grange also supports social causes in its rural community. Wendy Rohan:

You know like this is gift basket season. So you know, everybody's doing a fundraiser for something. Like somebody just contacted me from a Conroe preschool. So we say yes to most of those. So we do school fundraisers, community events, other fundraising events. We do a lot of stuff like that because La Grange is very active with a lot of things like that.

Locust Cider was the only cidery to focus its social efforts on a national rather than local issue; raising awareness and funding for the Hydrocephalus Association. The founder's daughter suffers from this rare condition. The cidery has created The Swarm Locust Cider Club, which offers member perks, member-only parties, and "Exclusive access to limited edition ciders not available to the public" (Locust Cider 2019). Twenty-five dollars of the annual \$125 fee goes to the Hydrocephalus Foundation with the balance going towards product packaging stating "a donation is made for every purchase, raising even more money for research" (Locust Cider 2019). The Swarm not only creates exclusivity and connection to members but also educates customers to Locust's social cause. Although not local, it shows strong value-based decisions likely respected and admired by their target audience.

Austin Eastciders is using its substantial financial and human resources to donate and contribute to a variety of social causes, both locally and across Texas. Chris Lowrey detailed some projects Eastciders had undertaken recently:

One week in December, basically our operation shut down, and we all go and volunteer. ...So we always try to make sure that people are actually getting out in the community and doing stuff. Stuff that makes sense and that we care about. So I've mentioned operation Blue Santa. We did like a Christmas in July party actually at our taproom, and we gave a lot of the proceeds to Operation Blue Santa from that, which is really cool.

We also have an arts and craft program. ...We are giving one-time grants to organizations that are in that arts and craft space that we think are doing some really cool work and that we want to get involved in. ...We also took this to some of our other bigger cities. So we did something in Dallas, down in San Antonio, in Houston.

We're a small company, but we wanted to have basically a program carved out where we make sure that we're giving back to the communities that we serve.

These programs are in addition to the weekly donations of cider and swag requested by local non-profits. Aside from their name, the social spirit demonstrated at Austin Eastciders is perhaps their strongest neolocal characteristic.

4.3.3.4. Conservation Efforts

A common value associated with local food and craft beer is that of conservation efforts. A number of Texas craft cider makers spoke of their involvement with promoting conservation through their cidery. Fairweather Cider and Texas Keeper Cider both contributed to local conservation non-profits.

Other cideries have involvement that is more direct in their conservation efforts. Wendy Rohan manages Rohan Meadery that is located on her Blissful Folly Farm. The farm produces some ingredients for their mead, wine, and cider including honey, grapes, herbs, and pears. Wendy Rohan spoke about their conservation efforts on the farm:

We're still in the process, you know, ten years on bringing this farm back to health. So it was cattle when we bought it, and it wasn't terribly managed, but it was a bit overgrazed and compacted. Before cattle, it was cotton, which is horrible. And hay. So we're just slowly replenishing what's there. We're very particular about when we mow, what areas we mow. We leave all the natural vegetation in, of course flowers, to grow a lot of the time. For fertilizer, we use fish emulsion, and then we also introduce beneficial microbials at least twice a year. So just trying to build that soil health back up. And it's coming along. I mean it's getting there. ...We're not a certified organic farm. ...But we use total organic practices.

As mentioned previously, Houston's City Orchard owns an apple orchard in New York and has close connections to other apple orchards. Patrick Kwiatkowski said they are planting thousands of heirloom cider apple trees: "I think the closest thing we could be doing when it comes to conservation is to repopulate America's orchards with cider apples," noting it is a generational effort.

Houston Cider Company's Justin Engle implemented conservation practices throughout the company. Digital relays, high thermostat set points, and the use of natural gas help decrease their energy consumption. Metal building materials decrease the use of cleaning products. Using Truegrid instead of concrete or pavement increases groundwater infiltration. Even their sales and delivery fleet was chosen based on efficiency.

Our delivery van, it's a diesel, but it averages about 26 miles to the gallon on diesel. And then we'll have our sales vehicles. We have a Prius. It's an older Prius, but if I drive it, I can get about 54 miles to the gallon out of it. If one of our delivery drivers drives it, he's like 42 [laughs]. Then our other two vehicles; one's a Honda Fit, and the other one's a small Kia. We looked at high-efficiency vehicles because our sales guys, it probably wouldn't surprise me if they were running like 500-600 miles a week just in the inner loop. But we just wanted something very fuel efficient.

When asked why he implemented so many conservation efforts, Engle said:

Keeping the footprint, the impact low is really important because times are changing and I don't like where the climate's going. And so I was just like, 'Whatever we can do to like to still get our product out there, but to not have the large footprint needed to do so would be excellent.'

4.3.3.5. Knowledge

Just as supporters of local food often want to meet their farmer and visit their farm (hence the "Know Your Farmer Know Your Food" campaign) supporters of craft beer want to know their local brewer and visit the taproom. As Myles and Breen (2018) noted, the brewers and breweries themselves become part of the value associated with a local craft beer. A cider producer's knowledge and skills can be experienced not just by drinking the final product but through their use of geography, history, lore, imagery, and storytelling surrounding the product and place.

The use of geography and local history in cider business naming has already been discussed. Seven of the twelve cideries studied use geography or history in their company name, with perhaps Texas Keeper Cider displaying the most overt historical ties. This knowledge of lost things, lost places, and their reuse holds appeal to Texas Keeper Cider and likely their customers. Texas Keeper's name, their location on an undeveloped ranch south of Austin, the century-old building repurposed as a tasting room, and their use of classic Texas Hill Country imagery on their packaging all display an in-depth knowledge of local geography, history, and imagery; all values strongly associated with neolocalism. Similarly, Moontower Cider employs a variety of Austin and Texas history and iconography in its marketing materials displaying its knowledge of the past while making its claim to place.

The use of geography, history, or regional lore for product naming, as has been documented in craft beer, was not seen in Texas cider. Many of the cider makers interviewed used either names that clearly stated what was in the product (cherry cider, honey pear cider, ginger perry cider) or its characteristics (semi-dry cider, dry cider, sweet aged apple cider). One explanation is that cider is still a relatively new consumer product and clever names only create confusion in a market where businesses are trying to gain new customers. Justin Engle at Houston Cider Company confirmed this:

Again, from the beer side, we're kind of learning from our mistakes because one beer is called Uncommon Cowboy. And people were like, 'Oh, what's an Uncommon Cowboy?' 'Oh, it's a California common style.' 'Oh, what's a California common style?' It always leads to more questions. At least on the cider side we are keeping it fairly simple and saying, 'Oh, it's a cherry cider.' 'Oh, cool.' Well, when I order it, I know it's going to have cherries in it.

The one exception to this was City Orchard that planned to use the stages of the apple blossom in their cider names including silver tip, full pink, and king blossom. These names show their knowledge of apple trees, tie them back to their orchard ownership, and are somewhat sexually suggestive; all traits co-owner Patrick Kwiatkowski viewed as positive.

Four cidery owners mentioned the idea of storytelling or creating a story for customers. Argus Cidery and Rohan Meadery both felt their tasting rooms helped tell their cider's story. As Wendy Rohan said, "this is who we are and what we're doing, and you can just see it all around you." Fairweather Cider used the creative art featured on their cans of cider to "convey a story without using location as a crutch." Trinity Cider Company felt sourcing their ingredients as close to Deep Ellum as possible created a story that would help garner community support as they tried to establish themselves in the area. All four cideries felt they had a story to tell but saw multiple ways to appeal to their audience.

The skills of the cider makers did not always arise in the interviews, possibly because they did not want to brag about themselves or possibly because the actual cidemaker was not always being interviewed. However, making cider in a region without ample apple production does take skill as noted by Argus' Wes Mickel:

You know, even here at the beginning of the company, it was like, well, we get this Texas fruit. We're not able to sit there and select things the way that people can up there [in the Pacific Northwest]. So it's more, 'How are we going to make this fruit shine?' Not, 'I need you to give me this kind of fruit so I can make this end product.'

It was a reflexive process that appealed to Mickel's background as a trained chef. Justin Engle reflected on skills learned as a beer brewer that translated to better cider:

And so, with us, being brewers were able to actually know a little bit more about the hops and how the hops interact with the yeast. And wine yeast, cider yeast is a bit different than beer yeast so, we've been experimenting with that. We're able to pull out a lot more different flavors from the different hops that we're using [in their hopped cider] versus just a cider maker that's just throwing it [hops] in.

4.3.3.6. High-Quality Craft Cider

The high quality of the cider was an important value of proximity for the cider makers interviewed. No one came out and said 'We make the best cider in the state,' since they were probably too modest for that. The cider makers interviewed practice a much more 'craft-and-let-craft' attitude. However, a display of quality was revealed when cider makers discussed their methods and what made their cider 'craft.' Justin Engle at Houston Cider Company explained his process:

Like particularly for us when we receive our juice. I'm a chemist by background, so I'm taking pH reading, sugar readings, like doing everything and just being like, 'Okay, so this is what we received.' I always want to peg for like a certain pH and a certain alcohol. So I'm just like doing everything. [laughs] When we get the totes [of juice] in, there's like all these calculations on the totes just because a sharpie and cardboard works a lot better sometimes. On the craft side, I think it's still more of the hands-on aspect. I think the craft makers too, we're more apt to go visit the orchards that we're getting the apples from to actually do more inquiries and testing. It's the scientist in me, but doing a lot more R&D of just like, 'Well, we got this new apple variety and for a single batch. Are we sure we want to use our house yeast? Maybe we want to use a different yeast.' And so we're fermenting little one-gallon jugs. It's fast, it's easy, and then it's just like you can pop the top and drink up right there and then, and be like, 'Oh yeah, I think this yeast is gonna work a lot better than our house yeast.'

Justin Engle's attention to detail, inquisitiveness, rigor, curiosity, and enthusiasm combine to create high-quality, unique craft ciders. Other cider makers show a similar level of attachment to their work. Wendy Rohan at Rohan Meadery described her process:

I just don't like things to get away from me. I'm kind of a control freak. So I mean, I will say that I really pay attention to every ingredient that we put in. We don't over-manipulate anything. We're very patient, so we're not going to use clearing agents. We're not going to use fining agents. We're not going to; you know what I mean? It's just not what we do. I don't buy imported honey because unless I go down and see what's coming out of South America and who's making it, I'm not interested because I'm not going to trust it. ...That to me, when you talk about somebody crafting something and having that purpose, you have that angle in mind. You have the end result that you're looking for. That end product and what you want those parameters to be. But also knowing exactly what everything that's going into it and how it's being made and what's happening to it and being transparent about it.

Wendy Rohan's focus on knowing exactly what goes into her products, not rushing or manipulating any of her fermentation, and being transparent in her production process is her key to craft.

Benjamin Weaver at Moontower aims to craft traditional American cider:

We're trying to make traditional cider or as close as we can get to more traditional cider given what kind of apples are available, which as you probably know, is mostly dessert fruit, culinary fruit. Stuff with acid but not with tannins. We're trying to replicate what we imagine cider tasted like before prohibition and using the English and French traditions as a model.

Weaver realizes other cider makers could take issue with his definition of craft:

I drew the line to conveniently include myself in the craft cider, and other people might draw the line somewhere else. For example, there are plenty of producers who are just doing seasonal stuff, right? They're doing it like the wine model. Nobody in Texas, but there are plenty not in Texas - in the northwest, and in places where apples are more prevalent. They might make a couple of year-round ciders, but their focus is on the harvest cycle and more like a wine model. And that is a decision you have to make pretty early on. That was something that I did think about and considered, but just given the availability of what [apples] I could get my hands on, it was clear that it just was not a feasible direction.

Wes Mickel of Argus Cidery also acknowledged these two forms of craft cider:

I think that that [using straight apple juice] keeps it true to what it is. And if that would be the definition of craft cider, then functionally, yes, we definitely do that. I think if you're going to talk about true craft ciders, those start with apples, and they are pressed, and go into bottles. But that's an extremely expensive undertaking that I'm sure we'll get into here in a little bit.

Cherry Graham takes a more emotional, but no less valid approach to creating her high-quality craft cider:

Well, okay, so you're sitting across from me. Do you see the smile on my face? Do you see the twinkle in my eye when I'm talking about cider? That's what makes it craft is the love that goes into it. I mean, obviously, there's always the quality of the ingredients, the knowledge that goes in behind it. But what really makes it special is the way the person feels about it.

Cherry Graham's description largely encompasses the other descriptions provided, whether they call themselves hands-on, control freaks, or traditionalists. Intimately knowing the cider making process, from traditional to ultra-modern, these Texas cider makers have chosen methods that meet their personal value system to create high-quality craft cider.

As mentioned, Austin Eastciders produced an estimated 270,000 to 337,000 gallons of cider per month in 2018 (Craft Business Daily 2017; Heiselberg 2018). Their use of apple juice concentrate, massive production volume, and highly industrialized production methods places them far from craft as other craft cider makers define it. They argue that their use of European cider apples places their cider into the craft category, but the use of concentrate and adjunct non-fruit sugars points towards values based on increased quantity, not quality.

4.3.4. Summary

All three domains of local proximity have neolocal traits Texas craft cider makers feel are vital to their business and product success. Some traits had near universal agreement among Texas craft cider producers: the use of single-strength apple juice (values of proximity); the use of geographically local ingredients whenever available (geographic proximity); the support of social causes and community efforts (values of proximity); producing high quality, unique products (values of proximity); and direct producer to consumer distribution (relational proximity).

While no one domain held greater influence, it was this last trait, the direct producer to consumer distribution at the tasting room that appeared most vital to producers hoping to create neolocal connections between consumers, producers, product, and place. The lack of a tasting room severely hampered the producer's ability to create the numerous relational- and values-based proximity interactions that occur in that place. Even if numerous other neolocal traits are present, lacking direct producer to consumer distribution at a tasting room creates great difficulty for a producer to engage fully in those traits. That lack of engagement could mean the difference between the success and failure of the business for a craft cider producer. However, it is the interaction of the various traits that creates the producer-consumer connection. In the end, each producer chooses a set of traits that suits their vision as a craft cider maker setting the stage to create neolocal connections to product and place. No one domain of local proximity and its associated traits dominated the ability of Texas craft cider makers to create neolocal connections.

4.4. Research Question 3: How, and under what conditions, does the role of neolocalism and the traits employed in Texas craft cider production vary by location, reflecting local sites and situations?

Texas craft cider makers showed a nearly universal agreement on marketing their products as Texas-made, some even using the state-sanctioned Texas Department of Agriculture's "Go Texan" label that "promotes the products, culture, and communities that call Texas home" (Go Texan 2019). However, with Texas' vast size and diverse communities, this is generally where the agreement ended. As documented previously, neolocalism nurtures an interest in place on a local, rather than regional, geographic scale. What creates connections to product and place in Houston is not necessarily the same as what works in Hye. Moreover, while we can say some Texas craft cider neolocal traits are nearly universal, such as having a tasting room and supporting social causes, how cideries express neolocal traits varies by site and situation.

4.4.1. Two Views of Houston

Beginning in early 2019, Houston will be home to two cideries. Houston Cider Company produced its first batch of cider in January 2018 in Houston Heights. City Orchard is scheduled to open in 2019 just a few miles away in a warehouse redevelopment. Both cideries have the advantage of serving the fourth most populous city in the U.S. How each has chosen to use neolocal traits to connect to consumers demonstrates there is no one correct formula for attempting to create an attachment to product and place.

Both Houston cideries recognize the value of crafting high-quality cider with single-strength apple juice. Their respective taglines, “No B.S.” and “Real Apples. Real Cider.” intend to demonstrate their commitment to producing pure apple cider.

After looking at other successful regional cider companies, Houston Cider Company’s Justin Engle chose a business name that was geographically intentional, saying, “Let’s plant our flag in our territory. Let’s be proud of where we’re from.” Houston Cider Company’s logo is an apple with an outline of Houston’s classic downtown high-rise buildings (Figure 9) and like their name calls on the geography of place. Their market and marketing focus solely on Houston:

I would rather just kind of be in as much of Houston as possible because... Well, Houston’s still set to become the third largest city in the states. I think we’re at six-and-a-half-million people. Closer to seven right now. That’s a lot of thirsty people. Even if you go by all statistical manners of like who’s above the age of 21. So I don’t think we’ll actually have too much of a problem just giving the [Houston] market what it wants.

City Orchard’s Patrick Kwiatkowski, who plans to sell cider outside of Texas, felt to that appeal beyond Houston they needed a name that resonated better with cider consumers:

Houston does not have the same name connotation that Austin does [contrasting Houston’s name with Austin Eastciders]. Nobody thinks Houston’s cool. So I don’t think we can use Houston as a brand driving for us, other than local. And so, yeah, we want people to know that City Orchard’s in Houston, but we also want them to know that we’re the real deal. We are farmers, too.

City Orchard has the distinct advantage of owning an apple orchard in upstate New York. Orchard ownership allows them to tap into a variety of value-based neolocal traits unavailable to Houston Cider Company like the unique apple varieties available,

environmental stewardship as orchard manager, and the provenance of their product from source to bottle. As Kwiatkowski sees it, “Since we do own orchards that’s very important to us to let people know that we actually planted some of these trees ourselves.” City Orchard has planted thousands of apple trees, has over twenty apple varieties, and has access to multiple other area orchards. This direct access to unique fruit allows City Orchard to focus on unique products.

We’ll do our specialty batches. ...Our first product will be primarily northern spy culinary apple blend, which produces a very clean, dry white, almost like a white wine-type cider. And then we’ll start making some ciders with some of the cider apples, which is quite different. We’ll play around with some plums. We’re using some plums to make a rose-type cider.

Once established City Orchard plans to can cider, but they will initially use large format 500ml and 750ml bottles, visually tying it more closely to the wine world it hopes to emulate and potentially to establish it as a more high-end, exclusive, wine-type product.

If we make any cider that is over seven percent ABV [alcohol by volume] it has to be in metric packaging. We will bottle in Houston. We’ll probably do the 750[ml]s here. We’ll do our specialty batches. ...We’re really focusing on not necessarily the beer drinkers who have gluten allergies or people who want cider to be looked at as a beer alternative. We want wine drinkers. We want people who are going to enjoy a seven percent ABV cider or even higher in some cases. ... I want to compete with Prosecco.

While exclusivity can turn off some potential customers, craft beer has marketed exclusivity successfully, and City Orchard hopes to replicate that. Another neolocal trait Kwiatkowski is borrowing from craft beer is the re-use of industrial space to lend authenticity to the production and tasting room. Kwiatkowski described the space:

It is an old warehouse. We're leasing it. One of the big realtors in town is doing a big development. Multi-use space. So we'll be one of the anchor tenants. We've got a nice big outdoor area. It's an 8,000 square foot space. We'll be a decent size. We'll have like 2,500 square feet of tasting room. ... We want to be like a vineyard, like a winery. Like a Napa-type thing, but not quite that over the top. I do want it to be casual. Casual enough that people don't feel like they've got to change their clothes to come, but I also want people who are on a night out to feel comfortable as well. So it's going to be a blend of types. It's not going to be just for millennials. I'd like some older folks to come, and I don't think a lot of older people go to these breweries. I feel they feel like they're out of place [laughs] sometimes. So I don't want that either. I don't want to feel like I'm like the oldest guy in the room all the time. But I do [laughs]. It's going to be hard to do, and I've seen nice breweries, and it's nice to be in a nice brewery and feel comfortable but also know that you're in a brewery. So that's really our goal is to, is to pretty up a production place.

Houston Cider Company's tasting room and production facility are located in Houston Heights. It is a smaller facility housing both their beer and cider production space, tasting room, patio area, and parking. Justin Engle explained their tasting room experience:

My business partner and I, Steve, we met in Colorado. We're used to the smaller kind of breweries and taproom experience. So we wanted something that was air-conditioned and something that was also very personable and felt pretty nice. And when we first opened, we got a lot of comments saying, 'Oh, this looks like I'm in my house' or 'This looks very cozy and comfortable.'

Located in a very walkable neighborhood with good schools and higher incomes, Houston Cider Company caters to the local clientele of families with kids, dog walkers, and Geeks Who Drink trivia buffs; what Engle described as "the better educated, the better-informed consumer."

We were trying to make it as, as family-friendly as possible, but without making it where people without kids and dogs find it uncomfortable. And so we do straddle that fine line sometimes.

Houston Cider Company supports numerous local social causes including parent-teacher associations and neighborhood associations, embedding themselves in the local community while at the same time branding themselves as a cider for all of Houston.

Since City Orchard is not yet in production, one cannot speculate on how they will embed themselves in their local community or greater Houston. However, their emphasis on different neolocal traits than those of Houston Cider Company is already apparent, as is the audience they hope to attract. This is not to say that their audiences are exclusive and that the two cideries do not share a large number of neolocal traits, but rather that these two producers have emphasized the characteristics most important to their perceived success and values.

4.4.2. Attracting Millennials

Trinity Cider Company, located in the Deep Ellum district of Dallas, opened in October of 2018. Unlike many of the other cideries studied, Trinity's financing came through the development of a business and operational plan the owners submitted to a bank for a traditional bank loan. Their business plan included a number of deliberate neolocal components, was very aware of local branding and marketing, and took aim at a specific consumer audience: millennials.

The Pew Research Center (2019) defines millennials as "those born between 1981 and 1996 and the first generation to come of age in the new millennium." A neolocal trait found only at Trinity Cider Company and Texas Keeper Cider is that of crowd-funding. Crowd-funding is a mostly online, grassroots fundraising campaign, often driven through social media - something that the millennial generation is particularly adept at. The

Trinity Cider campaign page tapped into a number of neolocal traits including supporting a product that was locally sourced, community-based, unique, and high quality.

Not only will we be handcrafting our cider on-site at our Deep Ellum location, but we'll utilize local ingredients and create a unique product that appeals to the community. We are all about innovation, edge, and imaginative new flavor profiles. (Kickstarter 2019)

Trinity Cider raised over \$11,500 from 67 backers reaching their goal. Good to their promise, Trinity has purchased local ingredients when possible, trying to not only be Texas-sourced but “as close to Deep Ellum-sourced as possible just because, when you're trying to create that community up front, you want to get the support to those around you.”

Trinity's focus on millennials appears to be successful, the co-owner saying:

We're going towards millennials, and our big thing is we're trying to re-educate the market also. Because in Dallas - I think the entire State of Texas, specifically Dallas - everyone basically associates cider with apple juice. Sweet. Too much sugar. We've been open six weeks. We've had at least 50 people tell us they hate cider, but they like ours. At least. At least. At a minimum. At least. We'd have like one person say 'We don't like yours because it's not sweet.' We're like, 'Okay, cool.' You know, we've converted fifty people and lost one. I'll take that ratio any day.

When asked about its tasting room, which is in a renovated warehouse/retail space with exposed brick, Trinity Cider's co-owner described a more modern lounge experience that connects with its target audience:

We want people to sit there and just think, 'This is a really cool, fun area.' It's designed to be more of a lounge bar. It's not going to be your traditional tasting room. Like you walk in, we've got the Edison bulbs. We've always got music going. We've got the subway tile in the back. So it's kind of designed to, like I said, be a lounge bar that serves craft cider. So hopefully the decorum coupled with the flavors and the style of cider will help produce the brand that we're looking for as we expand.

Trinity ties their brand marketing efforts specifically to their geography:

[Trinity Cider] fits in very well because Deep Ellum's kind of this trendy, artsy area. We're in the process of having a mural put up on the wall in our patio area. And so, and it's eclectic. Every week unroll a new flavor. Just a new limited edition flavor available for that week only. Like every week we do that. And so, and it's literally 'How funky can we get with it?' And so we think that just embodies Deep Ellum, which is why that's the only spot we looked to open.

When pressed on why it was essential to have the cidery located in Deep Ellum Trinity's co-owner replied: "That's just the type of branding we wanted to go for." The product branding dictated the location rather than the location dictating the branding. Trinity Cider Company is crafting a neolocal appeal to a generational consumer more in touch with a lounge experience (dim lighting, comfortable couches, and mellow music) than a farmers market or a Napa vineyard. The deliberate branding of place and product could be viewed as a savvy business perspective more than an over-riding desire to create neolocal connections.

4.4.3. Local Food Culture

Austin, Texas, has a robust local food culture. It is home to numerous farmers markets, farm-to-table restaurants, CSAs, and urban farms. Two of its cideries embody the neolocal traits of the local food movement: Argus Cidery and Texas Keeper Cider. Argus Cidery is technically located in Dripping Springs southwest of Austin but claims Austin as its home. Argus is majority-owned by Wes Mickel, a former chef with a degree from the Culinary Institute of America (Shugart 2013) who brings his local food experience to judging the local quality and production of cider. When asked if his cider is local, Mickel is one of the few producers to say no and provide the reasoning behind his answer:

I would say that we're a local producer, but we don't encapsulate the meaning - to me - of local. It follows the food formula just because that's my background. And that would be, 'Okay, we're sourcing within a 50-mile radius and putting it on a plate. And doing all of our handling and processing onsite.'

Mickel serves house-made chips and hummus in the tasting room and has hosted supper club events at the cidery in the past. Though not a chef, Lindsey Peebles at Texas Keeper Cider is also active in the local food network:

Pretty much everything we've done as far as like helping the nonprofits, [it is] almost always a food-related nonprofit. All the relationships that I seek out on building, 'Oh, you're in food? Awesome,' or 'You grow something.' That's what I'm interested in. That kind of relationship.

Peebles believed that Texas Keeper Cider is local, precisely due to their local relationships, but acknowledged that out-of-state apple sourcing detracts from their local claim:

Yeah, I think it's local. I mean, we make it here. All of our relationships with the exception of where we get our apples from are local. Which is probably my favorite part about having the business is just making those relationships. You know, like Two Hives Honey, La Flaca Farms has our garden space. I feel like those things make it local in whatever way the sourcing of the apples detracts from it."

Their shared experience in the local food network has both Mickel and Peebles judging their cider's local qualities against it. Not surprisingly, Argus and Texas Keeper are the only two cideries studied in production that source their apple juice directly from the growers. Texas Keeper sources all of their juice from one grower in New York, while Argus sources juice for their large format, aged ciders from orchards in Texas and Arkansas. This relationship with the growers places them closer to the fruit than other Texas cideries, but may also make them more conscious of its non-local origins.

Both producers package cider in 750ml bottles emphasizing its kinship to wine, more than craft beer. Its association with wine also brings in neolocal traits of higher quality, unique varieties, and the producer's skills and knowledge.

Argus also has a Fermentables line of ciders and perry that are canned and made with single-strength juice sourced from Oregon. Their production and tasting room is located on Fitzhugh Road in Dripping Springs, which hosts some well-known craft breweries and distilleries including Jester King Brewery, Last Stand Brewing Company, and Treaty Oak Distilling. Mickel realizes the canned product line and his specialty on-draft line has the potential to tap into the market of neolocal craft beer brewers:

I think especially with this demographic, that is, the purchasers right now, they're really looking for a variety. Cider is to most beer drinkers a shiny new thing, and if you can get one out of every twenty of those people that translates to a huge margin considering that cider is only like one to two percent of overall alcohol sales.

Texas Keeper Cider draws on the desire of many to experience 'old Austin,' when Austin was less crowded, less expensive, and more laid back. Peebles described being compared with 'old Austin' as the best compliment their tasting room can get. Texas Keeper feeds that nostalgia with a tasting room set among ancient live oak and cedar trees and lots of outdoor seating. The tasting room itself is a century-old limestone building with lots of exposed wood and casement windows, creating a cozy farmhouse feel. Texas Keeper has interpretive signage outside detailing the history of the building as a church and schoolhouse and its one-hundred plus year history tie Texas Keeper directly to old Austin lending authenticity to the product and place. When asked how they fit into the area, Peebles replied:

The neighborhood really likes us. They like that, at least for now, this is untouched. We don't own the property, I should say. We rent. But like we seem to be good tenants. They like us, and so for the foreseeable future, this is not being developed. Whereas, like the people who've lived here for a long time don't want the developments coming in. So they like that we're here and we're quiet, so we get a lot of local Manchaca residents. ...you know, they lived in Manchaca for 25, 30-years and so just seeing them come in and be happy that something like this exists. So that's really cool.

Manchaca is an unincorporated community of around 1,200 residents within the Austin two-mile extraterritorial jurisdiction. Texas Keeper Cider is also one of only two tasting rooms that owners describe as family-friendly - the other being Houston Cider Company. Lindsey explained:

I try and advertise as being family-friendly, which I'm adjusting what that means because when I first had a kid, I didn't realize that you needed. Like now I appreciate you really need a changing pad in the bathroom. So I finally got one like six months ago [laughs].

Being family-friendly has the potential to bring in customers who are beginning to settle down in a community and may be inclined to know more about their home and be seeking neolocal connections

Argus Cidery and Texas Keeper Cider have a close relationship with Austin's local food culture and tap into those traits of neolocalism that appeal to a local food-savvy populace.

4.4.4. A Little Rock and Roll

Hye Cider Company is a bit of contrast to its neighboring wineries. It is located in the Texas Hill Country in the state's most popular wine tourist region. Its rural setting is what drew Cherry Graham and her partner to move there from Austin. Hye Cider Company designed its presence to contrast itself with its politer wine-sipping neighbors:

We wanted to do something a little different than the wineries. ... We wanted to do the rock and roll thing. We wanted it to be a little different, and we wanted people to have fun, you know. We're all music-centric, so it makes perfect sense. ... It's a little rock and roll. It's a little punk rock. It's a whole lot of fun. We get to do whatever we want. We make creative, funky, weird things and have a blast doing it. We want people to feel that way when they come here. We don't want people to be on their best behavior or feel like they have to be, you know. We definitely aren't. We're laid back and have a cool atmosphere, and we're a very close group. It's like family here.

Hye Cider Company's authenticity is on display throughout its operation; its friendly tattooed staff, its tasting room and production facility in a converted auto repair shop, its display of things rock and roll, and its weekly live music. Hye Cider's product labeling displays their love of rock as well:

The Hye Note [label] has a Shore 55 microphone on it, which is my favorite mic to use when I'm recording so that one had to find its way on there.

Graham described their small-batch ciders:

We do all herbaceous weird things, so it's not like your pineapple, and it's not going to be the pear ciders. It's nnnm. It's a little off the beaten path. I want to do a rosé with mustang grapes. ... That is my little naahh to the wineries. Or it's like, 'I'm going to take your weed and make something delicious out of that' and I'm homies with all the wineries out here, so it's playful. It's playful.

Hye Cider Company hopes to contrast itself with the local wineries while attracting the wine-loving tourists with its unique, high-quality ciders:

We love it because it's a niche that needed to be filled out here. Like there's already breweries out here, whether they be brewpubs or big places. There's beer. There's wine. There's liquor. This is the first cidery. And I like it [laughs]. ... And everyone's like, well, someone else is going to get the idea to open a cidery. I'm like, 'Sweet! Let's make it the cidery trail instead of the wine trail.'

4.4.5. East Austin Cool

East Austin is home to two geographically devoted cider companies, the well-known Austin Eastciders, and the recent start-up Moontower Cider Company. Despite their massive size difference, they do share some neolocal traits specific to their urban East Austin location. Both cideries have their roots in East Austin, geographically specific names, and would not consider hosting their businesses anywhere else.

Chris Lowrey explained the history behind Austin Eastciders' name:

When we actually started making [cider] in our own space that was on the east side [of Austin]. And Ed [Gibson - Eastciders' founder] was actually living on the east side as well, so that's where a lot of this came from. He loved the creative spirit of the east side [of Austin], and that really drives the brand, too.

Austin Eastciders' geographically specific name is a major neolocal marketing asset. Austin's national popularity and exposure have grown through festivals such as SXSW and Austin City Limits Music Fest and hosting international events like Formula One. City Orchard's Patrick Kwiatkowski, who sources his apples from New York, recognizes the advantage of Eastciders' name:

You know, one of the things that Austin Eastciders benefits from is having the word Austin in it. I mean people in New York want to drink Austin cider, which blows my mind because New York was the apple state.

Moontower Cider's name is less geographically recognizable even within Austin but has the neolocal trait of referencing Austin's history and creating insider knowledge among Austin cider consumers. Benjamin Weaver explained why he picked Moontower:

There is a long tradition of local companies picking local landmarks, something that has resonance with the city and the moontowers [do that] on a couple of levels. One is obviously it has historic meaning to the city. I got fascinated with the story of the moontowers, both the true stories about

the moontowers, but also the mythology around them. I thought a good theme for this would be somehow trying to capture day and night, and you'll probably notice with my branding, I have kind of the light really bright colors. The name is called Moontower, which evokes nighttime. The color scheme is bright colors and then a darker base color, and that's also intentionally trying to represent day and night. ...Moontower; people might not even know what that means outside of Austin, but if they don't, it still has some kind of connotation.

Moontower Cider's naming was purposeful, choosing a name that has connotations that go beyond Austin with plans to expand the market outside the city. Moontower Cider's claim to being East Austin's craft cider maker relies on their use of single-strength apple juice, contrasting Austin Eastciders' reliance on apple juice concentrate.

I think that as long as you are using real apple juice to make your cider, I think you can legitimately call yourself craft cider. ...That's the main drawing line for me is whether you're using single strength ingredients.

Austin Eastciders' use of bittersweet and bittersharp cider apple juice from Europe, though in concentrate form, allow them to claim a unique ingredient not in use by other local cider makers. Moontower's devotion to creating traditional English and French craft cider may give it appeal to customers who may come to feel that Austin Eastciders has moved from local craft to mass-market cider. While Eastciders would probably not feel the loss of these critical neolocal consumers, the gain would be noticeable for Moontower's fortunes. Weaver noted:

The perception of [Moontower] being a small cider production is what is potentially marketable, not the actual small batches themselves. Because we would happily make ten times what we're making right now and if we make ten times what we're making right now, if we made one-hundred times what we're making right now, we would still be a very, very small fraction Eastciders.

Both Austin Eastciders and Moontower Cider Company market the appeal of East Austin to consumers local and afar. Eastciders' distribution stretches into fourteen states, and it is outselling the national brands of Woodchuck, Crispin, Smith and Forge, and Ace (Conway 2019). Despite this, Moontower's Weaver believes there is room for more cider in Texas and is marketing neolocal traits not available to its Goliath neighbor:

I saw that as an opportunity for Texas as a whole. But you know you have to pick that sweet spot of being not too far ahead but enough that there's potential for growth. It's an intuition at the end of the day, and it felt like there's definitely more room for cider in Austin.

4.4.6. Rural Relaxation

Rohan Meadery is located on Blissful Folly Farm north of La Grange, Texas. Their rural location, on an organic farm, enhances their dedication to creating unique wine products crafted with wholesome, quality local ingredients. Wendy Rohan modestly described her role in Rohan Meadery and their expansive product line:

Owner, founder, chief bottle washer, toilet bowl scrubber. I mean, I do marketing. I do product development. My husband and I kind of go half-and-half on that. We have a pretty huge product line, so we're maybe eyeing one or two new things, but we kind of need to cut ourselves off. We have fifteen different mead styles right now. A lot of them are seasonal. Four different ciders. Working on our sixth wine.

Rohan Meadery's products and rural farm setting create neolocal opportunities not present at other Texas cideries. Their location and reliance on local self-distribution requires attracting visitors to divert from the two closest Interstate highways for a trip to the tasting room:

So, I have to look at the numbers again recently for this year, but you know, we're looking at upwards of seventy-five percent of our business being out of town. ... We are on that Houston-Austin, Austin-Houston, or Houston-San Antonio transit.

Rohan Meadery accomplishes this by offering a diverse product line of handcrafted meads, wines, and ciders. Wendy Rohan described the production:

We bill ourselves as something for everyone because we do make meads, wines, and ciders. So we have dry things, we have sweet things, you know, in between things. So there really is something for everybody at some point. I guess part of what motivates us [is] making stuff that we want to drink [laughs]. [It] motivates us to dabble here and there. We say handcrafted. We are completely serious. Like John or I's hands have touched every bottle that gets made. I mean, we do it all, and we have ultimate control, and we like to make things that we would like to drink.

As noted previously, Wendy Rohan's described herself as a 'control freak,' approves every ingredient in her products, and her production process is extremely transparent. The tasting room and production facility share the same space, separated only by the serving bar.

Rohan Meadery recognizes its rural farm-based location as an asset. Visitors turn on to a gravel driveway, past rows of grapevines and bee boxes and through wandering chickens, experiencing a Texas farm, vineyard, and honey production in the span of a hundred yards. Wendy Rohan mentioned providing visitors the opportunity to 'relax' on five separate occasions over the course of the interview. She wants visitors "to relax and appreciate the beautiful countryside and just kind of reconnect with the people they're with." As a measure of success, Wendy Rohan cites the length of time visitors stay, especially those from the city as they put their cell phones away, decompress, and make connections with fellow visitors.

Wendy was one of two cidery owners, the other being Wes Mickel at Argus, to recognize the value gained from her employees and their interactions with customers:

I mean I have amazing people who work here and makes customers feel valued and appreciated, and we talked to them, and you know, you're not just a number. You can't be everything to everybody, but hopefully just a relaxing, friendly place, you know?

This personal interaction in a relaxed space while enjoying unique, quality wine beverages provides multiple points of connection with place and product for Rohan Meadery's visitors.

4.4.7. Summary

All cider makers start with basically the same ingredients: apple juice and yeast. Even within the expansive world of apple and yeast varieties, the similarities are greater than the differences. The majority of Texas cider makers interviewed displayed this sharing a number of neolocal traits: their dedication to quality ingredients; the knowledge and skills employed in the crafting of their products and place; the creation of unique, quality products; and the importance of a tasting room for direct to customer distribution. What sets one cidery apart from the one down the street, across town, or halfway around the world are their local sites and situations.

Recognizing that neolocalism by its very nature is an intensely local phenomenon, Texas cider makers strive to create experiences that are unique and place-specific, embodied by their specific neolocal traits. This was seen in all the Texas ciders studied, with each cidery reflecting their local site and situation, highlighting those neolocal traits that served them best and setting them apart from even their closest neighboring ciders.

4.5. Research Question 4: Among Texas cider producers who personally participate in neolocal activities, are these same neolocal traits reflected in their cideries?

The question arose from a hypothesis that cider producers who personally participated in neolocal activities (e.g., supporting local food, shopping locally, visiting tasting rooms, or discovering local history, trivia, and lore) would extend those neolocal traits to their cider production creating unique, site-specific neolocal cideries. The majority of interviews were conducted with the primary owner of the cidery providing the point of view I was seeking. However, few questions directly addressed the owner's personal participation in neolocal activities, which was a failing of the interview process. Yet, on analyzing the entirety of the interviews, some cider makers described their depth of local involvement going beyond the marketing and management of the cidery providing insight into the owner's personal participation in neolocal activities.

Justin Engle of Houston Cider Company when asked about how his cidery fit into the area proceeded to give a detailed history of The Heights, its founder, its prohibition on alcohol, its various neighborhoods, markets, businesses, drinking establishments, and the deed history of his lot going back to 1908:

The Heights was dry in most neighborhoods. The Heights was founded as the first suburb of Houston. And so it was founded in the late 1800s, I think the founding date was like 1894 or something like that, but it was founded by a bunch of prohibitionists. So like Heights proper, which is literally go across the street and that's West, I'm sorry, East Heights proper and West Heights proper, were completely dry and they actually had it on everyone's deeds, 'This property is to remain dry until time, time cometh nil,' or something like that. It took a lot to get the vote to change.

When discussing Houston Cider Company's support of the local community Engle explained his donations to the local neighborhood PTA/PTOs, the state of local schools, budget cutbacks at HISD, and what the funds raised will build at the middle school and elementary school levels:

Some more of the bigger events we've been housing a lot of PTA groups, parent-teacher association groups for elementary and the middle schools around. A lot of times it's because HISD has severely cut the budget this year. But in previous years there has been small budget cuts, but it's been budget cuts to community-school partnerships. So like the middle school's been trying to raise funds to build, I think they call them smart parks. But it's basically during school hours it's a soccer field, basketball courts, a running track. Basically a school athletic field. But then they want to allow it to be open during the afternoon and evening times for the community to come in so that like middle schooler might have a mom that has a little kid, so mom and little kids going to go pick up their middle schooler, but there's a little playground for the kids and mom can just wait there for the middle schooler to come out after class or after school program. The high school has done it really well.

Engle showed the same level of passion when talking about the numerous conservation initiatives they had undertaken, including installation of a permeable driveway and patio area, a fuel-efficient vehicle fleet, renewable building materials, and energy-saving air conditioning and heating:

So that was actually really cool [referring to the Truegrid permeable surface parking lot and patio]. And then for us, so we are in The Heights. The Heights typically doesn't flood, except the streets have flooded lately because of poor city infrastructure. So for us going into the more permeable aspects was, 'Well, yeah, this isn't going to be a tax on the community. We're not going to flood out or neighbors.' This was an open lot long ago, so all the rainwater would just collect here. We want to try and make sure that the rainwater would still collect and drain out.

Justin Engle demonstrated in-depth knowledge and connection with The Heights, extended and complemented through Houston Cider Company and Town and City Brewing. Not a Houston native Engle personally soaks up and dispenses his local

knowledge freely, attracting those who have or desire a similar neolocal connection with Houston Heights. Engle's description of hosting his local firefighters encompasses his community connections:

Firefighters, their shift ends at 7:00 in the morning. Oftentimes when it's like a big birthday, they'll come over here. The station chief will get tacos from somewhere or other. We have one coming up that they're working with a pitmaster here just on the south side of Airline. That they're going to have barbecue here. And he [the station chief] was like, 'Well, can you serve alcohol?' I was like, 'Yeah, we're a manufacturer. We can serve alcohol whenever!' And so they're really happy because for them it's their evening, but it's 7:00 a.m. So like most places won't do anything for them. We're just like 'No, come over here.'

Wes Mickel of Argus Cidery approaches his cider from the neolocal perspective of a chef (his former occupation) familiar with the local food movement. Chefs practicing farm-to-plate dining know produce is seasonal, site-specific, and sensitive to local weather conditions, making them reflexive to what producers have available. Local produce and proteins determine the ever-changing menu creating something that will appeal to neolocal consumers. Mickel reflects these neolocal traits sourcing some apples from Texas and Arkansas, knowing it is a very different selection of fruit available to cider makers in the northern U.S. He embraces the challenge saying:

How are we going to make this fruit shine? ...Oh, that was part of the fun at the get-go. Yeah. I mean it's still the joy of it.

Argus' bottled 1- to 3-year aged ciders complement Mickel's experimentation with small batches, producing unique, local ciders:

They range, anywhere from, I mean it could be 700 gallons all the way down to one barrel. We try to continue to do both, even though one barrel of something isn't exactly economically viable, but it's still that lead into everything else.

At the time of the interview, Argus had twelve ciders and perrys on tap at the tasting room, a large variety for one craft producer. After spending time building his production facility and distribution chain, Mickel is focusing his efforts on the tasting room:

You know, getting back to the emphasis of the tasting room, like doing things that are hyper-local. Yeah, that makes sense.

Mickel's chef's perspective of focusing on the fruit available to him, what he can craft from it, and showcasing it in his tasting room creates a neolocal cider experience unlike those of other Texas producers.

Shifting from the chef's to the producer's perspective, Wendy Rohan is an active participant in her local La Grange food network. Her Blissful Folly Farm produces honey for sale to the public, along with grapes, fruits, and herbs for blending with Rohan Meadery's mead, wine, cider, and perry. She is a local producer and consumer and embodies both perspectives. When asked about her personal, not business, participation in supporting local food Rohan could not help interweaving her description of herself as both consumer and producer:

So, well we just were at the Round Top farmers market last weekend but were selling. So there was a young couple that was running a CSA that delivered to La Grange, and we supported them the whole time they were in business. But they did close. La Grange has a really good farmers market on Saturdays. And it's really great because we actually have like two really awesome, amazing organic farms that grow vegetables just outside of town and so we buy stuff from them. ...And then we're friends with the Stuffbeams, Jeni and Brad. So we sell our cranberry mead to them. But when they had a CSA, so I know we bought stuff from them in the past. ...Friends of ours own a farm down on the other side of Fayetteville called Yonder Way Farm. They do pastured beef and chickens, and they do their farm-to-table dinners like once a month, and we do all the wine for them, and we've bought products from them, too.

Having frequent contact with consumers in a farmers market setting Rohan knows the advantage of place, in this case, her farm and tasting room, in making the connection neolocal consumers desire:

This is our best sales place because this is where we tell our story. You know, this is who we are and what we're doing, and you can just see it all around you. So it's hard sometimes at a festival or a farmers market like, 'Oh, let me explain [laughs] what I'm doing and why I'm here,' you know? 'Yeah, let me just look at your packaging and your marketing.'

When asked about her customers Rohan makes the connection between her success and the craft beer and local food movement:

When we originally started, we thought it was just going to be people we who went to the renaissance festival. That was going to be our demographic. And we were blown away by how many millennials were coming in, you know, and young drinkers, everywhere from twenties to forties. We were really surprised by that. But I should have realized that would have happened with the whole craft brewing movement and food movement. We just, we lucked out of starting when we did start that all that was going on and still going on, thankfully.

While Rohan dismissed her timing to luck she herself was an active neolocal participant in the craft beverage and food movement. Rohan Meadery and its neolocal traits is an extension of her participation. When pressed on the origin of her success, Rohan gave an accurate, though limited description of neolocalism:

I think just a lot of people were rediscovering old beverages or old ways of making beverages or whatever it is. Or just opening up their eyes towards like, 'Look at this whole world of stuff out there,' and all the different possibilities and willingness to try new things I think is a huge part of our success.

Unlike Wendy Rohan, Lindsey Peebles is not the cider maker at Texas Keeper Cider; she is responsible for legal filings, marketing, event planning, and the tasting room. Texas Keeper embodies neolocal traits throughout its operation, and Peebles'

influence strongly reflects her support of central Texas local food and her native Austinite status. The events Peebles hosts at the cidery often revolved around food-based organizations closely associating Texas Keeper with local food and its abundant neolocal traits:

Pretty much everything we've done as far as like helping the nonprofits, [it is] almost always a food-related nonprofit. All the relationships that I seek out on building, 'Oh, you're in food. Awesome,' or 'You grow something.' That's what I'm interested in. That kind of relationship.

Texas Keeper hosted fund-raisers for Farmshare Austin and Green Gate Farm, certified organic farms that also provide farmer and public education. They are also a pick-up point for Green Gate Farm's CSA operation, helping to bring local food supporters to the cidery. Peebles and her co-owners status as native Austinites give Texas Keeper Cider a strong local connection. As mentioned previously, every bottle of cider tells the customer the owners are "longtime friends born and raised in Austin," and Peebles admits it is the only place they want to be:

I mean, we came back first [from New Zealand] and then we were like, 'Okay, what can we do that uses your wine experience, and we have to stay in Austin.' That was actually going back to the question of like 'Why cider?' I actually think that's probably a better answer, just that it's because we want to be in Austin. If we're going to be anywhere in the U.S. pretty much, we would want it to be in Austin.

Peebles shares her connection to Austin, what she calls 'old Austin' with her customers both onsite and through her products. When asked about if she felt Texas Keeper Cider was associated with Austin, something Texas Keeper makes a very deliberate attempt at, Peebles responded:

Yeah, I think so. I think it will only get more so. Just the idea of sort of sticking around. Trying to stick around [laughs]. I mean, what becomes

iconic? It has to be a restaurant that's around for 10 years. I mean the first place I think of is Texas French Bread. It's not like super sexy and hip, but it's been around for 30-something years. So, to me, and I think of that as Austin.

In a city rapidly evolving as Austin, Texas Keeper Cider sees the importance of longevity as providing the authenticity of a true Austin institution and the neolocal connections that affords.

In North Texas, Patrick Spears also relies heavily on his life-long connection with Fort Worth to provide neolocal authenticity to Locust Cider. Spears, after living in Washington since 2015, genuinely wants to be back in Fort Worth:

I've wanted to be back ever since I moved away and to be able to open up something like this is just a complete bonus. [I] want to be like a kind of neighborhood spot for people in this up and coming area.

While the cidery itself reflects multiple neolocal traits, the one most closely associated with Spears is his focus on the neighborhood and belonging. Spear's sense of belonging to and nostalgia for the Fort Worth he grew up with is evident:

The thing about the city, it's still got a small feel to it. I mean there's still people coming in every day that know somebody that we know or have been friends with or grew up with. Which is one of the things I like about this area is as big as it ends up getting it still feels like a small town.

Locust Cider's choice of neighborhood to host their cidery and tasting room reflects Spear's status of someone born and raised in Fort Worth, describing the location as:

A good solid mix of where Fort Worth is headed. But at the same time not straying too far from old ways of Fort Worth because there's still alcohol being served on this street. So, if anything's gonna work in Fort Worth, it's going to be an alcohol-based business [laughs].

Spear's knowledge of the "old ways of Fort Worth" encompasses his neolocal considerations, lending local knowledge, and creating the experience he most wants to share, for visitors to:

Just welcomed and comfortable and feel like a sense of familiarity with this place even though they've never been here before. We don't want to come in feeling like we're outsiders, because we are from Fort Worth. ...So we know a lot about Fort Worth. We already have immediate connections.

Cherry Graham, of Hye Cider Company, displays the vitality and enthusiasm she feels about her cider and her adopted home of Hye, Texas. Graham described her choice of living in Hye:

The location dictated where we wanted to live. We wanted to move out to the country from Austin years ago. And we've been out here for almost four years now, but we wanted to move out here. At first, it was just 'country,' general, anywhere in the country. And then I got a job working at the Hye Market here as their beer specialist. And after my second day of work, I went running home to Travis. I said, 'You know what? It's way more specific than the country. We are moving to Hye.' And it was 'cause he just relaxed and was a different person, and I can see him smile for the first time, his eyes twinkled. So I knew that we had to get out here. We had to get out to the country. So we would have done it wherever we could, but we wouldn't have done it anywhere but Hye.

Graham's enthusiasm and authenticity are easy to see for any visitor to Hye Cider.

When asked about her craft as a cider maker, Graham replied:

Well, okay, so you're sitting across from me. Do you see the smile on my face? Do you see the twinkle in my eye when I'm talking about cider? That's what makes it craft is the love that goes into it.

Her description of Hye and the other entrepreneurs in Hye is similar:

Hye is much of a younger group. More movers and shakers doing things their own way, being a little funky, going against the norm, working their asses off. And that's what I see about Hye. And everyone who's here, they're all in it for each other. We're all here to help each other out.

Graham was initially worried that she and her husband might not be welcome in Hye, as she describes their appearance, “I had purple hair and covered in tattoos, nose rings, you know, and he's the big burly, bald-headed guy with lots of tattoos,” but said they were warmly welcomed. Graham’s connections to Hye are so much a part of her that when asked if she considers her cider local, she based her definition on community:

Besides the ingredients that I can get? It's part of Hye. You know, like I said, it's a community thing. Everyone out here supports everyone else. I mean you can't get much more local than community.

Despite having a small staff, Hye Cider was actively involved in community events and planning a number of collaborations with other wineries and distilleries in the area. These collaborations reinforce Graham’s connection to Hye and its people, creating unique local products:

We're planning on doing a rosé with Calais [Winery]. It has a nice little ring to it. We're going to be doing a cider fermented on Malbec skins, so we'll still get the color and tannins, but not the sweetness of the grapes. So it'll still be a very dry cider and tight, dense little bubbles in the carbonation. ...We’ve also got a little idea in the works that we're not quite sure who we're going to work with on this, but we want to make the true applejack. So freeze distilled cider. We’ve just got to figure out who we're going to work with on that. We've got our pick of the litter with all the distillers out here, but it's a little different when you do freeze distillation in Texas. That'll be a very special product.

Graham’s enthusiasm for cider, skill at cider making, and connections to Hye and its winemakers provide a solid basis for Hye Cider Company’s neolocal positioning.

Houston’s City Orchard is not yet in production, but co-founder Patrick Kwiatkowski’s connection to the orchard is front and center in his plans:

City obviously invokes the fact that we're urban and we're here. We're making cider in Houston. But, you know, the apples come from an orchard. We want people to be connected to that, to the farm, to the

orchard. And since we're in a big city, obviously people know that apples grow on trees, but we also are reminding people that we're actually using one-hundred percent apple juice. We're not using concentrate. We're not using anything but natural juice selected from, in part, our own orchard and our friends who have orchards down the street.

Kwiatkowski and his business partner, a “third or fourth generation orchardist” create a tangible connection to the orchard for consumers, possibly as tangible as the cider itself. City Orchard can account for the product from bloom to bottle, offering complete transparency, a strongly desired neolocal trait. Transparency matched with orchard ownership, and the skill of creating craft ciders provides an opportunity for Kwiatkowski for education:

I think we have an opportunity to really reinforce what a good cider is by telling people, by educating people where these things come from. ...New York apples and cider is just; people don't know it well enough. But there's definitely enough great fruit in New York and Michigan to make really phenomenal ciders, and you know, we're going to play that up.

Without being in production, it is not possible to know how well City Orchard's planning will translate to reality, but Kwiatkowski's intention to promote his connection to the orchard is present.

Overall, cidery owners' personal participation and their relationship to neolocal activities were as varied as the cideries themselves. Not all cidery owners were personally engaged in neolocal activities, or their engagement could not be determined by the interview answers provided. Cidery owners with strong feelings toward definable neolocal activities, such as local food, farming, orchard management, or attachment to place of residence displayed the traits actively through their cidery. A cider maker's strong attachment to place was often associated with the cidery practicing a myriad of other neolocal traits covering geographic, relational, and values of proximity. These

producers used language that embedded them in their community as an engaged, knowledgeable resident and extended their presence in the community through the cidery.

4.6. Neolocal Product Model

In the course of the research, I developed a conceptual framework in the form of neolocal product model that incorporated Eriksen's (2013) three domains of proximity, Schnell's (2013a) neolocal themes, and other neolocal traits identified in the literature review. Noticeably, not all neolocal traits that I was seeking in my interviewees are present on the model. For example, authenticity and transparency are valuable neolocal traits, but they are often derived from a combination of multiple traits, such as ownership, tasting room interactions, and producer knowledge that creates them.

Using information gathered from the interviews, I modified the model to refine the mapped neolocal traits and to accommodate additional neolocal traits specific to Texas craft cider producers (Figure 28, Table 2). None of these modifications changed the basic model. I made changes for clarity or that reflect Texas cider as a specific neolocal product.

4.7. Further Research

This research, while conducted across a geographically large area but with a small number of participants, aimed to create knowledge about something local – the growing local food network of Texas craft cider producers and their connection to neolocalism. I believe it sets the stage for a number of additional avenues of research.

Additional research could be undertaken to test the neolocal product model on other local products or business. Craft beer would be an obvious candidate due to the

large body of research that already exists and the simplicity of porting the model. Craft beer's longer history on the market may also reveal traits not present in a newer product like cider. Additionally, testing the model as a self-assessment tool with beer and cider would also provide insight into the producer's perspective.

I believe the model can also be adapted to other potentially neolocal businesses, such as bookstores, restaurants, or craft business such a local fiber art stores. Recent news articles have covered locally-owned bookstores being embraced as retail anchor tenants, while national chains continue to do poorly (Hirsch 2018). Those same bookstores are using crowd-funding, locally-made food, and community events to create local connections (Silver 2017).

Evaluating the model from the consumer perspective would also be informative since much of the neolocal research has taken place on consumer perspectives. Interviews with consumers may also reveal different traits and the values that may contrast or complement those embraced by producers.

Lastly, the model could also be applied in an area with abundant cideries and orchards such as New England, the Great Lakes, and the Pacific Northwest that may reveal different traits, which are not feasible in an apple-poor region such as Texas.

The results of studies like these will further expand the theoretical model of neolocalism and contribute to our knowledge of identity, locality, and place.

4.7.1. Model Modifications

Within Geographic Proximity:

- Physical Input trait Global was changed to International.

Within Values of Proximity:

- Inputs Quality trait was changed to Physical Inputs and range changed from High Quality and Low Quality to Higher Quality and Lower Quality acknowledging its subjective nature;
- Outputs Quality trait was changed from High Quality and Low Quality to Higher Quality and Lower Quality acknowledging its subjective nature;
- Output Quantity trait was moved from Relational Proximity to Values of Proximity;
- Conservation Efforts was changed to Conservation Values.
- Conservation Values and Social Values traits were given a range of engagement, from Business Efforts, 3rd Party Efforts, and None;
- Knowledge trait (Skills, History, Lore, Imagery, Geography, Etc.) was given a range of engagement from More to Less.

Within Relational Proximity:

- Ownership trait was changed from Local Private, Regional Private, and Corporate to reflect a range from Local Private to International/Corporate;
- Financing was changed from Private/Crowd-Funded, Local Credit Union/Financing, Regional Financing, and Extra-Regional/Global

Financing to Private/Crowd-Funded, Local Bank/Financing, Extra-Regional/Venture Capital, and International Financing;

- Distribution trait was modified, adding Direct (Producer to 3rd Party) and moved Indirect (3rd Party to 3rd Party) to the third outer ring of Relational Proximity;
- A Collaboration trait was added with Many, Some, Few, and None;
- An Owner Residency trait was added with Native Resident, Non-Native Resident, and Non-Resident.

Overall Model:

- Added an outer ring and trait lines to create a segmented pie formation to better visually represent the data collected.
- Added a color scheme to represent the level of engagement visually.

The model creates a visual method to evaluate the overall neolocal qualities of the Texas craft cider producers interviewed. The model is used to map a cidery's neolocal traits; the more neolocal traits a cidery display and the closer those traits are to the center of the model, the greater the chances of the product being perceived as neolocal.

The interviews, field notes, and product marketing were analyzed to determine a cidery's level of engagement with each specific trait (Appendix B: Interview Questions). If I was unable to determine a cidery's engagement with a trait because the interview or marketing did not provide enough information, engagement with the trait was left blank.

The color scheme used to represent engagement is one of sequential design, with the darker color used in the inner ring indicating more engagement and lighter colors as the engagement decreases or ceases toward the outer rings (Brewer 1994).

4.7.2. Discussion

Once plotted, it became clear four cideries stood out for their engagement with neolocal traits which is visually represented by coverage of the inner-most ring of neolocal traits. Only Texas Keeper Cider encompassed all fourteen neolocal traits modeled to Texas craft cider producers at the most engaged level. Rohan Meadery lacked one. Houston Cider Company lacked two. Hye Cider Company lacked three (Figure 34-37). The not-yet-in-production City Orchard, according to their interview, lack all but two of the traits, but without an operating business, the model is speculative (Figure 38).

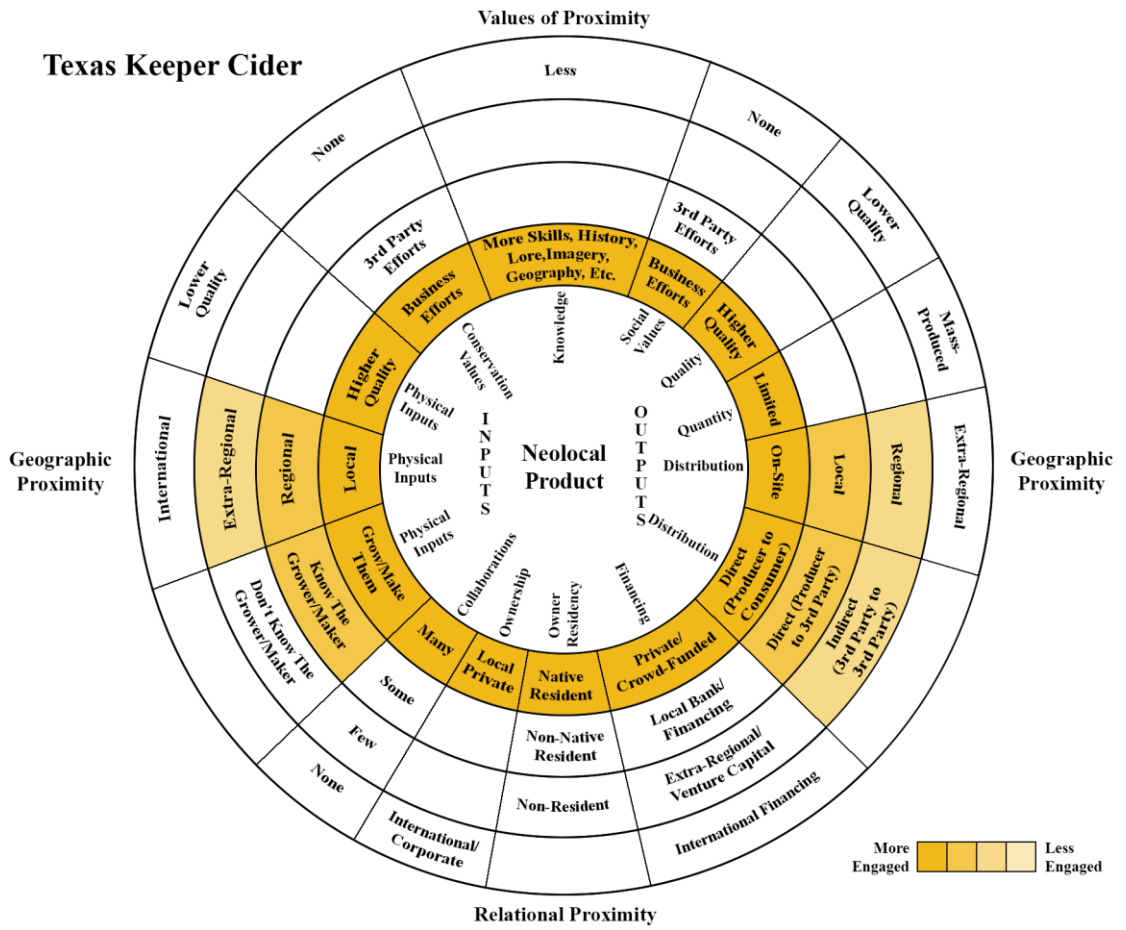


Figure 34. Texas Keeper Cider Neolocal Product Model.

Rohan Meadery

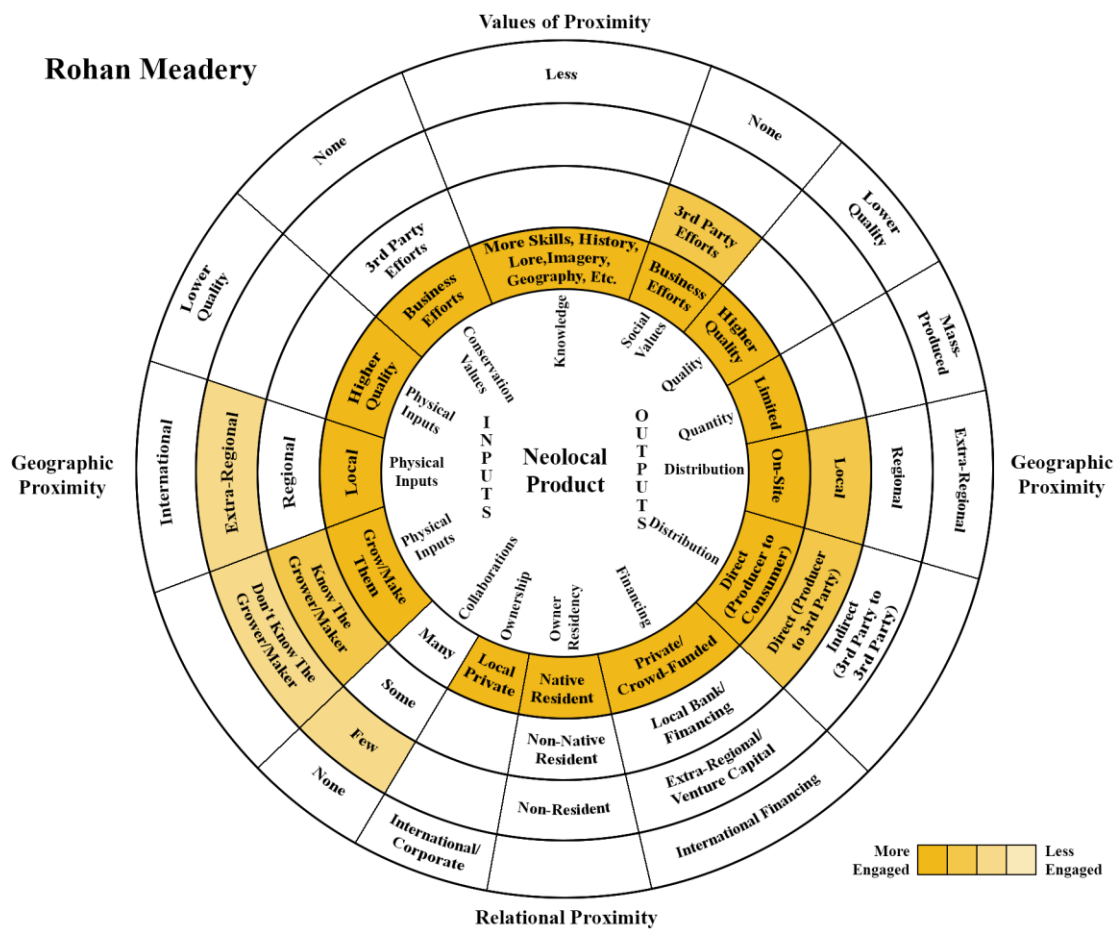


Figure 35. Rohan Meadery Neolocal Product Model.

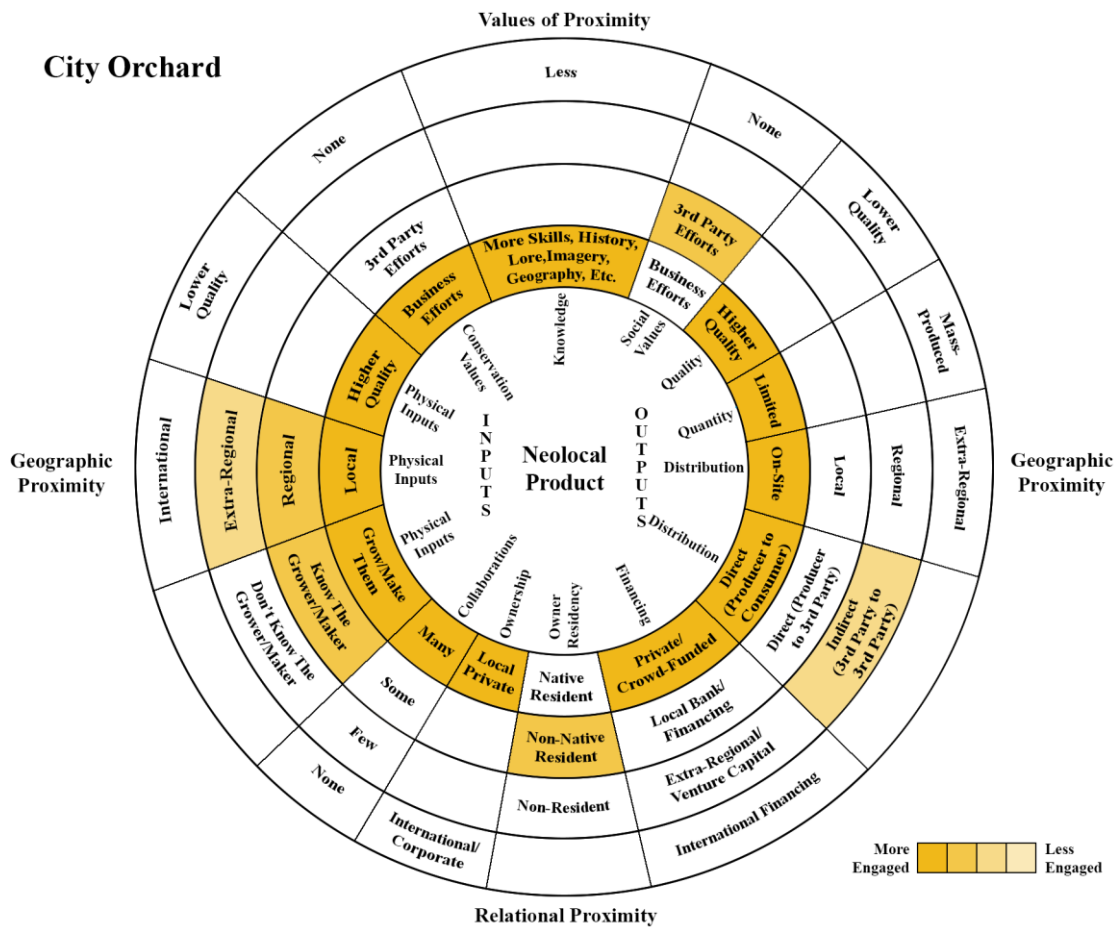


Figure 38. City Orchard Neolocal Product Model.

The model demonstrates that some traits are difficult or impossible to practice for some businesses. Being a Native Resident relies on the owner's place of birth, something they cannot modify. The two cideries with the most neolocal traits, Texas Keeper Cider and Rohan Meadery, have that distinction. Physical Inputs that producers grow requires access to fertile land and the time, skills, and resources to grow ingredients. Rural cideries or those with lots of undeveloped land will be at an advantage as Rohan Meadery, located on Blissful Folly Farm, demonstrates. Generally speaking, these cideries could not be much more locally engaged than they are now, creating products strongly embedded in place.

The next five cideries - Argus Cidery, Fairweather Cider Company, Trinity Cider Company, Locust Cider, and Moontower Cider Company (Figures 39-43) - incorporate numerous neolocal traits including High Quality Physical Inputs, Local Private Ownership, Private or Crowd-Funded Financing, On-Site Distribution, Direct to Consumer Distribution, Limited Quantity, and Higher Quality products. Visually, the models demonstrate less uniformity with the innermost rings of neolocal traits and more coverage toward the outer rings.

Most had less or sometimes no engagement with the Knowledge, Collaborations, Social Values, and Conservation Values traits. Fulfilling the latter three traits requires a commitment on the part of the cidery of staff time and financial resources. It is undoubtedly easier to donate a case of cider to an event than to plan and host the event themselves, and each business has to decide the best use of its limited resources. In the cases of Trinity Cider Company and Locust Cider, both had only been open a few weeks at the time of the interview, and my data on Trinity was incomplete. As they embed themselves in their community, they may increase their local community involvement. Similarly, the lack of a tasting room affected Moontower Cider Company, preventing them from engaging in On-Site and Direct (Producer to Consumer) Distribution and hampering Conservation and Social Value engagement. Once a tasting room is in place, likely these four traits will all change considerably, creating a strongly neolocal product. Fairweather Cider has chosen a lifestyle approach with no emphasis on place-based (Knowledge) marketing, while engaging strongly or moderately with other traits. Argus Cidery, Texas' oldest cidery and well respected, has chosen not to focus on Collaborations or the use of history, lore, imagery, or geography (Knowledge) in their

marketing and identity but demonstrate exceptional skill (Knowledge), relying on high-quality inputs from growers they know to produce high-quality, limited edition ciders in addition to their more commercial line.

Locust Cider occasionally uses apple juice concentrates in their production, which Texas craft cider makers associated with lower quality ingredients and lower quality cider. They also have few Collaborations, no Conservation Efforts, and little use of the Knowledge traits. However, Locust Cider does have direct relationships with Washington apple growers and occasionally purchases unique cider apples to create limited edition specialty releases. They also do not use adjunct non-fruit sugars, other than honey. The owners are native residents to Fort Worth and firmly dedicated to their social cause, the Hydrocephalus Foundation, donating proceeds and educating the consumer on this rare disorder.

The research and model demonstrate that there are multiple ways to achieve local. As my interview with Argus Cidery was somewhat shorter, my data was incomplete. I could not evaluate their conservation efforts, but based on their engagement with sourcing, skills, and quality, I believe their cider is perceived as strongly neolocal by producers and consumers alike. Similarly, Austin's Fairweather Cider Company consciously rejects explicit ties to geographic-based marketing in favor of lifestyle-based marketing. Yet, when I presented their unique can artwork (Figure 25) to various individuals, a common reaction was "that's very Austin." Both of these companies likely achieve a neolocal status and local moniker, but do not engage with all the neolocal traits available to them.

These producers reveal the complexity present in Texas craft cideries and their engagement with and representation of local places. They do not engage with every neolocal trait, sometimes through choice, sometimes through circumstance. As a number of these cideries are newly opened, it remains to be seen what traits may be most important to their success as being perceived as a locally embedded, craft producer. All have the potential to increase their neolocal appeal by focusing on unexplored Values of Proximity and Relational Proximity. In interviews, some cideries mentioned no longer sourcing juice from packinghouses and instead sourcing specialty apple juice directly from growers if they could find reliable, affordable vendors. However, sourcing from individual orchards creates its own problems such as inconsistent quality and storing and shipping logistics. Other traits, such as Collaborations, Social Values, and Conservation Values, may be easier to achieve if a business desires to increase its local connections.

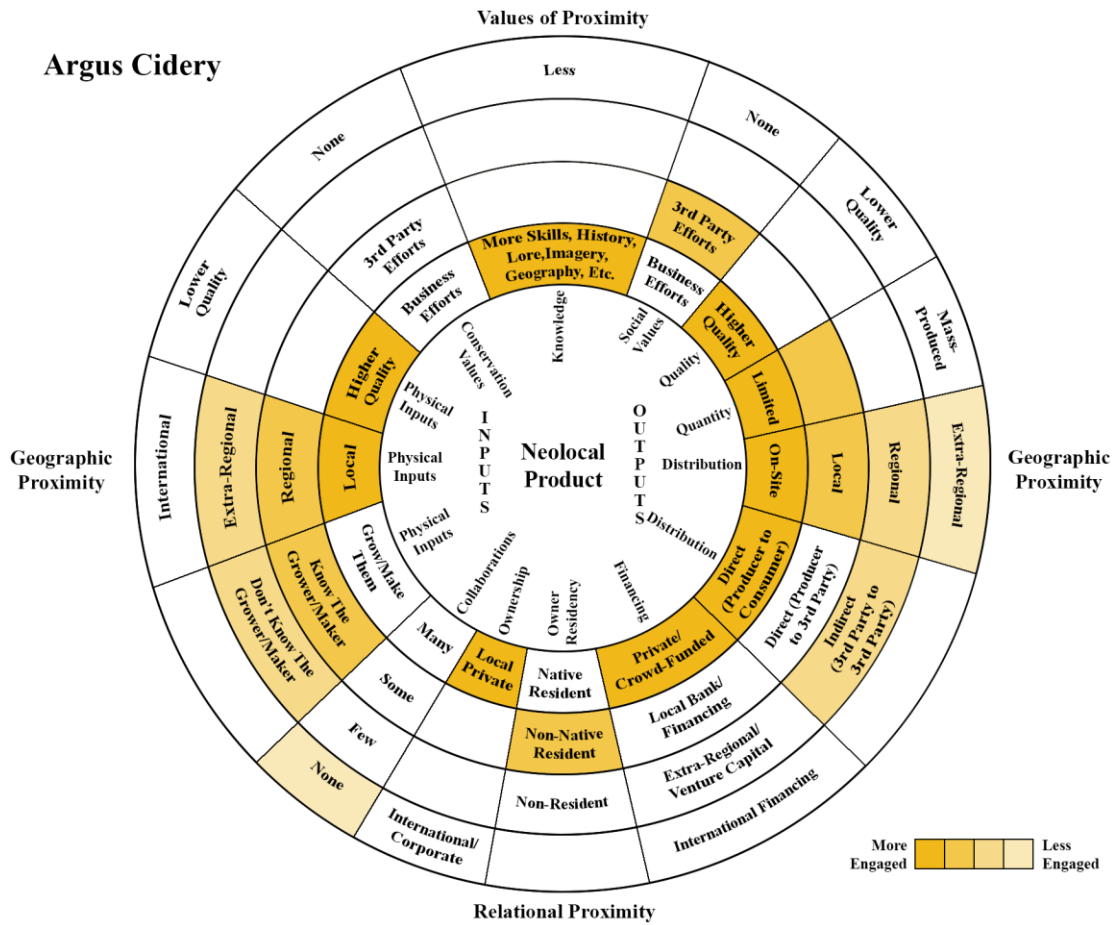


Figure 39. Argus Cidery Neolocal Product Model.

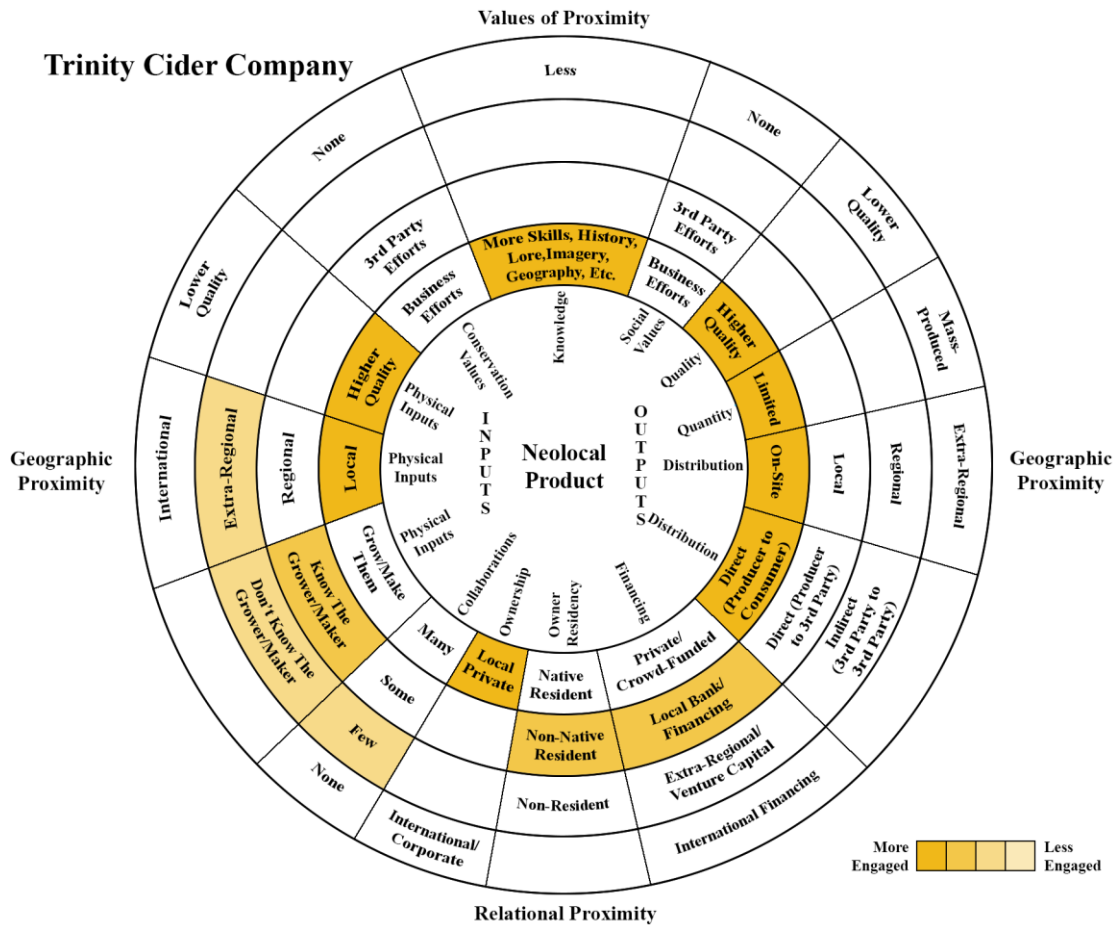


Figure 41. Trinity Cider Company Neolocal Product Model.

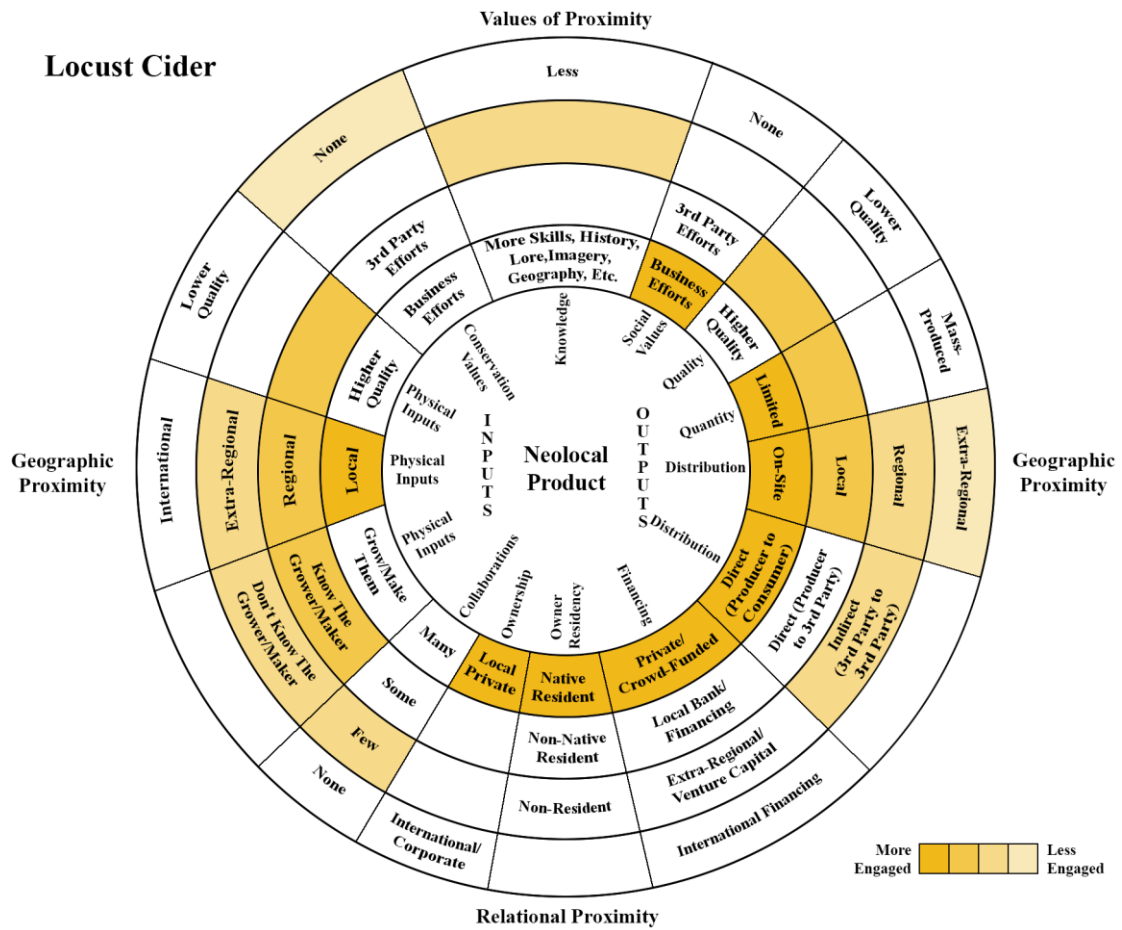


Figure 42. Locust Cider Neolocal Product Model.

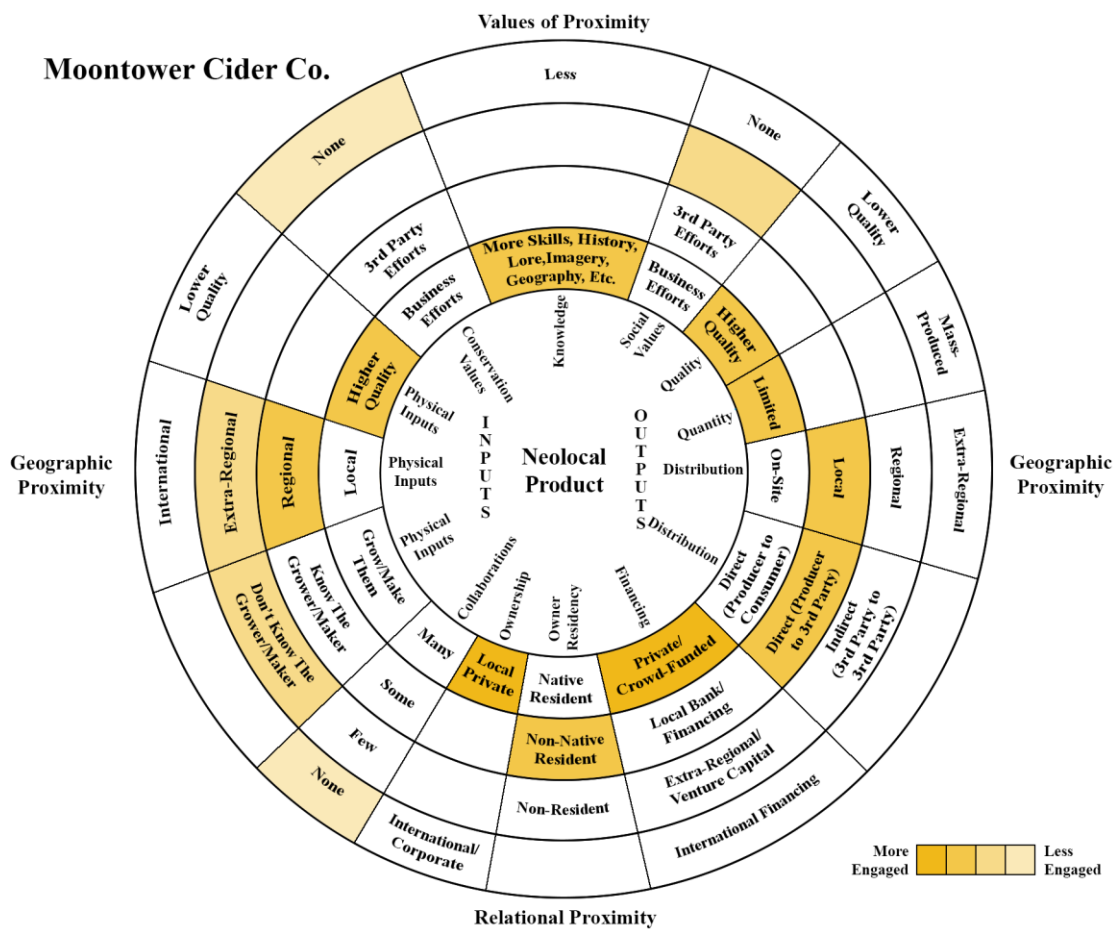


Figure 43. Moontower Cider Company Neolocal Product Model.

Lastly, Austin Eastciders has the fewest traits in the inner two rings, and the most in the outer two rings of any cidery studied (Figure 44). Austin Eastciders' use of geography (Knowledge), along with a tasting room, local Collaborations, and local Social Values promote their Austin neolocal appeal. However, looking beyond these traits, Austin Eastciders' international sourcing of ingredients, use of what Texas craft cider makers regard as lower quality ingredients like juice concentrates and adjunct non-fruit sugars, massive production volume, and Ownership and Financing by non-resident venture capital or angel investors move them far from crafting a product perceived as

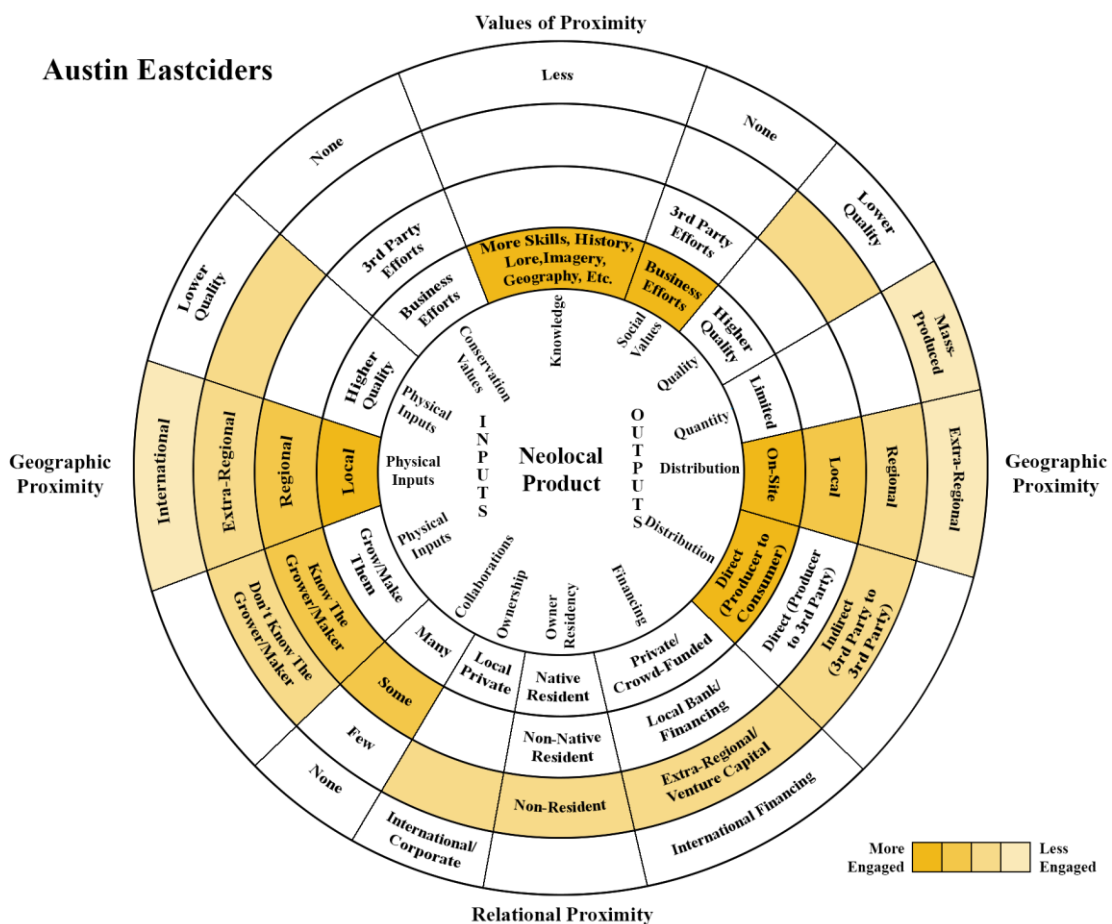


Figure 44. Austin Eastciders Neolocal Product Model.

local. While Austin Eastciders strives to remain true to their local roots in their Collaboratory limited offerings, the product available on store shelves in fourteen states does not convey the same neolocal connections

Based on the data collected, I believe the model is an effective tool to visually measure whether a product can be perceived as more or less neolocal.

5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this research was to develop and test a new conceptual framework for the geographic analysis of neolocalism through an examination of Texas craft cider producers. Examining the literature, I was able to find gaps in the knowledge regarding neolocalism and the perception of local products. I examined these gaps through the producer's perspective of craft cider in Texas. Craft cider producers can be viewed as proxies for any of the numerous local and craft food and beverage producers created within local food networks in the past three decades. Understanding this change in American consumerism is increasingly important if local producers are to create successful, sustainable models of production. Shortridge's (1996) theory of neolocalism - the striving for a conscientious and sustained attachment to local places - shares its attributes with many of the motivations research shows compel local food consumers and producers. Neolocal consumers and producers want to create and restore connections to place and the community in which they reside. I used these attributes, or traits, to design and test a model of neolocal production. The model visually demonstrates how Texas craft cider producers' ability to create a locally-embedded product imbued with neolocal traits are affected by how the producers situate themselves within a local food network, reflect local resources and values, and present their cidery within a chosen landscape.

I attempted to answer the following four research questions:

- To what extent do Texas craft cider producers employ neolocal traits in the identity and marketing of their products and place?
- Do geographic, relational, or value-based traits hold greater influence when employing neolocalism in Texas craft cider?

- How, and under what conditions, does the role of neolocalism and the traits employed in Texas craft cider production vary by location, reflecting local sites and situations
- Among Texas cider producers who personally participate with neolocal activities, are these same neolocal traits reflected in their cideries?

5.1. Neolocal Traits in Identity and Marketing

The interviews and marketing materials documented the use of neolocal traits in the identity and marketing of Texas cider from the largest to the smallest producer and from the oldest to the newest. The geography of place was prominent, helping to propel Austin Eastciders to national distribution while also displaying pride and knowledge of place in Hye, population 105 (Texas Escapes 2019) and Houston Cider Company, population 2,312,717 (U.S. Census Bureau 2019). Ten of the twelve cideries studied had some form of neolocalism in their company name, seven of which referred to an explicit geography of place. The neolocal traits most universally engaged and marketed were the use of high-quality ingredients in the form of single-strength, not from concentrate apple juice, locally sourced adjunct ingredients, community involvement, private local ownership, knowledge (skills, history, lore, imagery, and geography), transparency, and direct to consumer distribution in a tasting room. A tasting room was considered vital by producers for the success of a cidery enabling many of the other neolocal traits.

A new neolocal trait documented was cidery owners claiming residency in the location of production. Native residents exploited their status, and if they were non-native, owners claimed adopted-local status, committing themselves to community involvement and connection.

5.2. Use of Geographic, Relational, or Value-Based Neolocal Traits

All cider makers interviewed engaged in neolocal traits present in all three domains of local proximity. Traits sharing near universal agreement on their importance to the success of the cidery and its products included the use of high quality single-strength apple juice, the use of geographically local ingredients whenever available, the support of social and community efforts and the production of high quality, unique products.

The need for direct producer to consumer distribution of products in a tasting room appeared most vital to producers hoping to create a connection between consumers, producers, product, and place. The tasting room is the space that creates place, allowing for the numerous relational- and values-based proximity interactions that occur in that space.

Even as the domain of Geographic Proximity had dramatically fewer neolocal traits than either Relational Proximity or Values of Proximity, no one domain dominated the ability of Texas craft cider makers to create neolocal connections. Each producer situated itself within a balance of traits that they felt best-created neolocal connections to product and place.

5.3. Neolocalism Reflected in Local Sites and Situations

Texas as a whole has few cideries. Numerous large cities including San Antonio, El Paso, Arlington, and Corpus Christi have none. Austin, by contrast, can claim five, including the state's oldest and largest. Most of the cider producers interviewed felt there was still significant room for growth, even in the cider-rich city of Austin. Craft beer likewise continues to expand with more than 200 breweries opening in the U.S. every

year since 2014 (Brewers Association 2018b). How can so many like-minded businesses succeed in a limited geographic area? By recognizing that what sets them apart is their local site and situation and how they represent it.

Texas craft cider makers demonstrated that geographically- or situationally-similar cideries are offering unique neolocal experiences. Each showcases producer, product, and place specific qualities that foster neolocal consumer connections. Embracing their local site and situation allows a two-person start-up like Moontower Cider to open blocks away from the industry heavyweight Austin Eastciders and still find ample room for success.

5.4. Producer's Personal Participation in Neolocal Activities

Few questions directly addressed the cidery owner's personal neolocal activities and identity, but a number of cidery owners elaborated on their involvement with and commitment to neolocal activities. The majority of cideries participating in this research are owned and managed by one or two individuals. I believe the cideries reflect the owners, and their personal engagement with neolocal activities was as diverse as the cideries themselves. Some had little engagement, or their level of personal engagement could not be determined from the interviews. Those owners who were most passionate about participating in neolocal activities, such as local food, shopping locally, supporting local social or environmental causes, or being connected to the community in which they reside, displayed these traits passionately throughout their cidery. There were numerous connections to the local food movement as multiple cideries. Most owners were proud of their connections to the place they lived and worked, whether they were native born or transplants. These producers were proud of their residency, deeply embedded in their

local community, knowledgeable, and extended their personal connection to place through their business.

5.5. Neolocal Product Model

Through the course of my research and literature review, it became apparent that there were numerous ways of associating products, places, producers, and consumers with local food and connections to neolocalism. The neolocal product model I proposed is part of the ongoing effort to define what is local and to whom. Recognizing that local is far more than miles from farm-to-plate or bloom-to-bottle, the model incorporated distance, relationships, and values along with numerous actors and traits to create a visual method to evaluate the overall neolocal qualities of the Texas craft cider producers interviewed.

Plotting the information gathered from Texas cider makers to the model demonstrated a broad range of engagement with neolocal traits. Those most engaged in neolocal activities showed a widespread use of almost all the neolocal traits at the most local level. It also demonstrated some traits are difficult or impossible for every cidery to employ, such as having a native residency status in an area. These actively engaged cideries are creating products with strong connections to place for their neolocal consumers.

The less engaged group of neolocal cideries demonstrated various neolocal traits, but they were fewer or practiced at a less local or hands-on level. The traits most lacking commonly fell under the Values of Proximity, and this may demonstrate a lack of resources or commitment to social, conservation, or knowledge-based efforts. These less engaged cideries all have the potential to increase their neolocal appeal by focusing on

unexplored or under-explored traits in Values of Proximity and Relational Proximity. In addressing these under-explored traits, the model could be used as a visual self-assessment tool for businesses that want to be as locally engaged as possible. As business owners know the detailed workings of their business activities, they could quickly evaluate their engagement with neolocal traits mapping them to the model, discovering traits which need further engagement. The model could be used to explore and justify the expense associated with engaging with more resource intensive parts of Geographic, Relational, and Values of Proximity, allowing for the creation of a more local product.

Lastly, Austin Eastciders had the fewest traits at the most local levels and the most traits demonstrating separation from local in all domains. The strong use of geography in their name, along with a tasting room, local collaborations, and social efforts propagates some neolocal appeal. This likely helps them succeed in markets in which they might not otherwise compete. Yet Austin Eastciders' international sourcing, use of perceived lower quality ingredients, non-local ownership, investor financing, and large production volume place them far from being a neolocal product so a more demanding producer or consumer.

APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTIONS.....	218
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS.....	223
APPENDIX C: TEXAS CIDER PRODUCERS.....	225
APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW CODES	229
APPENDIX E. CITI COURSE CERTIFICATION.....	232

APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTIONS

INFORMED CONSENT

Study Title: Texas Cider Producers: Fermenting Neolocal Connections

Principal Investigator: James Buratti

Phone: 512-560-3865

Email: jb63@txstate.edu

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Ron Hagelman III

Email: rhagelman@txstate.edu

Phone: 512-245-8847

This consent form will give you the information you will need to understand why this research study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will need to do to participate as well as any known risks, inconveniences, or discomforts that you may have while participating. We encourage you to ask questions at any time. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form, and it will be a record of your agreement to participate. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND

You are invited to participate in a research study to learn more about how Texas cider producers create and market their products in regard to their local food network. I am interested in how cider producers use their business to create a sense of identity and place among their customers. The information gathered will be used in my dissertation research and may appear in academic journals and conferences.

PROCEDURES

If you agree to be in this study, you will participate in one or both of the following:

One survey (approx. 10 minutes)

One Interview, preferably in person (approx. 45-60 minutes)

The survey will be taken online before the interview. For the interview, we will set up a time for you to meet the principal investigator at your cidery or tasting room, or another agreed upon location. The interview will cover questions about your cidery such as sourcing ingredients, marketing, community involvement, and distribution. You do not have to answer any question you do not want to, and you can stop the interview at any time. The interview will be audio-recorded to make sure that it is recorded accurately and the researcher may take notes as well.

RISKS/DISCOMFORTS

Production data will be aggregated as to not reveal any potential individual business-related data.

If you are uncomfortable answering any of the survey questions, you may leave them blank. You may also stop your participation at any time.

Should you feel discomfort after participating, you may locate a health care professional for counseling services at <http://dshs.texas.gov/mhservices-search/>

Or call:

Bandera County: 830-792-3300

Dallas County: 1-877-653-6363

Galveston County: 409-763-2373

Harris County: 713-970-7000

Hays County 830-792-3300

Smith County: 903-597-1351

Tarrant County: 817-569-4300

Travis County: 512-447-4141

BENEFITS/ALTERNATIVES

There will be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study. However, potential benefits include creating a better understanding of how consumers value local products, what makes a product local, and improved local production methods.

EXTENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY

I would like to include your name or other identifiable information in the dissertation, journal articles, or presentations that result from this research project. I may want to quote you directly for attribution and explanatory purposes. You will have the opportunity to review any personally identifiable information before it is published. However, you have the option to not have your name used when data from this study are published; if this is the case, please indicate so at the end of this form.

The members of the research team and the Texas State University Office of Research Compliance (ORC) may access the data. The ORC monitors research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Data will be kept for three years (per federal regulations) after the study is completed and then destroyed.

PAYMENT/COMPENSATION

You will not be paid for your participation in this study.

PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw from it at any time without consequences of any kind or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

QUESTIONS

If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, you may contact the Principal Investigator; James Buratti, 512-560-3865, jb63@txstate.edu; Faculty Advisor: Dr. Ron Hagelman III, 512-245-8847, rhagelman@txstate.edu.

This project was approved by the Texas State IRB on Monday, August 27th, 2018. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB Chair, Dr. Denise Gobert 512-716-2652 – (dgobert@txstate.edu) or to Monica Gonzales, IRB Regulatory Manager 512-245-2334 - (meg201@txstate.edu).

DOCUMENTATION OF CONSENT

I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement, and possible risks have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand I can withdraw at any time. Your name or other identifiable information may be used in the dissertation, journal articles, or presentations that result from this research project. You have the right to refuse the use of your name other identifiable information.

- Yes, I consent to the use of my name or other identifiable information (check this box affirming your consent)
- No, I do not consent to the use of my name or other identifiable information.

Q1. Year Established:

Q2. How do you sell/distribute your products? (mark all that apply)

- Sell at onsite tasting room
 - Sales Method:
 - By the Bottle
 - By the Glass
 - Other _____
- Sell through a distributor
 - Distribution Range:
 - Local distribution
 - Regional distribution (Within the border of Texas)
 - National distribution (Within the US)
 - International distribution
- Sell directly to the customer via web or mail order
- Other method _____

Q3. Do you make your cider on-site?

- Make on-site
- Make elsewhere
- Both onsite and elsewhere

Q4. Do you grow your own apples or purchase apples/juice?

- Grow my own

- Purchase
- Both

Display This Question:

If Do you grow your own apples or purchase apples/juice? Grow my own Is Selected

Or Do you grow your own apples or purchase apples/juice? Both Is Selected

Q5. If you grow your own apples for your cider, why? (mark all that apply)

- To control the variety
- To control the quality
- To control the growing process
- To avoiding chemical pesticides and herbicides
- To keep production local
- To control cost
- The style of cider I want to make
- Other _____

Display This Question:

If Do you grow your own apples or purchase apples/juice? Purchase Is Selected

Or Do you grow your own apples or purchase apples/juice? Both Is Selected

Q6. If you purchase apples/juice for your cider, what influences your procurement decisions: (mark all that apply)

- Variety
- Quality
- Price
- Availability
- Proximity (closeness) to your cidery
- Relationship with grower
- The style of cider I want to make
- Simplicity
- Other _____

Display This Question:

If Do you grow your own apples or purchase apples/juice? Purchase Is Selected

Or Do you grow your own apples or purchase apples/juice? Both Is Selected

Q7. Did you purchase apples/juice from within Texas?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

Q8. Do you use other locally grown/sourced ingredients in your cider?

- Yes
- No

Q9. Does your business sponsor community events or fundraisers for associations, non-profits, or community groups?

- Yes
- No

Q10. Which of the following are important to the success of your cidery: (mark all that apply)?

- Quality of the products
- Uniqueness of the products
- Variety of the products
- Being a locally owned business
- Making the product locally/on-site
- Use of local ingredients
- Use of local history, lore, and imagery in branding
- Involvement with the community
- Having a tasting room
- Increased consumer interest in craft food products
- Limited Production
- Other _____

Q11. Describe your business ownership model: _____

Q12. Has your business ever used alternative financing methods (GoFundMe, Kickstarter, Indiegogo, etc.)?

- Yes
- No

Q13. Name of person completing the survey: _____

Q14. I am a (check all that apply):

- Sole Owner
- Co-owner/Partner
- Manager
- Head Cider Maker
- Other _____

Q15. May I contact you for an in-person interview?

- Yes
- No

Q16. Preferred phone number: _____

Q17. Preferred email address: _____

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Research Theme	Potential Questions
Introduction/Basic Information	<p>Describe your positions with the cidery.</p> <p>How long have you been involved with the cidery?</p> <p>How did it get its name?</p> <p>When did the cidery start selling products? If not open, when do you plan to start selling?</p> <p>How much are you producing currently?</p> <p>Is that limited production helpful for marketing your product? (question was removed after a few interviews. Was not producing helpful answers)</p> <p>What is your primary method of distribution? (cans, kegs, tasting room).</p> <p>Do you self-distribute or do you have a distributor?</p> <p>How widely would you like to be distributed?</p> <p>What the furthest I can go and buy your cider?</p>
Craft and Neolocalism	<p>Do you make your cider on-site?</p> <p>Do you consider yourself a craft cider maker, whatever that means to you?</p> <p>How is craft cider different from mass-marketed ciders?</p> <p>Where do you source your fruit/juice from?</p> <p>How did you go about finding your supplier?</p> <p>Does it matter where the fruit/juice comes from?</p> <p>Do you use cider apples or culinary or a combination?</p> <p>Would you use local apples if they were available?</p> <p>Do you use any local ingredients (honey, other fruit, etc.)? Why?</p>
Identity and Neolocalism	<p>How many ciders do you produce?</p> <p>How often does your production line change?</p> <p>How do you go about naming your ciders?</p> <p>Tell me about the imagery you use on your packaging. Do they have a story behind them?</p> <p>Tell me about your tasting room (If they have a tasting room).</p> <p>How does your tasting room fit into the local community?</p> <p>Was or is there any resistance to your cidery or tasting room?</p> <p>What do you hope your customer will experience (t)here?</p> <p>Whom do you market to? Who do you think drinks your ciders?</p> <p>Is your cider local? If so, what makes it local? (If they outsource production: Even though it is not made locally?)</p> <p>Do you think your cider is associated with (name the city they are in)?</p> <p>Do you consider your cidery to be a part of the local food movement?</p>

	Why do you think cider is gaining in popularity right now?
Community	Describe your community involvement. Do you promote local groups? Do you practice or support any conservation causes? Do you collaborate with local businesses, chefs, breweries, or wineries? Do you personally participate in any local food activities such as farmers markets, CSAs, support local businesses?
Economics	How did you fund the business? Are you the sole owner(s)? (If they use crowd-sourcing) What advantages did crowd-sourcing provide? Disadvantages? How big would you like your business to grow? If you succeed, will it still be a local product?
Personal Identity	Are you from (name of city)? Is it important that Name Cidery be in CITY? Describe the perfect NAME cider encounter?

APPENDIX C: TEXAS CIDER PRODUCERS

Argus Cidery	
Founded	2009
Production Started	2010
Location	12345 Pauls Valley Rd. #2. Austin, Texas 78737
Website	www.arguscidery.com
Owner or Head Cider Maker	Wes Mickel
Distribution	On-site on draft; locally on draft; 750ml bottles and 12 oz. cans in twenty-one states.
Fruit/Juice Source	Texas and Arkansas for 750ml bottled, aged ciders. Washington for the 12 oz. can Fermentable line.
Austin Eastciders	
Founded	2011
Production Started	2013, canning 2014.
Location	Tasting Room - 979 Springdale Rd, Austin TX 78723. Cidery - 33,000 square foot facility, 4007 Commercial Center Drive, Austin TX.
Website	www.austineastciders.com
Owner or Head Cider Maker	Owner: Ed Gibson. Co-Founder, Board Member, and President: Mark King.
Distribution	On-site on draft; on draft and 12 oz. cans nationally in fourteen states.
Fruit/Juice Source	Apple juice concentrate from Europe and Pacific Northwest U.S.
City Orchard	
Founded	2018
Production Started	Not yet in production
Location	1201 Oliver St. Unity 108, Houston TX 77007
Website	713-412-5120
Owner or Head Cider Maker	Patrick Kwiatkowski
Distribution	
Fruit/Juice Source	New York; own their orchards. Potentially Great Lakes Region.

Fairweather Cider Company	
Founded Started	2017
Production Started	2017
Location	10609 Metric Boulevard Suite 108A, Austin, TX 78758
Website	www.fairweathercider.com
Owners or Head Cider Maker	John Staples and Michael Gostomski White
Distribution	On-site on draft; on draft and 12 oz. cans locally.
Fruit/Juice Source	Oregon
Houston Cider Company	
Founded	2016
Production Started	2018
Location	1125 W Cavalcade St, Houston TX 77009
Website	www.houstoncidertx.com
Owners or Head Cider Maker	Justin Engle and Brandon Baldrige
Distribution	On-site on draft; on draft and 12 oz. cans locally
Fruit/Juice Source	Pacific Northwest U.S.
Hye Cider Company	
Founded	2018
Production Started	2018
Location	123 Rocky Road, Hye, Texas 78735.
Website	On Facebook @ www.facebook.com/hyecidercompany/
Owner or Head Cider Maker	Cherry Graham
Distribution	On-site on draft; 750ml bottles locally
Fruit/Juice Source	Pacific Northwest
Locus Cider	
Founded	2016
Production Started	In Texas 2018
Location	710 S. Main St., Fort Worth, TX 76104. (206) 494-5968
Website	https://www.locustcider.com/locations/
Ownesr or Head Cider Maker	Patrick and Jason Spears
Distribution	On-site on draft; 12 oz. cans in five states
Fruit/Juice Source	Washington
Moontower Cider Company	

Founded	2017
Production Started	2017
Location	3008 Gonzales St. Suite 300, Austin TX 78702
Website	www.moontowercider.com
Owner or Head Cider Maker	Benjamin Weaver
Distribution	12oz. cans and on draft locally
Fruit/Juice Source	Pacific Northwest
Permann's Cider Company	
Founded	2016
Production Started	2016
Location	1709 Ovid Street, Houston TX 77007
Website	www.permannscider.com
Owner or Head Cider Maker	Andrea Permann
Distribution	12oz. bottles locally
Fruit/Juice Source	Pacific Northwest U.S.
Rohan Meadery	
Founded	2009
Production Started	2009, cider in 2015
Location	6002 FM 2981, La Grange, TX 78945
Website	www.rohanmeadery.com
Owner or Head Cider Maker	Wendy Rohan
Distribution	On-site on draft for cider. Mead and Wine distributed locally in 500ml and 750ml bottles
Fruit/Juice Source	Pacific Northwest U.S.
Texas Keeper Cider	
Founded	2013
Production Started	2014
Location	12521 Twin Creeks Rd, Austin Texas 78652
Website	www.texaskeeper.com
Owners or Head Cider Maker	Brandon Wilde, Lindsey Peebles, and Nick Doughty.
Distribution	On-site on draft; 750ml bottles and on draft locally.
Fruit/Juice Source	Upstate New York
Trinity Cider Company	
Founded	2017
Production Started	2018
Location	2656 Main St. Suite 120, Dallas TX 75226

Website	www.drinktrinitycider.com/
Owners or Head Cider Maker	Josh Price, Bryan Myer
Distribution	On-site on draft; on draft locally.
Fruit/Juice Source	Pacific Northwest U.S.

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW CODES

Document Group	Codes	Code
Inputs	28	<p>Acknowledge apples are not local</p> <p>Collaboration - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Community Involvement - Social Values - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Educate the Customer - Knowledge - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Financing - Local/Private/Family/Crowd-Funding - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Financing - Deep Pocket Investors - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Geography/History/Lore/Imagery - Knowledge - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Extra Regional - Geographic Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Global - Geographic Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Grow their Own - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - High Quality/Juice/Cider/Heirloom- Values of Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Justify External Inputs - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Know the Grower - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Local - Geographic</p> <p>Inputs - Lower Quality/Concentrate - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Regional - Geographic Proximity</p> <p>It's Their Community (they live there) - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Ownership - Local/Private/Family - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Ownership- Large Pocket Investors - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Personal Values - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Quality - High/Unique - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Quality - Lower/Mass Market - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Reject blatant geography</p> <p>Story Telling/Creativity - Knowledge - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Support Local Food- Values of Proximity</p> <p>Sustainability/Conservation - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Tasting Room as Community Space - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Tasting Room to Relax/Connect to Friends - Relational Proximity</p>

Outputs	24	<p> Collaboration - Relational Proximity Community Involvement - Social Values - Values of Proximity Distribution - Direct to Consumer - Relational Proximity Distribution - Indirect 3rd Party - Relational Proximity Distribution - Local/Self - Geographic Proximity Distribution - On-Site - Geographic Proximity Distribution - Regional/3rd Party/Out of State - Geographic Proximity Educate the Customer - Knowledge - Relational Proximity Financing - Local/Private/Family/Crowd-Funding - Relational Proximity Financing - Deep Pocket Investors - Relational Proximity Geography/History/Lore/Imagery - Knowledge - Values of Proximity Outputs - Diversity of Product - Values of Proximity Ownership - Local/Private/Family - Relational Proximity Ownership- Large Pocket Investors - Relational Proximity Personal Values - Values of Proximity Quality - High/Unique - Values of Proximity Quality - Lower/Mass Market - Values of Proximity Quantity - Limited - Relational Quantity - Mass-Production - Relational Story Telling/Creativity - Knowledge - Values of Proximity Support Local Food- Values of Proximity Sustainability/Conservation - Values of Proximity Tasting Room as Community Space - Relational Proximity Tasting Room to Relax/Connect to Friends - Relational Proximity </p>
Geographic Proximity	9	<p> Acknowledge apples are not local Distribution - Direct to Consumer - Relational Proximity Distribution - Local/Self - Geographic Proximity Distribution - On-Site - Geographic Proximity Distribution - Regional/3rd Party/Out of State - Geographic Proximity Inputs - Extra Regional - Geographic Proximity Inputs - Global - Geographic Proximity Inputs - Local - Geographic Inputs - Regional - Geographic Proximity </p>

Relational Proximity	17	<p>Collaboration - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Community Involvement - Social Values - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Distribution - Direct to Consumer - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Distribution - Indirect 3rd Party - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Educate the Customer - Knowledge - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Financing - Local/Private/Family/Crowd-Funding - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Financing - Deep Pocket Investors - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Grow their Own - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Justify External Inputs - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Know the Grower - Relational Proximity</p> <p>It's Their Community (they live there) - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Ownership - Local/Private/Family - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Ownership- Large Pocket Investors - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Quantity - Limited - Relational</p> <p>Quantity - Mass-Production - Relational</p> <p>Tasting Room as Community Space - Relational Proximity</p> <p>Tasting Room to Relax/Connect to Friends - Relational Proximity</p>
Values of Proximity	11	<p>Community Involvement - Social Values - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Geography/History/Lore/Imagery - Knowledge - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - High Quality/Juice/Cider/Heirloom- Values of Proximity</p> <p>Inputs - Lower Quality/Concentrate - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Outputs - Diversity of Product - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Personal Values - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Quality - High/Unique - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Quality - Lower/Mass Market - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Story Telling/Creativity - Knowledge - Values of Proximity</p> <p>Support Local Food- Values of Proximity</p> <p>Sustainability/Conservation - Values of Proximity</p>

APPENDIX E. CITI COURSE CERTIFICATION

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM)	
COURSEWORK REQUIREMENTS REPORT*	
* NOTE: Scores on this Requirements Report reflect quiz completions at the time all requirements for the course were met. See list below for details. See separate Transcript Report for more recent quiz scores, including those on optional (supplemental) course elements.	
• Name:	Jared Buratti (ID: 3377455)
• Email:	jb63@txstate.edu
• Institution Affiliation:	Texas State University - San Marcos (ID: 741)
• Institution Unit:	Instructional Technologies Support
• Phone:	512-245-3641
• Curriculum Group:	Human Research
• Course Learner Group:	Social and Behavioral Research Students
• Stage:	Stage 1 - Basic Course
• Report ID:	9769789
• Completion Date:	02/20/2013
• Expiration Date:	02/20/2015
• Minimum Passing:	80
• Reported Score*:	97
REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE MODULES ONLY	
	DATE COMPLETED
Introduction (ID: 757)	02/16/13
History and Ethical Principles - SBE (ID: 490)	02/17/13
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBE (ID: 491)	02/17/13
The Federal Regulations - SBE (ID: 502)	02/20/13
Assessing Risk - SBE (ID: 503)	02/20/13
Informed Consent - SBE (ID: 504)	02/20/13
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBE (ID: 505)	02/20/13
Texas State University - San Marcos (ID: 1131)	02/20/13
For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.	
CITI Program	
Email: citisupport@miami.edu	
Phone: 305-243-7970	
Web: https://www.citiprogram.org	

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM)
COURSEWORK TRANSCRIPT REPORT**

** NOTE: Scores on this Transcript Report reflect the most current quiz completions, including quizzes on optional (supplemental) elements of the course. See list below for details. See separate Requirements Report for the reported scores at the time all requirements for the course were met.

• **Name:** **Jamed** Buratti (ID: 3377455)
• **Email:** jb63@txstate.edu
• **Institution Affiliation:** Texas State University - San Marcos (ID: 741)
• **Institution Unit:** instructional Technologies Support
• **Phone:** 512-245-3641

• **Curriculum Group:** Human Research
• **Course Learner Group:** Social and Behavioral Research Students
• **Stage:** Stage 1 - Basic Course

• **Report ID:** 9769789
• **Report Date:** 01/11/2016
• **Current Score**:** 97

REQUIRED, ELECTIVE, AND SUPPLEMENTAL MODULES

MOST RECENT

Introduction (ID: 757)	02/16/13
History and Ethical Principles - SBE (ID: 490)	02/17/13
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBE (ID: 491)	02/17/13
The Federal Regulations - SBE (ID: 502)	02/20/13
Assessing Risk - SBE (ID: 503)	02/20/13
Texas State University - San Marcos (ID: 1131)	02/20/13
Informed Consent - SBE (ID: 504)	02/20/13
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBE (ID: 505)	02/20/13

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution **identified** above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

CITI Program
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Collaborative Institutional
Training Initiative
at the University of Miami

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM) COURSEWORK REQUIREMENTS REPORT*

* NOTE: Scores on this Requirements Report reflect quiz completions at the time all requirements for the course were met. See list below for details. See separate Transcript Report for more recent quiz scores, including those on optional (supplemental) course elements.

• **Name:** Jamed Buratti (ID: 3377455)
 • **Email:** jlb63@txstate.edu
 • **Institution Affiliation:** Texas State University - San Marcos (ID: 741)
 • **Institution Unit:** Instructional Technologies Support
 • **Phone:** 512-245-3641

• **Curriculum Group:** Human Research
 • **Course Learner Group:** Social and Behavioral Research Students
 • **Stage:** Stage 2 - Refresher Course

Rectangular Snip

• **Report ID:** 14638009
 • **Completion Date:** 01/12/2016
 • **Expiration Date:** 01/11/2018
 • **Minimum Passing:** 80
 • **Reported Score*:** 90

REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE MODULES ONLY

DATE COMPLETED

SBE Refresher 1 – Defining Research with Human Subjects (ID: 15029)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Privacy and Confidentiality (ID: 15035)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Assessing Risk (ID: 15034)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Research with Children (ID: 15036)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – International Research (ID: 15028)	01/11/16
Biomed Refresher 1 - Instructions (ID: 960)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – History and Ethical Principles (ID: 936)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Federal Regulations for Protecting Research Subjects (ID: 937)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Informed Consent (ID: 938)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Research with Prisoners (ID: 939)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Research in Educational Settings (ID: 940)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Instructions (ID: 943)	01/12/16

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

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 Phone: 305-243-7970
 Web: <https://www.citiprogram.org>

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM)

COURSEWORK TRANSCRIPT REPORT**

** NOTE: Scores on this Transcript Report reflect the most current quiz completions, including quizzes on optional (supplemental) elements of the course. See list below for details. See separate Requirements Report for the reported scores at the time all requirements for the course were met.

• **Name:** Jamed Buratti (ID: 3377455)
• **Email:** jb63@txstate.edu
• **Institution Affiliation:** Texas State University - San Marcos (ID: 741)
• **Institution Unit:** Instructional Technologies Support
• **Phone:** 512-245-3641

• **Curriculum Group:** Human Research
• **Course Learner Group:** Social and Behavioral Research Students
• **Stage:** Stage 2 - Refresher Course

• **Report ID:** 14638009
• **Report Date:** 01/12/2016
• **Current Score**:** 90

REQUIRED, ELECTIVE, AND SUPPLEMENTAL MODULES

MOST RECENT

SBE Refresher 1 – History and Ethical Principles (ID: 936)	01/12/16
Biomed Refresher 1 - Instructions (ID: 960)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Federal Regulations for Protecting Research Subjects (ID: 937)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Informed Consent (ID: 938)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Research with Prisoners (ID: 939)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Research in Educational Settings (ID: 940)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Instructions (ID: 943)	01/12/16
SBE Refresher 1 – International Research (ID: 15028)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Defining Research with Human Subjects (ID: 15029)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Assessing Risk (ID: 15034)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Privacy and Confidentiality (ID: 15035)	01/11/16
SBE Refresher 1 – Research with Children (ID: 15036)	01/11/16

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

CITI Program

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Completion Date 08-Mar-2018
Expiration Date 07-Mar-2020
Record ID 24945299

This is to certify that:

Jamed Buratti

Has completed the following CITI Program course:

Human Research (Curriculum Group)
Social and Behavioral Research Students (Course Learner Group)
3 - Refresher Course (Stage)

Under requirements set by:

Texas State University

CITI
Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

Verify at www.citiprogram.org/verify/?w02af028a-8c4d-416d-a34f-9f13d4890bdd-24945299

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