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CHAPTER 7

# Atmospheres of Belonging? Exploring Ambient Power Through Manchester's Craft Beer Festivals

## Chloe Steadman and Anna de Jong

### Introduction

This chapter explores how craft beer festivals in Manchester, UK, are made and unmade through atmospheres, in ways that inform, and are informed by, a broader urban politics of belonging. We are witnessing the atmospherisation of places (Thibaud 2014), with ambiences increasingly engineered within urban regeneration schemes to render cities attractive on the 'global catwalk' (Degen 2003). Indeed, for Thrift (2004, 57), cities are 'roiling maelstroms of affect', which can be 'forged into economic weapons' (ibid, 58). Cultural festivals are increasingly used in cities' regeneration efforts (Finkel and Platt 2020) and are thus crucial generators of the atmospheres flowing across our cities. This includes craft beer festivals, the focus of this chapter, which have become part of Manchester's cultural-led regeneration (de Jong and Steadman 2021); constructing the urban landscape as creative, innovative and experiential to attract visitors, residents and investors.

When utilising cultural events within urban regeneration, however, there is a tendency that certain identities (e.g. middle class, male, heterosexual, white, and employed) are favoured (Young 2008), producing a politics of belonging within the spaces and places of cities. And yet, inclusionary and exclusionary festival atmospheres are far from predetermined; they are processual and porous, flowing across the cities in which they take place and influenced by pre-existing power relations. The unique spatial and temporal affordances of specific festivals likewise influence the ways through which belonging unfolds in unequal ways.

Accordingly, this chapter shifts the focus away from binary, static accounts that position events, such as beer festivals, as either inclusive or not; towards understanding the ways that atmospheres assemble and flow through porous networks of spaces, informing a politics of belonging. To do this, we turn to literature on urban atmospheres and Allen's (2006) concept of 'ambient power', to inform a study of two craft beer festivals in Manchester (Independent Manchester Beer Convention, and Summer Beer Thing). We reveal how the ambient power working through the festivals informs, and is informed by, the broader geographies of craft beer, as well as attendees' memories and anticipations. Importantly, however, we also demonstrate how, despite the two craft beer events sharing a number of similarities, different atmospheres are produced through contrasting embodied performances, materiality and multi-sensory affordances. We conclude by reflecting on how more inclusive atmospheres might be crafted through festivals, in cities like Manchester.

## Atmospheres, Ambient Power and Festivals

We have witnessed a so-called 'atmospheric turn' (Gandy 2017), with bourgeoning literature exploring 'affective atmospheres' (Anderson 2009) across the social sciences. Indeed, atmosphere is regularly used, and variously interchanged with affect, ambience, tone and mood (ibid), to describe everyday embodied encounters within spaces and places. We hear, for example, of the 'stressful' atmosphere of busy cities (Brighenti and Pavoni 2017), or 'cosy' candlelit atmospheres of homes (Bille 2015). Whilst atmospheres can be vague, ambiguous and indeterminate (Anderson and Ash 2015), the term is typically deployed to express how a place feels, with atmosphere conveying the affects, emotions and sensations flowing between bodies and places (Edensor 2012).

Accordingly, atmospheres have an inherently spatial quality (Wilkinson 2017), being variously described as a 'spatially extended quality of feeling' (Böhme 1993, 118), 'spatially discharged affective qualities' (Anderson 2009, 80), and 'spatial bearers of moods' (Biehl-Missal and Saren 2012, 170). For instance, playful and sensuous art installations help to create atmospheres of conviviality and sociability along Blackpool Promenade (Edensor and Millington 2018), while colourful Middle Eastern furnishings, low seating and communal

dining tables together inform a welcoming, warm and inclusive atmosphere in a Danish neighbourhood café (Kuruoğlu and Woodward 2021). Indeed, there is vast literature around 'atmospherics' (Kotler 1974), and hence how consumption environments can be designed through spatial layout, material artefacts and ambient qualities to shape people's cognitions, emotions and behaviours (Turley and Milliman 2000).

Atmospheres also have an important temporal quality, since they are '… always in the process of emerging and transforming … taken up and reworked in lived experience' (Anderson 2009, 79). Bissell (2010) finds atmospheres can shift over the course of a train journey, owing to delays and the embodied behaviours of passengers. Steadman et al. (2021) highlight how football stadium atmospheric intensities can swing between elation and boredom during matches due to unfolding events on the pitch and spectator (inter)actions. May and Lewis (2021) further reveal how movements between light and dark in a housing scheme can inform contrasting atmospheres for some residents, feeling welcoming in the daylight, yet foreboding as darkness sets in. Edensor (2015a) similarly observes how, during light festivals, participants can experience fluid affective intensities, shifting between calm absorption and excitement, as the lighting fluctuates.

Whilst much work on atmosphere and sensory places focuses on more discrete space-times (Degen and Rose 2012; Paiva and Sánchez-Fuarros 2020), emergent literature considers not only how atmosphere changes over time, but also its temporal and spatial 'porosity' (Steadman et al. 2021). Regarding the former, Edensor (2012), for instance, employs the term 'atmospheric attunement' to explore how past encounters with Blackpool Illuminations can condition the affective experiences and anticipations of repeat attenders. Accordingly, past memories of places have been found to spill into, and hence shape, the present-day atmospheres of town centres (Degen and Rose 2012), markets (Degen and Lewis 2020), housing schemes (May and Lewis 2021) and football stadia (Steadman et al. 2021). Equally, nascent literature observes how atmospheres have a spatial porosity, flowing out of cafés (Kuruoğlu and Woodward 2021) and tourist areas (Paiva and Sánchez-Fuarros 2020), into surrounding streets and neighbourhoods, with Paiva and Sánchez-Fuarros (2020, 10) introducing the concept of 'collateral atmospheres' to capture how produced (tourist) atmospheres are '… boundless phenomena that leak into the boundaries of everyday life'.

Atmospheres are not just a passive backdrop of experience, and their 'forceful' quality is also recognised (Bissell 2010). Atmospheres encompass an 'action potential' (Duff 2010, 885), whereby certain atmospheres render '… particular kinds of embodied experience more or less likely' (Duff and Moore 2015, 303). Darkness, for instance, can create uneasy atmospheres provoking young people to walk home more quickly after a night out drinking (Wilkinson 2017); while atmospheres of frustration can emerge when waiting for public transport after drinking, sometimes rendering conflict (Duff and Moore 2015).

It is also important to consider how atmosphere has the power to both include and exclude, as reflected in Allen's (2006) concept of 'ambient power' as defined below:

> […]There is something about the character of an urban setting – a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling – that affects how we experience it and which, in turn, seeks to induce certain stances which we might otherwise have chosen not to adopt. (ibid, 445)

Rather than power working via more explicit forms of exclusion, therefore, such as walls, fences and security (Thörn 2011), Allen (2006) argues urban spaces today encourage and/or inhibit certain behaviours through the affects they produce to ensure spaces, on the surface, feel 'open, accessible, and inclusive' (ibid, 445). For Allen (2006), power works in spaces through their ambient and sensory qualities; yet such inclusive affects are a seductive illusion, a new form of atmospheric power is instead being wielded.

Accordingly, ambiences are increasingly staged through sensory manipulations to create attractive and competitive cities (Thrift 2004) or, what Thörn (2011, 1004), informed by Allen, refers to as 'soft policies of exclusion'. Focusing on the city of Gothenburg, Thörn explains how urban regeneration often involves 'imagineering strategies' (ibid, 997), such as creating attractive window displays and appearance improvements, to form an environment '… seductively inclusive for some and at the same time mak[ing] others feel uncomfortable' (ibid, 1001). Degen (2003) similarly reveals how sensory manipulations in public spaces to regenerate Manchester and Barcelona, inform power relations by working to insidiously deter 'undesirable' social groups from these spaces. Elsewhere, Kärrholm (2008) illustrates how the materiality of a pedestrian precinct in Mälmo is crafted to generate ambient power that encourages certain behaviours and users (e.g. walking, shopping), whilst discouraging others.

Reflecting the festivalisation of the city, whereby festivals are increasingly leveraged to position cities as attractive, creative hubs (Finkel and Platt 2020), festivals play an important role in this strategic creation of atmospheres. Indeed, atmosphere is crucial in influencing perceptions of food and drink festivals (Axelsen and Swan 2009), with sensorial immersion of festival attendees deemed important to festival enjoyment (Davis 2016). Festival atmospheres can also create feelings of belonging. For example, the light festival Spectra produces a 'shared atmospheric event' (Edensor 2015a, 339); similarly, community light festival Lighting the Legend can help forge 'neighbourliness between disparate adjoining communities' and a 'shared place identity' (Skelly and Edensor 2020, 259). However, despite cultural events often being promoted as diverse and inclusive (Duffy, Mair and Waitt 2019), their ambiences can equally exclude. Davis (2016) observes, for example, how communal atmospheres can be disrupted at music festivals, when tensions around belonging arise between locals and visitors, and younger and older groups. Similarly, Paiva and Sánchez-

Fuarros (2020) found that the 'premium' atmosphere of touristic events and spaces in Lisbon could spill out into surrounding neighbourhoods, rupturing feelings of community, well-being and cosiness for local residents.

Despite Jamieson's (2004) related reference to how Edinburgh Fringe Festival atmospheres can spread across the city, and Stevens and Shin's (2012, 16) insights into how the 'social atmosphere' of Glasgow's West End Festival parade 'spill[s] over into adjoining spaces', studies into atmospheres are typically bounded within the time and space of the event. However, as the nascent literature on atmospheric 'porosity' (Steadman et al. 2021) highlights, festival atmospheres are not impermeable to other temporalities, nor their broader urban context. How atmospheres might spill out of festival time and space, informing a broader politics of belonging, is underexplored. Equally, notwithstanding references to 'micro-atmospheres' in football stadia (Edensor 2015b) and on housing schemes (May and Lewis 2021), 'multiple atmospheres' of hospitals (Anderson and Ash 2015), and 'pools of affect' at the Blackpool Illuminations (Edensor 2012), there is little research revealing the multiplicity of atmospheres. Little is said about how spaces and places do not typically contain a singular atmosphere; nor is a festival atmosphere necessarily fixed as inclusive or exclusive for all, which we now further reveal through our study of craft beer festivals.

## Researching Festival Atmospheres

This chapter explores atmosphere, ambient power and (not) belonging through two craft beer festivals in Manchester: the Independent Manchester Beer Convention and the Summer Beer Thing, both directed by Jonny and Charlotte Heyes – key players in Manchester's food and drink scene (Confidentials 2020a). Taking an initial broader focus on investigating processes of inclusion and exclusion at craft beer festivals, during the project it became clear that atmospheres were important in informing how belonging unfolded at the events. Given they have the potential to dissipate at any moment, atmospheres are challenging to research (Anderson and Ash 2015; Hill, Canniford and Mol 2014). The multiple qualitative methods we utilised attended to their complex and in-between quality which blurs the affective and emotional, pre-cognitive and reflective, individual and collective (Edensor 2012).

Following the idea of *knowing in* atmosphere (Sumartojo and Pink 2019), and hence to attain first-hand embodied, emotional and affective experiences of craft beer festivals, we attended both festivals in 2018 and 2019, including daytime and night-time sessions, with Anna serving as a volunteer during one 2018 Indy Man session. This involved exploring the festival venues, consuming and/or serving craft beers, and chatting to other attendees and volunteers. Our resultant fieldnotes observe the: music; chatter; food and drink smells and tastes; lighting; architecture and spatial layout; objects, signage and furnishings;

embodied performances, density and social interactions; reflections and emotions, which can together contribute to consumption atmospheres (Turley and Milliman 2000). Photographs and videos were also taken to capture the festivals' ambient qualities, since videos are useful for accessing pre-cognitive, affective and embodied experiences of atmosphere (Hill, Canniford and Mol 2014) and, like photographs, can evoke multi-sensory memories of research encounters (Pink 2015).

To access reflections of festival experiences and the craft beer 'scene', which relates to the idea of *knowing about* atmosphere (Sumartojo and Pink 2019), we collected over 5,000 social media posts about the festivals using Keyhole software, spanning two weeks before, during and two weeks after the 2019 events. This technique thus also attended to the temporal unfolding of atmosphere (Anderson 2009), anticipations and memories. As Pink (2015) elucidates, our experiences of physical places are often accompanied by 'digital traces', such as social media posts, with material and digital spaces melding together, further justifying the inclusion of online methods.

Due to the large volume of online posts, these were divided in half between the researchers and analysed thematically, alongside fieldnotes and visual materials, initially independently and then shared in discussions. Belonging and atmosphere emerged as important themes. Whilst possessing the ability to submerge groups into a shared ambience, atmospheres can also be experienced personally, based on individual perceptions and embodied sensations (Thibaud 2014). It is important, therefore, to be reflexive about our positionality as two white, female academics in their early 30s, the intersection of which conceivably led to a particular sensitisation to the gendered aspects of belonging in these spaces. Further, whilst social practices around drinking beer fit with our British (Chloe) (Thurnell-Read 2016a) and Australian (Anna) identities, and we have attended beer-related events, we both identify as sitting at the margins of the craft beer 'scene'. This was reflected upon in our fieldnotes, when analysing data and in writing the chapter.

We now explore each festival in turn, before pulling together thematic threads to identify how, whilst both events are informed by broader power relations, their contrasting atmospheric affordances meant that belonging (or not) unfolded in different ways.

## Segregated Atmospheres at Indy Man Beer Con

The Independent Manchester Beer Convention ('Indy Man') takes place annually every autumn in Manchester's Victoria Baths: an Edwardian Grade II listed building constructed in 1906, and once considered 'Manchester's Water Palace' (for more detailed information, see de Jong and Steadman 2021). Beginning in 2012 with 500 attendees, the 2019 Indy Man hosted six sessions at the baths, from Thursday to Sunday, with around 1,000 people at each (Manchester Evening News 2017). Indy Man prides itself on being 'open-minded, inclusive and

modern' (Indy Man 2020), and indeed, for some, the festival produces atmospheres of belonging, with references in online spaces to how there is 'always a great atmosphere and always amazing beers', and 'great beer, atmosphere, and people'. Yet, we find there is not a fixed nor singular atmosphere of belonging at Indy Man. Reflecting Kuruoğlu and Woodward's (2021) contention that some bodies can more comfortably extend into certain spaces, it is observably male, white and middle-class bodies who are most frequently encountered at Indy Man. Those falling outside of this 'somatic norm' may instead feel like 'bodies out of place' (Puwar 2004, 8).

Accordingly, considering the porosity of atmospheres (Steadman et al. 2021), feelings of exclusion arising for some at Indy Man can be informed by past memories and future anticipations. For instance, associations are often formed between men and (craft) beer, based on historical drinking experiences and discourses; as one attendee remarked online, 'I am at @IndyManBeerCon and I have a beard and I am blending in'. Feelings of not belonging can thus emerge for some women pre-event, which in some cases could mean they do not attend at all, or, when they do attend, potentially feel like 'space invaders' (Puwar 2004, 8). For example, Chloe was 'feeling quite anxious' on the morning of a 2019 session, inspired by '… anticipations of the high proportion of men I am imagining will be dominating the place, based on my past experiences at beer festivals' (*Chloe's fieldnotes*). We can see here how spaces can take '… the shape of the bodies that inhabit them' (Kuruoğlu and Woodward 2021, 4) whilst 'folding' back upon others, who can instead be 'flushed out by affects of discomfort' (ibid, 13). Such anxious emotions can surge into festival time and space, and spread to others considering the 'porous boundaries' (Hill, Canniford and Mol 2014, 387) between bodies, through which atmospheres can flow:

> I go off downstairs to select our first beer. I'm feeling a bit anxious as I enter the busy room below. What if the person serving me realises I know nothing about beer? What if I make a fool of myself … ? Which counter should I even go to? … Anna notes how she is glad I am there with her, or otherwise she would probably … leave the convention quite quickly. (*Chloe's fieldnotes*)

Yet, as Wilkinson (2017, 753) contends, '… spaces and places are not passive backdrops … they are active constituents with the ability to shape drinking occasions'; and Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2008) similarly foreground the importance of attending to the 'place of drink'. Pre-event anticipations, memories and related emotions further intertwine with the unique architectural and multi-sensory affordances of the Victoria Baths to generate the atmospheres simmering, swirling and seething at Indy Man – influencing how belonging unfolds in different ways over time. As an attendee commented, reflecting a sentiment shared by others online, Victoria Baths is 'surely one of the most beautiful beer festival locations', given it boasts many historical

features such as stained glass windows, high ceilings, green tiled walls, crumbling changing cubicles and a Turkish rest room. It provides a patchwork of rooms and passageways: large and small; open and intimate; light and dark, with most brewers located in the three large swimming bath rooms at the centre of the building.

Illustrating how ambient power (Allen 2006) works through the festival's material and multi-sensory affordances, Indy Man's design, on the surface, conveys inclusivity. Indeed, it aims to provide a 'multisensory, headlong, hop-forward beer extravaganza', for all (Indy Man 2020). Wooden benches and relaxed beanbags are dotted around the venue fostering sociality, with colourful bunting strewn overhead in the main rooms, and cosy fairy lights twinkling during evening sessions. Yet the production of 'sensescapes' (Degen 2003) can insidiously ensure the 'flows of "the right people"' into places (Thörn 2011, 994), whether intentionally or not. In Indy Man's case, rustic chalkboards advertising beers on offer, quirky event branding, street food trucks and wooden furniture create a palpable 'hipster' vibe, reminiscent of fixed food and drinkscapes spreading across Manchester's trendy Northern Quarter, attracting the city's young(er) creatives.

Yet owing to its labyrinthine layout, each festival micro-space produces different embodied sensations, through contrasting music styles, volume and tempo, colours and lighting and material artefacts (Figure 7.1), further emphasising how Indy Man is not fixed as either inclusive or exclusive. 'Micro-atmospheres' (May and Lewis 2021) can be sensed at Indy Man, with the potential to experience a greater sense of belonging in some of the festival spaces, dependent on the performances and density of other bodies, the size of the space, and contrasting 'affective tonalities' (Thibaud 2015), as revealed below:

> Each room and passageway has its own unique combination of multi-sensory elements intermingling to create different vibes. The '*token room*' overwhelming, with bright lighting, tightly packed crowds, and thundering music. The '*Deya room*' playing funk and soul music, with inflatable crocodiles flying overhead creates a quirky ambience. Whilst the quiet and dingy '*white room*' [as I referred to it] where people seem to be hiding from the crowds, appears sterile and lifeless. In some of these rooms I feel more comfortable than others. (*Chloe's fieldnotes:* see also de Jong and Steadman 2021, 13)

Observations indicated that some attendees preferred to 'hide' in peripheral rooms, away from the loud and busy crowds that primarily constituted men, further foregrounding atmospheric multiplicity. Thus, 'interstitial' – or in-between – spaces (Kärrholm 2013) were sometimes intentionally crafted, producing and diffusing temporary micro-pockets of affective belonging. For example, female-only craft beer groups utilised online spaces and social media

**Figure 7.1:** The multi-sensory affordances of Indy Man and the Victoria Baths. Photographs: Chloe Steadman.

hashtags, such as #womeninbeer and #beeryladies, to organise a meet-up at the 2019 event (see de Jong and Steadman 2021). Such planning enabled the women associated with these groups to apparently generate feelings of belonging and negotiate preconceived ideas regarding the exclusive, masculinised atmosphere at the event. The unique festival space lends itself particularly well to crafting such comforting interstices of belonging, especially the traditional changing cubicles and upper mezzanine decks, as captured below:

> Instead of choosing to stand with our beer in this crowded room, we decide to find somewhere quieter to sit on the upper level … There are a couple of young families with babies on this upper deck, who presumably also had the same idea of escaping the crowds of men drinking beer in the room below. (*Chloe's fieldnotes*)

Moreover, echoing how Wilkinson (2017, 752) identified some young people who '… found "refuge" in quiet and affective spaces of gloom' in bars, Chloe also felt 'calmer' in Indy Man's more intimate, darker spaces, in which she was 'thankful for the dim lighting', since it enabled her to 'hide away' from the conspicuous and brighter, larger rooms and minimise any feelings of not belonging (*Chloe's fieldnotes*). Whilst darkness can create uneasy atmospheres (Bille 2015; May and Lewis 2021), at Indy Man, shadow can 'craft a secretive drinkscape' (Wilkinson 2017, 751) for those who might not necessarily feel a sense of belonging within the primary event spaces.

As well as morphing through the festival's micro-spaces, Indy Man atmospheres shift through the festival's annual temporality, due to fluctuating

constellations of bodies and multi-sensory elements, and can transform during a five-hour drinking session, reaffirming the temporality of atmosphere (Anderson 2009). Cultural capital regarding different brewers and beers is central to belonging within the craft beer scene. Such pre-existing power relations led many attendees to strategically plan beers in advance through the Indy Man smartphone beer list. Like the civilised drinking practices witnessed at real ale festivals (Thurnell-Read 2016b), atmospheres of serious contemplation were observable in the initial hours of drinking sessions. Anna, for example, noted 'no loud punters, drinking too much … it was a very relaxed atmosphere, but a business-like approach to it …' (*Anna's fieldnotes*); whilst Chloe likewise observed:

> Everything is quite civilised at the beginning of the evening, with people politely sipping their beer, seeming more contemplative. However, as the night progresses and more beer is consumed, the lighting in the room seems to become dimmer; the music and chatter louder. People appear more animated … sometimes swaying along to the music … It's starting to get a bit unrulier … the rooms getting increasingly packed, and some spilling drinks from being bashed by others. (*Chloe's fieldnotes:* see also de Jong and Steadman 2021, 13)

Whilst more serious and civilised atmospheres can potentially generate exclusive affects for those without the requisite cultural capital to fold in, we can see from the above how more convivial atmospheres of belonging can spread over time. Yet, just as pre-event anticipations, memories and emotions can flow into the time and space of Indy Man, its atmospheres can equally swirl out of the festival, across its wider urban context. Indy Man forms part of a broader network of fixed and temporary craft beer spaces and events taking place across Manchester, including Summer Beer Thing – now explored.

## Relaxed Atmospheres at Summer Beer Thing

The Summer Beer Thing (SBT) is also the brainchild of Indy Man founders Jonny and Charlotte Heyes, which they refer to as a 'little sister event' and 'off-shoot' of Indy Man (Confidentials 2020a). Indeed, the couple is also behind a number of other fixed food and drink venues, including Common, Port Street Beer House (both Manchester's Northern Quarter), and the Beagle (Chorlton-cum-Hardy). Alongside Indy Man and SBT, they feed into '… a burgeoning scene of breweries, bars and events across the city and the region' (Heyes, in Confidentials 2020a) – aligning with the broader gentrification claimed to be currently taking place in Manchester (Myles and Breen 2018).

Beginning in 2016, SBT aims to provide a 'three-day Summer celebration of the best beer that the North and beyond has to offer' (Summer Beer

Thing 2020). Contrasting with the crumbling splendour of Indy Man's Victoria Baths, SBT is housed each year at the contemporary Pilcrow pub and its surroundings of Sadler's Yard square (Figure 7.2), located near Victoria Station in the city centre. Dubbed as 'the pub that Manchester built' (Connolly 2019), Pilcrow opened in 2015, (co)created by a team of Manchester residents who took part in workshops to voluntarily craft chairs, tables, tiles, wooden beer pump handles and woven flower baskets. As Connolly (2019) explains:

> The idea was that there are now people in the city who have bragging rights over the bar-stool they put together, or that beer pump handle they helped make. Everything about The Pilcrow screams Manchester … The building is long and thin with floor to ceiling glass panels spaced out along the side encouraging you to look out into Sadler's Yard, but also to draw the neighbourhood in.

Compared to the more serious atmospheres sometimes simmering at Indy Man, which can result in exclusionary affects for some, relaxed summer-day ambiences flow around SBT, enabling even those with a more peripheral location within the craft beer scene to be submerged into atmospheres of belonging. As one attendee remarked online, '#summerbeerthing is understated, relaxed and just brilliant for craft fans without even a hint of self-importance'; whilst a brewer promised online to deliver a 'super chill, laid back, and free pop-up tasting' at SBT. Although 76% of online posts about Indy Man analysed were from male identified accounts, for SBT this notably dropped to 59%, thus indicating potentially greater inclusivity felt by the women attending – at least *relative* to Indy Man. Moreover, tickets into Indy Man cost £10–15 for a five-hour drinking session, with beer tokens being required in addition for 1/3 pint servings; in contrast, tickets into SBT are £7 for all-day entry, with tokens and drinks then purchased. As well as being held in different seasons, such contrasting ambiences are, arguably, also partially related to the festivals' opposing layouts, materialities and multi-sensory affordances.

Diverging from Indy Man's labyrinthine layout and segregating atmospheres, SBT is primarily held outside of the Pilcrow Pub in its Sadler's Yard surroundings, filled with numerous wooden benches, several street food stands and a stage at the far end (Figure 7.2). This bright, open layout can, in turn, generate shared atmospheres of belonging. Anna, for instance, noted:

> Groups weren't spatially separate … the venue itself … didn't really allow for this – with it being open and outside, and not particularly large. IMBC [Indy Man], by contrast, having a number of rooms, and mezzanine spaces, with different lighting, music and beers, allowed distinct configurations of attendees. (*Anna's fieldnotes*)

**Figure 7.2:** Sadler's Yard during Summer Beer Thing. Photograph: Chloe Steadman.

Unlike Indy Man, SBT appeared less about the craft beer itself than the sociality that drinking practices can afford. No material beer list was provided to encourage the ticking off of beers during the event and advertising of breweries was limited. Accordingly, Anna noticed how '… there didn't seem to be conversations between those working on the stalls and the attendees in regards to the beers that were on offer' (*Anna's fieldnotes*). Chloe echoed, 'I can hear no chatter around me about beer types or breweries; people just seem to be here for a summer day out …' which led to her 'feeling in general much more relaxed' due to experiencing '… less pressure to be a beer aficionado' (*Chloe's fieldnotes*). This resonates with Kuruoğlu and Woodward (2021) who found that cafés foregrounding appreciation and knowledge of coffee (as Indy Man does with craft beer), are not necessarily conducive to producing convivial and inclusive atmospheres. Inside the Pilcrow Pub, an assortment of alcohol types was offered, with a cocktail bar in the outdoor space. Craft beers were housed under outdoor marquees, loosely organised by strength and flavour ('session', 'hoppy & hoppier', 'sour & fruit', and 'other'), rather than having distinct spaces for different brewers. This made it difficult to discern which beers were on offer until first in line, and thus it was challenging to strategically plan beers in advance:

> In contrast to IMBC [Indy Man], where each of the stalls was shared by just two breweries, with branding everywhere and attendees seeking out specific breweries … this seemed to be noticeably lacking at SBT. It was difficult to really know what breweries were on offer, with limited promotional information … The beers themselves were categorised by type, rather than brewer … (*Anna's fieldnotes*)

Subsequently, one could conclude that SBT characterises what Tani (2015) refers to as a 'loose' space, enabling a range of embodied (drinking) performances and singular atmospheres of belonging. Yet following the logic of ambient power (Allen 2006), SBT's relaxed summer atmospheres and open spaces might potentially mask exclusionary processes. There is evidence of some people using online spaces during the festival, such as online beer platform Untappd, to track and share beers tasted, and knowledge of craft beer with others in the wider 'scene'. For example, echoing other online posts, one attendee shared: 'Boozy, coffee, malty. Can't taste much rum but it's a stand out imperial stout. Drinking a *Things We Summon* by @lhgbrewingco at @summerbeerthing'. To further illustrate how festivals cannot arguably be fixed as either inclusive or exclusive, Anna observed:

> […] In a lot of ways, this was very much business as usual … There were a few groups of just women – but this was rare. This became even more noticeable the couple of times I headed to the bathroom. As is a social rule, at most drinking style venues or events … as a woman, one must line up to use the bathroom. The high number of liquids being consumed conflicts with the small number of cubicles generally available to create a line that takes at least a few minutes to move through. Heading to the bathroom at SBT, there was no line … Further to the dominance of men, was that of whiteness, youth (30s/40s), and a 'hipsterism' that indicated a certain class … (*Anna's fieldnotes*)

We must not lose sight of how SBT does not exist as a standalone craft beer festival; rather, alongside Indy Man, it forms part of a broader, porous, interweaving network of temporary and permanent, online and offline, craft beer spaces, across which atmospheres can flow, beyond festival time and space, and through their urban contexts. Such festivals are, importantly, always in the making, and their outcomes are never assured. This has become explicit through the cancellation of both 2020 events, in response to Covid-19 restrictions. Further, despite the cultural value associated with the community-made Pilcrow Pub, it may not remain – with planned development set to extend into the space (Confidentials 2020b), meaning SBT will perhaps need to find a new venue. This highlights the ways culture is managed and required to align with the prioritisation of economic development within Manchester's urban landscape.

## Conclusions

Atmospheres, ambiences and affects are increasingly engineered within urban regeneration schemes, enabling cities to create certain identities. This is evident in Manchester's cultural-led regeneration, whereby craft beer events have become entangled within the landscape as creative and innovative, in ways that produce ambient powers (Allen 2006) that flow across the spaces of the city; informing, and informed by, a politics of belonging. What we illustrated in this chapter, however, is that the experiences unfolding at festivals are not predetermined. The politics of belonging within the context of cultural events is, rather, processual, fluid and becoming, which tells us things about how we might assist in enabling inclusivity at cultural festivals.

Indy Man and SBT are both annual festivals produced by the same artistic directors, taking place in Manchester, and aiming to be inclusive events which anyone can enjoy. At both events, the requirements for belonging were evident. Entrance fees, alongside the capacity to consume alcohol and the necessity to possess leisure time to attend, ensure that from the outset, these are events for certain types of individuals. Alongside pre-existing associations between (craft) beer and men, the above can contribute to greater feelings of belonging for male, middle-class and white bodies at the craft beer festivals. However, it can also potentially lead to discomfort for those falling outside of this 'somatic norm' (Puwar 2004), with affects of belonging (or not) potentially seeping into festival spaces to shape their atmospheres. Indeed, contrasting with the wider spaces of Manchester, a city known for its ethnic diversity, where the proportion of residents identifying as 'white' was 19.4% below England's national average in 2011 (Manchester City Council 2011), both festivals were also observably 'white spaces' (Francis and Robertson 2021). This signals an opportunity for future research to foreground how race and ethnicity intersect with belonging at craft beer events, and to examine how drinking practices and atmospheres unfold over a more diverse array of urban spaces.

There were also important distinctions in the ways that atmospheres of inclusion and exclusion emerged at each event, dependent upon their contrasting spatial and temporal affordances. For instance, hosting SBT within the Pilcrow Pub facilitated an element of relative inclusivity. This was a space built by community volunteers, facilitating a pre-existing sense of belonging, felt materially when dwelling within the event space. The festival also took place during the height of summer, in the centre of the city, and was well served by public transport. Craft beer branding was notably lacking, reducing opportunity for attendees to display discursive knowledge regarding breweries and beer types. Instead, such performances took place in online spaces, e.g. beer review sites, not explicitly visible during the festival itself. All of this ensured that greater feelings of belonging were experienced and observable at SBT. At Indy Man, the cost of entry was higher, and craft beer discourse and performance were centred. However, unlike at SBT, which took place in an open space, at Indy

Man interstitial spaces (Kärrholm 2013) became important ways through which attendees created micro-atmospheres of inclusivity, demonstrating how feelings of belonging could also be experienced. This points to how research around 'atmospherics' (Turley and Milliman 2000) could further investigate how such design choices in consumption environments intersect with processes of inclusion and exclusion for consumers.

In conclusion, our aim in presenting these two case studies was not to claim that either are necessarily fixed as inclusive or exclusive; nor that one is necessarily more inclusive than the other. Rather, we have hoped to highlight how ambient power intersects with the spatialities and temporalities of festivals, producing varying outcomes regarding the politics of belonging. Therefore, whilst ambient powers influence who feels belonging within the city, belonging is not always, necessarily predetermined. Attending to the varying spatial and temporal affordances of specific events, alongside the ways they entangle with broader urban atmospheres, arguably presents opportunity to curate and manage festivals and event portfolios in more inclusive ways, with learnings to be taken from both cases about how to craft atmospheres of belonging.

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