



The Faculty of Arts and Education

MASTERS THESIS

Study programme: MLIMAS
MA in English and Literacy Studies

Spring term, 2021

Open

Author: Giancarlo Gjertsen Napoli

giancarlo napoli
(signature author)

Supervisor: Merja Stenroos

Title of thesis:

A Brewed Awakening: A Visual Analysis of Craft Beer Labels and Their Use of Multimodality in the Transmission of Culture, Identity, and Taste.

Keywords:

Visual analysis, craft beer labels, Kress and van Leeuwen, multimodality, identity.

Pages: 121

Stavanger, 07.05.2021

Abstract

This thesis is a comparative study that utilises theories of visual grammar and multimodality to determine how Norwegian craft beer breweries use their product labels to transmit culture, identity, and taste to their consumers. The study examines how a selection of craft breweries utilise verbal and visual elements on their product labels to communicate a beer's flavour and aspects of culture to consumers whilst creating an identity and positioning themselves in a rapidly growing market. The main assumption was that craft breweries rely on a combination of modes such as text, image, colour, and layout, as well as using cultural references to convey the distinct characteristics of their beers and the brewery itself.

The material for this study consists of 200 beer labels sourced from five Norwegian craft breweries: *Amundsen* and *Cervisiam* located in Oslo, *Lervig* and *Salikatt* located in Stavanger, and *Monkey Brew* located in Trondheim. These breweries were selected as they were the five top-rated Norwegian craft breweries on the Untappd beer rating website as of 1st September 2020.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Merja Stenroos, for her guidance and keen editorial eye; her wisdom, enthusiasm, and encouragement pushed me further than I thought I could go.

I am most grateful to the five breweries that were a part of this study, specifically those who provided me with the product labels that made it possible: Geoffrey Jansen van Vuuren of Amundsen Brewery, Pushkin Hama of Cervisiam, Anders Kleinstrup of Lervig Aktiebryggeri, Jorg Solheim of Monkey Brew, and Bjarte and Tonje Halvorsen of Salikatt Bryggeri.

Finally, thanks must go to my family. To my parents, Tricia and Fred, for their endless love and support, and for encouraging me to get an education all those years ago. To my wife, Lena, for her love, patience, and faith, and because she always understood. And to my children, Nila and Arion, whose hugs and kisses fuelled my writing sessions and kept me going when things got tough.

Giancarlo Gjertsen Napoli, May 2021

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	vi
List of Figures.....	vii
1. Introduction	1
2. Background.....	5
2.1. The Origin of Beer: From Porridge to Preservatives.....	5
2.2. A Norwegian Perspective	9
2.3. What is Beer?.....	11
2.4. Craft Beer: A Working Definition.....	14
2.5. The Rise of the Craft Beer Industry.....	16
2.6. A Class Act: Norway's System of Alcohol Classification	18
2.7. Legislation: Restrictive and Liberating Parameters.....	19
2.8. Crafting Culture and Identity.....	22
2.9. Arts and Draughts: Beer Label Design.....	26
3. Theoretical Orientation	30
3.1. Communication: Rhetor and Interpreter.....	30
3.2. Multimodality	32
3.3. Text-Image Relations	34
3.4. Kress and van Leeuwen's Framework of Visual Grammar.....	38
3.5. Multilingual Texts	41
3.6. Aesthetics and Taste	43
3.7. Culture, Subculture, and Counterculture	45
3.8. Fox's Social Organisation Model.....	46
4. Materials and Methodology.....	48
4.1. Brewery Selection and Choice of Materials	48
4.2. The Breweries.....	50
4.2.1. Amundsen	50
4.2.2. Cervisiam	51
4.2.3. Lervig.....	52
4.2.4. Monkey Brew.....	52
4.2.5. Salikatt	53
4.3. Data Collection and Analysis	53
5. Presentation of Findings	58
5.1. General Findings.....	58

5.1.1. Image.....	59
5.1.2. Colour	61
5.1.3. Composition and Salience.....	64
5.1.4. Multilingualism and Verbal Messages (text)	66
5.1.5. References to Place and Culture	69
5.1.6. Summary of General Findings	71
5.2. Findings from Individual Breweries	72
5.2.1. Amundsen	72
5.2.2. Cervisiam	78
5.2.3. Lervig	86
5.2.4. Monkey Brew.....	92
5.2.5. Salikatt	99
6. Discussion.....	105
6.1. Multimodal Designs	105
6.2. Communicating Flavour	106
6.3. Transmitting Culture, Identity, and Taste.....	111
6.4. Reflecting on Kress and van Leeuwen’s Framework of Visual Grammar	116
7. Conclusion.....	119
Bibliography	122
Appendix 1	128
Appendix 2	133

List of Tables

Table 1: Beer Classification in Norway by ABV % (alcohol by volume).	18
Table 2: Overview of verbal-visual linking (van Leeuwen 2005: 230).	37
Table 3: Most common beer styles by brewery.	58
Table 4: Overview of labels with images, their inclusion of represented participants, and use of anthropomorphism (by brewery).	60
Table 5: Number of labels with links between colour and name, style, and flavour (by brewery).	63
Table 6: Number of labels with simultaneous links between colour, name, style, and flavour (by brewery).	64
Table 7: Overview of labels with links between beer name and image, style, and flavour (by brewery).	67
Table 8: References to place and mode used. Labels marked with an asterisk indicate reference to the city where the brewery is located.	69
Table 9: Overview of the number of labels from each brewery that do not communicate flavour.	106

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Ale and Lager Family Trees (Nachel and Ettlinger 2012).	14
Figure 2: The Anatomy of a Beer Label (Leonard 2018).	27
Figure 3: Untappd’s weighted average formula (Untappd 2020).	49
Figure 4: Percentage of label occupied by image (all breweries).	59
Figure 5: Number of colours on label (all breweries).	61
Figure 6: Number of colours on label (by brewery).....	62
Figure 7: Most prominent colour on label arranged by frequency of occurrence.....	63
Figure 8: Most salient element of label (all breweries).....	65
Figure 9: Most salient element of label (brewery overview).	65
Figure 10: Overview of specific elements on front portion of label (measured in frequency of appearance).....	66
Figure 11: Overview of language used for name of beer (all breweries).....	67
Figure 12: Content of verbal message (blurb) measured in frequency of occurrence.	68
Figure 13: Blurbs from Cervisiam and Monkey Brew transmit culture and communicate flavour, respectively.	68
Figure 14: References to place and culture using text, image, or a combination of both (all breweries).	70
Figure 15: Cultural references organised into subcategories by number of occurrences (all breweries).	71
Figure 16: Amundsen’s label composition.....	73
Figure 17: Two labels from Amundsen’s Dessert in a Can range – ‘Raspberry, Salted Caramel Cheesecake’ and ‘Pistachio Cookie Dough Ice Cream’.....	74
Figure 18: The colourful label of Amundsen’s ‘Euphoric Minds’.....	74
Figure 19: Amundsen’s ‘Rebel Berries’.....	76
Figure 20: Amundsen’s ‘Holy Molé’.....	77
Figure 21: Cervisiam’s typical label composition.....	79
Figure 22: The extended typography of Cervisiam’s ‘Enough to Make a Mango Sour’.....	80

Figure 23: ‘Pisswasser’ meaning ‘piss water’ is an invented word that could not be found in a German dictionary.	80
Figure 24: Organising cultural references by subcategory shows that references to pop culture dominate.	81
Figure 25: The verbal messages on the label of ‘Chocolate Salty Christmas Balls’ alter the image’s meaning.	82
Figure 26: The blurb of ‘Black Magic’ includes an obscure pop culture reference from the 1980s.	83
Figure 27: ‘The Rocky Road Picture Show’ references both an Australian dessert and a cult film from the 1970s.	84
Figure 28: The changing design of ‘Shoryuken’ may complicate the label’s potential to communicate flavour.	85
Figure 29: Lervig’s typical label composition.	87
Figure 30: Most common elements on the front of Lervig’s labels.	88
Figure 31: Lervig’s ‘Passion Tang’, where text, colour, and image combine to communicate the flavour of the beer.	88
Figure 32: Lervig’s ‘NZDDHDIPA’, a potentially challenging label for the uninitiated beer drinker.	89
Figure 33: Lervig’s ‘Perler for Svin’ includes a blurb to the left of the image communicating hop varieties used as well as the beer’s juicy flavour profile.	90
Figure 34: The dissimilar designs of ‘Lucky Jack’ and ‘Lucky Jack Extra Hard IPA’.	91
Figure 35: Monkey Brew’s label composition.	92
Figure 36: Monkey Brew’s ‘Hazelnut Apparatus’.	94
Figure 37: Number of labels showing links between varying modes and a beer’s characteristics.	95
Figure 38: Monkey Brew’s ‘Guava Gazer’.	96
Figure 39: Monkey Brew’s ‘Gravity Well’.	98
Figure 40: Salikatt’s label composition.	99
Figure 41: Salikatt’s ‘Fjellpils’ label uses an image as the background and is a clear departure from the typical use of block colours.	100
Figure 42: The use of the colour blue on Salikatt’s ‘DDH Mosaic’ may communicate the blueberry aroma of the hops used.	101

Figure 43: What Salikatt’s blurbs communicate to the consumer (arranged in descending frequency).....	102
Figure 44: Salikatt’s ‘Fjåge’ uses visual and verbal elements to transmit culture and communicate flavour.....	103
Figure 45: Image, text, and colour combine in different ways to communicate a beer’s flavour.	107
Figure 46: Multimodal flavour communication on ‘Weekend at Berrie’s’ and ‘Pecanisher’ using text, colour, and image.	108
Figure 47: Verbal elements specify a beer’s flavour that is already woven into the image, making it clearer in the process.....	109
Figure 48: Monkey Brew’s labels often rely on verbal elements to anchor the flavours that its colours communicate.....	110
Figure 49: Colour works in unison with text (beer name) to communicate flavour.	111

1. Introduction

This thesis is a comparative study that utilises theories of visual grammar and multimodality to determine how Norwegian craft beer breweries use their product labels to transmit culture, identity, and taste to their consumers. The study examines how five selected craft breweries utilise verbal and visual elements on their labels to present their product to consumers whilst creating an identity and positioning themselves in a rapidly growing market. The main assumption was that craft breweries rely on a combination of modes such as text, image, colour, and layout, as well as using cultural references to convey the distinct characteristics of their beers and the brewery itself. With this in mind, the following research questions were addressed:

- 1) Do breweries use similar designs for their labels?
- 2) To what extent do breweries communicate their beers' flavour profiles on their labels?
- 3) To what extent do breweries incorporate aspects of local culture into their label designs?
- 4) What verbal and visual mechanisms do breweries use in the potential transmission of culture and taste and how does this influence the perceived identity of the brewery?
- 5) Can the theory of visual grammar be successfully applied to beer labels, which take on a three-dimensional form when attached to a can?

Taste is an ambiguous term and, in this thesis, could be used to refer to two rather different concepts. Firstly, it could refer to the sensation of flavour perceived in one's mouth when consuming a beer and, secondly, it could be used in the sociological sense when discussing an individual's personal, cultural and aesthetic patterns of choice and preference. To avoid any potential ambiguity, *flavour* is used throughout this thesis when referring to the literal taste of a beer based on its style and the ingredients used, and *taste* is reserved for references to the cultural and aesthetic choices and preferences of breweries and consumers.

The material for this study consists of 200 beer labels sourced from five Norwegian craft breweries: *Amundsen* and *Cervisiam* located in Oslo, *Lervig* and *Salikatt* located in Stavanger, and *Monkey Brew* located in Trondheim. These breweries were selected as they were the five top-rated Norwegian craft breweries on the Untappd beer rating website as of 1st September 2020.

All labels were studied and analysed using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative approach involved the use of Excel to input and organise all 200 labels which were classified using 32 distinct categories. These categories were concerned with aspects including layout and composition, the inclusion of text and image, use of colour, use of multiple languages, links between the varying modes and elements of a label, and any identifiable references to flavour and culture. The resulting data were then exported to Access where they were filtered to extract statistics that were subsequently used to identify patterns and trends. The process of categorisation used for the quantitative analysis prompted a closer reading of each label, and labels were then selected to help illustrate trends and mechanisms that were identified for each brewery. These label selections, presented as brief case studies, enrich and exemplify findings where statistics alone potentially fell short.

As this study is concerned with the use of multimodality in the communication of flavour and the transmission of culture, identity, and taste, its theoretical underpinning combines several approaches. Kress and van Leeuwen's framework of visual grammar (2006) plays a central role in the analysis of beer labels as it provides a useful practical framework for discussing design choices such as *layout* and *composition*. Their framework provides the main tools for determining how image-makers produce meaning: in particular, the concepts of *salience* and *information value* are central in the analysis of a label's design.

Kress's (2010) work on multimodality emphasises that modes are essentially socially shaped semiotic resources (see p. 33); relevant modes here include text, image, colour, and layout. The crux of multimodal theory is that modes often work in unison to convey messages, something that was highly evident in the present material. Barthes' (1977) theory of text-image relations was useful for addressing the relationship between text and image (see p. 34). His theory, although somewhat dated, informed the close readings of selected labels and helped to uncover potential intermodal relationships. Building on Barthes' theory, van Leeuwen's (2005) work on verbal-visual linking provides a more contemporary take on text-image relations, using more neutral terminology to describe possible relationships (see p. 36). Therefore, a combination of these theories was used where appropriate when discussing findings.

Sebba's (2012) work on multilingual texts introduced the notion of language hierarchies and was used to draw attention to potential language preferences among breweries in their communication with consumers. Taste was a central focus of this thesis, both in terms of communicating the flavour of a beer and in the sociological sense where taste refers to an

individual's preference for certain forms of cultural expression. Bourdieu (1984) introduces the concept of cultural capital and its influence on defining good taste, giving rise to conceptions of 'high' and 'low' culture (see p. 43). Beer has long been considered a low culture product in relation to wine, but in recent years it appears to have attained a potential high culture status, with craft beer consumers eschewing vulgar mass-produced beers (Ortega 2017a). Sturken and Cartwright (2017), building on the work of Bourdieu, introduce the idea that cultural values and tastes may trickle up and move in a variety of directions (see p. 44). Accordingly, particular attention was paid to identifying cultural artefacts that may indicate a brewery's aesthetic preferences.

Based on the notion that culture binds people together, Hebdige (1979) introduced the idea that subcultures challenge dominant ideologies while providing their members with a sense of identity. This idea would seem highly relevant for positioning craft beer breweries in relation to macrobreweries and global conglomerates. Thornton's (1995) concept of subcultural capital and its effect on the status of an individual (see p. 46) was deemed relevant for considering the accessibility of labels based on the verbal and visual information they provide to their consumers. Here, Fox's *social organisation model* (1987) helped to visually realise the relationship between an individual's knowledge of and involvement in a subculture and the ways in which this serves to increase one's status and prestige within the group (see p. 46).

Beer labels have until recently mainly been approached from a geographic, marketing, and sales perspective. This study investigates the visual and multimodal aspects of beer labels by addressing how the theories of multimodality and visual grammar can be applied to two-dimensional images in a three-dimensional space. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) analysed and decoded two-dimensional images as well as, to some extent, three-dimensional works such as sculptures that are meant to be viewed or gazed upon; however, they did not consider product labels that are attached to objects. The attachment and wrapping of two-dimensional labels onto three-dimensional objects potentially complicates traditional theories of layout and composition as well as the decoding process; the implications for analysis are considered throughout the study.

The initial assumption behind the study was that breweries would use different label designs to distinguish themselves from other breweries. However, with typical labels offering limited visual space due to their physical dimensions coupled with government guidelines concerning advertising and the inclusion of obligatory information, design opportunities

might be limited. Secondly, it was assumed that attracting consumer attention in an already visually cluttered retail environment would increase the use of images and vibrant colours as these modes have the potential to stand out more from a distance than verbal messages do. Finally, there was an expectation that breweries would prioritise the communication of a beer's flavour and aspects of local culture to inform and engage with consumers while building a brand identity that emphasises the localness of the brewery.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 2 provides background information including a brief history of the brewing of beer, a presentation of what craft beer is and how it relates to beer in general, the classification of beer in Norway, and the national regulations that govern brewing practices and the marketing of beer. The concepts of brand identity and neolocalism are also presented in light of how these can be used by breweries to compete with larger national and international beer brands.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical background for the study and Chapter 4 presents the breweries and materials that were studied, the methodology and the categories that were used when conducting the quantitative analysis.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the study. It provides an overview of the general findings, organized according to the categories identified in Chapter 4 and presents a detailed study of the output of each brewery, including individual analyses of selected labels. Chapter 6 considers these findings from a theoretical perspective while discussing their implications for the potential transmission of culture, identity, and taste. Finally, Chapter 7 provides a conclusion that summarises the main findings and relates these to the author's expectations, comments on potential shortcomings of the study, and makes recommendations for further research.

2. Background

2.1. The Origin of Beer: From Porridge to Preservatives

Beer is one of the oldest intoxicating beverages consumed by humans. Its origin is hotly debated, with archaeologists steadily unearthing early artefacts that were used in the brewing and consumption of beer. It has long been assumed that beer was the fermented beverage of choice among the Sumerian people of southeastern Mesopotamia, now Iraq, based on written evidence in the form of clay tablets from around 5000 years ago. Sumerian and other Mesopotamian languages were written in the cuneiform script, with their characters produced by pressing specially shaped styluses into moist clay tablets. The durability of clay when fired in kilns meant that some of these tablets survived and were subsequently translated, revealing written records concerning the brewing and consumption of beer. The process described on these tablets indicated an already mature brewing culture, suggesting that beer was old when writing was new (Barth 2013: 3).

However, it was not until 1992 when a pottery jar was unearthed during excavations at Godin Tepe, a prehistoric town in what is now western Iran, that chemical evidence served to support these written records. Calcium oxalate (CaC_2O_4), a yellowish-brown residue more commonly known as beer stone, was found in the grooves of the 5500-year-old pottery jar and has been considered the ‘signature of beer production’ (Barth 2013: 1). While there is even earlier evidence of mixed fermented beverages, the find at Godin Tepe is believed to be the earliest chemical evidence for the brewing of barley beer, yet Meussdoerffer (2009: 2) warns that one should be cautious when applying modern technical concepts to earlier technology as doing so could lead to misinterpretations.

Meussdoerffer (2009: 5) notes that beer played an important role in early societies, often serving as an offering to the gods in the belief that it was ‘an essential constituent of their divine diet as it was of that of their worshippers.’ The intoxication that resulted from consuming fermented beverages was considered an indispensable spiritual exercise that unified the drinker with the gods. However, the flavour of beer and its intoxicating effects were only part of the reason for its popularity in ancient Mesopotamia; it was also deemed safer to drink than the water of the region. Kriwaczek (2012: 83) presents the engineering of Mesopotamian cities’ waste disposal systems as being both magnificent and a potential disaster for public health, as human and animal waste from the larger cities was often

deposited close to local water supplies, polluting them in the process. Beer therefore, boiled as part of the fermenting process and sterilised by its weak alcohol content, was the safest drink.

Trade saw beer exported to Egypt, and the Mesopotamians have been somewhat overshadowed by the ancient Egyptians who altered and perfected the art of brewing beer, often colouring and flavouring their brews with dates, pomegranates, and a variety of indigenous herbs for use in religious ceremonies. Barth (2013: 4) notes that beer was the primary beverage in Egypt, consumed by all from Pharaohs to peasants, with the dead often buried with supplies of beer and mourners offering beer to the shrines of deceased nobles. The Egyptian process detailed in papyrus scrolls turned the Mesopotamian brew, which had ‘the consistency of modern porridge, [...] into a smoother, lighter brew which could be poured into a cup or glass for consumption’ (Mark 2017). For this reason, ancient Egyptian beer is most often cited as the first beer proper, having more in common with the modern-day brew than the Mesopotamian recipe.

The Greeks had a penchant for strong wine and are said to have viewed the grainy brew as the primitive and inferior drink of barbarians. Nelson (2014: 43) notes that Greek writers often referred to beer as a drink of foreigners, and that even the poorest Greeks are portrayed as wine-drinkers in reputable sources such as Aristophanes or the Hippocratic corpus. Nelson rejects scholarly claims that the Greeks made and consumed beer, stating that there is little evidence offered to defend such statements (Nelson 2014: 27). One such claim comes from Ausberger (2009), cited in Nelson (2014: 27), who argues that the Greek diet was not so different from anyone else’s, yet they purposefully constructed an image of themselves based on an ideal diet that distanced them from the barbarian others. Ausberger (2009), cited in Nelson (2014: 28), argues that the silence of literary sources on Greek beer-drinking is a result of the bias of surviving upper-class authors who purposefully omitted references to Greek beer-drinking as it was considered uncivilised, low class, and effeminate. For the present purpose, perhaps the most important point that arises from this scholarly dispute is that literary evidence suggests that the Greeks did not think as highly of beer as they did of wine, and neither did the Romans who followed.

As the Roman Empire spread, so too did its culture and tastes, and in Southern Europe beer came to be viewed as a barbarian beverage that paled in comparison to the high-status drink of wine. However, it is important to remember that climate was and is one of the deciding factors for the availability of fermentable products in different parts of the world, with temperature, rainfall, and the amount of sunlight being of particular importance. It is

therefore plausible to deduce that climate had a profound effect on food and beverage traditions back then just as it does today; wine production is better suited to the warmer (but not too hot) climate of Southern Europe, and Northern European countries have historically produced alcoholic beverages using crops that were suited to a cooler, wetter climate.

Remnants of the Greco-Roman stigma still exist today, especially in Southern European countries, and Nelson (2005) states that:

[...] it was in Europe that our modern western attitudes to beer were formulated; the prejudiced treatment of beer by Greeks and Romans was highly influential, and it was with them that beer, once a drink for kings and subjects alike, became a second-class beverage, and it was with later Germans that beer came to be simultaneously thought of as a manly drink.

(Nelson 2005: 4)

It is difficult to reconstruct an historic overview of early beer history in Europe. Rather ironically, Greek and Roman manuscripts from the seventh century BCE onwards are the main source of information for the brewing of beer in Europe before the Middle Ages: even archaeological remains are few and far between. Nelson (2005: 7) argues, however, that there had been a long and rich tradition of making beer in the west, and that this tradition developed independently of any traditions in Egypt, potentially beginning as early as 3000 BCE. Excavations at the Neolithic village of Skara Brae in the Orkney Islands off the coast of Scotland have yielded what some have interpreted as evidence of beer brewing 3500 to 4000 years ago. The fact that the finds at Skara Brae are 3000 miles from Sumer with very little evidence in between suggests that Northern Europeans may have invented brewing independently (Barth 2013: 4).

During the Middle Ages, European monasteries played an important role in the development of what we refer to as beer today. Hornsey (1999: 5) notes that brewing was more or less confined to monasteries in the British Isles and continental Europe. Contemporary evidence shows that beer was drunk in monasteries in Britain and Ireland in the 6th century CE and was later provided to monks in monasteries in France (Barth 2013: 5). In the 9th century, Charlemagne's attempt to unite the monasteries in Western Europe included a set of rules that provided each monk with a pint of beer or half a pint of wine a day. With some of the Northern European monasteries outside of grape growing regions housing as many as 400 monks, serving potentially 400 pints a day meant that these

monasteries had to house large breweries to cater for internal consumption (Barth 2013: 5). Hornsey (1999: 5) states that there were hundreds of monastic breweries in Northern Europe by the 13th century, supplying their wares to the local communities as well as to the travellers who used the monasteries as guesthouses.

One of the most important results of monastic brewing was the realisation that hops could be used to flavour and preserve beer. The first historical record of the use of hops was in a list of rules for monks written in 822 CE for a monastery in Northern France that had direct links with two monasteries in Northern Germany (Barth 2013: 5). Hornsey (1999: 58) asserts that hop cultivation was first documented in 736 CE, when the crop was grown at Geisenfeld in the Hallertau region of Bavaria before spreading throughout northern continental Europe from the 9th to the 12th centuries. Barth (2013: 5) suggests that hops were initially gathered from the wild and were not cultivated until somewhere between 859-875 CE at the Abbey of Freisingen in Bavaria, Southern Germany, a claim supported by Meussdoerffer (2009: 11). In either case, the inclusion of hops was an important innovation: it gave and indeed gives beer varieties their distinct flavour, bitterness, head retention, and flavour stability due to their natural preservative capabilities. In that sense, the brew recognised today as *beer* was first developed in Northern Europe during the 9th century.

Hopped beer could stay fresh for weeks or months, thus making it a transportable commodity that was gradually introduced to a large region of Northern Europe. Not only did beer need to be nutritious, but its stability was of particular importance in ensuring it could survive long sea voyages, and strong hopped beers proved to satisfy these requirements. However, the spread of hopped beer production and consumption did not happen overnight, as there was resistance from powerful individuals who were making good money from the use of *gruit*, a herb mixture that had long been used for flavouring and bittering beer (Barth 2013: 6). Taxation and regulation as well as conservatism and an unwillingness to break from tradition served to stem the spread of hops and their competing flavour, especially in England where hopped beer did not start to appear until the late 1300s (Barth 2013: 6). In the immediately following centuries, some British breweries made unhopped beer called *ale* while others made a hopped product called *beer*, but by the end of the 1600s all English beer was hopped (Barth 2013: 6). Today, beer is used as the general term, with ale contrasted to lager according to the yeast strain used and the subsequent temperature of fermentation.

Beer spread around the world and different styles developed. It arrived in what is now the United States with the first European colonists and a deep-rooted ale tradition initially

flourished. It was not until the late 19th century that lager began to outsell ale when unmalted cereals were introduced into the brewing process (Meussdoerffer 2009: 35). The ensuing American lager styles with their lighter colours, flavours and textures were popular and dominated global markets until the late twentieth century (see p. 14).

2.2. A Norwegian Perspective

In a book titled *Alt om Øl* ('All About Beer'), Hillesland and Åstrøm (2003: 11) state that beer has a long tradition in Norway; yet it is not known for certain how long this tradition has existed in the country or how the first beers were initially brewed. Archaeological digs leading to the unearthing of artefacts from the Bronze and Iron ages suggest that beer has been brewed in Norway since at least 3000 BCE, with possible written evidence appearing much later. The earliest written reference to brewing comes from Pytheas, a Greek geographer and explorer who lived around 300 BCE; he is said to have written about a drink he was served in a land that lay six days north of Britain that 'delighted the mind' (Hillesland and Åstrøm 2003:11). Hauge (2009: 13) asserts that the first description of alcohol in the North appears in *The Germania*, a book by Roman historian Tacitus from around 100 CE. Tacitus describes a country north of the Rhine and Danube where its people drank a brew of barley or wheat that had gone into fermentation, so that it had some resemblance to wine. Some of the earliest Scandinavian rune inscriptions, from the 4th century CE, use the term *alu*, which has been interpreted as the same word as English *ale* (modern Norwegian *øl*) (Hillesland and Åstrøm 2003: 11).

Just as ancient civilisations had viewed beer as a gift from the gods and an important part of religious ceremonies (Meussdoerffer 2009: 5), so too did the early inhabitants of Scandinavia. According to a legend related by Hillesland and Åstrøm (2003: 11), Odin, one of the principal gods in Norse mythology, was responsible for teaching people to brew and appreciate beer.

During the Viking Age through the later Middle Ages, Norwegians drank water, milk, and beer, with mead and wine reserved for chiefs and other important individuals (Hillesland and Åstrøm 2003: 11). Christianity first appeared in Norway in the early 9th century when Viking explorers who had converted to Catholicism during their travels returned home and brought the religion with them. However, a systematic conversion of Norway was only

carried out by Olav Tryggvason, King of Norway from 995 to 1000 CE, who specifically transferred beer-drinking from its pagan connotations to Christian uses:

Han reiste kyrkjer, og avskipa blot og bloddrykkjer. I staden sette han høgtidsdrykkje ved jul og påske, og jonsokdrykje, og haustøl ved mikjelsmesse.

(Rindal 1996: 10)

‘He erected churches and brought an end to sacrifices and sacrificial drinking. He replaced these with festive drinking at Christmas, Easter, and the Birth of John the Baptist, and autumn beer at Michaelmas.’

(Author translation)

This Christian reinvention of beer-drinking ensured that the practice of brewing continued, as did the connection of beer with celebrations and festive occasions (Hillesland and Åstrøm 2003: 11). Beer was brewed by rich and poor alike and was present at all stages of life; purchases were sealed with a *kjøpskål*, and beer was named and consumed to mark a range of milestones including births (*barnsøl*), engagements (*festarøl*), marriages (*brureøl*), and deaths (*gravøl*).

The importance of beer in early Christian Norway is illustrated well in the so-called Gulathing law from around 1000 CE. Norway was historically divided into several regions that each had its own assembly known as a *thing*. The thing was effectively a regional parliament with legislative, judicial, and executive power; the representatives would gather annually to discuss political issues as well as passing judgements in civil and criminal cases. Western Norway had its own assembly just north of Bergen on the peninsula of Guløy, known as the Gulathing or *Gulatinget*. It was one of the oldest and largest assemblies of medieval Norway, active from approximately 900 to 1300 CE, and laws that were decided there were known as the Gulathing law or *Gulatingssloven*. The Gulathing law originally consisted of laws based on oral communication and agreement, and parliamentary representatives were required to memorise these laws and cite them when required.

The law ordering people to brew beer appeared in chapters 6 and 7 of the Christian section (*Kristendomsbolken*) of the Gulathing law (Tveit 1986: 75). It required farmers to brew beer in time for the Christmas festivities and to raise a glass on Christmas eve to thank Christ and the Virgin Mary for a good and peaceful year. Failure to do so would initially

result in monetary fines that had to be paid to the bishop and, if a farmer did not brew beer for three consecutive years, he would lose his property and be exiled from Norway. The brewing and consumption of beer had officially become a Christian duty.

The practice of farmhouse brewing and homebrewing continued throughout the Middle Ages; however, there was also increasing importation of beer from Germany and England during this period. Following the Black Death in the mid-1300s, a number of small-scale breweries were established in the larger Norwegian cities, and the industry began to grow in line with the rest of Europe. The first large-scale breweries were established around 1780, yet it was not until 1820, when Jørgen Young built a large brewery in Oslo, that the industrialisation of brewing really took off in Norway (Den Norske Bryggeriforening 1955: 21). In the years that followed, more breweries appeared across the country and the industrial production of beer grew rapidly from 1840 onwards due to changes in the Craft Act (*håndverksloven*) of 1839. These changes to the statutory framework ultimately gave industrial breweries more freedom in the production and sale of their products, and by 1857, 55 of Norway's 343 breweries were large enough to be considered industrial operations (Den Norske Bryggeriforening 1955: 21).

The development in industrial production eventually led to a dramatic concentration of beer brewing. By 1890, there were only 46 breweries remaining as the breweries dependent on manual labour were simply unable to compete with the larger and more efficient industrial operations. Numbers continued to decline, with 25 breweries in 1955 and only ten in 2003 (Hillesland and Åstrøm 2003: 13). The industrialisation and consolidation of the brewing industry was not confined to Norway but was rather a global phenomenon. However, already during the 1980s, small breweries had started to emerge in the United States as a reaction to these developments, and the subsequent movement altered the brewing landscape. It was not until the turn of the twenty-first century that this movement and its effects would manifest in Norway (see p. 17).

2.3. What is Beer?

Nachel and Ettlinger (2012: 10) define beer in its simplest form as any fermented beverage made with a cereal grain, most often malted barley. Beaumont (2017: 2) extends this definition, adding that beer can be made from almost any combination of ingredients, so long as the base is composed of a grain that will yield fermentable sugars. Barley is most widely

used, with water as the medium, hops as the seasoning, and brewer's yeast as the fermenting agent. As water typically accounts for 90-95% of a beer's composition, it plays a significant role in defining flavour, with water quality and its mineral profile being of particular importance when brewing certain styles of beer (Beaumont 2017: 2). So-called 'soft water', that is, water which is low in mineral salts, is typically used when brewing beer of the Pilsner type whereas 'hard water', with a higher concentration of mineral salts, is more suited to British-style pale ales. Advancements in modern technology allow brewers to adjust local water profiles as necessary to mimic water from other regions, allowing beer styles to be recreated outside of their initial geographical locations.

Nachel and Ettlinger (2012: 10) state that grain provides beer with its colour and flavour, as well as maltose, proteins, and dextrose; Beaumont (2017: 2) adds aroma to the list. The maltose provides the fermentable sugars, while proteins help form and maintain a beer's head, and dextrins provide beer with its viscosity, or 'mouthfeel' in brewing terminology. During the fermentation process, as the yeast turns the sugar from grain into alcohol and carbon dioxide, it imparts varying flavours and aromas to beer, resulting in fruity flavours or spicy notes depending on the variety used. Perhaps most importantly, however, hops are the ingredient that provides beer with its bitterness, stability, flavour, and aroma, serving to offset sweetness, and adding overall depth and complexity, whilst extending a beer's shelf life by staving off bacterial contamination.

Flavour and aroma can be 'dialled' into a brew depending on which hop varieties are used, in what quantity, how they are combined, and at what point of the boil they are added. As there are countless varieties of hops from around the world, modern day brewers have the opportunity to produce distinct brews as well as adhering to more traditional regional recipes and styles. Beaumont (2017: 2) lists a few common hop varieties and their general traits, including *Amarillo* which is known for its strong fruity flavour and aromas, *Cascade* with its distinct citrusy character, *Fuggles* which provides beers with an earthy and woody spiciness, and *Simcoe* which is said to veer towards oniony flavours and aromas. These and other varieties will be referred to in the analysis of labels in Chapter 5.

Nachel and Ettlinger (2012: 38) divide all beers into two main branches: ales or lagers. According to this definition, ales are the older and arguably more distinguished and traditional beers, predating lagers by thousands of years, whereas lagers are a relatively modern creation at less than 200 years old (Nachel and Ettlinger 2012: 38). A beer is classified as an ale or a lager depending on which type of yeast has been used to ferment the beer, and the use of ale

yeast or lager yeast typically dictates the temperature at which a beer is fermented. Basically, ales are beers that are fermented by yeasts that function at the top of the fermenter at close to room temperature, and they are typically conditioned for short periods of time, as little as one to two weeks. Lagers are fermented by yeasts that operate at cooler temperatures at the bottom of the fermenter and are typically cold-conditioned for six weeks or more. Nachel and Ettlinger (2012: 39) state that ales are generally more robust-tasting beers that are fruity and aromatic with a complex flavour profile. Lagers are generally lighter tasting beers often highly carbonated, giving crisper, cleaner flavours, and a subtle, balanced aroma.

Within the broad categories of ale and lager, there exists a whole range of substyles, each with their own qualities and histories. Figure 1 reproduces a table from Nachel and Ettlinger (2012) which provides a good visual overview of the main substyles; this classification has been used in categorising the beer labels included in the present study.

ALES					
Porter	Stout	Brown Ales	Amber/Red Ales	Pale Ales	
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Brown	Dry	Mild	Irish Red	American Pale Ale	Ordinary Bitter
Robust	Sweet	English Brown	Amber Ale	India Pale Ale (IPA)	Special/ Best Bitter
Baltic	Oatmeal	American Brown	Scottish Ale		
	Foreign				
	Russian Imperial			Double/ Imperial India Pale Ale	Extra Special Bitter (ESB)

Strong Ales	Belgian Trappist/Abbey	Belgian Ales	Belgian Sour Beers
↓	↓	↓	↓
American Barleywine	Dubbel	Golden/Blonde	Flanders Red
English Barleywine	Tripel	Saison	Flanders Brown/ Oud Bruin
Scotch Ale	Quadrupel	Biere De Garde	
Old Ale			

Wheat Beers	Spontaneously Fermented Beer	Specialty Ales
↓	↓	↓
Hefeweizen	Lambic	Herb & Spice
Dunkelweizen	Gueuze	Fruit
American Wheat Ale	Fruit Lambic	Winter Warmers/ Holiday Beers
Berliner Weisse		
Witbier		Smoke

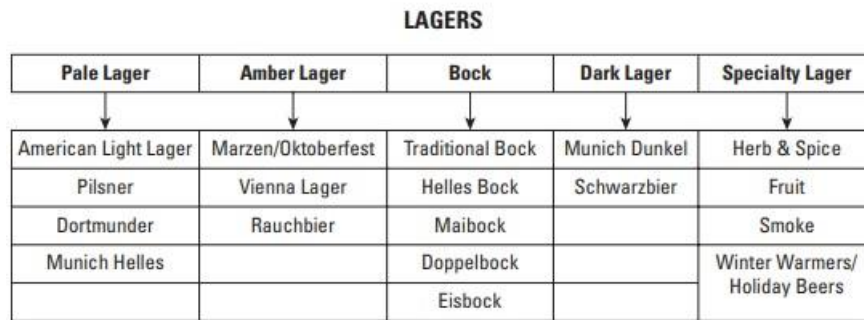


Figure 1: The Ale and Lager Family Trees (Nachel and Ettlinger 2012).

2.4. Craft Beer: A Working Definition

Over the past two decades, the number of small breweries has increased at a rapid rate and this has resulted in a wider range of beers. Today, the brewing industry is comprised of a handful of multinational breweries and a significant number of small beer producers. According to Beaumont (2017: 5), the terms *microbrewery* and *microbrew* originated in the US in the 1980s and had become widely used by the 1990s; this gives some indication as to when the rise of craft breweries started. These terms, coined to account for ‘the emerging segment of new, small breweries and the atypical styles of beer they were producing’ (Beaumont 2017: 5), quickly spread to Europe. Although still in use today, these terms have been largely replaced by *craft brewery* and *craft beer*.

Defining what precisely constitutes ‘craft’ has, however, proven elusive. Garavaglia and Swinnen (2018: 4) explain the lack of a generally accepted definition of what constitutes a craft brewery with the diversities among countries and their historical traditions in the brewing of beer. Craft brewing has been defined with reference to criteria such as ownership, production process, scale, age, and tradition, and adjectives such as ‘artisanal’, ‘micro’, ‘independent’, ‘specialty’, and ‘local’ are used to distinguish craft breweries from regular breweries.

The Brewers Association (2018) has long defined craft breweries as those that are small, independent, and traditional. To be considered small and independent, breweries must not produce more than six million barrels per year and less than 25 percent of the brewery can be owned or controlled by a beverage alcohol industry member. ‘Traditional’ refers to the beer produced, and more than 50 percent of a brewery’s beer portfolio must derive its flavour from either traditional or innovative brewing ingredients and their fermentation to be

considered craft (Garavaglia and Swinnen 2018: 5). In the UK, the Society of Independent Brewers (2018) defines craft breweries as those that are independent and brew up to one percent of the UK beer market, which equates to approximately 43 million litres annually.

Initially, these defining criteria are logical and many brewery associations around the world propose similar definitions. However, attempting to neatly categorise breweries in this manner is problematic, and Garavaglia and Swinnen (2018: 5) suggest that the concepts of ‘tradition’ and ‘innovation’ are highly context specific. Macrobreweries such as Budweiser and Stella Artois have centuries-old histories (tradition) making them much older than the majority of craft breweries. Being innovative in some countries or environments may be standard (traditional) in other places, such as brewing porters in Norway, a beer that has its origin in early eighteenth-century London and has long been a staple of the beer-drinking community. Finally, Garavaglia and Swinnen (2018: 6) assert that the scale of a brewery is related to the size of the country (beer market) in which it operates. Setting production output thresholds, measured in barrels or hectolitres (hl), that breweries must not exceed if they are to be awarded the craft label does not translate easily from one country to another. In the United States, the United Kingdom, and Italy the threshold is 7,038,000 hl, 430,000 hl, and 200,000 hl, respectively.

Independence and small-scale production allow craft breweries to experiment with batches in a way and at a pace that macrobreweries cannot, resulting in the resurgence of less-produced beer styles that have often been reinvented as part of an artistic endeavour to revive historical locational variants (Mesker 2019: 108). This creative approach and willingness to diverge from the mainstream, coupled with an ‘adherence to traditional practices, social engagement, and a *slow beer* ethos, resonates with those who are passionate about quality and taste and whose ideals are represented by the brewery themselves’ (Mesker 2019: 108). More often than not, these ideals belong to alternative subcultures and anti-corporate movements that reject mass-produced products for their tastelessness and mundanity. Mesker (2019: 108) draws parallels between the craft beer culture and the hipster culture in that both embrace neolocalism and artisanality as emblems of authenticity. Craft beer is therefore *real* beer, and the culture epitomises and champions ‘the pursuit of individuality, heritage, tradition, exploration, and taste and smell captured there in the glass’ (Mesker 2019: 108).

There is no precise definition of craft beer, but rather a prototypical idea of the craft brewery that combines scale, ownership, tradition, and a willingness to experiment. Beers that

are produced by these breweries may be considered craft precisely because they are not mass produced by large corporate breweries.

2.5. The Rise of the Craft Beer Industry

The emergence of craft breweries may be seen as a reaction to a century-old development in the beer industry. As noted above, from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century and through most of the following hundred years, breweries were acquired, merged, or went bankrupt, culminating in a dramatic consolidation of the beer industry in the 1990s and 2000s (Garavaglia and Swinnen 2018: 12). This led to the emergence of global multinationals such as AB InBev, SABMiller, Heineken, and Carlsberg, and beers became more standardised and homogenous as a result. Nome (2017), summarised in Lund and Måseidvåg (2018: 11), notes that the Norwegian beer market is no exception and is dominated by four large industry players: Carlsberg-owned Ringnes AS, Hansa Borg AS, Aass Bryggeri and Mack, who combined accounted for 92.2% of the total market volume of beer in Norway in 2016.

Garavaglia and Swinnen (2018: 9) point at technological progress as the initial catalyst for consolidation, with the automation of the brewing process, acceleration of packaging, and more efficient distribution methods leading to greater economies of scale. In addition, higher fixed costs associated with beverage production and refrigeration meant that smaller breweries could not compete. World Wars I and II further complicated the situation leading to disruptions in farming practices and the supply chain, a shortage of capital, and equipment confiscation. In the years that followed, the resultant macrobreweries found product characteristics that appealed to the masses, and the result was a more homogenous and mild lager beer dominating the market in countries such as the US, Canada, and Norway.

Mesker (2019: 107) states that the craft beer industry has been growing globally since the 1980s, and it was around this time that the demand side of the beer market changed significantly. As consolidation took place in the macro sector, craft breweries entered the market to cater for niche consumers who had a growing interest in local products and a rising sentiment against globalisation (Garavaglia and Swinnen 2018: 19). Garavaglia and Swinnen (2018: 18) suggest that there were several factors prompting this change, including increasing demand for more variety in beer styles, increasing incomes of beer consumers, and consumer-driven organisations focusing on disseminating information about beer, thus giving it renewed cultural value. Swaminathan (1998) conducted a study into the entry of firms into new market

segments in mature industries, focusing specifically on the founding of microbreweries and brewpubs in the US. Grounded in the notion that market niches emerge as a result of discontinuities in an industry's environment, Swaminathan (1998: 399) found that the entry of new craft breweries in the US was correlated with a growth in demand for imported beers, which helped stimulate the appreciation of new beer flavours among US consumers. Globalisation, the very process that niche consumers were said to be against, was also responsible for exposing them to new products and flavours through increasing imports from international beer markets.

The craft beer revolution came to Norway much later than it did to the US and other parts of Europe. The industry had seen a dramatic decline in the number of breweries, with only ten breweries in 2003 (Hillesland and Åstrøm 2003: 13), and the Norwegian Brewers Association, BROD, was on the brink of collapse after being in operation for more than 100 years (Nome 2019). In 2005, the association consisted of only four members, and the beer landscape was mostly confined to a homogenous, mild lager beer for much of the year, at least from the large corporate Norwegian macrobreweries. The exceptions were imported beers available from some supermarkets or the wine monopoly stores, and a spiced, dark Christmas beer (juleøl) that has a long tradition in Norway.

However, in 2002, three homebrewers in the fishing village of Grimstad in Southern Norway had gotten together and decided to open a brewery inspired by American craft brewers, using traditional hand-malted barley from the UK. The Norwegian market initially rejected Nøgne Ø's beers and for the first few years the brewery went largely unnoticed and survived on exporting its products to European and US markets (Nome 2019). The brewery's innovative approach in producing ales and porters, and its resilience in the face of resistance, inspired other homebrewers to take risks and turn their passions into a business. The number of small, independent craft breweries started to grow; according to Nome (2019), craft brewers in Norway have grown their market share from zero to four percent during the last decade, employing 25 percent of the entire workforce in Norwegian breweries in 2019. The Norwegian Brewers Association also grew during this period, with 126 craft brew members brewing around 2,000 different beers by the close of 2018 (Nome 2019).

2.6. A Class Act: Norway's System of Alcohol Classification

The first alcohol taxes were introduced in 1858 at around the time that Norway experienced the huge growth in the brewing industry (see p. 11). These taxes were calculated on the type of malt used, and the system was in place until 1912 when beer was divided into tax classes based on alcohol strength; this was first measured in weight before changing to alcohol by volume or *ABV* in 1917 (Hansa Borg 2018). This classification system is still in place today and divides beer into five categories, of which the last one is open-ended to account for beers of a higher percentage. The classes determine tax level, age restrictions, and when and where beers can be sold. Table 1 shows each class and its respective ABV:

Table 1: Beer Classification in Norway by ABV % (alcohol by volume).

Class	ABV (alcohol by volume)
A	0% – 0.7%
B	0.7% – 2.75%
C	2.75% – 3.75%
D	3.75% – 4.75%
Strong Beer	4.75% and above

Class A is for all intents and purposes alcohol-free beer that is taxed as a general foodstuff, can be sold anywhere at any time, and bought by anyone irrespective of age. Class B is considered light beer (*lettøl*); it is lightly taxed and can also be sold anywhere at any time but only to those who are at least 18 years old. Class C is not in common use in Norway, but some imported beers fall into this category. Class D is considered standard strength and is subject to significant taxation. The age limit is 18 years, sales are locally regulated, and beers in this category can be purchased from common supermarkets until 8pm on weekdays and 6pm on Saturdays. Finally, strong beer with an ABV of 4.75% and above can only be purchased from *Vinmonopolet*, the government-controlled liquor store, and is taxed in the same manner as wine and liquor.

2.7. Legislation: Restrictive and Liberating Parameters

Norway has a strict legislative framework that regulates the sale, purchase, and advertising of alcoholic beverages, essentially prohibiting the marketing of alcohol to consumers. The ban on advertising alcohol has its basis in Section 9-2 of the Alcohol Act and is formulated in detail in Chapter 14 of the Alcohol Regulations (Lovdata 1989). The ban came into effect in July 1975, after alcohol consumption figures were shown to have doubled over a twenty-year period. Although it was not the belief that a general restriction on advertising would reverse this trend alone, it was deemed a necessary measure that could be used in conjunction with other initiatives to curb what was considered a worrying development (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2016). The objective of the advertising ban is to regulate verbal and visual marketing strategies that may lead to an increase in demand for alcoholic beverages. Additionally, the ban helps to raise awareness among Norway's population that alcohol differs from other commodities and must be regulated accordingly.

Section 9-2, Paragraph 9.2.1 of the Alcohol Act states that all direct advertising of alcoholic beverages is forbidden. This includes the advertising of goods that carry the same branding and features as alcoholic beverages or the inclusion of alcoholic beverages in the marketing of other goods and services (The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2016). The purpose of the advertising ban is to prevent the influence that such practices can have on increasing demand for alcoholic beverages. Advertising is defined in the Alcohol Act as 'any form of mass communication for marketing purposes', and Section 9.2.2.1 interprets mass communication as being:

- enveisstyrt fra avsender.
- rettet mot et ubestemt antall personer. Det sentrale er om kommunikasjonen har potensial til å nå flere, ikke om den faktisk gjør det.

(The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2016)

- unidirectionally-controlled by the sender.
- aimed at an indefinite number of people. The key is whether the communication has the potential to reach more people, not whether it actually does.

(Author translation)

The definition and interpretation of mass communication described above must be considered in light of the purpose of the communicative act, more specifically whether or not it promotes the sale or consumption of alcohol. Purpose is identified by assessing who is sending the information, the content of the information and how it is designed, and the overall presentation and dissemination of the information. This means that senders of information with a financial interest in promoting the sale or consumption of alcohol are, by definition, marketing it, and this is strictly forbidden. This typically applies to holders of sales and liquor licenses, suppliers, importers, and manufacturers.

Advertising restrictions are media-neutral, meaning that mass communication for marketing purposes is illegal across a variety of media channels. This includes newspapers, brochures, radio, television, signs, displays, and the Internet, with social media, podcasts, and blogs also having to adhere to these legislative restrictions. However, it is important to remember that the ban applies specifically to those with a financial interest in disseminating information about alcohol, so media channels that do not directly benefit from the sale or consumption of alcohol are exempt from the restrictions. Therefore, editorial references such as reviews found in newspapers and other media channels are not bound by these legal restrictions, as the promotion of alcohol consumption is not the intention of the sender.

The ban on advertising also affects product packaging, as it can be used as a channel for promoting the consumption of alcohol. Even though the same restrictions initially apply, there is more scope for providing standard product information on the product itself than there is in other mass communication channels. Standard product information is permitted and is understood as factual information that aids consumers in identifying and selecting the correct product and using it in the correct manner. The Norwegian Directorate of Health (2016) states that standard product information is:

[...] opplysninger om produktnavn, bestillingsnummer, alkoholvolum, flaskestørrelse, produsentland, leverandør (produsent – grossist) og tilleggsopplysninger (varedeklarasjon) i form av opplysninger om ingredienser, næringsinnhold, pant og avgiftsklasse. Opplysninger som er påbudt etter andre regelverk er ikke ansett å være påført i markedsføringsøyemed. Pr. i dag gjelder dette forskrift om matinformasjon til forbrukerne (matinformasjonsforskriften). Det er videre tillatt å påføre etikett og emballasje firmanavn og/eller firmamerke i medhold av alkoholforskriften § 14-3 nr. 6. Produktopplysninger på emballasje og etiketter kan etter praksis også omfatte korte og nøkterne smaks-, bruks- og lagringsbeskrivelser.

(The Norwegian Directorate of Health 2016)

‘[...] information about product name, order number, alcohol volume, bottle size, country of production, supplier (both producer and wholesaler), and additional information (product declaration) in the form of information about ingredients, nutritional value, recycling deposit, and tax class. Information that is required as part of other regulations is not considered to have been included for marketing purposes. As of today, this applies to regulations about food information for consumers (Food Information Regulations). In addition, it is permitted to include company name and logo on labels and packaging in accordance with the Alcohol Regulations, Section 14-3 number 6. Product information on packaging and labels may, in practice, also include short and factual flavour, use, and storage descriptions.’

(Author translation)

This indicates that there is a wealth of extra information that is permitted for inclusion on the labels and packaging of alcoholic beverages that is not permitted elsewhere, giving brewers and producers more freedom to inform the consumer about their product on the product itself. Some of the product information listed above is not only permitted but is required by law, and this is detailed in the Food Information Regulations (Lovdata 2014). According to these regulations, labelling refers to written information as well as images and symbols used on product packaging or labels. The regulations state that obligatory information includes alcohol strength, which must be stated with the symbol % *vol.* when alcohol content exceeds 1,2 volume percent, and net content, in either weight or volume, must also be included. Shelf life indicated with either ‘best before’ or ‘last day of use’ is required, as is the name and address of the manufacturer or importer of the product (Lovdata 2014). The verbal element of labels must be clear and easy to read, with a minimum font size of 1,2mm (x-height) for all obligatory product information, falling to 0,9 mm on products with a surface area of less than 80 cm². Obligatory information must be written in Norwegian or a language that uses a similar writing system to Norwegian, and products can be labelled in multiple languages if the information given is identical.

Article 9 of the Food Information Regulations (Lovdata 2014) requires that food and drink labels include a list of ingredients detailing what the product is made of, and that these ingredients are listed in descending order based on weight. Additionally, typical allergens or ingredients that can cause food intolerances must be highlighted in the list of ingredients in either bold or italic font to warn the consumer through increased visibility. Article 9 also requires food and drink labels to include a nutrition declaration providing information about nutrients in the product. Interestingly, Article 16 of the same regulations states that neither a

list of ingredients nor a nutrition declaration is mandatory for beverages containing more than 1.2% alcohol by volume (Lovdata 2014). This means that potential allergens and nutritional information such as energy, fat, carbohydrate, sugar, protein, and salt values that are common on all other food and beverage labels are not a legal requirement when labelling the majority of beers produced and sold in Norway. However, in 2017 the European Commission invited the alcoholic beverages' industry to develop a self-regulatory proposal aiming to provide information about ingredients and nutrition on all alcoholic beverages within a year, and this resulted in the European Brewers Association, Brewers of Europe, signing a Memorandum of Understanding to label ingredients and energy values on all beer bottles and cans in the EU by 2022 (European Commission 2019).

The Norwegian Directorate of Health (2016) states that breweries are relatively free to decorate their product labels and packaging using colours and artwork, so long as these elements are purely intended as decoration. However, visual elements such as medals, prizes, ratings, emojis, and images that depict a product being used in a particular social setting are prohibited; parties, boat trips, and armchair consumption are some examples of depictions that the Norwegian Directorate of Health suggest would not be considered as ordinary product information. This decorative liberty results in a variety of creative approaches that often differ greatly from one producer to another and thus provide an opportunity for expressing and transmitting culture, identity, and taste.

2.8. Crafting Culture and Identity

Ortega (2017b: 24) suggests that a brand of beer has meaning far beyond its particular blend of water, barley, hops, and yeast, stating that ‘those who look deep enough find identity, community, and for the men and women of the industry, purpose.’ Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 257) state that we live in a world of brands – entities that acquire value through experience – where product marks, logos, symbols, and messages permeate our cultures to such an extent that brands have become integral to personal identity and emotional life. They also note that there are rich countercultures that exist at the margins of commercial brand culture that have spawned new business models, offering craft beer breweries as an example (Sturken and Cartwright 2017: 260). They suggest that these business models typically promote one’s individual liberty to be a producer, and that consumers support these small-scale producers in a more personalised style of trade. Producers are often visible to the

consumer as they too are a part of the local community, and this ‘challenge[s] the stereotype of the corporate manufacturer as a distant, faceless entity’ (Sturken and Cartwright 2017: 260). With this in mind, the concept of identity that Ortega refers to could be either the identity that a craft brewery wishes to convey to the consumer or the affective subculture that a growing number of craft beer consumers identify with.

Gómez-Corona et al. (2016) researched the changing habits, attitudes, and motivations of Mexican beer drinkers and their consumption of mass-produced and craft beers. The main aim of the study was to understand the motivation and perceived benefits of craft beer consumption and how these correlated with consumer ethnographies. Of the respondents who took part in the study, 25 to 35-year-old males with high-incomes accounted for the largest proportion of craft beer consumers, and their main reason for drinking it was the quest for authenticity. These findings suggest that, unlike its industrial counterpart, craft beer is a symbolic and experience-based product that consumers are motivated to drink for several reasons: to increase knowledge, to experience new flavours, and to distance themselves from more mainstream consumption patterns. Gomez-Corona et al. (2016) conclude that the respondents of their study consume craft beer with the aim of constructing what they perceive as a more authentic and unique identity.

Lash and Lury (2007), as summarised in Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 257), propose that culture now operates through *things*, rather than through symbols and representations, texts and images, and they view things as media through which culture is transmitted. It is perhaps more accurate to suggest that culture operates through things as well as through symbols, representations, texts and images, especially considering the prominence of verbal and visual communication on the product labels and packaging of the very things that Lash and Lury (2007) may be alluding to.

Mesker (2019) analysed the use of mermen and other mythological ocean-dwelling males in the names and logos of craft breweries, on craft beer labels, and in related marketing material. The study was concerned with the product image that resulted from the use of such symbolism and addressed the question how perception of the merman in contemporary pop culture might be modified in the process. Mesker’s (2019) study highlights craft breweries’ embrace of non-normative imagery to position themselves as culturally engaged anti-establishment agitators. He suggests that quirky label art emphasises the otherness of craft breweries and adds to the identity formation of craft beer consumers. Finally, he suggests that beer branding in the form of labels and bottle art have the power ‘to perpetuate or arrest

coherences in the categorisation of sex, gender and sexuality typically associated with beer consumption.’ (Mesker 2019: 127).

Labels guide consumers in identifying brands at point of purchase, with text and image playing an integral role in positioning a product within its respective category. Craft beer labels communicate not only brewery and beer type to the consumer, but often ingredients and brew characteristics which indicate its flavour profile. Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 258) state that a person expresses his or her identity through self-alignment with a brand and through buying the brand’s goods; however, in order for that to happen people have to be able to link a product to its respective producer. In the case of craft brewing, the combination of text and image used on beer labels and packaging aids the consumer in this process of identification.

O’Brien (2020: 23) suggests that the craft beer industry has leveraged the consumption trend of neolocalism to give it a competitive position against established national and international beer brands, resulting in an interesting and highly dynamic brandscape. Similarly, in a study focusing on the emergence of Italian craft breweries, Garavaglia (2020: 135) states that the success of these breweries is largely due to craft’s nature and its local orientation. He sees sentiment and attachment to the concept of ‘craft’ as loading craft beer with meaning and value that goes beyond its material self, while associations to local places serve to enhance a sense of distinctiveness that appeals to consumers who wish to connect to local places, communities, and economies, tending toward neolocalism (Garavaglia 2020: 135). A result of neolocalism is that beer product branding frequently draws inspiration from local ‘history, humour, myths and stories, ingredients and, of course, tangible physical and intangible socio-political geography’ (O’Brien 2020: 23).

Schnell (2013) echoes this notion of drawing inspiration from local history and phenomena in the branding of beer. He analysed American craft breweries’ use of historical figures, local characters, landmarks, historical events, nostalgic images, and allusions to nature in both names and artwork on their labels to consciously create a process of neolocalism (Garavaglia 2020: 141). The study suggests that locally rooted names and images create a sense of belonging to a unique place for the people who live there. At the same time, breweries and consumers can share their pride for the place’s distinctiveness with other people who may not have an emotional connection with it. Schnell (2013: 59) points out that, unlike wineries which ascribe their rootedness to the soil and to the climate in which their grapes are produced, breweries evoke a sense of localness by highlighting the art of brewing

itself and the narratives of a place they employ in their marketing. Using beer names and images that reflect place of origin is one of the methods used by craft breweries in various countries to create local identities and attachment to places.

In the pre-Facebook age, craft beer's typified imagery of trains, craggy moors, fantasy, and lazy sexism appealed to a core middle aged, male demographic (Naylor 2017). Mesker (2019: 109) suggests that there has been a tradition of using mermaids, and the female form in general, in beer branding imagery where they often appear as temptresses or in roles of servitude. These depictions show scantily clad women serving beer as opposed to enjoying its consumption, objectifying the female form for the male gaze in the process. Although modern craft beer labels are not entirely devoid of sexualised imagery, original and contemporary artwork is a mechanism used by some breweries in an attempt to distance beer from its often-misogynist past, suggesting a wider contemporary shift away from beer-associated masculinity (Mesker 2019: 111).

The more recent branding of craft beer is often colourful and playful, with beer art itself becoming a gallery space for designers and artists. Mesker (2019: 111) states that beer blogs, inspired by Instagram culture, often sideline breweries and the product itself in favour of showcasing bottle and can art. Such websites are dedicated to the celebration of graphic design from the world of beer, and there is increasing interest in label art that breaks with traditional brewing imagery. Mesker (2019: 111) notes that many modern craft breweries use asexual, inclusive, and urban imagery on their beer labels, embracing shared nostalgia, memes, and references to pop culture in an attempt to resonate with a particular audience. Coupled with non-normative imagery and depictions of place and space, the visual communication methods utilised by craft breweries help portray them as anti-establishment agitators which ultimately lends authenticity to their products (Mesker 2019: 111).

The move from traditional imagery and the resultant makeover of beer labels and packaging is a pivotal aspect of craft beer's appeal, with label art building trust and intimacy with its audience, often incorporating 'quirky visual non-sequiturs [that] help establish inclusive shifts in craft beer demographics' (Naylor 2017). As modern craft breweries experiment with traditional beer styles in innovative ways, they are ultimately creating and expressing identity through their beer and its branding, an identity that serves to highlight and strengthen the craft beer subculture. Mesker (2019: 128) notes that, in countries such as Australia, retailers often segregate beers into domestic, international, and craft categories that represent, respectively, *normal* mass-produced beers, imported mass-produced beers, and

either local or imported beer brewed on a smaller scale. This categorisation demonstrates the identity of craft beer as the non-normal other, with quirky label art serving to visually assist this division whilst adding to the identity formation of its consumers (Mesker 2019: 128).

2.9. Arts and Draughts: Beer Label Design

As Ambrose and Harris (2011: 11) have pointed out, products require packaging not only to protect them from damage but to present the product and its brand attractively to a target audience of consumers. Packaging plays a pivotal role in disseminating information about the product and the brand through the use of text, image, and other graphic devices including font, colour, and layout. The relative freedom of choice allows producers to differentiate their products from those of their competitors. Packaging can be viewed as a story that conveys a narrative to an audience, something that is important ‘in a globalised and saturated market [where] there is often little inherent difference between like-for-like products’ (Ambrose and Harris 2011: 13). For many end-users, the design and packaging of a product are the product and go to make up the distinguishing qualities that enable one product to stand out from the next (Ambrose and Harris 2011: 11).

A recent study by Jaeger et al. (2021) suggests that consumers are affected by the information that appears on beer labels, having an emotional impact on craft beer drinkers with a preference for particular types of beer. The study builds upon previous research (Jaeger et al. 2020) which involved self-declared craft beers drinkers blind tasting a range of beers; two preference segments were uncovered, and these were labelled ‘craft-style likers’ and ‘traditional-style likers’. The craft-style likers preferred the bold and novel flavours associated with craft beers while the traditional-style likers preferred the milder and less complex flavours of traditional beers. In the second study (Jaeger et al. 2021), the same range of beers was used but beers were labelled to indicate beer style, brewery size, and regional origin of the respective brewers. The findings indicated that labelling the beers in this way did not affect sensory or cognitive responses but did influence emotional and situational responses. Both craft-style likers and traditional-style likers were affected by the information on the labels, which increased their positive emotions and perceptions of their preferred beer types.

Technological advancements and cost-effective solutions in colour printing have led to more design elements being added to the majority of packaging and labels. The result is that retail shelves have become cluttered with bright colours and graphic noise as manufacturers

vie for attention. Interestingly, eye-tracking studies have shown that consumers only register three to four elements when initially viewing a package, suggesting that simpler designs can often be more effective at grabbing consumer attention (Ambrose and Harris 2011: 78).

Reducing the amount of text or using fewer graphic devices are typical ways of simplifying designs, yet Ambrose and Harris (2011: 78) highlight the importance of balancing the use of background space with a strong use of colour and dynamic visual elements, as this helps maintain visual prominence whilst streamlining communication.

Leonard (2018) applies the challenge of standing out among the ever-increasing clutter of retail shelves to the craft brewing industry, suggesting that implementing a large logo and flashy can design is a typical and logical approach of many craft breweries. However, it might be assumed that truly successful labels do more than merely shout from the already saturated shelves, with great labels speaking the language of the consumer while conveying personality and meaning through the emphasis of the right elements. Leonard (2018) provides a brief overview of some of the components commonly found on beer labels that breweries can emphasise to project a certain personality or identity to the consumer. These components include text providing three categories of information: *brewery* (brand identity), *beer style* (the type of beer inside the vessel) and *beer name*, as well as *art* (the design on the can). Together, these components may be said to constitute the anatomy of a beer label (Figure 2).



Figure 2: The Anatomy of a Beer Label (Leonard 2018).

According to Nielsen's Craft Beer Category Design Audit (Nielsen 2017), 66 percent of American craft beer buyers stated that beer packaging and labels played an important role in getting their attention at point of purchase, with 71 percent claiming that they liked to try

brands with bold and interesting packaging. The same study asked participants which physical attributes of a craft beer's packaging tended to make the strongest impression, and results indicated that design (art) was the most important aspect, closely followed by where the beer was produced along with logo and brand name. Breweries can therefore emphasise different elements on their labels to attract different drinkers based on these preferences for packaging attributes. Leonard (2018) suggests that the craft beer label landscape can be divided into four main categories – *brewery-forward*, *beer style-forward*, *name-forward*, and *art-forward* – and explains that label design not only projects brewery identity but also highlights the approach a brewery has chosen in its interaction with consumers.

Brewery-forward beer labels put the brewery brand front and centre, with beer style and beer name being less prominent, and this prompts consumers to recognise the brand name before recognising a specific beer style. Beer style-forward beer labels highlight beer type, porter or pale ale for example, appealing to consumers who are looking for a particular type of beer. Name-forward beer labels give prominence to the name of a beer, and this is where some craft breweries choose to be creative; beer names can simply convey a beer's style (The Kernel's *India Pale Ale*) or they can express brand personality through the use of humour and obscure pop culture references (Tiny Rebel's *Pump up the Jam*) (Brett 2020). Finally, art-forward beer labels feature prominent artwork, either minimalist or complex, with brand and beer style playing a secondary role. Leonard (2018) explains that art-centric labels are useful when breweries want to express personality, be that traditional, experimental, or something in between. Developing an attractive brand personality and successfully communicating brewery identity can differentiate a product from its competitors while establishing a bond of trust with consumers. Products have the potential to transform into something with which people develop an emotional relationship, especially when connected with the owner or creator of the product (Ambrose and Harris 2011: 112).

Leonard's (2018) description of conscious design choices giving prominence to a specific element, be that verbal or visual, links directly to Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006: 201) discussion of salience which will be briefly presented in Chapter 3. The design choices provide a highly useful system of classification, which will be used in the present study. The notion of breweries consciously designing *x-forward* labels, where *x* is the most prominent element, may indicate what a particular brewery values most when communicating its brand personality and identity to beer consumers. It may be that breweries prefer a particular design layout that organises label elements hierarchically, one that is applied across the entire

product range. However, breweries may also choose to change the most prominent element from one label to another, making it harder to identify a clear brand personality. Another consideration is that these design choices may also have been made based on a brewery's perception of their target audience's interests. With this in mind, what does the most prominent element say about the brewery? Does the prominent element carry a clearly identifiable meaning that communicates on its own or does it interact with other elements on the label to narrow connotation and communicate more effectively?

3. Theoretical Orientation

This chapter presents the relevant theory that is used for both the categorisation and analysis of beer labels. It includes the concept of communication with a specific focus on the communicative act that ensues when a rhetor and interpreter interact, it defines modes and multimodality, and presents theories concerning text-image relations. The pertinent concepts of Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) framework of visual grammar are presented as these inform and guide the categorisation and close reading of beer labels. Multilingualism is particularly relevant as product labels frequently use multiple languages in their communication with consumers. Bourdieu's (1984) notion of taste is presented to disambiguate a central term of this thesis whilst introducing a potential high-low culture divide. Finally, subcultural theory and Fox's (1987) social organisation model provide a theoretical perspective on the rise of the craft beer industry which is potentially a reaction to the industrialisation and consolidation of the brewing industry (see p. 16)

3.1. Communication: Rhetor and Interpreter

Communication theory is central to this thesis as it provides the foundations upon which some of the other theories are developed. This presentation of communication theory draws attention to the roles played by breweries and consumers in the interaction that ensues whenever a consumer comes into contact with a beer label. It is not meant to account for all types of communicative act or to reduce these to a simple process but should rather be read in light of Kress' (2010: 49) view that some instances of communication are political in nature. Some interactions can be viewed as rhetorical in that an individual may be interested in 'bring[ing] about an alignment between her or his message, with its ideological position and the position of the audience with their ideological position' (Kress 2010: 49). This suggests that some communicative acts involve an individual trying to persuade another individual to understand a message in a particular way.

Communication is the act of transferring information from one person or group to another and has long been viewed as involving a sender, a message, and a receiver. In Shannon and Weaver's simple model from 1949, a message is encoded by the sender and transmitted to the receiver who then decodes it. The success of a communicative act is measured in terms of the closeness of the receiver's sign to the sign of the sender, and accordingly clarity is key to avoiding unclear messages that could lead to misinterpretation

and an unintended response from the receiver. However, there are some problems with such a simple model, as it views the participants as isolated individuals and does not account for differing interpretations and the reasons behind them.

Kress (2010: 44) views communication as a two-phase structure involving joint and reciprocal work between a rhetor (sender) and an interpreter (receiver). Kress's rhetor sketches a *sign-complex* which is then elaborated in detail by a designer before being given material form by a producer. Kress (2010: 50) notes that, in most everyday communication, these 'tasks and roles come together in one person'. The resultant material sign-complex is then presented to the interpreter as a simple or complex message. Interpreters can choose to shape this message as a prompt before transforming it into an inner sign 'in light of interest and the semiotic (and wider social, cultural, aesthetic and ethical) resources which [they bring] to an interaction' (Kress 2010: 44). Communication requires active engagement and interpretation with the rhetor's pre-designed message, and it is here that the two-phase structure is realised with the initial work carried out by the rhetor and the subsequent engagement and interpretative work of the interpreter. Viewing the work of the interpreter as attending to a prompt and engaging with it is a conscious decision, recognising that the audience may neither understand nor accept the rhetor's intended message. Kress (2010: 44) believes that interpretation and communication take place when an interpreter's attention and engagement lead to selection and reframing of what the rhetor has designed as a prompt.

The role of rhetor and interpreter complement each other, with signs being made by both participants of a communicative act. There is a redistribution of power as the interpreter can choose whether or not to attend to and engage with a rhetor's sign-complex, and the prompt is only realised when the interpreter has selected elements from a message and framed them in light of their own interest. The resultant prompt is then transformed by the interpreter who reshapes it into a new, internal sign-complex. This is an important realisation and extension of the traditional view of how the communication process works as it serves to highlight the semiotic work of both sender and receiver while foregrounding the social aspect of communication. The rhetor often has a strong sense of the audience's social characteristics, encoding their own interest into a message that the interpreter receives in a particular social location and only if it is of interest to them (Kress 2010: 45). Both rhetor and interpreter, with their social histories and social positions, bring their cultural and semiotic resources and values to any act of representation or communication.

Kress (2010: 51) states that representation is focused on oneself and one's interest whereas communication is focused on one's interest in its relation to others. Therefore, although representation and communication are distinct social processes, they both involve personal interest albeit with a clear shift in its focus, attention, and direction. Whereas representation is concerned with an individual and their focus on aptly and satisfactorily representing a specific entity or phenomenon, communication is concerned with the interaction of an individual with others in a specific social environment, with a focus on successfully engaging and persuading others. 'Signs(-as-texts) are always shaped by both kinds of interest: by my interest in aptly realizing my meaning and my interest in aptly conveying it to an other' (Kress 2010: 51).

As social processes, the conditions for both representation and communication are subject to change, and they change in line with social conditions. At the same time, these processes are also responsible for changing social conditions. Kress (2010: 52) states that 'representation constantly remakes the resources for making meanings and, in the remade resources, shapes those who remake them.' This dialogic relationship between representation, communication, and social conditions is in constant motion meaning that certain ways of representing and communicating messages can quickly fall out of fashion. Similarly, representation and communication can be seen as social processes that challenge and question social conditions and conventions potentially changing distributions of power in the process.

3.2. Multimodality

There has been an explosion of interest in the issue of multimodality in recent years that can be traced back to the turn of the twenty-first century. The varying media through which we represent and communicate with the world around us, such as writing, image, and speech, have been the focus of attention within various academic disciplines from psychology to art history and mathematics. Whereas previously each of these disciplines had been concerned with a particular mode, often in isolation from others, efforts have been made in recent years to bring all means of making meaning together under one unifying theory (Kress 2010: 5). At the same time, the manner in which we communicate has changed dramatically and is still changing as the result of various social, cultural, economic, and technological changes. Globalisation is often used as a blanket term to account for many of these changes. As external social and cultural features combine with local forms and traditions, both are

transformed in unique ways and this has differing impacts and effects from one location to another.

Kress (2010: 79) defines mode as a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning. He offers writing, images, colour, layout, music, speech, gesture, and three-dimensional objects as examples of modes used in the processes of representation and communication. When it comes to making meaning, these modes offer different potentials, and this has a fundamental effect on what mode or modes are chosen in specific communicative instances. If a rhetor chooses to construct a message (a text), they have the opportunity to use one mode or a combination of modes, and it is the use of more than one mode to transmit a message that defines the concept of multimodality. As Kress (2010: 79) has pointed out, the concepts of mode and multimodality produce a challenge to previously settled notions of language. If all modes can be used to make meaning, is the meaning made within one mode simply a duplication of the meaning made in another mode, such as illustration or ornamentation, or are they both full meanings that are quite different from each other? Kress (2010: 79) suggests that, if the latter is true, language can no longer be seen as central and dominant but rather as one means among others for making meaning.

The meanings we make and encounter in all aspects of our daily lives are complex, so we attempt to make sense of some of these meanings by making them material. For instance, love can be made material in many ways including physical contact, the writing of poetry, or the painting of a picture. Kress (2010: 159) states that these material meanings are realised as texts which he defines as speech, gesture, writing, drawing, mimes, or any combination of these. For the purposes of this thesis, beer labels are referred to as texts that are comprised of visual and verbal elements, so there is a clear distinction when discussing images and text in the form of writing.

Texts are messages that are made by an individual or a group of people for a specific audience, what Kress (2010: 159) refers to as coherent sign-complexes that are meaningful and function as a means of aiding people in making sense of the world around them. These sign-complexes often go unnoticed, so much so that we interact with them on a daily basis without necessarily being aware of them; we stop at a red light, we avoid areas that are cordoned off with black and yellow tape, and we enter public restrooms using images with which we self-identify. Kress (2010: 159) stresses that sign-complexes are effectively modal arrangements or ensembles that have been designed and put together by a rhetor for specific purposes.

During the designing of a message, a rhetor makes judgements about the aptness of the available means for representation; each mode is charged with potential and may be particularly suited for specific representational and communicational tasks. Kress (2010: 28) states that in communication several modes are always used together, and modal ensembles result from a rhetor's analysis of the most effective way to achieve a specific communicative purpose; texts are the result of personal choice as much as social convention. The style of the resultant text is a product of the rhetor's design choices and can communicate much about their ideology or identity when deconstructed using social semiotic theory.

Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 13) state that we live in cultures that are increasingly permeated by visual images and technologies to the extent that we invest the visual artefacts and images we create and encounter on a daily basis with significant power. With imaging practices used as primary modes of expression and communication, it would be easy to misunderstand this statement as suggesting that images are in the process of replacing the written word. Bateman (2014: 11) acknowledges that today's society has become more visual but is critical to the notion that images have somehow won out over words, that the old rule of the written word has been broken. Even though there has been a marked increase in visuality, this has by no means led to the disappearance of the written word. On the contrary, there are increasingly rich combinations of different ways of making meanings and it is often the case that visual depictions incorporate words, a verbal element, with which they work in unison to convey a message. Bateman (2014: 11) suggests that, 'when this is done well, what results is something more than either could achieve alone.'

3.3. Text-Image Relations

Western culture has long favoured monomodality, highly valuing dense pages of writing that lacked illustration, paintings that were restricted to oils on canvas, and concert performances with identically dressed musicians. However, Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 1) view the rise of monomodality as a fairly recent phenomenon that peaked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Bateman (2014: 30) argues that it was impossible to sustain such monomodality in the arts, sciences, and popular culture, and by the 1960s the elevated status and consequent value that had been placed on purely monomodal texts had crumbled. Modal combinations were commonplace at this time and the academic world reacted accordingly, with French philosopher Roland Barthes playing a crucial role. Barthes' initial work, a classic

semiotic approach to the linking of text and image, has been used as a starting point for many theories concerning text-image relations. Although later theories have highlighted potential gaps in his work, many incorporate his terminology whilst extending and refining his ideas.

Barthes' theory was borne out of necessity for dealing with cultural artefacts such as photographs, films, advertisements, and food, which did not comfortably fit into the traditional view that had descended from saussurean linguistics (Bateman 2014: 31). Following detailed analyses of advertisements and photojournalistic images where both text and image typically co-occur and co-determine the overall meaning of an artefact, Barthes wanted to understand and explain how a photographic image could both represent some particular subject matter whilst having cultural implications for how it was to be read, thus transcending what was depicted (Bateman 2014: 32). Barthes (1977: 38) claims that all images are polysemous in that 'they imply, underlying their signifiers, a floating chain of signifieds.' Barthes (1977) suggests that the interpreter can choose some signifieds whilst ignoring others, as societies have developed various techniques for fixing the floating chain of signifieds. Considering images together with texts is one way that Barthes believes interpretation can be achieved, and he proposes three relationships to account for the interplay between image and text, namely *anchorage*, *relay*, and *illustration*.

Anchorage is when a text, or 'linguistic message', to use Barthes terminology, serves to fix the interpretation of an image by selecting one denotation from the many interpretative possibilities that the image offers. Essentially, the text elucidates the image by directing the interpreter through an image's signifieds towards the rhetor's pre-designed message. This means that anchorage is a form of specification with the text, making the image more specific. Interestingly, Barthes (1977: 39) sees the text that anchors an image as a way of 'counter[ing] the terror of uncertain signs' and 'constituting a kind of vice which holds the connoted meanings [of an image] from proliferating.' Bateman (2014: 34) points out that Barthes was writing at a time when semiotic discussion was heavily couched in notions of struggle and dominance, and anchorage was therefore a relationship of control. From Barthes' perspective, the resultant relationship between image and text exhibited in anchorage was far from equal, with an image's freedom being subjugated to the order of the text.

Van Leeuwen (2005: 229) suggests that, historically, images elaborated the foundational words of society, referring to the Bible and works of Greek mythology in particular. One text was realised as multiple images to cater for the illiterate audiences of the time, providing them with more details about a message that was essentially textual. Barthes

(1977: 25) recognises this as illustration, an unequal relationship where images anchor texts by making them clearer and more specific. The historical role that images have played in relation to text means that anchorage is effectively a reversal of roles:

[...] in the traditional modes of illustration, the image functioned as an episodic return to denotation from a principal message (the text) which was experienced as connoted since, precisely, it needed an illustration; in the relationship that now holds, it is not the image which comes to elucidate or 'realize' the text, but the latter which comes to subliminate, patheticize or rationalize the image.

(Barthes 1977: 25)

Relay is when text and image stand in a complementary relationship, where their interrelationship is more equally balanced. Relay describes an instance where text and image are separate but work together to communicate a single whole, and the resultant combination creates meanings that stand as complementary elements of a more general syntagm (Bateman 2014: 35). Barthes (1977: 41) sees relay as a less common occurrence where still images are concerned, recognising comic strips and the dialogue of films as typical examples of relay in action.

Otto et al. (2020: 33) suggest that Barthes introduced the notion of status relation in instances where text and image co-occur. When text and image are seen as complementary as is the case with relay, they are both of equal importance and contribute to a combined complex meaning; this means that they are of equal status. When the relationship is unequal, as is the case with anchorage and illustration, there is a dependency in interpretation either from text to image or from image to text. According to Bateman (2014: 195), this suggests that the subordinate element cannot stand alone without losing its intended interpretation or reference. Indeed, Martinec and Salway (2005: 334) propose that equal status applies when an entire text is related to an entire image, while unequal status applies when part of a text or image relates to the image or text, respectively.

The notion of status is an essential aspect when considering and describing text-image pairs because the two modalities of text and image relate to one another in a hierarchical manner reflecting their relative importance. Van Leeuwen (2005: 229) likens Barthes' notion of anchorage to the concept of *elaboration* put forward by Halliday, stating that it functions as a specifier by picking out one of the possible meanings of an image. Illustration is the reverse

process in that images anchor words, so they too take on a specification function. Van Leeuwen (2005: 230) notes that relay is much like Halliday's concept of *extension*, where the verbal and visual modes provide different but semantically related information. Nichols (1976), cited in van Leeuwen (2005: 230), discusses the text-image relationship in documentary film where voiceover commentary co-occurs with moving image. Images serve to confirm, contrast, or extend verbal commentary, and van Leeuwen (2005: 230) summarises these relationships in Table 2, linking them to Barthes' (1977) processes of anchorage, illustration, and relay accordingly. This provides a useful lexicon for describing text-image relations in multimodal artefacts.

Table 2: Overview of verbal-visual linking (van Leeuwen 2005: 230).

Image-text relations		
Elaboration	Specification	The image makes the text more specific (illustration) The text makes the image more specific (anchorage)
	Explanation	The text paraphrases the image (or vice versa)
Extension	Similarity	The content of the text is similar to that of the image
	Contrast	The content of the text contrasts with that of the image
	Complement	The content of the image adds further information to that of the text, and vice versa ('relay')

Bateman (2014: 27) suggests that typographical decisions can sometimes impinge on the text-image relations that are being constructed. Put simply, the choice of certain visual typographical qualities can contribute to how a text is to be related to some other visual material. Eisner (1985: 10), a pioneer of comic book practice and theory, proposes that typography often functions as an extension of imagery when it is treated graphically and in service of the story. In this way, typographical decisions can provide mood, a narrative bridge, and even implicate sound. Eisner (1985: 11) states that the normally mechanical aspect of typography is converted into a supportive involvement in the imagery with which it appears, evoking a specific emotion in the reader and modifying the image at the same time. Although not a direct focus of this study, instances of such *extended typography* used by breweries have been noted and will be discussed where relevant.

3.4. Kress and van Leeuwen's Framework of Visual Grammar

Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) framework of visual grammar provides a range of useful concepts that can be used in the analysis of images and multimodal texts. The following sections present and explain those which are deemed relevant to the present study.

For the visual to function as a full system of communication, it has to serve several representational and communicational requirements. To account for this, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 41) adopt and adapt Halliday's notion of metafunction to inform and structure their framework, indicating that it applies to all semiotic modes and not just speech and writing. The metafunctions proposed by Halliday and developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) are the *ideational*, the *interpersonal*, and the *textual* functions.

The ideational function is the function of constructing representations of the world, both internal and external, to help represent the rhetor's experience and to give it meaning. However, visual structures are not simply reconstructions of reality but rather a perception of reality as informed by and in the interests of the social institutions within which they are produced, circulated, and read. Indeed, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 53) state that visual representations are 'charged with meaning', and this suggests that they are ideological constructs that have a deeply important semantic dimension. Regardless of an image being faithful to what it represents, elements of the image will carry different meanings depending on what values, knowledge, and experience a viewer brings to the communicative act. Abstract images can be particularly difficult to interpret, but verbal messages such as names and captions as well as the context in which the image appears can prove useful in understanding exactly what is being represented (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 60).

The interpersonal function is the interactive and communicative function of a semiotic mode, dealing more specifically with the relationship between the producer of a sign, that which is represented, and the receiver of that sign. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 114) state that visual communication has resources for maintaining interaction between the producer and viewer of an image, introducing the notion of *participants* into any representational or communicative act. Producers and viewers, those who communicate with each other through images and multimodal texts, are *interactive participants*, whereas the people, places, and things depicted in an image are the *represented participants*. The concept of participants is valuable in that it points to the relational characteristic of participating 'in' something. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 117) suggest that there is a fundamental difference between images

where represented participants look directly into eyes of the viewer and images in which this is not the case; they refer to these types of image as *demand* and *offer* images, respectively.

Images where represented participants look at the viewer establish contact, even if only on an imaginary level, creating a visual form of address; the viewer is explicitly acknowledged and becomes the ‘you’ of the interaction. This visual configuration constitutes what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 117) call an *image act* in that the producer uses the image to do something to do the viewer. More specifically, the image demands something from the viewer, with the exact relation depending on the facial expression or body language of the represented participants; smiles, cold stares, open or folded arms set the tone of the relation in different ways. Whereas the majority of represented participants who make eye contact with the viewer are human or animal, objects can be anthropomorphised, given humanlike qualities, allowing them to function in the same manner.

Offer images address viewers indirectly, positioning them as the subject of a look as opposed to being the object. Any image that does not contain human or quasi-human participants looking directly at the viewer falls into this category. The result is that viewers become invisible onlookers where represented participants are offered as items of information and objects of contemplation (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 119). Information is presented in an impersonal way to the extent that the viewer may experience a sense of disengagement from the represented participant(s).

The textual function is the function of ‘marshalling communicative acts into larger wholes, into the communicative events or texts that realise specific social practices’ (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 228). It is concerned with the composition of a text, how its elements and modes are arranged, and how these relate to one another. When describing composition there are three interrelated systems that should be considered, namely *information value*, *framing*, and *salience*. These not only apply to individual images but can also be used to describe composite visuals such as those that combine text and image (multimodal texts).

Information value refers to placing elements, either participants or syntagms, into varying zones of an image thus giving them a certain value. These zones are left and right, top and bottom, and centre and margin. The distinction between left and right indicates the relevance of information for the audience in particular contexts. The left is associated with given information such as general, past, or recoverable, whereas the right is associated with new information such as specific, present, and non-recoverable.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 186) suggest that the upper section of visual texts such as advertisements tend to make some kind of emotive appeal to the viewer, that it ‘visualizes the promise of a product’ or the ‘status of glamour it can bestow on its users’. Elements that are placed here are considered to represent the *ideal*. In contrast, the lower section, the *real*, is often more informative, showing the viewer what something is. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 186) state that elements appearing here often visualise ‘the product itself, providing more or less factual information about it, and telling the readers or users where it can be obtained, or how they can request more information about it, or order it’. There is often a sharp line that serves to separate the two, but in some cases there may also be connecting elements that reinforce the link between the real and the ideal, or the product and the promise.

Centre-margin composition is relatively uncommon in contemporary Western visualisation. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 196) refer to elements placed in the middle of a composition with other elements around it as centre and margins, respectively. The centre is seen as the nucleus of information with the marginal elements playing a subservient, ancillary role. Margins are often identical or at least similar to each other, so there is no relation to given, new, ideal, and real elements as described above. In other instances, centre and margin can combine with given and new and/or ideal and real (Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 196).

Framing refers to the presence or absence of framing devices that serve to connect or disconnect elements of an image. These can either be actual frame lines or elements that function as connecting and dividing lines. Either way, the viewer is aided in understanding which elements belong together and which do not.

Finally, salience describes how elements of an image are made to attract the attention of the viewer. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 202) explain that ‘viewers of spatial compositions are intuitively able to judge the ‘weight’ of the various elements of a composition, and the greater the weight of an element, the greater its salience.’ Salience is not objectively measurable, but there are a variety of ways of giving elements that make up an image or a multimodal text more weight; these include increasing size, focal sharpness, tonal contrast, using contrasting colours, perspective, or placing them in the visual field. This last point is interesting, and Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 202) suggest that elements become ‘heavier’ when placed towards the top of a composition and as they move towards the left. Irrespective of where the elements of an image or multimodal text are placed, giving certain elements salience in the ways mentioned above serves to create a hierarchy of importance and can be used to great effect in guiding the gaze of the viewer.

When reading a page of dense text, reading is linear and strictly coded in that it is to be read from left to right and from top to bottom, one line at a time. Other kinds of page and images are also designed to be read in a linear way but not all, and beer labels are potentially a good example. Multimodal texts consisting of varying visual and verbal elements can be composed in any number of ways meaning that they can be read in more than one way too; in this sense they are non-linear. In such cases, readers tend to begin with the most salient element before moving on to the next most salient element, and so on. However, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 205) point out that ‘what is made salient is culturally determined, [and] members of different cultural groupings are likely to have different hierarchies of salience.’ Readers are ultimately left to wade through the textual space that non-linear compositions provide, using the interpretive skills, experiences, and knowledge they have garnered from previous meetings with similar texts to guide them.

3.5. Multilingual Texts

Technological developments in the twenty-first century have made it possible to communicate both instantly and globally. In a world that has to a large extent become an interconnected global system, English has largely fulfilled the need for a shared means of communication by becoming a global lingua franca. It therefore plays an important role in international business and marketing and is particularly important in Norway, which is a global actor in the oil and gas industry. Although English is not an official language in Norway, it is considered a second language for many, something that is reflected in Norway’s fifth place ranking on the English Proficiency Index (2020) which indicates a very high proficiency among those who were tested. As a lingua franca, English is often used in conjunction with other languages in communicative acts, and both spoken and written instances where this occurs can be thought of as multilingual exchanges.

A multilingual text is a text that involves the use of more than one language to communicate with the reader. Multilingualism is important to this study because beer labels in general use multiple languages to communicate with consumers, and this is very evident in this study. Ingredients lists are often printed in multiple languages to communicate identical information, but there are also instances where different languages are used for the name of a product, a company’s slogan, or the verbal description that describes a product and its

attributes. For the purpose of this study, multilingualism was recorded as a positive occurrence when verbal messages were present on a label in more than one language.

In today's Western society, multilingual texts are particularly typical of a small variety of text types such as bilingual signs and product packaging. However, multilingual texts have been documented and analysed going back as far as ancient times, suggesting that multilingual societies are the norm rather than the exception (Sebba 2013: 100). These texts have largely been ignored by contemporary linguists until recently, and Sebba (2013: 100) suggests that hegemonic monolingualism may also be to blame as it legitimates texts that conform to a single, standardised language. The result of hegemonic monolingualism is particularly evident in written texts such as books and newspapers that are made for public consumption, but this is changing with the rise of the Internet and computer-mediated communication. Multilingual texts that utilise colour, font variations and images are becoming increasingly common due to the relative freedom from physical constraints that the Internet and other digital technologies offer (Sebba 2013: 100). Certain industries such as those concerned with sales and advertising see the need and value of producing multilingual texts in their communication with users and consumers, and this is evident on the majority of product packaging that is available in retail stores.

Sebba (2012: 12) states that many bilingual written texts, particularly signs and product packaging, 'cannot be satisfactorily analysed without paying attention to layout and typography', suggesting that verbal elements might be read as only a part of a complete text. Therefore, fonts, colours, positioning, and form should also be considered in that they serve as 'contextualisation cues for the interpretation of the language strings which they relate to.' Analysing the purely verbal element of a multimodal text such as a poster or product packaging may prove difficult when much of its meaning is derived from the visual and spatial elements named above. Sebba (2012: 12) calls for an extension of focus when analysing and dealing with multilingual texts to include the complete text 'as a visual and linguistic whole' thus accounting for 'the physical materiality of language.' In instances of multilingualism, the placement, size, and font used may add to the salience of a verbal message, suggesting a preference for a particular language whilst introducing a language hierarchy.

Sebba (2012: 14) believes that there are at least two ways that languages can alternate within a multilingual textual composition, reflecting varying degrees of language integration or separation; he refers to these as *parallelism* and *complementarity*. Parallelism is where twin

texts with the same content are present but are written in different codes or languages. Visual cues such as matching fonts, contrasting colours, and horizontal and vertical placement are used to signalise that the texts are comprised of similar content. In contrast, complementarity is where ‘two or more textual units with different content are juxtaposed within the framework of a textual composition’ (Sebba 2012: 15). These juxtaposed texts can either be internally monolingual or may contain a mix of languages, and this suggests that readers are assumed to be multiliterate or competent enough to read in both languages.

3.6. Aesthetics and Taste

Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 60) state that all images and objects are subject to judgements according to standards such as beauty, hipness, and political orientation. When interpreting and assigning value to cultural artefacts or objects, viewers use criteria based on cultural codes, codes that concern what makes an object pleasant or unpleasant, shocking or banal, and interesting or mundane. However, these qualities do not reside in the object itself but are rather tied up with the contexts in which it is viewed, the competing social codes in a given society, and with the viewer who is actively making the judgement (Sturken and Cartwright 2017: 60).

A viewer’s reading of an image or object is often concerned with two value-based concepts, namely aesthetics and taste. An aesthetically pleasing image is assigned value as a result of the pleasure it provides the viewer through its beauty, style, or the creativity that is inherent in its production. Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 60) suggest that aesthetic judgement is culturally determined, and that beauty is no longer thought of as an innate and universally shared set of qualities. On the contrary, criteria for determining what is beautiful or not are based on taste and cultural influence. However, this does not mean that taste can simply be reduced to individual interpretation, and Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 60) present Bourdieu’s notion that taste is informed by a viewer’s class, cultural background, education, and other aspects of identity and social experience.

In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Bourdieu (1984: 2) proposes that taste is developed and internalised at an early age. A child is exposed to food, music, art, and other cultural artefacts, all of which are class-specific tastes that serve to guide and ultimately cement that child’s ‘appropriate’ social position. These class-specific tastes lead the individual to being permanently identified as belonging to a certain social class,

impeding any chance of social mobility. Bourdieu's (1984) theory suggests that a society's elite possesses a high volume of cultural capital and is therefore more likely to determine how that society defines taste. As a result, the working-class, those with less cultural capital, accept the elite's dominant definition of taste along with the subsequent distinction between high and low culture.

Sturken and Cartwright (2017: 64) state that high culture was long associated with forms such as fine art, classical music, ballet, and opera, whereas low culture referred to comic strips, television, and, initially, the cinema. The working-classes lack the means to access a higher volume of cultural capital due to the inherent restrictions of their habitus such as a lack of the appropriate terminology to describe or understand works of art. Bourdieu (1984) argues that the acceptance of the elite's notion of taste serves to devalue the working-class aesthetic which itself may include its own ideas of what constitutes good and bad taste; this forces it to define itself in relation to the dominant aesthetic of the ruling class. Those who do not conform to a society's dominating aesthetic are at risk of appearing vulgar and tasteless and, in light of this, taste can be seen as an example of cultural hegemony in that it serves to strengthen class divisions in a given society.

Bourdieu's identification of distinct class-based tastes resulted from his observations of French society in the mid-1960s when the taste of the elite was seen as one of refinement and subtlety that placed intrinsic value on aesthetic appearance. Yet by the late twentieth century, this notion of a high-low culture divide was heavily criticised for its affirmation of classist hierarchies, its inaccurate suggestion that an individual's forms of cultural consumption are somehow related to their social standing, and the assumption that taste is exclusively downward diffusing from the upper classes (Slater 1997: 158). Indeed, Bourdieu's theory does not account for the range of valued cultural forms from marginalised cultures and classes, such as jazz and hip-hop, that trickled up to the more affluent and culturally dominant elite of the 1920s and 1980s, respectively. Bourdieu could not foresee that scholars of popular culture artefacts such as films and comics, long viewed as forms of low culture, would today be valued within specific groups and communities. These communities' interpretations of these texts not only challenge oppression but strengthen bonds and identities among their members (Sturken and Cartwright 2017: 64). In today's world, taste is influenced by a globalisation of the media, design, and brand markets, and cultural capital is increasingly found in youth cultures, countercultures, and alternative cultural expressions such as street art.

3.7. Culture, Subculture, and Counterculture

From a sociological perspective, *culture* is a term that encompasses the wide-ranging and diverse aspects of social life, aspects that are mostly intangible. In this respect, culture could be viewed as a way of grouping people into collectives based on shared beliefs, customs, languages, knowledge, and sense of identity, all of which give meaning to its members and their social environments. Sociologists frequently study cultural meaning by analysing individual representation and group communication, most commonly expressed through social practices, tastes, values, and norms. Culture binds its members together in the sense that growing up in a particular culture involves growing into a community with a collective identity that often distinguishes itself from other communities.

The tangible aspect of culture is realised through the cultural products, artefacts, and expressions that are made and used by its members; these can include anything from buildings and technology to art, literature, and consumer goods. With this in mind, culture can be seen as having two sides, tangible and intangible, and these are intricately connected. The beliefs, customs, and values of a culture influence what is made, but the relationship is a reciprocal one with cultural artefacts influencing the culture from which they originated. This dialogue between the material and immaterial suggests that they are in constant flux, susceptible to both internal and external cultural influences.

Within any culture there exists a plethora of subcultures, self-defining groups within a society which hold different values and norms from those of the majority, differentiating their members from the larger culture to which they belong. Members of any culture can and do belong to multiple subcultures based on shared interests, beliefs, lifestyles, and tastes that are not always in line with their mainstream equivalents. Hebdige (1979) suggests that subcultures attract like-minded individuals who often feel excluded by wider societal standards and who are looking for support and a sense of identity. This is particularly true of some youth subcultures, such as Goths, where membership can aid individuals in developing relationships and social visibility which result in validation and a sense of desirability (Wilkins 2008: 26). Hebdige (1979) studied expressive forms of interaction among the youth of 1970s post-war Britain, a time of considerable social instability. The skinhead and punk subcultures that arose in the 1960s and 1970s respectively provided its members with a sense of meaning, belonging, and identity whilst uniting them with a shared ideology that challenged the dominant meanings associated with cultural products at that time (Koch and Sauerbronn 2018: 4).

Whereas Hebdige (1979) viewed subcultures as a way for its members to subvert normalcy in an almost countercultural defiance, others suggest that resistance may not be the only motivation. Those who identify with subcultural groups may do so simply for the sociality and bonding opportunities they provide but also as a means of acquiring status within certain settings. Thornton (1995) takes her inspiration from Bourdieu (1984) in the coining of the concept of *subcultural capital*, suggesting that individuals who identify with a subculture voluntarily acquire that subculture's knowledge and the commodities associated with it. In the process of doing so, members not only differentiate themselves from society at large but also raise their status within the group. Within any subculture there are varying levels of commitment to its ethos, and this can affect knowledge, experience, emotional attachment, and sense of place within that subculture. Schouten and McAlexander (1995: 43) echo some of Thornton's (1995) views on subcultures pointing to identifiable, hierarchical social structures with unique jargons, rituals, and modes of symbolic expression. They elaborate on the notion of acquiring subcultural capital through the acquisition of commodities or cultural artefacts, what they view as a 'subculture of consumption'; voluntary members of a societal subgroup exhibit 'a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand, or consumption activity' (Schouten and McAlexander 1995: 43).

3.8. Fox's Social Organisation Model

In a study of anti-establishment style cultures in the mid-1980s, Fox (1987) closely followed the local punk community in an unnamed southwestern city of the United States. The study was concerned with the social organisation of the punk community and led to the proposition of an informal stratification within the community that can be applied to subcultures in general. Fox (1987: 350) notes that membership of a subculture is both impermanent and shifting, with member expectations not always clearly defined, and any sense of leadership being vague at best. However, out of this perceived instability and uncertainty, there is 'an apparent consensus about the stratification of the local community and the roles of the three types of members and peripheral hangers-on who participate in the scene' (Fox 1987: 350). Fox's resultant concept of the structure of subcultures posits that there are four membership groups that can be arranged hierarchically in a series of outwardly expanding concentric circles. Membership of these groups is based on the presence and intensity of commitment to the culture along with the subsequent display of affection.

Fox (1987: 350) labels these circles the *hardcore*, *softcore*, *preppies*, and *spectators*. The centre circle or nucleus is occupied by the hardcore who are intensely immersed in the subculture, its lifestyle, and ideology, a relationship that is often full time. This is the group within the structure that has the fewest members, but the most knowledge and prestige; accordingly, they set the trend and standards for other members. The second circle, the softcore, is wider than the nucleus and has more members; these are also members who are very much involved in the subculture but are not as dedicated to being permanently associated with it. Fox (1987: 350) explains that the softcore, whose roles are dictated by the hardcore whom they very much admire, are highly respected by less committed participants of the subculture but are not afforded the same social status as the hardcore members. The preppies or peripheral members make up the largest portion of a subculture's membership, following the lead of the two core groups. However, their lack of conviction and degree of participation in the community means that they are often held in low esteem by the core groups. Finally, the spectators are members of the public who are present at social gatherings but are not considered true members of the subculture (Fox 1987: 351). They do not make any attempt to adhere to a subculture's standards, such as consuming its products, and do not necessarily revere the hardcore members in the same way as the intermediary groups. This group can be seen as being comprised of those who only have a passing interest in the community, and Fox (1987: 364) describes them as 'appreciators' of a community.

4. Materials and Methodology

4.1. Brewery Selection and Choice of Materials

The material for this study consisted of 200 beer labels from five Norwegian craft breweries. The reasoning behind choosing five breweries for this study instead of one was to allow for the collection of a larger amount of data while potentially providing a more representative overview of the Norwegian craft beer scene. It was felt that five breweries was the maximum number that could be included to be able to carry out a reasonably in-depth study of their labels. At the same time, it allowed for a comparison of the selected breweries to identify whether they utilise similar mechanisms for transmitting culture, identity, and taste to their consumers.

The five breweries were selected on 1st September 2020 using the popular beer rating website and mobile application Untappd. Untappd is a geosocial networking service and mobile application that enables its estimated nine million users to register beers they have consumed. It was founded in 2010 by software engineer Greg Avola and web designer Tim Mather, two beer enthusiasts who met on Twitter in 2007. They believed that the inherent socialness of drinking beer was lacking an interactive online platform where they and others could share their beer-drinking experiences, and it was this perceived lack that led to the conception and ensuing development of Untappd (Albert-Deitch 2019). Users of the platform can share their locations, rate and review beers, comment on posts from other users, and upload photos to share with the community. In addition to this, the app makes it possible for users to see what beers nearby venues currently have on tap, and in-app filters can be applied to get suggestions for specific beers based on previously registered beers and ratings.

The breweries were chosen using Untappd's 'top rated breweries in Norway' filter (Untappd 2019). According to Untappd's website (Untappd 2020), the resulting list of breweries is based on their 'weighted average formula' that rates all breweries against each other while giving weight to beers that have the highest rating count (see Figure 3). Users can rate beers from 1 to 5, and a brewery's average rating is displayed to two decimal places, 3.43 for example. The top-rated list is updated every 24 hours to account for the constant influx of ratings, ensuring an up-to-date reflection of users' experiences. To qualify for the top-rated list, breweries must have at least 1000 unique ratings and a product portfolio of at least five beers.

$$= \frac{(((\text{Beer Pure Average}) * (\text{Number of Ratings for that Beer}) + \dots))}{(\text{Number of Ratings for that Brewery})}$$

Figure 3: Untappd's weighted average formula (Untappd 2020).

The five top-rated Norwegian craft breweries in descending order as of 1st September 2020 were Salikatt, Amundsen, Cervisiam, Monkey Brew, and Lervig. These breweries are located in the cities of Oslo (Amundsen, Cervisiam), Stavanger (Salikatt and Lervig), and Trondheim (Monkey Brew), providing a good geographical spread as they represent Southeast, Southwest, and Central Norway, respectively. Selecting breweries in this manner was deemed the most appropriate method as it avoided a choice based on the author's preference. The result is an objective selection of breweries that have been subjectively rated by users from around the globe. Despite the top-rated brewery list being updated every 24 hours, there has been very little movement at the top of the list, and all five breweries that were selected for this study had still maintained their positions in May 2021. This suggests that these particular breweries are stable and successful participants in the Norwegian craft beer scene.

A study of the visual and verbal mechanisms used by Norwegian craft beer breweries in the transmission of culture, identity, and taste could have been based on a variety of media, including websites and social media channels. The reason for not choosing web-based content, but choosing rather to analyse product labels, was informed by noticeable differences in the selected breweries' online presence. One of the breweries had an intricately designed website and active social media accounts giving a full overview of product offerings, labels, and extra information such as ingredients and serving suggestions. Others had minimally developed websites, choosing to communicate predominantly through social media channels, and two of the breweries had nothing more than a homepage with contact details. With such variation in online presence and the extent to which these are maintained, it was difficult to justify collecting data in this manner. The material nature of product labels narrowed the focus and made data collection more efficient and practical.

All 200 labels were obtained directly from breweries in the form of two-dimensional roll-outs – high-quality digital images representing the labels as they would appear before being affixed to a can. It is pure coincidence that the total number of labels ended up as precisely 200: breweries were simply asked to provide the designs that they had available and that were reflective of their current product range. Analysing labels in roll-out form made it

possible to obtain a greater number of labels as well as enabling the author to view them in their entirety. However, in a real-world setting the labels are affixed to cans which sit on the shelves of grocery stores and wine monopolies. This means that labels assume a three-dimensional form and only a portion of any given label is available to consumers when the cans are stocked on shelves, that is, until a can is picked up by a consumer; even then, the consumer has to rotate the can to read all of the verbal and visual information that the label carries. Without removing the label from the can, a consumer will rarely have the opportunity to view it in its entirety as was afforded to the author of this thesis.

This three-dimensionality presents some challenges for the visual analysis of the labels. It was crucial for this study to establish which part of the label was the front, or the centre of what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) refer to as the ‘visual field’ of a composition (see p. 40), a task which is not necessarily straightforward given the relative design freedom afforded to designers of product packaging in Norway (see p. 20). Therefore, the author visited brewery websites and social media channels in an attempt to identify what the breweries themselves viewed as the front of the label. This was supported by visits to a combined total of 32 grocery stores and wine monopolies in the nearby cities of Stavanger, Sandnes, and Egersund to view how cans were merchandised on retail shelving. Together, these observations allowed general label compositions to be drawn that represented the dominant design and merchandising trends for each brewery, the results of which are presented in Section 5.2.

4.2. The Breweries

4.2.1. Amundsen

Amundsen is a gastropub and brewery located in the heart of Oslo on Roald Amundsens gate. The brewery was established in 2012, growing from a 5hl brewpub to a 42hl brewplant in the space of four years. The brewery’s slogan is ‘Created by Craftsmen’ emphasising its view that quality, innovation, passion, and consistency are the key to creating world class beers. Amundsen sources high quality ingredients and pushes the boundaries with creative and non-traditional recipes to produce a range of ales, lagers, and sours.



Amundsen takes its name from renowned Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen (1872-1928) who is credited with leading the first expedition to the South Pole as well as being the first person to visit both the North and South Poles. Amundsen's logo is a ring with the words 'Amundsen Bryggeri' surrounding a bird wearing a hop and feather headdress or war bonnet. This is an historical nod to the close relationship Roald Amundsen developed with the Inuit people during his time on King William Island in the Kitikmeot Region of Nunavut from 1903 to 1905.

For this study, 46 labels from Amundsen were analysed.

4.2.2. Cervisiam

Cervisiam is an Oslo-based craft beer brand that started out as the basement project of three friends in 2013. As their hobby grew, the trio moved to a garage facility on the outskirts of the city and, after winning numerous accolades in the competitive homebrewing circuit, Cervisiam was officially founded in early 2015. Today, it has a national and international cult following and is known for its use of unorthodox ingredients, hence the slogan 'Craft Weird'. Cervisiam operates as a nomad brewery meaning it does not have its own equipment or premises to produce beer on a commercial scale. Therefore, it brews its beers on a temporary basis using the facilities of other larger breweries that have excess capacity.



Cervisiam take its name from the Latin for beer. It seems that the brewery is undergoing a rebranding as it currently uses three different logos on its labels. The most recent logo consists of a monster-like creature, an eye at the end of a tendril, that is partially obscured by the word 'Cervisiam' which it seems to be peering over. Surrounding the creature are four hops that have been fashioned into grenades.

For this study, 42 labels from Cervisiam were analysed.

4.2.3. Lervig

Lervig is an independently owned and operated craft brewery located in Stavanger. The brewery was founded in 2003 by local beer enthusiasts in response to the acquisition of Tou Brewery by Carlsberg-owned Ringnes who subsequently relocated brewing operations to Oslo. Initially, Lervig brewed pilsner as a substitute for Tou pilsner, but turned its attention to craft beer in 2010. Today, the brewery is known for producing a wide range of craft beers including pilsners, pale ales, barrel-aged stouts, barley wines, and sours. According to its website, Lervig's goal is to brew the best beers in the world by ensuring that quality and flavour comes before lowering production costs (Lervig 2020). Lervig is by far the largest craft brewery in this study, currently exporting its beers to 30 countries globally.



Lervig's name comes from Lervik, the name of the bay in the eastern part of Stavanger where Tou Brewery was previously located before its closure. Lervig's logo consists of a five-pointed star with the letters LA underneath it which stand for Lervig Aktiebryggeri situated within braces or curly brackets; underneath this is the name of the brewery 'Lervig'.

For this study, 53 labels from Lervig were analysed.

4.2.4. Monkey Brew

Monkey Brew is a small craft brewery located in Trondheim, Central Norway. Starting out as a group of friends brewing in a loft apartment in 2009, Monkey Brew was established with the opening of a small brewpub in 2015 before moving to Habitat bar in 2017. As recognition and demand grew, the brewery moved its operations to Nyhavna just outside the city centre, and this is where it is located today. Monkey Brew focuses on high quality and flavour while pushing the boundaries of beer with new brewing techniques and ingredients.



Monkey Brew's logo is a profile portrait of a confident and authoritative looking monkey encircled by the brewery's name and its slogan 'Always Evolve'. The logo ties in with Monkey Brew's self-identification as a forward-thinking brewery.

For this study, 21 labels from Monkey Brew were analysed.

4.2.5. Salikatt

Salikatt is a small, independently owned craft brewery located in Stavanger.

After 10 years of homebrewing and refining recipes, the brewery was officially established in 2015. With a strong belief in quality being more important than volume, the brewery has chosen to focus on a small range of specialist styles with the aim to make the very best tasting beer. Salikatt wants to grow its brand at its own pace and is therefore unwilling to compromise its founding principles.



Salikatt takes its name from Fredrik Theokar Salicath, the notorious and unpopular Police Chief Constable of Stavanger from 1892 to 1897. The term is used in Stavanger and Rogaland county in general as a mild expletive to express surprise, enthusiasm, or excitement. Salikatt's logo is an 'S' but a closer look reveals a bottle that fills the majority of the letter's internal space.

For this study, 38 labels from Salikatt were analysed.

4.3. Data Collection and Analysis

The labels were analysed using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. All labels were categorised and counted to generate numerical data. The resulting statistics helped visualise similarities and differences between labels from the same brewery, and were used to identify noticeable patterns, trends, and unique occurrences from the data set. At the same time, it allowed for a comparison of breweries to establish whether similar mechanisms were being used or not. However, numerical data alone did not provide enough detail about the visual and verbal mechanisms that were utilised and how these potentially work together to communicate with the consumer. Therefore, some of the findings were followed up using a qualitative approach in the form of close readings of selected labels, paying particular attention to composition and intermodal relations. The following section provides an explanation of the categories used to classify the labels that were sourced for this study.

For the quantitative analysis, data were collected and organised using Microsoft Excel, before being transferred to Microsoft Access where they were processed and cross-referenced. Each beer label was classified using 32 categories, some of which required a single value ('yes' or 'no') whereas others required multiple values such as recording references to flavour

in the image and verbal message of a label. The categories are defined and discussed in what follows.

The first two categories were *beer name* and *brewery*. Beer name refers to the brewery's choice of name for each individual beer to help distinguish it from other beers, and brewery is the name of the beer's producer. Beer name was studied due to its connotative nature and was used in conjunction with other elements of the labels to create more detailed categories.

Beer style refers to the verbal message on the label that indicates to the consumer what type of lager or ale is in the can. This category was important as the name of a beer does not always reflect the beer's style, and it is often impossible to ascertain what kind of beer is in a can relying on beer name alone. *Alc. %* referring to a beer's strength in terms of its alcohol percentage by volume was recorded to get an overview of the strength of the beers that each brewery offers but also to determine whether a beer's strength was in any way reflected in the other verbal or visual elements of the label. *Alc. %* was indicated on the selected breweries' labels as *Alk. %*, *Alc. % Vol.*, *% ALK VOL*, and *% Alc. by vol.*

Inclusion of artwork/image was a straightforward yes/no category, with any visual depiction being registered as a positive occurrence; logos and block colours were excluded. *Label artwork/image %* was used to register the percentage of a label's area that was occupied by an image. At the same time, the presence or lack of *represented participants* was noted, as was *eye contact* between viewer and represented participant(s). Represented participants were defined as any human, animal, or human-like figure realised through the use of *anthropomorphism*. Images that involved eye contact were registered as 'demand' images and those without eye contact were registered as 'offer' images (see p. 39). *Beer name as part or artwork* was also recorded to measure the use of extended/stylised typography (see p. 37).

Use of colour was recorded in a number of ways. The category *Main colour used* refers to the most prominent colour on the can, and colours that covered the largest area were registered here. *Colour of most salient element* was used to help determine whether or not this contributed to the overall prominence of the most salient element, and *number of colours* was noted by counting the number of distinct colours on each label. Each label's colours were carefully counted, based on their distinctness from each other, as opposed to using ranges such as 'red' or 'blue'; the raw data could then be grouped and simplified into ranges for the purpose of presentation.

A number of yes/no categories were used to record links between elements of a label as well as links between different modes. These categories were important for establishing multimodal trends and were subsequently used when selecting labels for the qualitative analysis. A *link between colour and beer name* was recorded as positive if, for example, green was used for a beer called *Save the Turtles*, because turtles are green, or if blue was used for a beer called *Cold Fusion* because blue is a colour often associated with cold. A *link between colour and beer style* was recorded as positive when the colour linked with the typical colour associated with the beer itself, such as using brown or black for stouts, yellow for blonde ales, or red for red ales. A *link between colour and flavour* was recorded as a positive occurrence when colours reflected the flavours and aromas of additional ingredients (adjuncts) that add to a beer's overall flavour profile; examples include using red for a beer that contains cherries, orange for a beer that contains apricots, or pink for a beer that contains a particular variety of hops that give the beer a lychee aroma.

Information front centre was used to record elements that appeared on the front of a can's label when it was merchandised on the shelf of a retail store. The area was defined as the entire front portion of a label from the top to the bottom and elements that appeared in this section, both complete and partial, were recorded. Possible values included 'image', 'logo', 'beer name', 'beer type', and 'ingredients'. This category was used in conjunction with the salience category to help establish to which of Leonard's label categories (see p. 28) the label potentially belonged.

Most salient element refers to the component of the label that is most visually prominent. Due to salience not being objectively measurable (see p. 40), determining salience was based on the subjective view of the author of this thesis. This view was informed by Kress and van Leeuwen's proposal that elements can be given more visual weight by increasing size, sharpness, contrast, or by positioning elements in certain parts of the visual field (see p. 40). The visual field was here defined as the portion of the label that faced the consumer when stocked on the shelves of supermarkets and wine monopoly stores. Salience was recorded as either 'text', 'image', or 'logo', but when text was the most prominent element this was further classified using the subcategories of 'brewery', 'beer name', and 'beer style'. The reasoning for this was based on Leonard's (see p. 28) description of craft beer label categories which made it possible to describe labels as being either 'brewery-forward', 'beer style-forward', 'name-forward', or 'art-forward'.

Positioning of logo was simply where the logo appeared on the label, and values such as ‘front centre’, ‘back top’, and ‘bottom left’ were recorded in this column.

Label clarity considered the overall legibility of a label, essentially determining the visual clutter of a label. Particular attention was paid to the presence of organising structures such as visible separation of elements through the use of borders, spacing, and choice of colour as these served to make labels easier to read; the more labels utilised these compositional markers the clearer they became. Labels were categorised as being ‘unclear’, ‘clear’, or ‘very clear’.

Instances of *multilingualism* were recorded as positive or negative, with any *languages used* on the label being noted (including the ingredients lists). A separate category was used to record *language used for beer name*, with the possible values including ‘English’, ‘Norwegian’, and ‘invented’. The last label refers to any word, single or compound, that could not be found in official dictionaries such as the Oxford English Dictionary and those of Språkrådet – *Chuggernaut*, for example.

A link between beer name and image was used to record instances where it was possible to identify a connection between the two modes, such as using an image of a cyborg with a hop for a head on a beer called *RoboHop*, or an image of machinery in the form of cogs and wheels on a beer called *Hazelnut Apparatus*. *A link between beer name and beer style* was recorded as a positive occurrence when the name of the beer related to the beer style such the name *Sweet Wheat* for an American wheat beer, *DDH Sabro* for a double dry-hopped IPA, or *Enough to Make a Mango Sour* for a Berliner Weisse, which is a type of sour beer. Finally, *a link between beer name and flavour* was used to record instances where the ingredients used and the flavours and aromas they impart were reflected in the name of the beer; examples include *Impeached* for a beer that contained peach puree, *Brut(e) Force* for a beer that had a very dry finish (*brut* is the French word for very dry and is often associated with champagne), or *Passion Tang* for beer flavoured with passionfruit.

Inclusion of blurb was used to record the presence of a short verbal description. Blurbs are often used for promotional purposes to make a consumer want to buy something, but a category called *content of blurb* was also included to record information that blurbs communicated to consumers. *Blurb – language used* recorded which language the blurb was written in, which subsequently provided an indication of which language each brewery chose to use when communicating with the consumer.

The labels were also examined for *references to place* and *references to culture*, both of which were considered valuable for investigating the potential transmission of culture, identity, and taste. Only images and verbal messages (excluding ingredients lists and contact information for the brewery) were labelled, and data were recorded in these columns as appearing in ‘image’, ‘text’, or a combination of ‘both’. Verbal references to place had to be explicit in that they referred directly to a place by name, such as Oslo, Madagascar, or Japan. Cultural references did not need to be explicit and could in fact be quite obscure; the data recorded in these columns were accordingly dependent on the author’s knowledge and interpretive skills. The final category, called *culture (subcategories)*, was used to identify more precisely what category of culture a label was referencing; these labels were defined on the basis of an initial scan of the data and include ‘pop culture’, ‘religion and beliefs’, ‘food and drink’, ‘language and expressions’, ‘science’, ‘history’, ‘fashion’, ‘society’, ‘lifestyle’, and ‘politics’.

Finally, a qualitative analysis was carried out in light of the patterns and trends that were uncovered by the quantitative analysis. Labels that illustrated the identified trends were selected and examined more closely using the frameworks of multimodality and visual grammar to highlight mechanisms that each brewery used in its communication with consumers. These readings are presented as a part of the brewery-specific findings in Section 5.2.

5. Presentation of Findings

5.1. General Findings

In total, 200 labels from five breweries were analysed and sorted using the 32 categories presented in the previous chapter. There are 46 labels from Amundsen, 42 from Cervisiam, 53 from Lervig, 21 from Monkey Brew, and 38 from Salikatt. A complete list of beer labels is provided in Appendix 1, arranged by brewery and including some of the categories used for the quantitative analysis; these include ‘beer name’, ‘beer style’, ‘main colour used’, ‘most salient element’, ‘link between colour and flavour’, and ‘link between beer name and flavour’.

In addition to the brewery, the style of beer was considered a basic independent variable in analysing the labels. Using Nachel and Ettlinger’s ale and lager family trees (see Figure 1, p. 13), the beer labels were organised according to beer style. Table 3 gives an overview of the styles included in this study. Ales are by far most common with a total of 193 beers (96.5%) falling into this category, while the remaining seven beers (3.5%) belong to the lager family. This may indicate that the selected breweries, informed by consumer demand, prefer the more complex and robust flavour profiles that ales tend to offer (see p. 13). It may also allow the breweries to distance themselves from the large corporate Norwegian macrobreweries who have long been associated with the production of the more mild-tasting lagers (see p. 15).

Table 3: Most common beer styles by brewery.

		Brewery					Style total
		Amundsen	Cervisiam	Lervig	Monkey Brew	Salikatt	
Ale	Pale ale	18	19	30	10	21	98
	Stout	20	12	13	3	4	52
	Wheat beer/sour	7	10	6	5	8	36
	Red ale	-	-	2	-	1	3
	Blonde ale	-	-	-	-	1	1
	Brown ale	-	-	-	-	1	1
	Specialty ale	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Porter	-	-	-	1	-	1
Lager	Pale lager	1	1	2	-	1	5
	Dark lager	-	-	-	-	1	1
	Bock	-	-	-	1	-	1
Brewery total		46	42	53	21	38	200

Overall, pale ale is the most common beer style, accounting for 98 beers (49%) of all labels categorised, and it is the most represented style of every brewery except Amundsen where stouts narrowly dominate. Stouts are the second most common style overall with 52 beers (26%), followed by sour wheat beers with 36 beers (18%) in total. Pale lager, which includes Pilsners, is the most common lager style with five beers (2.5% of the total) falling into this category.

The categories described in Section 4.3 have been merged for presentation into five main groups, namely ‘Image’, ‘Colour’, ‘Composition and Salience’, ‘Multilingualism and Verbal Messages (text)’, and ‘References to Place and Culture’. The general findings for each group are presented in what follows.

5.1.1. Image

By far most of the labels include an image. Altogether 164 labels (82%) include an image, and these images fill their respective labels to varying degrees. Figure 4 shows that in 67 cases images occupy 61-80 percent of the label, with 44 labels and 42 labels occupying 41-60 percent and 21-40 percent, respectively. Only four labels include images that fill less than or equal to 20 percent of the entire label, and a total of seven labels include images that fill more than 80 percent of the label. 78 of the 164 labels that include an image (48%) incorporate the name of the beer into the image, often in the form of stylised typography as suggested by Bateman (2014) and Eisner (1985) (see p. 37), and these are explored in the individual brewery presentations where relevant.

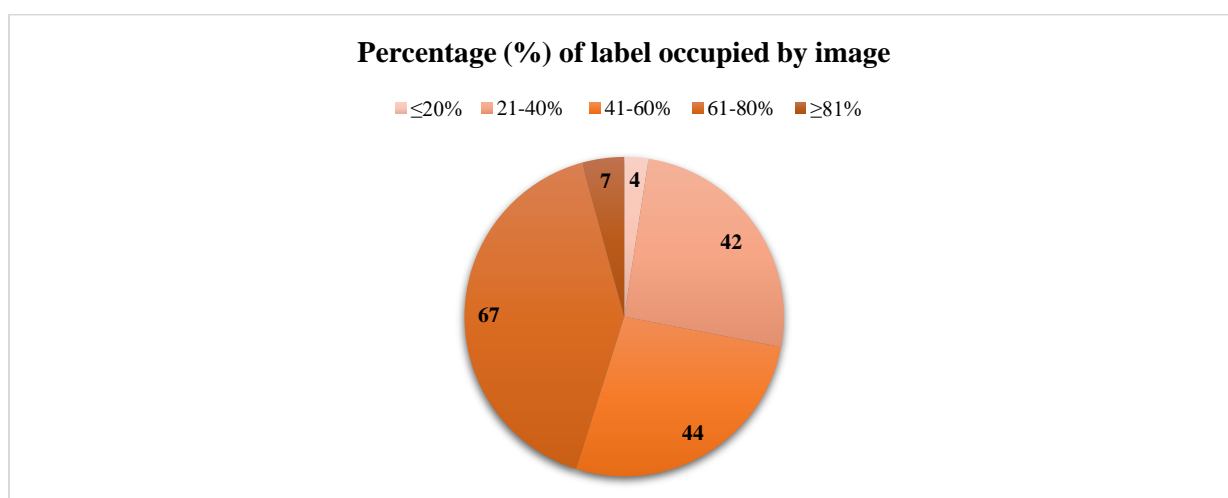


Figure 4: Percentage of label occupied by image (all breweries).

All of the labels categorised from Amundsen, Cervisiam, Lervig, and Monkey Brew include images. The 36 labels that do not contain images belong to Salikatt which relies instead on the use of block colours, and this is one of the visual mechanisms that differentiates it from the other breweries in this study

The images of 37 labels (18.5%) communicate a beer's flavour through a depiction of ingredients in the image itself. The visual representation of ingredients was used to communicate flavour on four of Amundsen's labels, 17 of Cervisiam's labels, 15 of Lervig's labels, and one of Salikatt's labels.

Table 4 provides an overview of image use. Of the 164 labels that include an image, 122 (74%) feature represented participants, 57 of which make eye contact with the viewer. Represented participants are the people, places, and things depicted in an image and are often used to maintain interaction between the producer and viewer of an image (see p. 38). For this study, represented participants were defined as any human, animal, or human-like figure realised through the use of anthropomorphism where objects are given a human features or qualities. Examples include an image of a berry with eyes (Cervisiam's *Dawn of the Red*) or a building with arms, legs, and a face (Lervig's *House Party*). Images that involved eye contact were registered as 'demand' images and those without eye contact were registered as 'offer' images (see p. 39).

Table 4: Overview of labels with images, their inclusion of represented participants, and use of anthropomorphism (by brewery).

Brewery	Labels with image	Represented participant		Anthropomorphism
		Eye contact	No eye contact	
Amundsen	46 (100%)	21	7	13
Cervisiam	42 (100%)	31	11	24
Lervig	53 (100%)	5	47	8
Monkey Brew	21 (100%)	0	0	0
Salikatt	2 (5%)	0	0	0
Total	164/200 (82%)	57	65	55

5.1.2. Colour

All 200 labels make use of multiple colours ranging from as few as two colours to as many as 16. Figure 5 shows that by far most labels use more than three colours; the most common number of colours is 4-6 (39.5% of all labels analysed) but as many as 37 labels (18.5%) use more than ten colours.

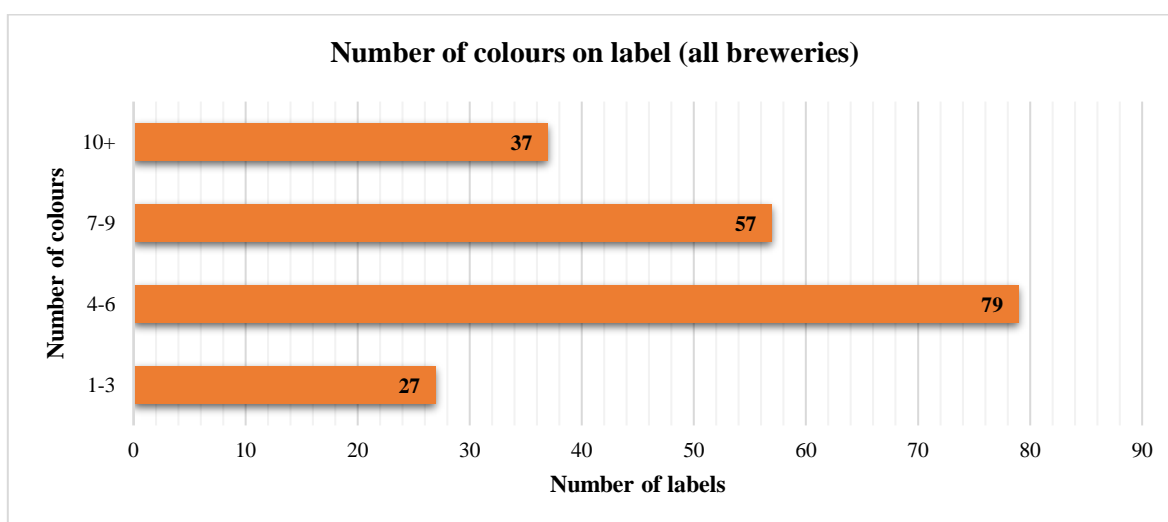


Figure 5: Number of colours on label (all breweries).

Figure 6 gives a more nuanced overview of colour use showing how many colours appear on the labels of each individual brewery. Salikatt's labels account for all 27 instances where only 1-3 colours are used whereas the labels of Amundsen and Lervig combined account for all instances of labels that utilise more than ten colours. Cervisiam and Monkey Brew use between four and six colours on the majority of labels that were examined in this study.

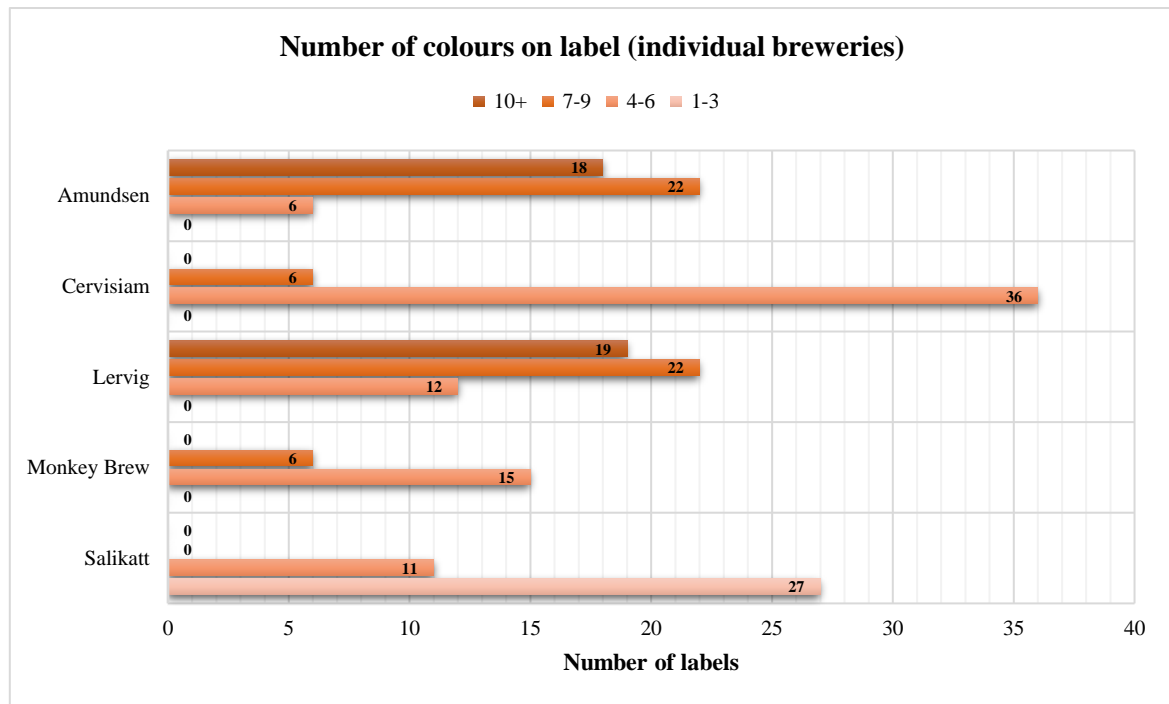


Figure 6: Number of colours on label (by brewery).

Despite multiple colours being used on all labels, it is possible to identify the most prominent colour in terms of how much of the label it occupies. There are 33 unique main colours and merging these into colour families results in the 14 main colours shown in Figure 7. The most frequently used main colour is green, which dominates 33 labels (16.5%), closely followed by blue (23 labels), brown (19 labels), purple (18 labels), and yellow (18 labels). Other than the frequency of the colour green, and what seems like the general avoidance of white and cream, there appears to be no clear preference for using a particular colour more prominently than others. While turquoise and cyan show low numbers, they may be considered variants of the popular green and blue.

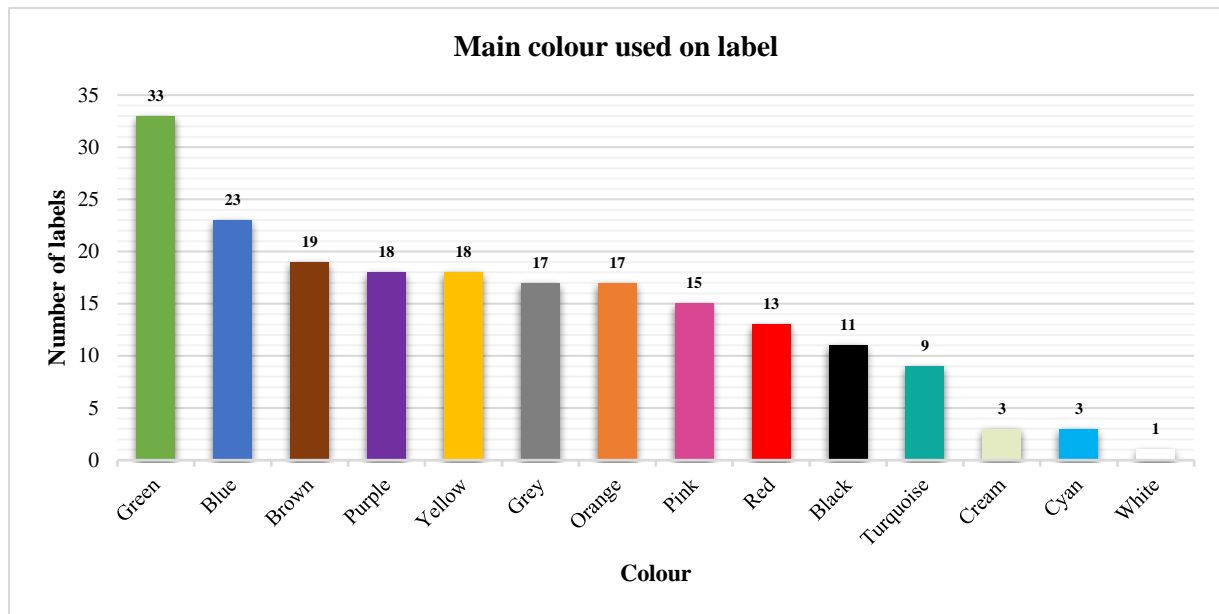


Figure 7: Most prominent colour on label arranged by frequency of occurrence.

Table 5 shows the occurrence of potential links between colours used and beer name, beer style, and flavour. 104 labels (52%) show a link between colour and beer name, 53 labels (26.5%) show a link between colour and beer style, and 101 labels (50.5%) show a link between colour and flavour. There are clearly more links between colour, beer name, and flavour than there are between colour and beer style, and results are fairly evenly spread among the five breweries. 32 of Cervisiam's labels (76%) show links between colour and beer name, more than any other brewery, whereas only five of Salikatt's labels (13%) show links between colour and beer style, noticeably fewer than any other brewery. These results suggest that colours are more frequently used to reflect a beer's flavour than they are to reflect beer style.

Table 5: Number of labels with links between colour and name, style, and flavour (by brewery).

Brewery	Link (colour-name)	Link (colour-style)	Link (colour-flavour)
Amundsen	22 (48%)	12 (26%)	21 (46%)
Cervisiam	32 (76%)	17 (40%)	23 (55%)
Lervig	24 (45%)	10 (19%)	25 (47%)
Monkey Brew	9 (43%)	9 (43%)	10 (48%)
Salikatt	17 (45%)	5 (13%)	22 (58%)
Total	104 (52%)	53 (26.5%)	101 (50.5%)

Table 6 shows the results of comparing the data shown in Table 5 to see if colours linked to multiple categories simultaneously. 72 labels (36%) show a link between colour, name, and flavour, 46 labels (23%) show links between colour, style, and flavour, and 39 labels (19.5%) show links between colour, name, and style. Interestingly, there are a total of 35 labels (17.5%) that show links between colour, name, style, and flavour simultaneously, indicating that colour has the potential to represent a variety of qualities or phenomena at the same time; this is especially the case with Cervisiam's labels (29%), but considerably less with those of Lervig (11%) and Salikatt (5%).

Table 6: Number of labels with simultaneous links between colour, name, style, and flavour (by brewery).

Brewery	Link (colour-name) AND (colour-flavour)	Link (colour-style) AND (colour-flavour)	Link (colour-name) AND (colour-style)	Link (colour-name /style/flavour)
Amundsen	16 (35%)	12 (26%)	10 (22%)	10 (22%)
Cervisiam	19 (45%)	14 (33%)	15 (36%)	12 (29%)
Lervig	19 (36%)	8 (15%)	7 (%)	6 (11%)
Monkey Brew	6 (29%)	8 (38%)	5 (24%)	5 (24%)
Salikatt	12 (32%)	4 (11%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)
Total	72/200 (36%)	46/200 (23%)	39/200 (19.5%)	35/200 (17.5%)

5.1.3. Composition and Salience

As stated in Section 4.3, labels were categorised for their overall clarity in terms of their legibility. The less visual clutter a label exhibits the clearer it becomes, and the use of borders and spacing are seen as helpful organising features that aid consumers in interpreting a label's verbal and visual content. Label composition is an important factor when determining the clarity of a label's design, but it proved difficult as the rollouts provided by the respective breweries give an unnatural overall perspective of each label's composition. For this reason, particular attention was paid to the front portion of labels that consumers see when cans are merchandised on retail shelves. This informs the initial classification of labels as being 'very clear', 'clear', or 'unclear', but the whole label is ultimately taken into consideration.

Overall, 119 labels (59.5%) are very clear, 74 labels (37%) are clear, and only seven labels (3.5%) are categorised as being unclear. These findings are the result of the author's subjective opinion but will be illustrated with examples and more closely discussed in the individual brewery results that follow in Section 5.2.

In determining the most salient element of each label, three elements stand out and account for all labels, namely image, logo, and beer name (see Figure 8). Image is the most salient element of 110 labels (55%), logo is most salient on 59 labels (29.5%), and beer name is the most salient element of 31 labels (15.5%). However, these three salient elements are not equally spread across all breweries, and Figure 9 provides a brewery-specific overview to account for this. Amundsen, Cervisiam, and Lervig account for all instances where image is the most salient element of a label with none of their labels giving salience to logo. Monkey Brew and Salikatt account for all 59 instances where the logo is the most salient element of the label.

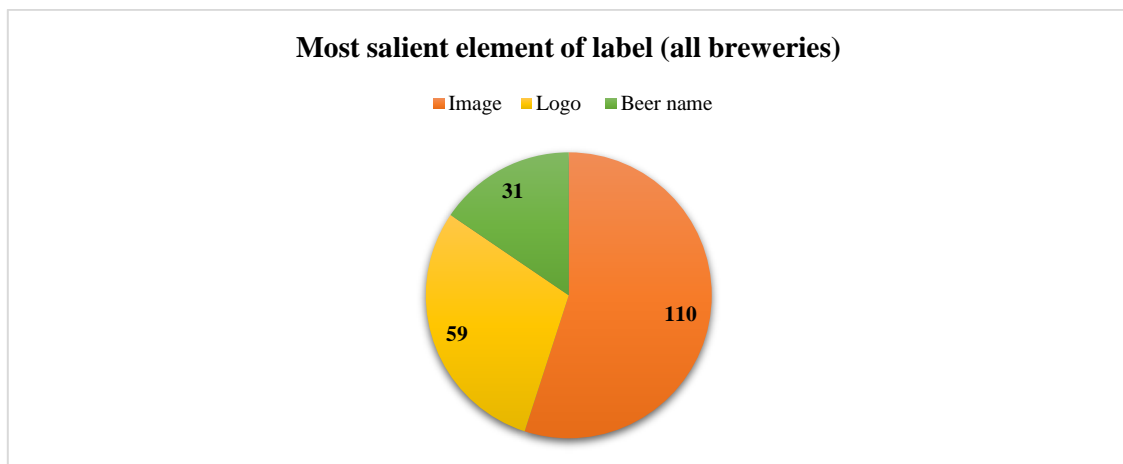


Figure 8: Most salient element of label (all breweries).

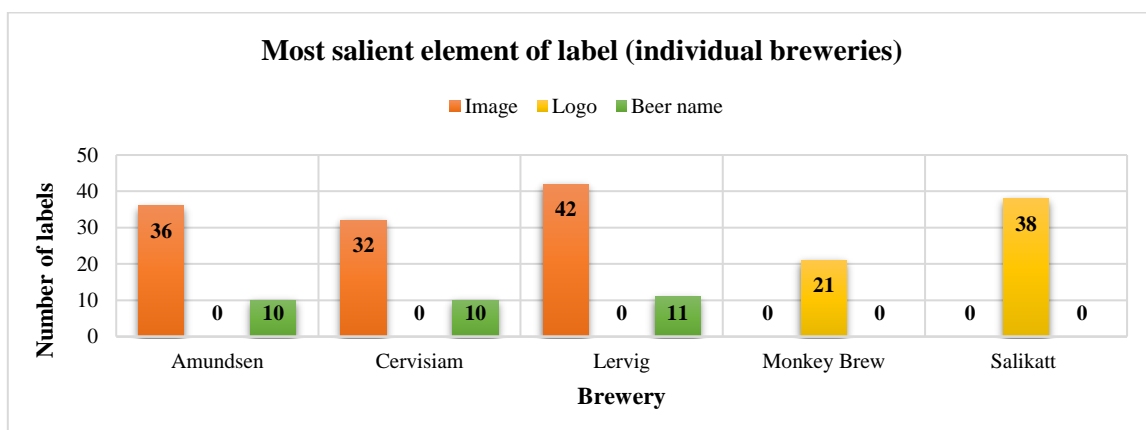


Figure 9: Most salient element of label (brewery overview).

With only three elements accounting for all classifications of *most salient element*, the following chart (Figure 10) is interesting as it provides an overview of specific elements that appear on the front portion of all labels. Results are arranged in descending order of frequency of appearance and there is a clear correlation between what is represented here and the data displayed in Figures 8 and 9. Images appear on the front of 164 labels (82%), beer names appear on the front of 148 labels (74%), and logos appear on the front of 101 labels (50.5%), potentially adding to the overall salience of these elements.

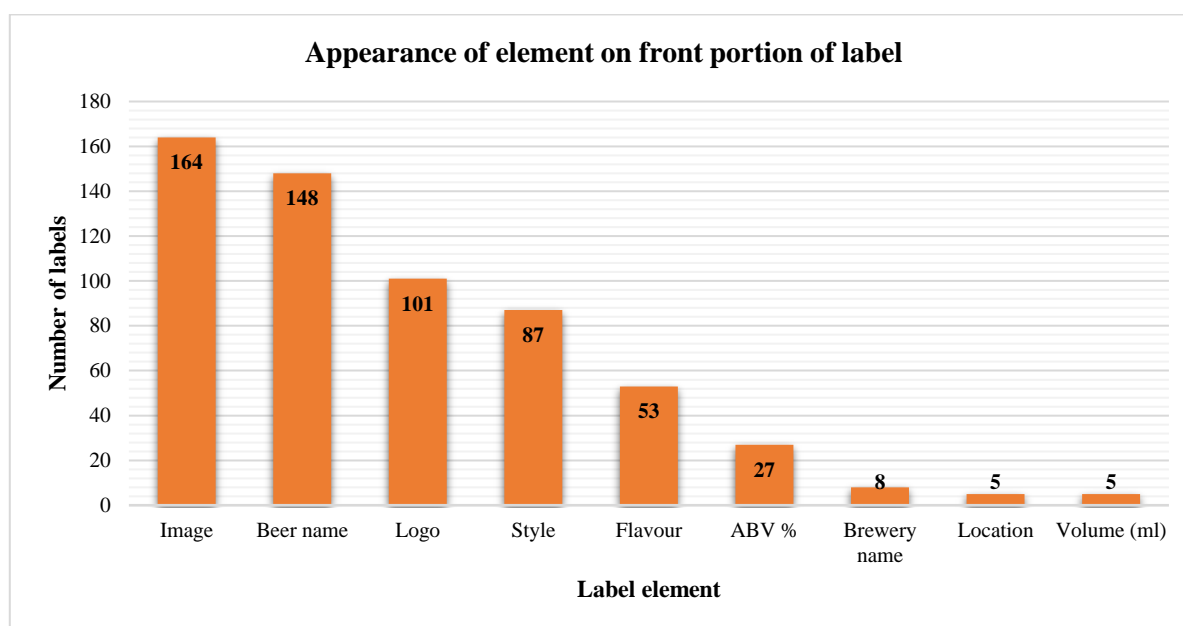


Figure 10: Overview of specific elements on front portion of label (measured in frequency of appearance).

5.1.4. Multilingualism and Verbal Messages (text)

Multilingualism is evident on 194 labels (97%), with only six labels exclusively using Norwegian to communicate with the consumer. The main reason for positive recordings of multilingualism is due to the use of other languages in the ingredients lists. As Figure 11 shows, English beer names prevail in the material with a combined total of 161 (80.5%) and examples include *Apocalyptic Thunder Juice*, *Cheap Lunch*, and *Salty Surprise*. Perhaps surprisingly, there are 21 beer names that consist of invented words (10.5%) such as *Hopbernie Sanders* and *Zygoat*, and only 10 Norwegian beer names (5%), including *Perler for Svin* and *Pils*. The remaining eight names represent other languages including Japanese

(*Seppuku* and *Shoryuken*), Spanish (*Holy Molé*), Italian (*Profondo Rosso*), Chichewa (*Madzi*), Austro-Bavarian (*Krampus*), Icelandic (*Gryla*), and Pidgin English (*Mami Wata*).



Figure 11: Overview of language used for name of beer (all breweries).

As with colour and its relation to other label elements (see Table 5, p. 63), the labels were labelled for links between beer name and image, style, and flavour; the results are shown in Table 7. There are links between beer name and image on 139 labels (85%) with Cervisiam's labels exhibiting links on all 42 of its labels, closely followed by Amundsen with 41 links (89%). A total of 36 labels (18%) exhibit links between beer name and beer style, with Salikatt being most prominent with 15 such instances. Finally, links between name and flavour are evident on 91 labels (45.5%) with fairly similar percentages for Amundsen (43%), Cervisiam (45%), Lervig (47%), and Salikatt (50%).

Table 7: Overview of labels with links between beer name and image, style, and flavour (by brewery).

Brewery	Link (name-image)	Link (name-style)	Link (name-flavour)
Amundsen	41 (89%)	2 (4%)	20 (43%)
Cervisiam	42 (100%)	5 (12%)	19 (45%)
Lervig	40 (75%)	13 (25%)	25 (47%)
Monkey Brew	14 (66%)	1 (5%)	8 (38%)
Salikatt	2 (100%)	15 (39%)	19 (50%)
Total	139/164 (85%)	36/200 (18%)	91/200 (45.5%)

Slightly less than half the material, 94 labels (47%) include a verbal message in the form of a blurb, with 63 blurbs (67%) written in English and 31 (33%) in Norwegian. Blurbs were labelled for content to enquire into what sort of information they communicated to consumers (see Figure 12). In total, there are 157 instances of content, indicating that some blurbs communicate more than one type. The most common types of information concern flavour (72 instances) and culture (56 instances), accounting for 46% and 36% of all instances, respectively. The blurb of Cervisiam's *RoboHop* transmits culture due to its reference to the cult science fiction film *RoboCop* (1987), whilst the blurb of Monkey Brew's *Jesus* communicates the beer's flavour as being 'fruity, bready, and biscuity' (see Figure 13).

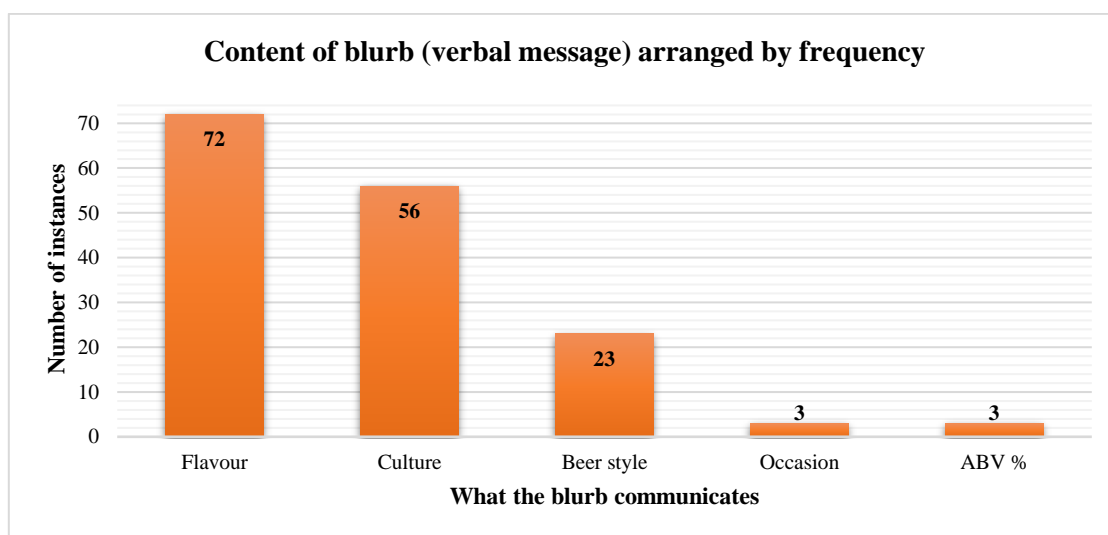


Figure 12: Content of verbal message (blurb) measured in frequency of occurrence.

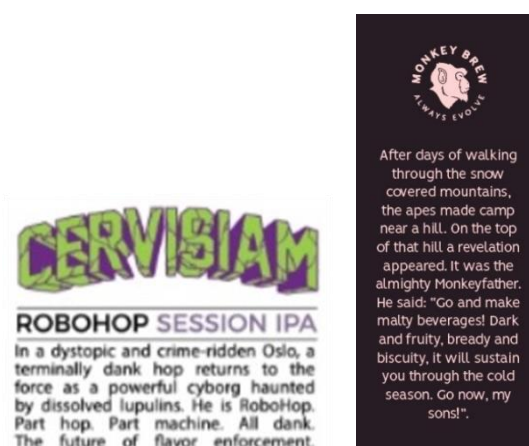


Figure 13: Blurbs from Cervisiam and Monkey Brew transmit culture and communicate flavour, respectively.

5.1.5. References to Place and Culture

Labels were labelled for references to place and references to culture using text, image, or a combination of both. Table 8 and Figure 14 show that place is referenced on 25 labels (13%), with 20 labels using text only, two labels using image only, and three labels using a combination of text and image. Only ten of these place references (5% of all labels) relate to the city where the producing brewery is located, and these have been marked with an asterisk next to the beer name.

Table 8: References to place and mode used. Labels marked with an asterisk indicate reference to the city where the brewery is located.

Beer Name	Brewery	Mode Used	Place(s) Referenced
Holy Molé	Amundsen	Image, Text	Mexico
Black Magic*	Cervisiam	Text	Oslo (Norway)
Pisswasser	Cervisiam	Image, Text	Germany
Robohop*	Cervisiam	Text	Oslo (Norway)
Blurry Eyes	Lervig	Text	Saskatoon (Canada)
Brut Nature	Lervig	Image	Norway
Christmas Crush	Lervig	Text	Flanders (Belgium)
Hoppy Joe*	Lervig	Text	Stavanger (Norway)
Johnny Low*	Lervig	Text	Stavanger (Norway)
Konrad's Stout	Lervig	Image	Norway
Lucky Jack*	Lervig	Text	Stavanger (Norway)
Lucky Jack Grapefruit*	Lervig	Text	Stavanger (Norway)
NZDDHDIPA	Lervig	Text	New Zealand
Ranglejus	Lervig	Text	Bryne (Norway)
Saskatoon Cheesecake	Lervig	Text	Saskatoon (Canada)
Sour Suzy*	Lervig	Text	Stavanger (Norway)
Blackberry Magic*	Salikatt/Monkey Brew	Text	Trondheim (Norway)
Chocolate Stout*	Salikatt/Monkey Brew	Text	Madagascar, Trondheim (Norway)
DDH Pavlova	Salikatt	Text	New Zealand
Fjellpils	Salikatt	Image, Text	Sirdal (Norway), Czechia
Fjåge*	Salikatt	Text	Stavanger (Norway)
Junaiten	Salikatt	Text	The USA
Makksure	Salikatt	Text	Germany and the USA
Red Summer Smoothie	Salikatt	Text	Norway
Sali(g) Jul	Salikatt	Text	Norway

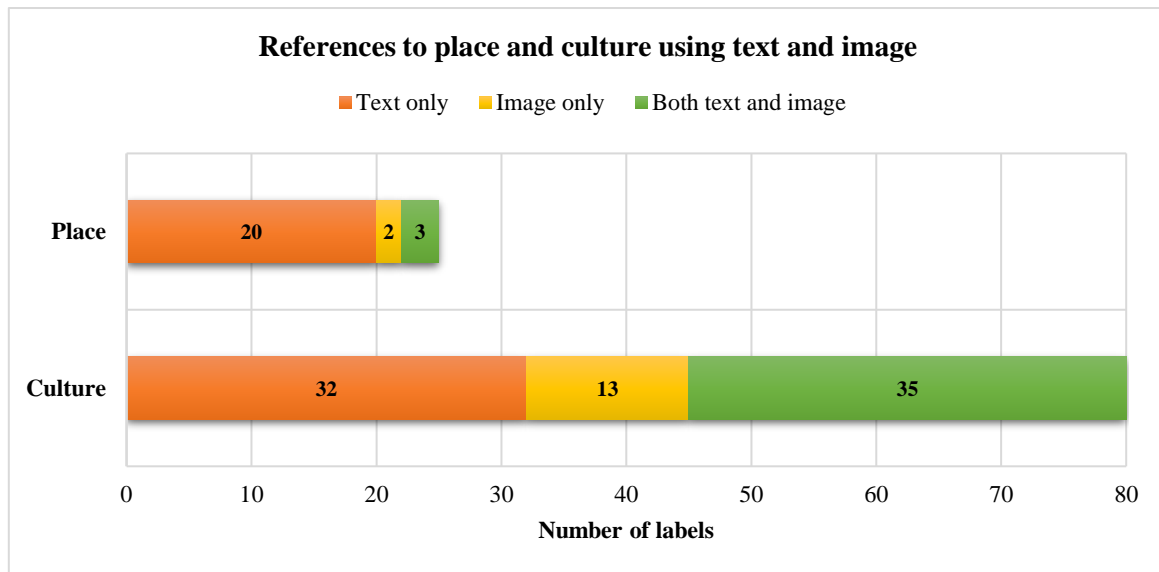


Figure 14: References to place and culture using text, image, or a combination of both (all breweries).

Cultural references appear on 80 labels (40%), with 32 labels using text only, 13 labels using image only, and 35 labels using a combination of text and image (see Figure 14). In total, there are 95 cultural references meaning that some labels reference multiple cultural aspects. Figure 15 is the result of classifying these references into subcategories and this provides a more nuanced overview of the types of cultural reference that breweries utilise on their labels. There are ten subcategories and any verbal (text) or visual (image) references are placed into their respective category. ‘Pop culture’ references are most prevalent with 33 references falling into this category, 21 references were categorised as belonging to ‘religion and beliefs’, and 15 references related to ‘food and drink’. A fully specified overview of cultural references and the mode(s) used to communicate these references can be found in Appendix 2.

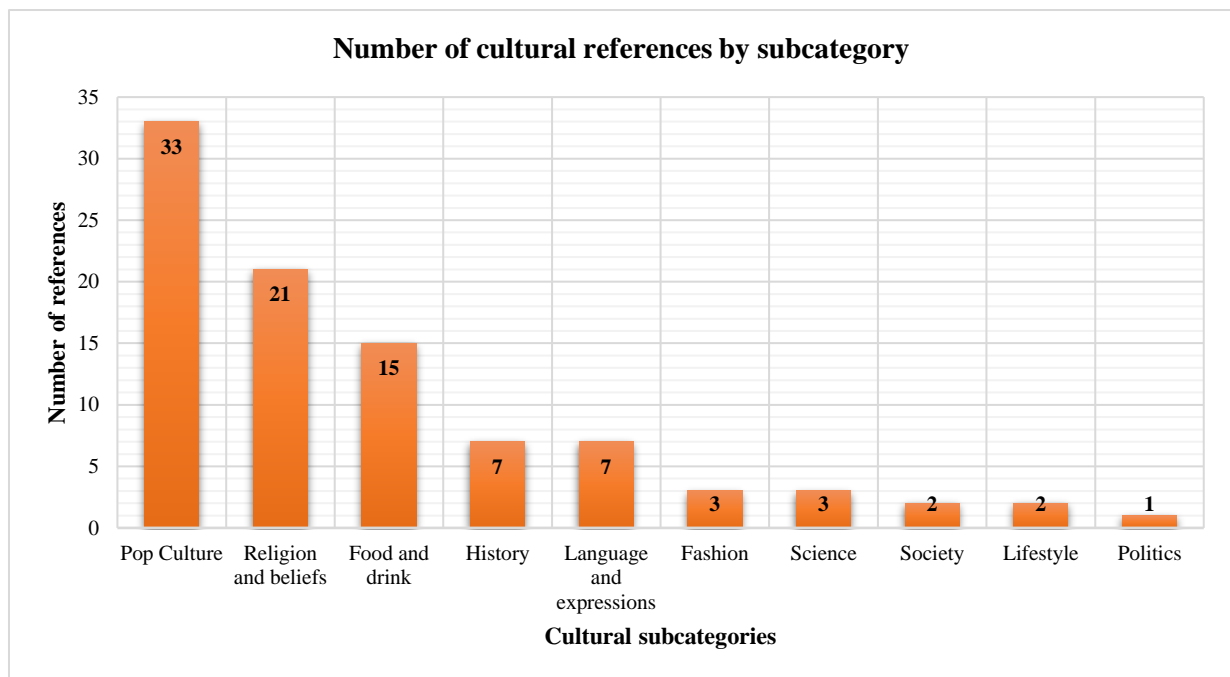


Figure 15: Cultural references organised into subcategories by number of occurrences (all breweries).

5.1.6. Summary of General Findings

The findings presented above show that the majority of beer labels represent three distinct beer styles: pale ales, stouts, and sour wheat beers. All of these styles are part of the ale family and are generally known for having flavour profiles that are more robust-tasting and complex than those of lagers (see p. 13). Four of the breweries use images extensively, and these are by far the most salient element; more than half of all labels give images visual weight by placing them on the front central portion of the label. Salikatt is the exception in that it only incorporates images into two of its label designs, preferring instead to use block colours, and this serves to visually differentiate Salikatt from the other breweries.

As expected, there is extensive use of colour, with the majority of labels using 4-6 colours in total. However, nearly half of all labels use seven colours or more, many of which belong to Amundsen and Lervig, and this results in a collection of potentially eye-catching designs. Findings indicate that colour most frequently relates to beer name and flavour, and only links to a beer's style on one in four labels (see Table 5, p. 63).

Multilingualism is evident on all but six labels, largely due to the use of multiple languages in the ingredients lists. English beer names are most prevalent followed by invented words. Surprisingly, Norwegian is only used on ten labels and most of these belong to

Salikatt. Beer names most often link to images and this may indicate that the two modes are working together to communicate with the consumer. Beer names are supported by blurbs which appear on nearly half of all labels, and these are predominantly written in English. Findings indicate that these blurbs frequently communicate the flavour of a beer while making references to various aspects of culture (see p. 68).

Very few labels explicitly refer to the city in which the producing brewery is located, but those that do exclusively use verbal messages. Cultural references are more frequent with 95 identifiable references in total. ‘Pop culture’ references are most prevalent, followed by ‘religion and beliefs’ and references to ‘food and drink’ culture from around the world.

5.2. Findings from Individual Breweries

Brewery specific findings are presented in what follows to give a more nuanced view of the verbal and visual mechanisms that each brewery employs in the communication of flavour and the transmission of culture. Close readings of labels, informed by the frameworks of multimodality and visual grammar, are central to this study as they highlight the use of verbal messages, image, colour, and layout, and how these modes work in unison to communicate with consumers. Two-dimensional roll-outs provide examples of the study material, guide the presentation of findings, and exemplify the results of the interpretative processes that informed the categorisation of labels.

5.2.1. Amundsen

All of Amundsen’s 46 labels include an image. The majority of these (36) occupy 40% of the label with the remaining 10 labels’ images occupying 65% of the label. The former group may be said to adhere to the standard label composition illustrated in Figure 16, while the other ten form part of Amundsen’s *Dessert in a Can* range that use an alternative composition (see Figure 17). In the first group, image is the most salient element as it dominates the front portion of these labels due to its size and placement. As Figure 16 shows, the image fills almost the entire front central portion of the label as well as the areas marked left and right, suggesting that Amundsen prefers art-forward labels (see p. 28).

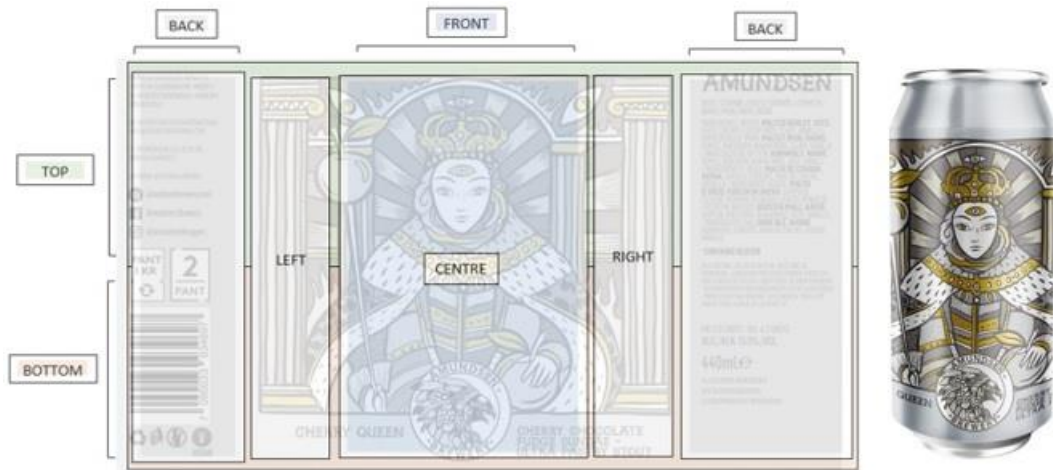


Figure 16: Amundsen's label composition.

Beer name and image appear on the front of all labels analysed, with brewery logo and beer style appearing on the 36 labels that adhere to the standard label composition (see also Figure 18). The ten instances where brewery logo and beer style do not appear were all part of the *Dessert in a Can* range (see Figure 17). Interestingly, these ten labels do not include beer style or brewery logo anywhere on the label, settling instead for the brewery name 'Amundsen' on the upper right portion of the label; when attached to a can and stocked on retail shelves this would become the back portion of the label. Amundsen may assume that their consumers are aware of stouts being referred to as canned desserts because all ten beers in the dessert range are stouts with varying added ingredients that ultimately affect their flavour profiles.

The extreme left portion of the 36 standard labels is reserved for verbal messages that communicate the brewery responsible for brewing and packaging the beer, the companies responsible for importing the beer to the UK and Italy (written in English and Italian, respectively), the artist responsible for the label's artwork, links to the brewery website and social media pages, and the recycling value of the can. There is also a barcode and three symbols representing the can's recyclability, a reminder not to litter and that the contents of the can are not suitable for pregnant women. The extreme right portion of the label includes the name of the brewery at the top, the word beer written in nine languages, a list of ingredients written in seven or eight languages, and information on where to find the 'best before' date in seven or eight languages. There is also information about how many units of alcohol each can contains (measured in English and Australian units), the volume of beer in the can, and a reminder to drink responsibly written in English, Italian, and French.



Figure 17: Two labels from Amundsen's *Dessert in a Can* range – 'Raspberry, Salted Caramel Cheesecake' and 'Pistachio Cookie Dough Ice Cream'.

Together with Lervig, Amundsen's labels are some of the most colourful in the material (see Figures 18 and 19), with 22 labels (48%) using seven to nine colours and 18 labels (39%) using ten colours or more. Colours are seemingly used intentionally in some instances, often linking with beer name and flavour. There is a link between colour and beer name on 22 labels (48%) such as using red, pink and varying shades of brown for a beer called *Raspberry, Salted Caramel Cheesecake* (see Figure 17). There are links between colour and flavour on 21 labels (46%) such as using green, yellow, and varying shades of red on a sour raspberry and lime flavoured Berliner Weisse called *Lush*. In fact, colour is only narrowly beaten by text with 24 labels (52%) as Amundsen's mode of choice for communicating flavour to consumers.

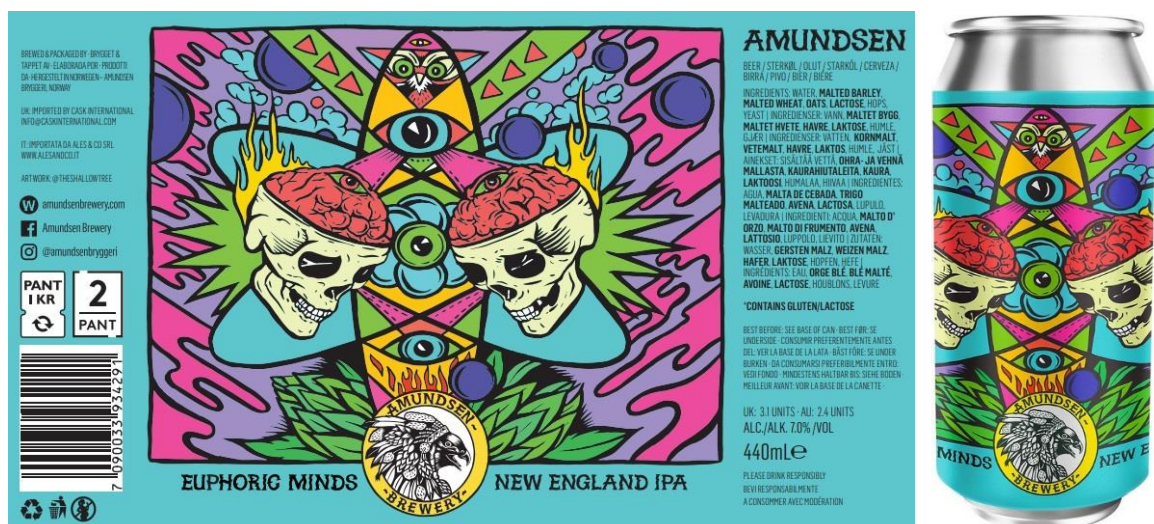


Figure 18: The colourful label of Amundsen's 'Euphoric Minds'.

As stated above, all 46 labels include an image, and this is the most salient element on 36 labels (78%). 41 labels (89%) show links between beer name and image, and all six of Amundsen's labels included here are good examples. 28 labels (61%) include represented participants; 21 of these make eye contact with the viewer and seven do not (see p. 39). This suggests that Amundsen prefers using images that have the potential to draw the viewer in.

As well as linking to images, there are links between beer name and flavour on 20 labels (43%). Examples include *Cherry Queen*, *Double Churro Dunker*, and *Peach Cobbler* from the Dessert in a Can range. Amundsen uses English to name 43 of its beers (93%), with the remaining three beers using Chichewa (*Madzi* meaning water), Pidgin English (*Mami Wata* meaning mother water), and an Anglo-Spanish example of code mixing (*Holy Molé*). On the 36 labels that include beer style, this is always written in English, suggesting a clear preference for English when communicating with consumers.

Amundsen's *Rebel Berries* (Figure 19) makes use of multiple modes to communicate flavour to the consumer, with the verbal and visual elements on the front portion of the label providing parts of the whole; when combined they potentially provide the viewer with an overview of all of the flavours and aromas that the beer provides. The verbal message to the right of the logo states that the beer is a raspberry, chocolate, and marshmallow pastry sour, and some of these flavours are communicated using colours such as red for raspberries, brown for chocolate, and possibly pale green to indicate sourness. The cube-like shapes at the edge of the image may represent marshmallows, but this is arguably not something a viewer would deduce without the verbal reference to marshmallows. Interestingly, the image also includes blueberries, a flavour that is not communicated verbally on the front of the label. It is only when reading the ingredients list on the back of the label that the inclusion of blueberries is confirmed, making this an example of what van Leeuwen (2005) refers to as a complementary relationship (see Table 2, p. 37).

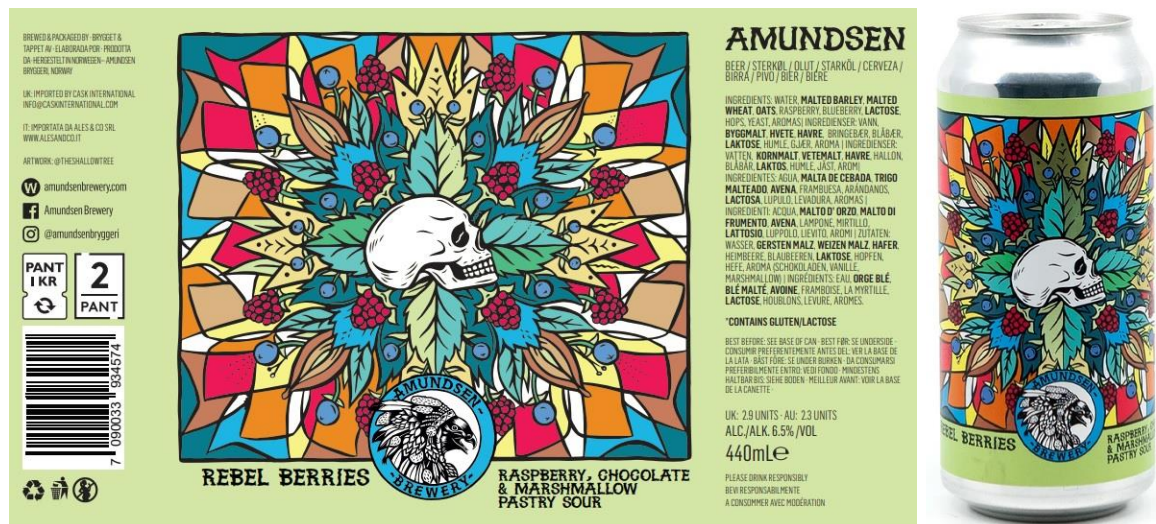


Figure 19: Amundsen's 'Rebel Berries'.

Unlike some of the other breweries that use blurbs to communicate beer style, flavour, and culture, Amundsen does not include a blurb on any of its labels. This means that determining a beer's flavour or picking up on cultural references requires consumers to look for cues given in the beer name, beer style, colours used, and image; *Holy Molé* (Figure 20) is a good example.

Amundsen's *Holy Molé* is an ultra pastry stout, an unofficial beer style that has a very high alcohol percentage at 13.5% and that takes the sweet, rich, dessert-like characteristics of stouts to the extreme. The label adheres to the standard composition described earlier by placing image, brewery logo, beer name, and beer type on the front portion of the label. The image is the most salient element due to its size and central positioning, as well as the inclusion of a represented participant, a skull, looking directly at the viewer. Kress and van Leeuwen's framework suggests that this is a demand image (see p. 39) as the ornate, decorative eyes of the skull create a visual form of address and draw the viewer in. Having looked at the image, the viewer's gaze will most likely move to the logo that is positioned at the bottom of the label and in front of the image so as to partially obscure the jaw of the skull. Two verbal messages are positioned either side of the brewery logo, beer name to the left and beer style and flavour to the right; reading these messages in their entirety requires the viewer to rotate the can slightly to the left and to the right, respectively.

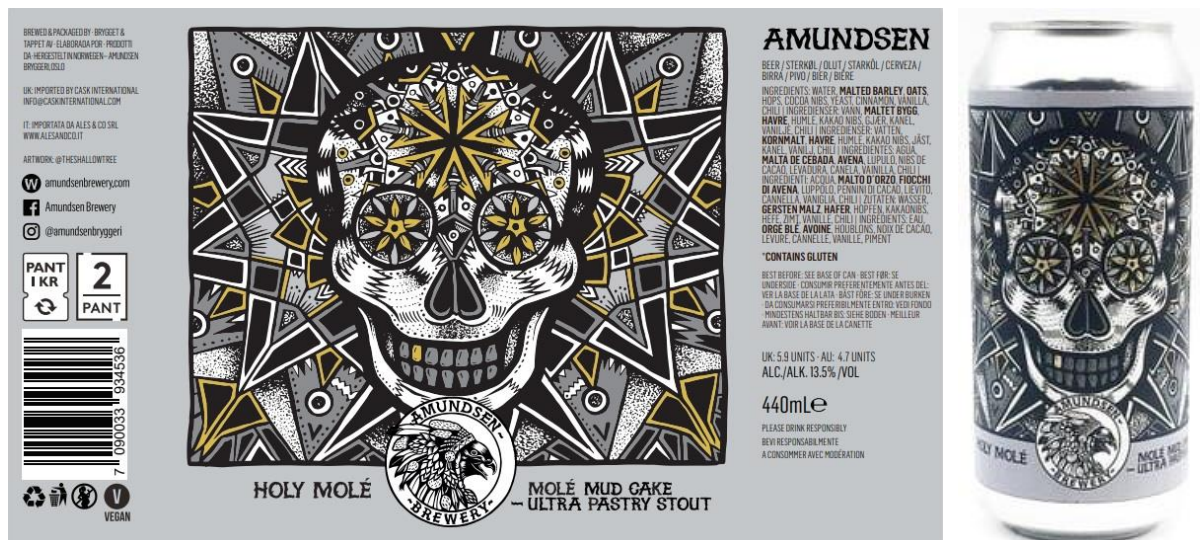


Figure 20: Amundsen's 'Holy Molé'.

Holy Molé is one of Amundsen's least colourful labels, using only five colours – white, black, gold, and two shades of grey. The sparse use of gold highlights specific parts of the image, particularly the eyes, and this adds to their salience and the overall salience of the image. The almost monochromatic quality ensures that the details of the artwork become much clearer than they would be if the image had used more colours and may make the verbal messages at the bottom of the label stand out more. With grey as the most prominent colour, the label deviates from the black and brown tones that are often used for stouts, and the colours do not appear to relate to the beer's flavour and ingredients in any way.

The challenge with this particular label is that it requires a level of knowledge that some consumers may not have, especially those with only a passing interest in craft beer. The label does not explain what a pastry stout is, and there seems to be an assumption that consumers will understand the cultural references, which in turn will help to determine the flavour of the beer. In this instance, the ingredients list states that the beer contains cocoa nibs, vanilla, cinnamon, and chili, but there are visual and verbal references to Mexican culture on the front of the label that culturally aware consumers may be able to identify. The skull in the image is most likely a calavera, a decorative or edible skull made from sugar which is used in the Mexican celebration of *Día de Muertos* or Day of the Dead. The beer name, *Holy Molé*, is both an expression used to indicate surprise but also a reference to several sauces used in Mexican cuisine. These sauces are usually made with chili, spices, and chocolate which give them their typical reddish-brown colour. Consumers who have this knowledge and who are able to combine the verbal and visual cues that Amundsen have

incorporated into the label will not need to look at the ingredients list to establish the flavour of the beer. Assuming that the brewery and consumer share a cultural knowledge, the transmission of culture and flavour is then quickly achieved through the use of multiple modes.

5.2.2. Cervisiam

All 42 of Cervisiam's labels include an image that covers 80% of the label. The images are so dominant that they have been labelled as the most salient element on 32 labels (76%), with beer name being most salient on the remaining ten (24%). Interestingly, in the ten cases where beer name is most salient, the name is often incorporated into the image through the use of extended typography, effectively making it part of the image. All images include a represented participant, 31 of which make eye contact with the viewer (74%), the highest number recorded in the material. There are 24 instances (57%) of anthropomorphism, which is again the highest recorded number among all five breweries that were part of this study.

Figure 21 shows the typical label composition used by Cervisiam. Images cover the left, front centre, and right portions of all labels, so it is impossible to see the entire image when the can is stocked on retail shelving. Cans have to be rotated almost 300 degrees in order to see the entire image, something that is not the case with labels from Amundsen, for example. Beer name appears most often at the top of the label (19 labels, or 45%), but its position varies considerably; it is also found at the bottom (ten labels), in the middle (seven labels), and to the left (five labels); on one label, that of *Satanic Panic*, it is missing altogether. Irrespective of where beer name is placed, the majority of labels would have to be rotated by a viewer when affixed to a can in order to read it, as illustrated in Figure 21.



Figure 21: Cervisiam's typical label composition.

Only ten labels (24%) include a beer name that can be read without manipulating the can. Ten labels (24%) include beer style, and verbal references to flavour appear on the front of six labels (14%). According to Leonard's suggested beer label categories (see p. 28), Cervisiam clearly favours art-forward label designs. Brewery logo is absent from the front portion of all labels but appears on the bottom left of 17 labels (40%). The back of Cervisiam's labels include brewery logo, beer name, beer style, a blurb on 26 labels (62%), a list of ingredients, alcohol percentage, brewery details, a barcode, and the recycling value of the can.

Cervisiam's labels are not the most colourful in the material, with 36 labels (86%) using 4-6 colours and six labels (14%) using 7-9 colours. However, their salient images ensure that they are nonetheless eye-catching. The style of artwork produced by Cervisiam's in-house art director gives the images a comic book feel, and the use of fewer colours is probably intentional as it adds to the retro style typically associated with comic book imagery. The colour links to beer name on 32 labels (76%) and to flavour on 23 labels (55%). *Enough to Make a Mango Sour* (Figure 22) is a good example of this; the yellow and orange tones are similar to the colour of mango flesh. Links between colour and beer style are evident on 17 labels (40%): for example, the yellow colour of *Pisswasser* (Figure 23) represents the golden yellow colour associated with Pilsners, while the black, red, and yellow relate to the German origin of this Pilsner style.

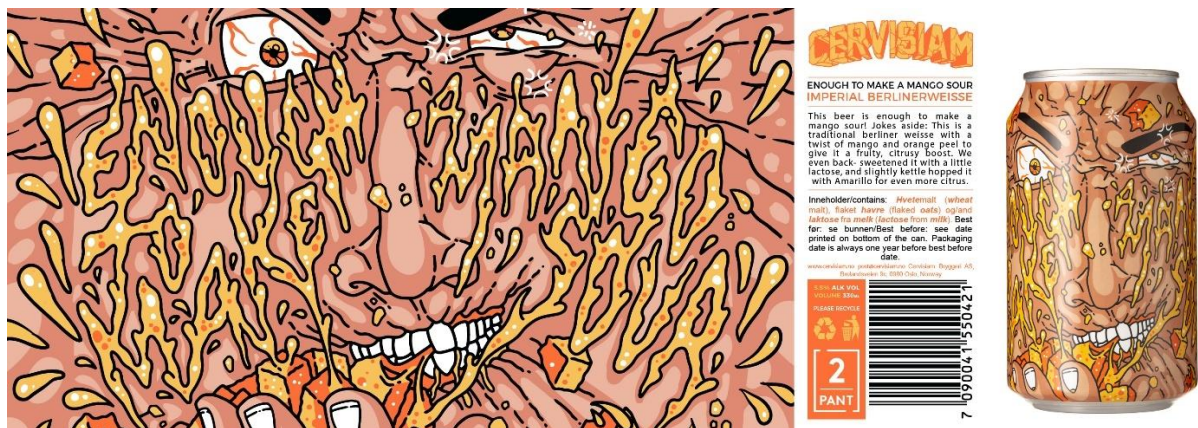


Figure 22: The extended typography of Cervisiam's 'Enough to Make a Mango Sour'.

English is used for 27 of the beer names (64%) and all 26 blurbs are also written in English. Ten labels (24%) use invented words for their beer names, such as *Pisswasser* (Figure 23) which crudely translates as 'piss water', *Pecanisher* which is a portmanteau of the words 'pecan' and 'punisher', and *Squatched*, a portmanteau of 'Sasquatch' and 'watched'. There are also examples of Japanese (*Seppuku* and *Shoryuken*), Icelandic (*Gryla*), Austro-Bavarian (*Krampus*), and Italian (*Profondo Rosso*). Beer name links to image on all 42 labels, to flavour on 19 labels (45%), and to beer style on five labels (12%). This suggests that Cervisiam's labels communicate flavour through the combined use of image and text on almost half of the labels analysed.

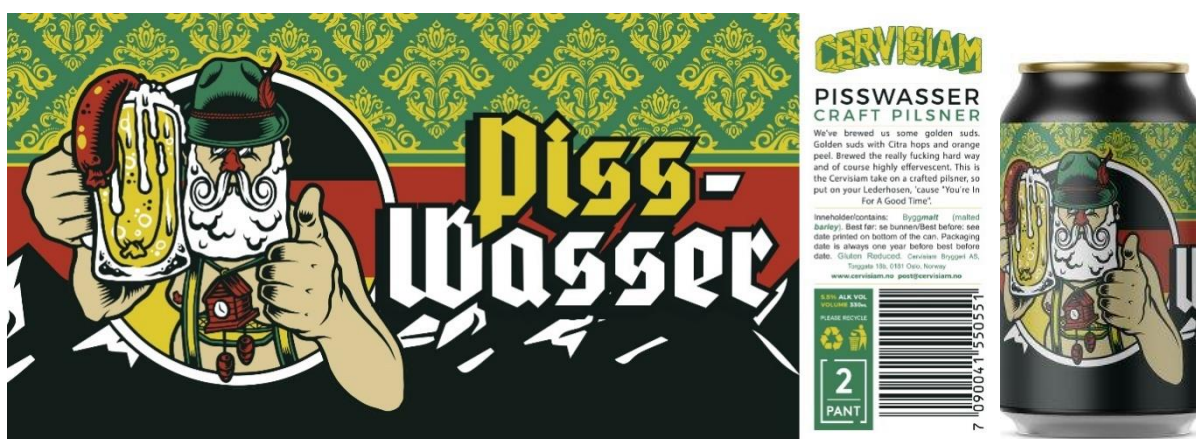


Figure 23: 'Pisswasser' meaning 'piss water' is an invented word that could not be found in a German dictionary.

Images and verbal messages were read for cultural references, and these are present on 36 labels (86%), with 28 of these labels using a combination of text and image. In total, there are 45 cultural references on Cervisiam's labels meaning that some labels reference more than one thing. Figure 24 shows the result of further classifying these references into their respective subcategories. References to popular culture are most common with 25 identifiable references on 23 labels (55%); see list in Appendix 2. By far most Cervisiam's blurbs (23 out of 26) also include cultural references, while 16 blurbs communicate the beer's flavour, and 14 blurbs communicate both culture and flavour simultaneously.

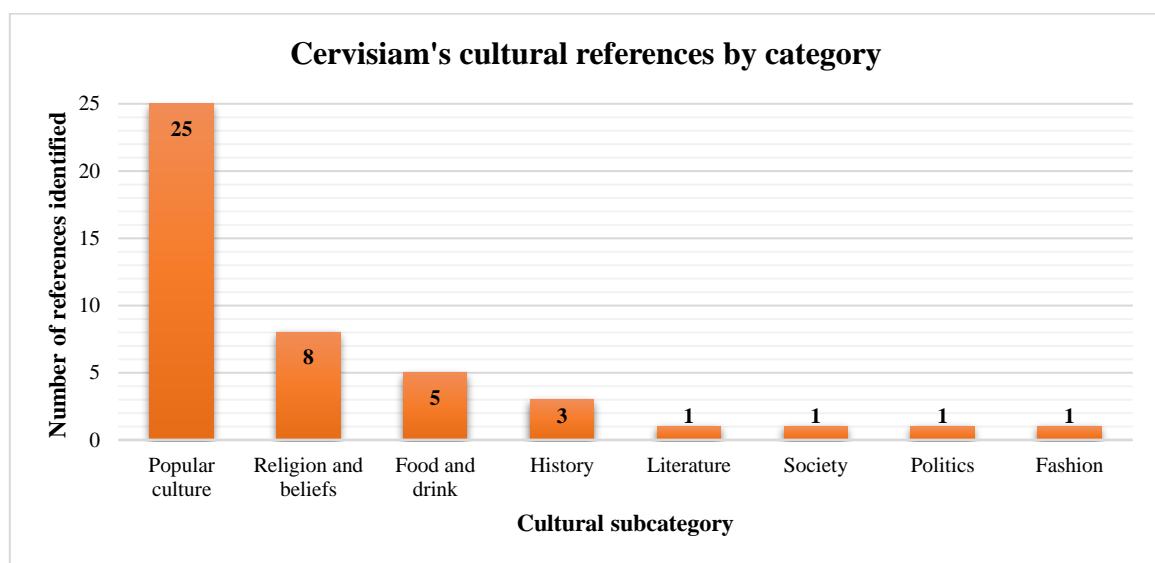


Figure 24: Organising cultural references by subcategory shows that references to pop culture dominate.

As Cervisiam's inclusion of pop culture references is highly prominent, four labels have been selected to illustrate some of the verbal and visual mechanisms used by the brewery to transmit culture and flavour.

Chocolate Salty Christmas Balls (Figure 25) is an imperial Christmas stout flavoured with caramel, nuts, chocolate, cinnamon, and a hint of salt. The beer name communicates the flavour of the beer, and its red font links it with the image that dominates the label. The depicted scene involves anthropomorphic balls of chocolate that have taken Santa Claus captive and tied him up next to a Christmas tree. The beer name is a reference to a song from the popular television series *South Park* in which Chef, one of the main characters, shares his recipe for chocolate, salty balls. Verbal and visual elements on the front of the label combine

to emphasise the festive flavour of the beer and the pop culture reference may resonate with consumers who have heard the song.



Figure 25: The verbal messages on the label of 'Chocolate Salty Christmas Balls' alter the image's meaning.

However, the blurb on the back of the can has nothing to do with South Park, and little to do with the beer's flavour, instead adding a new meaning to the image. The blurb is a doctored quote from the 1984 cult comedy horror film *Gremlins*, a line used by a character at the start of the film to warn the protagonist's father what not to do with Gizmo, the new pet he has just purchased for his son. Things do not go as planned and Gizmo gives birth to a gang of gremlins which cause mayhem and terrorise the city with their behaviour, which could perhaps be described as 'salty'. As it is impossible to pick up on the reference to *Gremlins* relying on the front of the label alone, this example demonstrates that verbal messages have the potential to draw a viewer's attention to different aspects of an image by anchoring and emphasising one of its potential interpretations (see p. 35). In this instance, the blurb gives the image a different meaning from the one provided by the beer name; the chocolate balls that initially belonged to Chef are now reimagined representations of gremlins, and these two meanings coexist through effective use of text and image.

Only two of Cervisiam's 42 labels (5%) reference Oslo, the city where the brewery is located; one of them is *Black Magic* (Figure 26). The image, depicting a skull inside a crystal ball held in the hands of an unknown figure, is the most salient element due to the central placement of the skull and the manner in which it directly addresses the viewer. The beer name is only partially in view; however, rotating the can and reading 'Black Magic' narrows

the image's potential connotations and informs the reader that they are viewing an image of the dark arts.

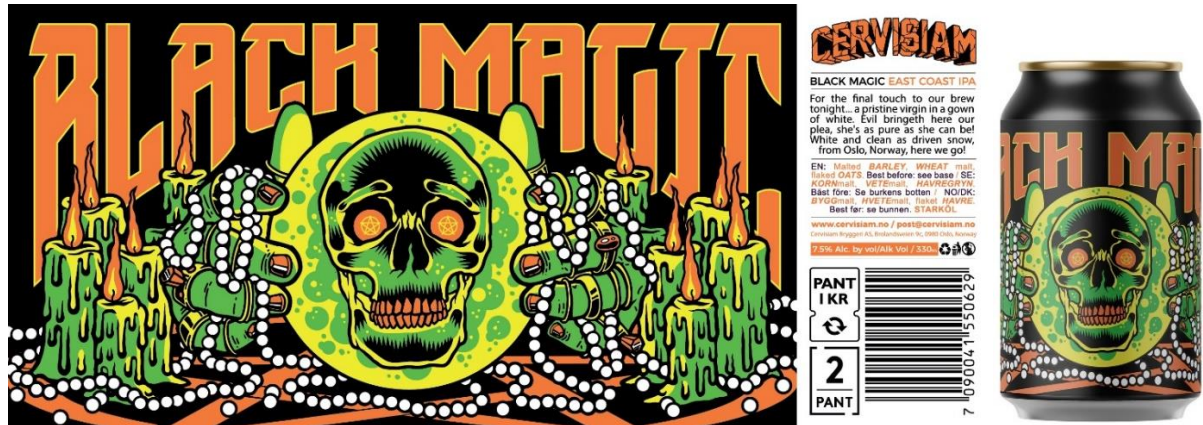


Figure 26: The blurb of 'Black Magic' includes an obscure pop culture reference from the 1980s.

The back of the label includes two verbal messages providing information that could easily be overlooked by consumers. The label states that Black Magic is an East Coast IPA, an ale style typically associated with malty sweetness and hoppy bitterness that originates from the east coast of the United States. However, the blurb refers to Oslo, a city located in the (south) east of Norway, so it is plausible to suggest that Cervisiam is using the name of the beer style to communicate the location of the brewery to their consumers; this is an IPA from the east of Norway. The blurb is particularly interesting as it is another example of a doctored quote from a cult comedy film from the 1980s, namely *Dragnet* (1987). The original line from the film, taken from a scene where a group of Pagans throw a virgin into a snake-filled pit, is:

For the final touch to our brew tonight, a pristine virgin in a gown of white. Evil bringeth here our plea, she's as pure as she can be! White and clean as driven snow, from Orange County, here we go!

(Dragnet 1987)

Cervisiam has simply changed the reference to place from Orange County to Oslo, Norway, thus highlighting the location of the brewery. This blurb is interesting in that it has nothing to with the style or flavour of the beer; it does, however, link to the beer name and image used on the front of the label through the association of black magic with Paganism. The use of

such an obscure pop culture reference will likely go unnoticed by the majority of craft beer consumers but it may resonate with anyone especially interested in 1980s cinema, and perhaps this is the intended audience of Black Magic's label. At the very least, the label presents consumers with a challenge to identify the reference, something that is found on many of Cervisiam's labels.

Cervisiam's *The Rocky Road Picture Show* (Figure 27) is an imperial pastry stout brewed with cocoa nibs, vanilla beans, dulce de leche (cream of boiled milk and sugar), marshmallows and peanut aroma. For those familiar with 'rocky road', an Australian dessert made with marshmallows, peanuts, coconut, and melted chocolate, the beer name will most likely communicate the beer's flavour profile. However, for those who are not familiar with this dessert, there are no other verbal elements on the label that communicate flavour, not even a detailed list of ingredients.

Upon closer inspection of the image, viewers may identify some of rocky road's key ingredients; the represented participant to the left of the image has a peanut for a head and his body is covered in dulce de leche, the body of the represented participant in the centre of the image consists of marshmallows and melted chocolate, and the represented participant to the right of the image has a marshmallow for a head and is also covered in melted chocolate. This imagery is supported with the use of colour (white, pink, and two shades of brown) which strengthens associations with the ingredients listed above.



Figure 27: 'The Rocky Road Picture Show' references both an Australian dessert and a cult film from the 1970s.

However, in what seems to be Cervisiam's style, the blurb on the back of the label has nothing to do with the beer's flavour but is rather another example of a verbal clue that the

brewery has included to highlight the label's reference to popular culture. The blurb is a direct quote from the cult classic *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, a musical comedy horror film from 1975. The quote is rather obscure and could potentially be overlooked were it not for the beer name and imagery used. In this instance, it serves to confirm one of the cultural references that has been verbally and visually integrated into the label's design. Going back to the image, the represented participants are actually three characters from the film, namely Riff Raff, Rocky Horror, and Dr Frank N. Furter. This is an example of a label that utilises text, image, colour, and cultural references to communicate both culture and flavour to consumers.

Finally, it is important to draw attention to the apparent evolution of Cervisiam's label designs, as some of the labels have been updated by the brewery during the course of writing this thesis. One such example can be seen in Figure 28 which shows two versions of *Shoryuken*, a sour Berliner Weisse made with dragon fruit, raspberry and lychee; the label on the left is the original design, and the label on the right is the most recent one.

The front of both labels includes an identical image that depicts two men holding controllers which suggests that they are playing a video game. Both figures make eye contact with the viewer, so this is a demand image that draws the consumer in. The beer name is placed behind the figures, making it unclear, as the letters H, O, K, and E are partially obscured by them; this may prompt the viewer to rotate the can in order to identify the name of the beer. There is a series of arrows and a fist in the bottom right corner of the image. The only noticeable difference is that the more recent label includes a newly designed brewery logo in the bottom left corner of the label, a potentially useful addition for helping consumers to identify the brewery when the can is stocked on retail shelves.



Figure 28: The changing design of 'Shoryuken' may complicate the label's potential to communicate flavour.

The major change is, however, on the rear of the label where the blurb has been replaced by verbal and visual instructions that prompt consumers to roll the can before opening it; this apparently improves the drinking experience by ensuring sediment does not follow the beer when pouring it into a glass. Instead of this instruction, the blurb on the original design informed the consumer that the beer has a tart flavour and is made with mixed fruit and lychee. The blurb also references Ryu, a character from the popular videogame *Street Fighter*, and the entire label cleverly combines text, image, and colour to transmit culture and communicate flavour. By removing the blurb, the new label does not verbally communicate flavour to the consumer, and it is questionable whether colour and image can transmit this alone. There is a clue in the form of various fruits hidden in the background of the image on the front of the label, but these could easily be overlooked.

The beer name and image are references to a popular video game from 1991 called *Street Fighter II*. The colour and font used for the beer name are reminiscent of those used in the game, and the arrows and fist to the right of the image represent the button combination that needs to be pressed in order to perform a special move called Shoryuken or Rising Dragon Fist. This button combination is referenced in the blurb of the original label when describing the flavour profile of the beer as ‘berry forward, lychee down, down forward punch in unison’, an obscure addition that will only resonate with a certain demographic of the gaming community. The omission of the blurb may indicate that Cervisiam places more value in transmitting culture to its consumers than it does in communicating flavour, and getting the reference requires more interpretive work from the viewer when the blurb is removed.

5.2.3. Lervig

All 53 of Lervig’s labels include colourful images which dominate the labels, covering anywhere from 30 to 90 percent of a label’s entire surface area. All except one of the labels include represented participants, eight of which are cases of anthropomorphism; examples include saskatoon berries with eyes (*Saskatoon Cheesecake Stout*) and a fish with a cap and a smoking pipe standing at the helm of a ship (*Hoppy Joe*). Most of the images (47, or 89%) are offer images due to there being no eye contact with the viewer, and the gaze of these figures looking to the left and right of the label may prompt rotation of the can to uncover what they were looking at.



Figure 29: Lervig's typical label composition.

Figure 29 shows the typical label composition for the majority of Lervig's labels (91%). There are five instances where the front portion of the label is further to the left, so that Lervig's composition varies more than that of Salikatt, Amundsen and Monkey Brew. Figure 30 shows that image is the only element that appears on the front of all labels, with 32 labels (60%) including the beer name. Otherwise, there are very few labels that include other elements on the front, with only six labels (11%) including the brewery logo. In fact, brewery logo is most often positioned in the top left corner of the label, appearing here on 39 occasions (74%). This means that identifying the brewery requires consumers to pick up and rotate the can, as this information is absent from a viewer's visual field when stocked on retail shelves.

Image is the most salient element on 42 labels (79%) while beer name is most salient on the remaining 11 labels (21%). Interestingly, in these 11 instances the name of the beer is incorporated into the image (see Figure 32), so from a statistical perspective this clearly puts Lervig's labels into Leonard's art-forward category (see p. 28).

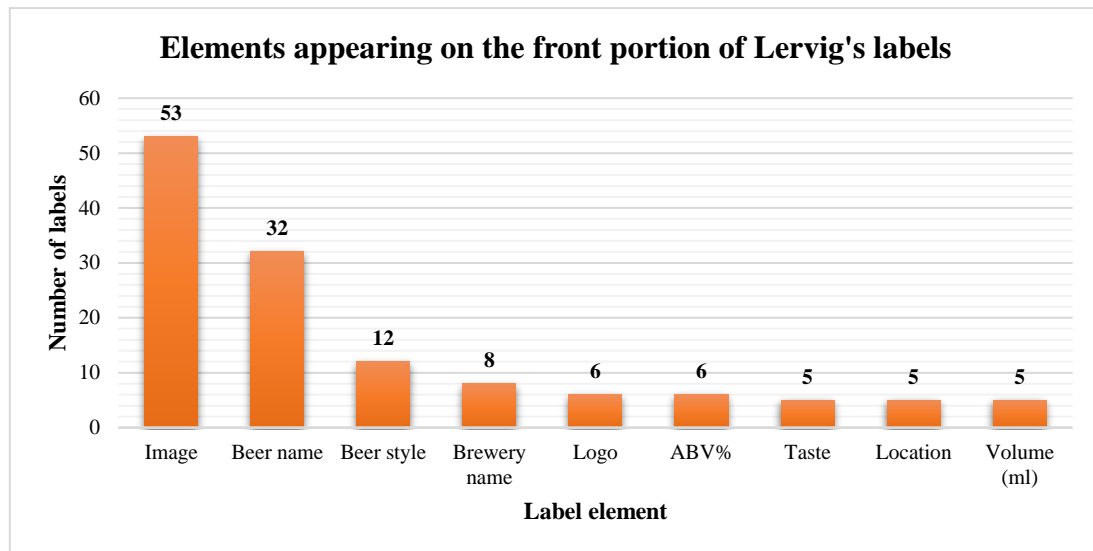


Figure 30: Most common elements on the front of Lervig's labels.

Lervig's labels are, together with Amundsen, the most colourful ones in the present material. As many as 19 labels (36%) use more than ten colours, while 22 labels (42%) include 7-9 colours (see Figure 6, p. 62). There are links between colour and flavour on 25 labels (47%) and links between colour and name on 24 labels (45%); *Passion Tang* (Figure 31), a sour ale flavoured with passion fruit, is a good example of a label showing links between name, colour, and flavour.



Figure 31: Lervig's 'Passion Tang', where text, colour, and image combine to communicate the flavour of the beer.

The great majority of beer names (49, or 92%) are English, with only two Norwegian names, *Pils* and *Perler for Svin* (Figure 33), one invented name, *Ranglejus*, and one abbreviation,

NZDDHDIPA (Figure 32). The name links to the image on 40 labels (75%), to flavour on 25 labels (47%), and to beer style on 13 labels (25%). There is a noticeable lack of verbal messages in the form of blurbs, with only ten labels (19%) including one; accordingly, consumers are more dependent on other verbal and visual cues when attempting to identify a beer's flavour. However, with name and colour only communicating flavour on 25 labels (47%), more than half of Lervig's labels do not provide any flavour-transmitting cues. All labels include an ingredients list; however, the majority do not list a beer's hop profile, so determining flavour from the label is arguably impossible for less-knowledgeable consumers of craft beer.



Figure 32: Lervig's 'NZDDHDIPA', a potentially challenging label for the uninitiated beer drinker.

One such example, admittedly an extreme one, is the label of *NZDDHDIPA* (Figure 32). When stocked on retail shelving, image and beer name are the only elements visible to the viewer, with beer name arguably being most salient due to its centralised position as well as the manner in which it is framed by the image. The represented participant is lying at the bottom, looking up towards the beer name, and the fingers of his right hand are hovering above its initial letters, yet salience does little to help consumers decipher this odd collection of letters. The beer name is an acronym for **N**ew **Z**ealand **d**ouble **d**ry-**h**opped **d**ouble **I**ndia **p**ale **a**le; however, the only reference to New Zealand on the label may be found in the use of three hop varieties grown in New Zealand, namely Nelson Sauvin, Riwaka, and Motueka. These hop varieties are known among the hardcore members of the brewing community for their tropical and citrus fruit-forwardness; however, the label does not provide any of this

information, either through use of colour, image, nor verbal messages. This is an instance where the inclusion of verbal and visual cues would be a useful addition to the label, and there are a number of Lervig's labels that present similar decoding challenges.



Figure 33: Lervig's 'Perler for Svin' includes a blurb to the left of the image communicating hop varieties used as well as the beer's juicy flavour profile.

The majority of Lervig's labels include a very specific style of artwork designed by the brewery's art director, Nanna Guldbæk. Images are drawn in a distinctly rough and playful style, and the often quirky, gender-neutral represented participants are recognisable from one label to another. Figure 34 shows the labels of two beers that are part of Lervig's *Lucky Jack* series. The first label is an iconic design from the period when Lervig first started to brew craft-style beers, a traditional design that has remained unchanged since its inception. The label includes an image of an old fisherman wearing an anorak, with a net slung over his shoulder, looking at something in the distance. Beer style, brewery name, location, and volume of beer in millilitres all appear at the bottom of the label, making it one of Lervig's most detailed designs in terms of verbal elements that appear on the front of the label.

The fisherman's central positioning and placement within a gold circle give him salience and his proximity to the beer name suggests that he is *Lucky Jack*. The light and dark blue colours represent the sky and the sea, respectively, emphasising the label's nautical theme and Stavanger's proximity to the ocean. The image takes its inspiration from the labels found on old sardine tins and is a nod to the local canning industry that was at its peak in the 1920s, when Stavanger had no less than 59 active canning factories.



Figure 34: The dissimilar designs of 'Lucky Jack' and 'Lucky Jack Extra Hard IPA'.

The second label is quite different, not only in its placement of verbal elements but in the style used for the image, a style that is more in line with Lervig's current branding. The front portion of the label includes an image, beer name, beer style, and brewery name with logo. The most salient element is the beer style at the top of the label as the dark blue font stands out from the pink background and the represented participant's arm appears to underline the text. The figure in the image is probably Jack, with his fisherman's beanie and stereotypical anchor tattoo being good indicators. The Jack of this label is more modern-looking than his predecessor, with his shades and vest arguably giving him a hipster-like quality. He is also hard, a word that emphasises his toughness and links with the extra hardness (in relation to alcohol volume) of the beer itself. In fact, hipster fisherman Jack is so hard that he has punched a hole through his own oversized biceps, and its contents, curiously similar in colour to beer, are spraying out in all directions.

This comparison illustrates the design progression of the Lucky Jack series. The label of *Lucky Jack*, designed in 2010, represents the typical label design of Lervig's beers when the brewery first turned its attention to craft beer (see p. 51). The label of *Lucky Jack Extra*

Hard IPA was designed in 2020, and represents the present style of Lervig’s craft beer labels and brand identity.

5.2.4. Monkey Brew

Monkey Brew uses a more traditional design for its labels than Cervisiam and Amundsen do. The brewery logo and beer name are given on the front portion of the label, with the logo placed in a centralised position. Figure 35 shows the label composition that Monkey Brew uses for all 21 of its beer labels, with the on-can image showing the elements that are included on the front of the labels.

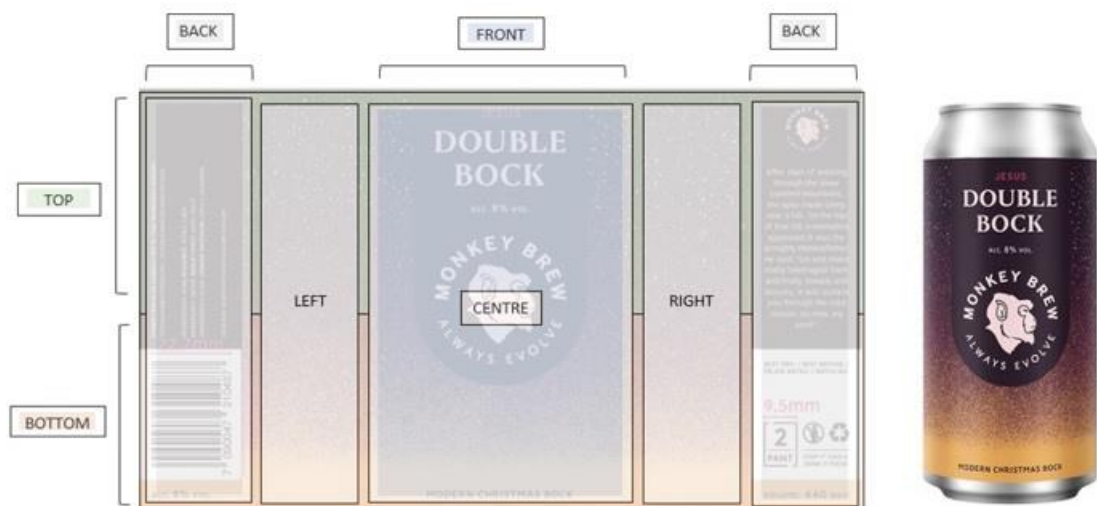


Figure 35: Monkey Brew’s label composition.

The front of all the labels includes the beer name, beer style, alcohol percentage, and brewery logo, all of which are positioned in front of a background image (see Figures 36, 38, and 39). The logo and the verbal elements are sectioned off using borders that organise and join the elements together and also ensure that they are separated from the background illustration that covers 50% of every label. A banner, often in a contrasting colour, is included at the bottom of all labels and is superimposed onto the image. This banner serves as the backdrop for another verbal message that communicates beer style for a second time on 18 labels (86%) and a beer’s flavour on 15 labels (71%).

The brewery logo is always positioned at the front centre of the label. This position, together with its size in relation to the other elements, makes it a highly salient element on all 21 labels. However, a beer style description appears above the logo in all instances, written in a large font that arguably makes it just as salient as the logo. Due to the identical placement of elements across all labels, a viewer's gaze may quickly rest on beer style as this is the most salient variable element that appears on the front of the label. As beer style changes from one label to another, this part of the label provides the clarification of what type of beer is in the can. According to Leonard's craft beer label categories (see p. 28), Monkey Brew's beer labels could be labelled brewery-forward, yet the use of a large font to communicate beer style and the doubling up of this information through repetition at the bottom of the can arguably makes Monkey Brew's labels equally beer style forward.

The left and right portions of all labels are occupied by an image, while the far left and right panels are reserved for a blurb, another brewery logo, a link to the design studio responsible for the label designs, as well as obligatory information including barcodes, brewery information, ingredients, and recycling value. These rear panels are marked by organising structures and dividing lines similar to those used for the logo and verbal elements on the front of the label, ensuring that the information that appears here is clearly separated from the background image. The rear panels are essentially two halves that become whole and act as the back of the label once affixed to a can.

Monkey Brew's logo consists of an authoritative-looking monkey encircled by the brewery name and slogan 'Always Evolve'. The monkey does not make eye contact with the viewer but is rather looking to the right portion of the label. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) state that the right section of a visual text is often reserved for information that is new (see p. 39), so it may be plausible to suggest that the monkey is looking forward towards the future, and this ties in with the notion of evolving. The monkey's gaze may prompt the viewer to rotate the can to the left in order to find out what it is looking at; should the viewer do this, they will be met with a verbal message in the form of a blurb that appears on all 21 labels. All blurbs are written in English and serve to entertain the consumer with short, quirky narratives often involving space monkeys and fictional alien planets and events. However, upon closer inspection these blurbs play another role with 12 blurbs (57%) communicating a beer's flavour and the ingredients used, and seven blurbs (33%) making references to culture; these cultural references include popular culture (2), history (2), science (2), and religion and beliefs (1) (see Appendix 2).

Blurbs are positioned in the extreme upper right of the label placing it in the informational zone that Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggest is often reserved for elements that are both new and ideal (see p. 40). All of the blurbs provide the viewer with new information in that each mini-narrative is a fictional construct that differs in content from one label to another. The blurbs are also ideal as they refer to fantastical sci-fi inspired events that, references to flavour aside, have very little to do with the contents of the can.

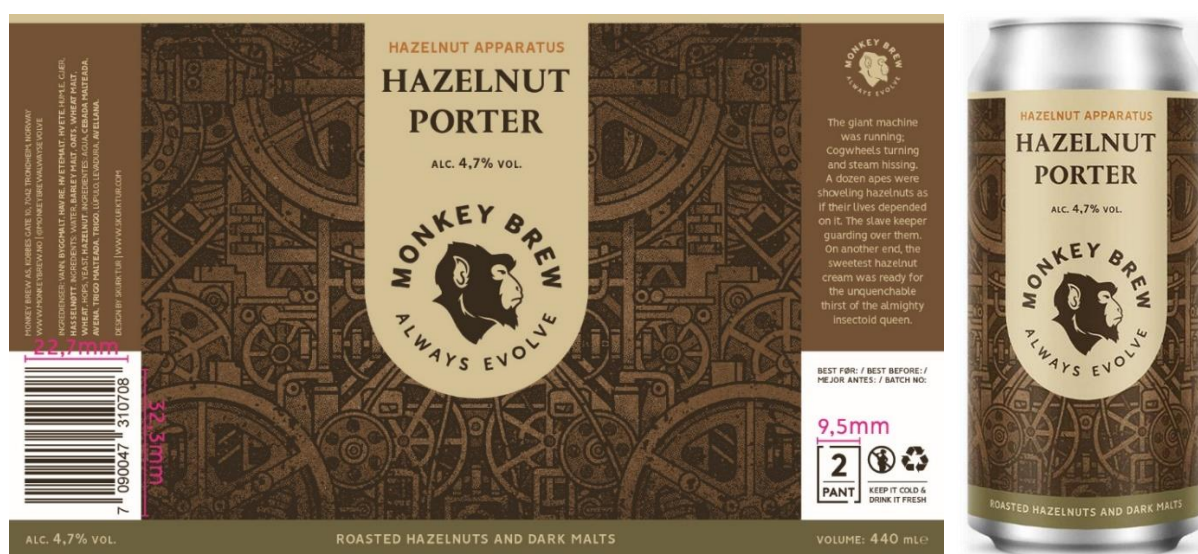


Figure 36: Monkey Brew's 'Hazelnut Apparatus'.

All 21 labels use English for their verbal messages, with other languages only being used to provide information about a beer's ingredients. The ingredients lists consist of identical information in Norwegian, English, and Spanish, an example of what Sebba (2012) refers to as parallelism (see p. 42). Monkey Brew's otherwise exclusive use of English suggests that this is the preferred language for communicating information to consumers whilst potentially shaping the brewery's brand identity.

The links between beer name, image, beer style, and flavour in the Monkey Brew labels are summarised in Table 7 (see p. 67) and Figure 37. As Figure 37 shows, the name links to image on 14 labels (66%). An example of such a link can be seen in Figure 36, where the idea of 'apparatus', meaning the technical equipment or machinery needed for a particular activity, is realised as a complex image of cogs and wheels. In eight instances (38%) beer name links to flavour and ingredients, with examples including *Hoptopia: Sabro* for an IPA flavoured with Sabro hops, *Berry Explosion* for a sour beer flavoured with blueberries,

strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries, and, again, *Hazelnut Apparatus* for a porter flavoured with hazelnuts (see Figure 36).

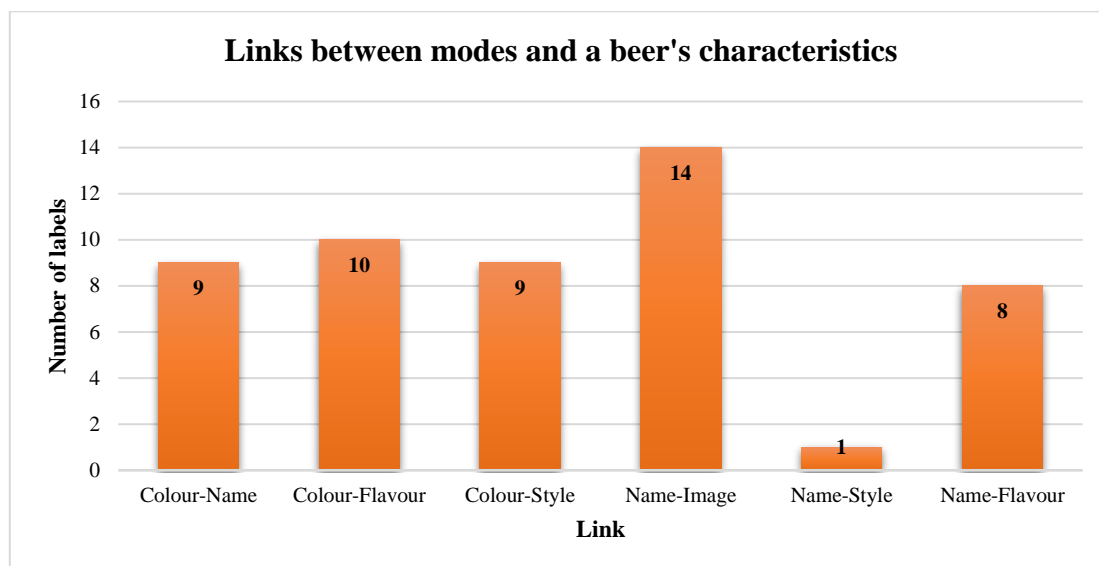


Figure 37: Number of labels showing links between varying modes and a beer's characteristics.

Monkey Brew uses four to six colours on 15 of its labels (71%), with the remaining six labels (29%) using seven to nine colours. Each label has a clearly dominant colour, and images tend to consist of no more than three colours. Additional colours are used for the banners and other organising features that appear on the front and rear sections of the labels. Links between colours and beer name, beer style, and a beer's flavour or ingredients used can be seen in Table 5 (see p. 63) and Figure 37.

Colour links to beer name on nine labels (43%) with examples including the use of orange for a beer called *Apricot is the New Hops*, brown for a beer called *Chocoladia*, and red for a beer called *Berry Explosion*. Colour links to flavour and ingredients on 10 labels (48%) with examples including the three beers listed above as well as the use of light and dark brown for a beer containing coffee and maple syrup (*Gravity Well*), and purple for a beer brewed with the hop Nelson Sauvin which is known for its intense passionfruit flavour (*Hoptopia: Galaxy*). Finally, colour links to beer style on nine labels (43%) including the use of yellow for a pale ale (*Plato*), brown for a stout (*Sagittarius A*), and green for a sour beer (*Guava Gazer*).

Figure 38 is an example of how Monkey Brew uses a combination of verbal and visual elements on its labels to communicate culture and flavour to consumers. Guava Gazer is a sour, guava-flavoured beer brewed with salt and coriander. The addition of these last two ingredients identifies the beer as a *gose* which is a traditional top-fermented wheat beer first produced in the German town of Goslar over 1000 years ago. The label adheres to the standard label composition described above, choosing colours, image, and text to distinguish it from other labels and the beers they represent. The front portion of the label includes the name of the beer (Guava Gazer), the beer style (smoothie sour), the beer's alcohol content (5.5% vol.), the brewery logo, part of an image, and a verbal message confirming the style of beer and some of the ingredients used.

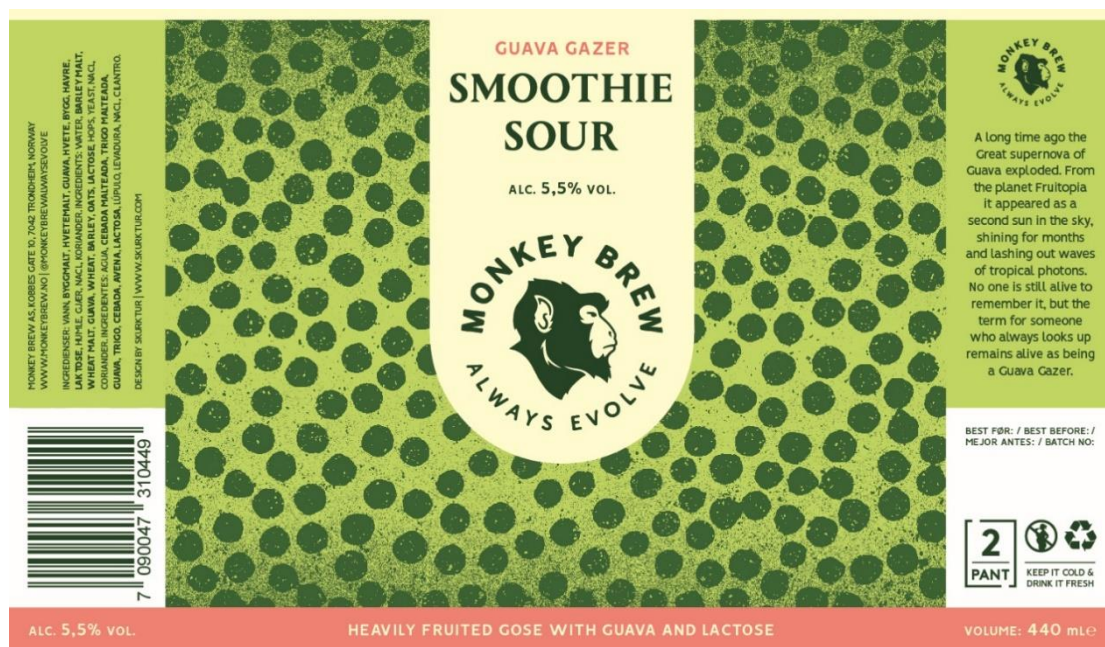


Figure 38: Monkey Brew's 'Guava Gazer'.

The label uses six colours consisting of three shades of green, a deep pastel pink, cream, and white. Green is the main colour used in that it occupies roughly 80 percent of the label and the entire image is made up of varying shades of green. Colour choices do not appear to be accidental, with both the green, pink, and cream colours corresponding to the typical colours associated with guavas; guavas often have a green rind, and their flesh is usually pink or off-white depending on the exact variety. The extensive use of green may also be a nod to the addition of coriander to the brew. Moreover, the image, occupying roughly 50 percent of the

label, consists of small, uneven dark green spheres on a light green background, rather similar in appearance to guavas.

The verbal elements on the front portion of the label are gathered together and separated from the image through the use of a cream-coloured rectangle with a rounded end that is superimposed onto the green image. The cream colour stands in contrast to the overall greenness of the label, and this adds salience to the brewery logo and verbal elements that lie within the rectangle's organising lines. Beer style, alcohol content, and brewery logo are all dark green which links them to the green colours used in the image whilst increasing their salience; these elements stand out from the neutral cream-coloured rectangle within which they are positioned. The beer name appears in a deep pastel pink colour that links it with a banner at the bottom of the label, and this colour is a departure from the dominating greenness of the label, arguably increasing its salience.

The beer name *Guava Gazer* emphasises the beer's key ingredient and flavour whilst using alliteration to give it a potentially playful and cheerful tone. A note of the beer style appears twice on the front portion of the label, once as 'smoothie sour' and once as 'gose' in the pink banner at the bottom of the label. Gose, as described above, is the traditional term for this particular style of beer with its coriander and salt adjuncts, yet it is a term that does not necessarily convey to the uninitiated exactly what the beer is like. Conversely, smoothie sour is much more descriptive alluding to the sourness of the beer and its smoothie-like consistency, a consistency that is the result of adding copious amounts of fruit to the beer after fermentation. This more modern craft beer term may aid the 'preppies' and 'spectators' (see p. 47) in understanding complex and often confusing beer-related terminology.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Monkey Brew's label designs is its decision to include verbal messages in the form of blurbs on all 21 of its labels. Guava Gazer's blurb (Figure 38) introduces a fictional planet called 'Fruitopia' and an event involving the explosion of the 'Guava supernova'. The blurb serves to entertain the consumer whilst providing a fanciful explanation for the term guava gazer. It is arguably an unnecessary addition to the label, but the inclusion of such blurbs on all labels and the visual space that the brewery dedicates to this type of verbal mechanism suggests that Monkey Brew sees value in such a quirky addition. However, the blurbs appearing on the 12 labels (57%) that communicate a beer's flavour (see p. 93) clearly serve to entertain and inform simultaneously, using storytelling to describe a beer's flavour profile in a fun and potentially more accessible manner.

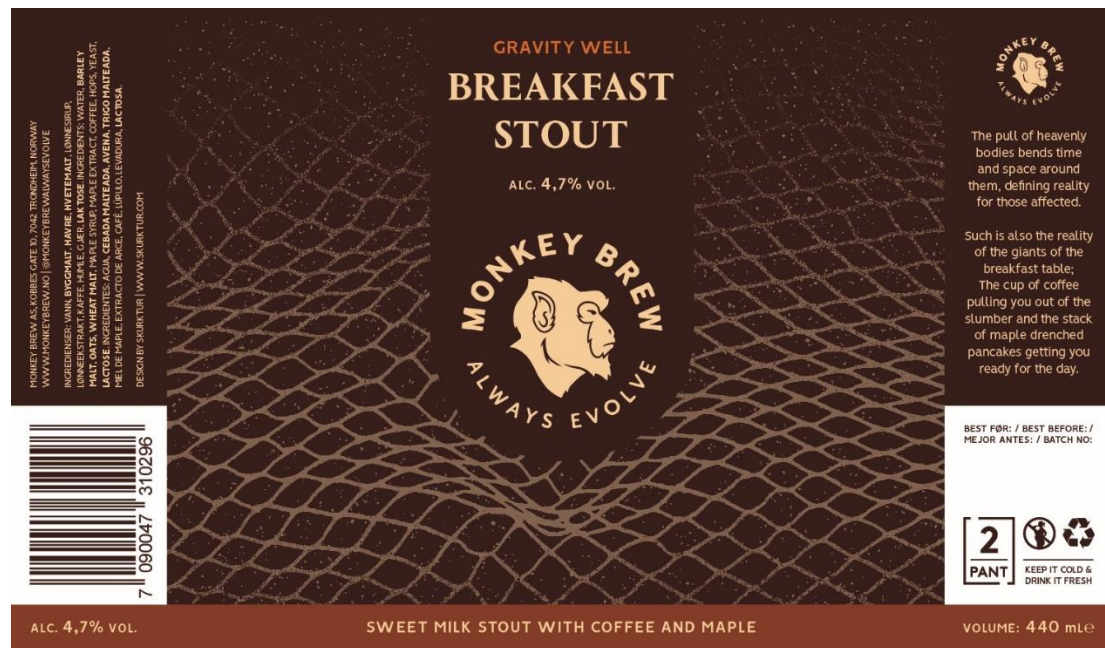


Figure 39: Monkey Brew's 'Gravity Well'.

For example, Monkey's Brew *Gravity Well* (Figure 39) is a breakfast stout flavoured with coffee and maple syrup. The brown tones of the label reflect the beer's flavour, and the image links to the name of the beer through its depiction of a well-like dip in the fabric of space. In this instance, the blurb describes the image by referencing heavenly bodies that bend time and space and define reality for those affected. Monkey Brew's logo, positioned directly above the gravity well seen in the image arguably becomes one of those heavenly bodies described in the blurb, suggesting that the brewery has the potential to define reality for consumers of its beers. However, here the second part of the blurb serves to reaffirm the ingredients presented on the front of the label, describing the positive effect that coffee served with pancakes and maple syrup has on getting ready for the day; it paints the picture of a typical Western breakfast whilst emphasising the beer's style:

The pull of heavenly bodies bends time and space around them, defining reality for those affected. Such is also the reality of the giants of the breakfast table; the cup of coffee pulling you out of the slumber and the stack of maple drenched pancakes getting you ready for the day.

(Blurb from Monkey Brew's *Gravity Well*)

The inclusion of blurbs such as this appears to be one of Monkey Brew's verbal mechanisms for communicating flavour and the brewery's taste for science to consumers. The informal style and quirky content of these blurbs are arguably Monkey Brew's way of projecting its craft identity.

5.2.5. Salikatt

Salikatt employs a simple design for all of its labels, and its consistent use establishes and communicates a clear brand identity to consumers. Figure 40 shows the label composition that Salikatt uses for all 38 of its labels, both as a roll-out but also its appearance when attached to a can. The front portion of all labels show the brewery logo in a centralised position with the beer name directly underneath. In eight cases (21% of Salikatt's labels) beer style is also indicated here. A block colour, serving as the background upon which the logo is placed, is used for 36 out of the 38 labels (95%). The two colours are always contrasting, adding to the overall salience of the logo. The left portion of the label includes the alcohol percentage and volume (330ml) of the beer in all but one instance, and the right portion of the label is often empty save for the background colour; four labels include beer type, allergens, or the logo of a partner brewery here but this is a rare occurrence. The back of the label is reserved for obligatory information including ingredients, brewery address, barcode, and the recycling value of the can. However, the majority of Salikatt's labels (97%) also include a blurb in the upper portion of the label.

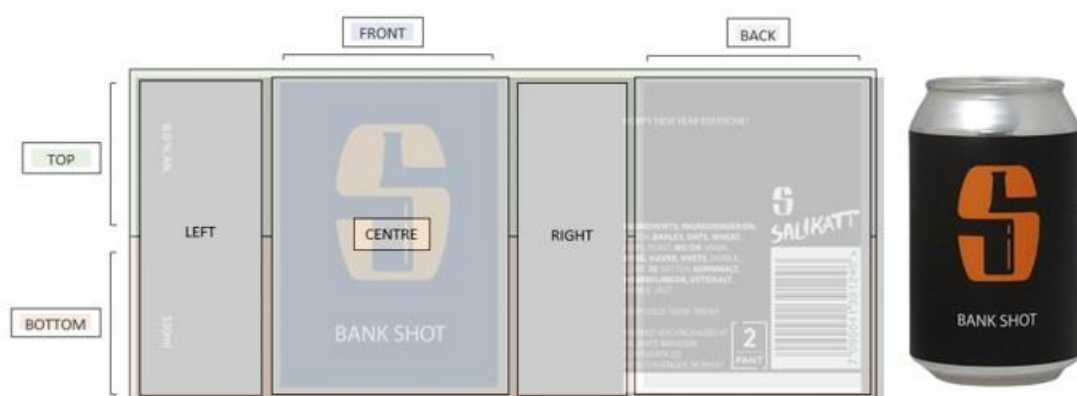


Figure 40: Salikatt's label composition.

All except one of the labels may be described as ‘very clear’ despite there being no dividing lines or margins on any of Salikatt’s labels. The use of block colours and the spacing of elements as shown in Figures 41, 42, and 44 serve to declutter Salikatt’s labels, potentially allowing consumers to navigate them more quickly as there is little to distract from the verbal elements of the labels. The exception is the *Fjellpils* label (Figure 41) where an image instead of a block colour is used as the background, and this image clutters the visual space around the brewery logo. Therefore, the clarity of the label has been labelled as ‘clear’ rather than ‘very clear’.

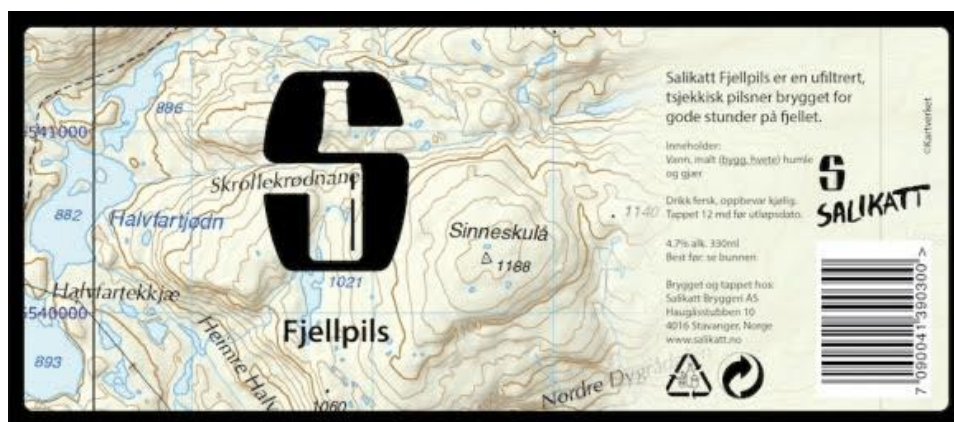


Figure 41: Salikatt’s ‘Fjellpils’ label uses an image as the background and is a clear departure from the typical use of block colours.

The brewery logo is the most salient element on all 38 labels as a result of the combination of its positioning, size, and contrasting colour (see Figures 40, 42, and 43). In one of two instances where an image is used as the background of the label (Figure 41), choosing the most salient element is more difficult as both logo and image compete for the attention of the consumer. However, the view taken here has been that the logo is still the most salient element of the *Fjellpils* label, agreeing with the notion that the size and placement of an element play an important role in increasing its salience.

As shown in Figure 6 (see p. 62), Salikatt uses only 1-3 colours on most of its labels (27 out of 38, or 71%), with 11 labels using 4-6 colours (29%). There are links between colour and name on 17 labels (45%), between colour and flavour on 22 labels (58%), and between colour and style on five labels (13%). This indicates that Salikatt’s use of colour most often aligns with a beer’s flavour. Some of the colours that Salikatt uses are more obvious than others: for example, brown is used for the brown ale *Winter is Coming* and to

highlight the chocolatey flavour and style of *Chocomaltichino Milk Stout (CMC)*. Purple and red, two colours associated with Advent and Christmas respectively, are used for the two festive beers *Advent Smoothie* and *Sali(g) Jul*, and the black and orange colours of *Bank Shot* combine with the name of the beer to emphasise its link to basketball; a bank shot is the name given to any shot made where the ball hits the backboard before heading into the net and the colours black and orange are traditionally used as the colours of basketballs.

However, not all colours are equally logical for those lacking knowledge of hop varieties and the flavours and aromas they impart. *DDH Mosaic* (Figure 42) is a New England style IPA brewed with Mosaic hops which are often noted for their blueberry aroma, and this could be the reasoning behind the brewery's choice of blue colours for this particular label.

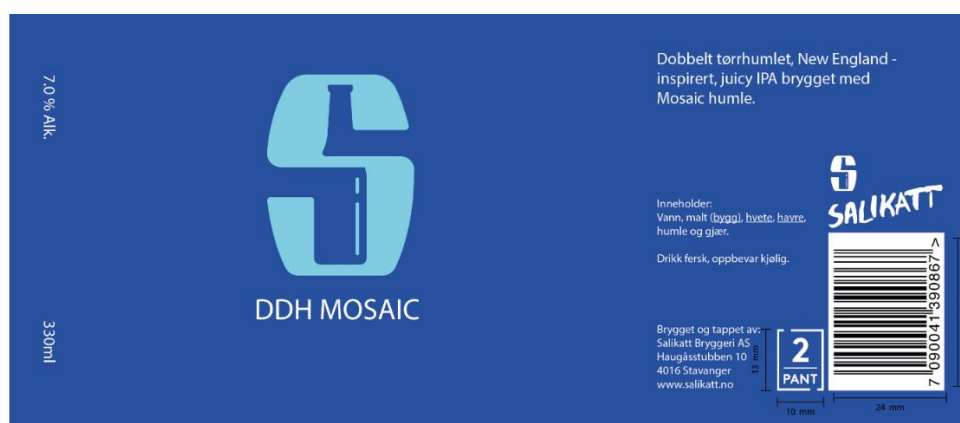


Figure 42: The use of the colour blue on Salikatt's 'DDH Mosaic' may communicate the blueberry aroma of the hops used.

With regard to text, Salikatt uses plain and simple lettering on all of its labels and there is no evidence of extended typography. Six of Salikatt's labels are monolingual in that they use Norwegian exclusively, with the majority using a combination of English, Norwegian, and invented words for beer names and in blurbs. 26 labels (69%) use English for the name of the beer, while 8 labels (21%) use Norwegian. The use of Stavanger-specific terms, expressions, and cultural references such as *ffåge* meaning happy, *makksure* meaning really sour or really grumpy, *rauvaraddel* meaning nonsense, *junaiten* meaning America, and *Theokars Jul* being a reference to Theokar Salicath (see p. 51) all serve to strengthen the identity and perceived localness of the brewery. Four labels (10%) use invented words – *Chocomaltichino*, *Humlesjeik*, *Julesjeik*, and *Propellor* (a possible spelling mistake).

There are links between beer name and flavour on 19 of Salikatt's labels (50%), between beer name and style on 15 labels (39%), and between beer name and image on the two labels that included an image. This indicates that beer name most often communicates a beer's flavour and ingredients used.

All except one of the labels (37, or 97%) include a verbal description in the form of a blurb on the back of the label; of these, 30 are written in Norwegian (81%) and seven are written in English (19%). Figure 43 shows the content of Salikatt's blurbs which predominantly communicate flavour to the consumer-viewer (35 labels), as well as beer style, culture, occasion (serving suggestion), and alcohol percentage. Of the 26 beers that have an English name, 18 include a blurb written in Norwegian, and this suggests that despite there being a preference for using English names, there is a clear preference for using Norwegian for blurbs. This may add to the strengthening of Salikatt's Norwegian identity whilst making it more difficult for non-Norwegian speakers to make sense of the verbal messages that these labels carry.

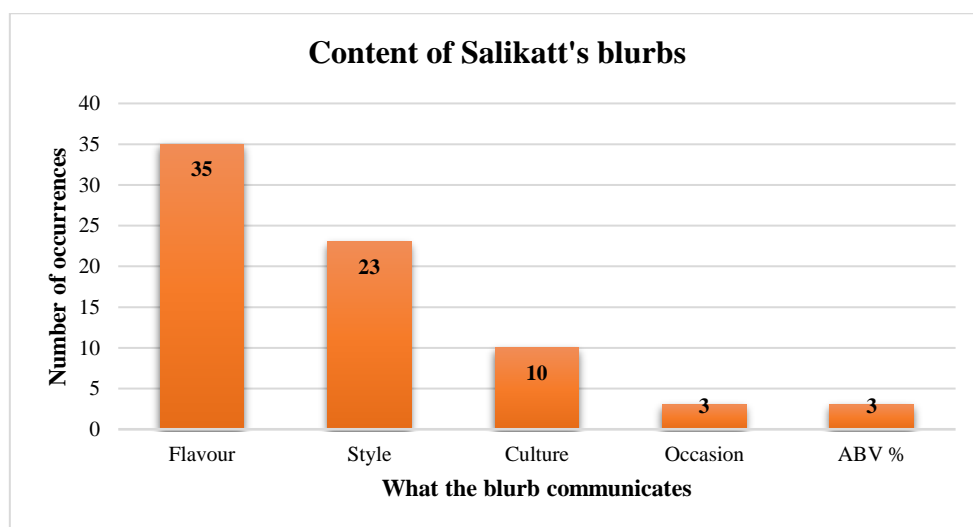


Figure 43: What Salikatt's blurbs communicate to the consumer (arranged in descending frequency).

Only two of Salikatt's labels (5%) include an image, one of which can be seen in Figure 41. Salikatt has a clear preference for using block colours to decorate its beers, but when images are used, they appear to play an important role. The image on the *Fjellpils* label is a topographic map of a mountainous area roughly two hours' drive from Stavanger, an area that is popular with outdoor enthusiasts. The name of the beer translates as 'mountain pilsner'

suggesting that it is perfect for drinking when in the mountains, a popular recreational activity for many Norwegians and a cornerstone of Norwegian culture. The other label, *It's all about Fruits*, includes a close-up image of a mango which is one of the tropical fruits that has been added to the brew.

Finally, the label of Fjåge (Figure 44), an American blonde ale, may be used to exemplify Salikatt's use of multimodality to communicate flavour, as well as using cultural references to highlight the localness of its beers. The label adheres to the standard composition described earlier by placing the brewery logo in a central position on the front of the label. The logo is arguably the most salient element, partly due to its size and positioning, but also due to the choice of colour; the blue logo stands in stark contrast to the yellow colour that serves as the background of the entire label. Beer name and style are positioned underneath the logo, and a position where the viewer's gaze might naturally fall after looking at the logo.



Figure 44: Salikatt's 'Fjåge' uses visual and verbal elements to transmit culture and communicate flavour.

The block yellow background dominates the left and right portions of the label that flank the logo, beer name, and beer style, but viewers are presented with information about the beer's alcohol percentage and volume on the extreme left of the label. The result is a simple yet effective label that is easy to read and arguably communicates the most important information about the beer to its potential consumers. Rotating the can reveals the back of the label, which is reserved for obligatory information including a list of ingredients, storage and consumption recommendations, contact information for the brewery, recycling value of the can, and a barcode. Interestingly, Salikatt has chosen to include a short verbal description in the form of

a blurb as well as a miniature logo with the brewery name ‘Salikatt’ underneath it, both of which are optional elements.

The blurb is written in Norwegian, and communicates the look and flavour of the beer, explains what *fjåge* means, refers to the city of Stavanger where the brewery is located, and suggests when consumers might drink the beer. When translated it reads:

‘Fjåge is an easy and light beer. Perfect for when you are in a good mood, or *fjåge*, as we say in Stavanger. The beer is delicate and uncomplicated with a light fruitiness and fresh citrus tones.’

(Author translation)

Having read the blurb, the colour of the label becomes more significant in that it potentially communicates three different things simultaneously. Firstly, it represents the appearance of the beer itself as blonde ales are often yellow in colour. Secondly, it represents the flavour of the beer in that citrus fruits such as lemons are yellow. Lastly, yellow is often associated with feelings of happiness, tying in with the name of the beer. This is perhaps one of Salikatt’s most effective labels for utilising multimodality to communicate flavour whilst transmitting culture and identity.

6. Discussion

6.1. Multimodal Designs

The findings show that the five craft breweries included in this study use multiple modes to communicate a beer's flavour while transmitting culture, identity, and taste to their consumers. This agrees with Kress' (2010) view that several modes are always used together in communication thus creating what he refers to as *modal ensembles* (see p. 34). All breweries use verbal and visual elements on their labels that combine to varying degrees to communicate a message, some of which are easier to identify than others. The first research question was concerned with whether breweries use similar designs for their labels. Although there are some similarities, the findings show a range of mechanisms and design choices that distinguish the breweries from one another, and it is arguably these differences that give each brewery its unique identity.

The study highlights Kress's (2010) notion that communication is a two-phase process (see p. 31) where semiotic work is carried out by both rhetor (brewery) and interpreter (consumer), what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) refer to as *interactive participants* (see p. 38). Communication and interpretation only take place when a beer label catches the attention of a consumer who then chooses to engage with its content (see p. 31). The breweries use the same verbal and visual mechanisms of text, image, colour, and layout to attract consumers, yet it is arguably label composition and the prominence this provides certain elements that help to differentiate one brewery from another.

The front of a label is responsible for catching the consumer's attention, so the elements that are placed here are good indicators of what each brewery deems most effective. Findings show that Amundsen, Cervisiam, and Lervig use images on the front of all of their labels to draw the consumer in (see p. 65) and that these images often include represented participants (see p. 38). These art-forward label designs differentiate the first three breweries from Monkey Brew and Salikatt whose brewery-forward labels give salience to logo and verbal messages. At the same time, Cervisiam's inclusion of entertaining blurbs aligns its designs with those of Monkey Brew, and the inclusion of verbal messages on the front portion of labels, communicating beer name, beer style, and flavour, is a common mechanism used by Amundsen and Monkey Brew. For this reason, it is far too simplistic to suggest that the breweries use similar designs for their labels and trying to classify them into clearly defined groups is problematic.

6.2. Communicating Flavour

The second research question was concerned with the extent to which the selected breweries use product labelling to communicate a beer's flavour. Findings reveal that 184 labels (92%) communicate beer style using images, colour, verbal messages (beer names and blurbs) or a combination of these modes. Interestingly, there are 16 labels that do not communicate beer style (see Appendix 1) consisting of ten labels from Amundsen's *Dessert in a Can* range (see p. 74), one label from Lervig (*Lucky Jack Grapefruit*), and five labels from Salikatt.

Findings show that three quarters of all beer labels (150 labels in all) communicate a beer's flavour profile using one or several modes. The most common of these is colour (101 labels), closely followed by beer name (91 labels). Somewhat fewer labels (72) use verbal messages in the form of blurbs, while only 37 use images through the depiction of ingredients. A surprisingly large proportion, 50 labels or a quarter of all labels, do not communicate flavour at all. This may indicate that breweries either do not see the value of informing their consumers about flavour or that they assume that consumers already have this knowledge. Consumers who are less involved in the craft beer scene and may therefore lack knowledge of beer terminology are the 'preppies' and 'spectators' defined in Fox's (1987) social organisation model (see p. 47). These consumers are arguably more dependent on the verbal and visual communication of flavour, and it might be considered surprising that such a significant number of labels do not provide this basic information.

Table 9: Overview of the number of labels from each brewery that do not communicate flavour.

Brewery	Total number of labels	Labels that do not communicate flavour
Amundsen	46	17 (37%)
Cervisiam	42	12 (29%)
Lervig	53	17 (32%)
Monkey Brew	21	2 (10%)
Salikatt	38	2 (5%)
Total	200	50

Amundsen most frequently communicates flavour to consumers using verbal messages on the front of its labels, a combination of beer name and beer style that references the ingredients of the beer. There are 24 instances where flavour is verbally transmitted on the front of the label, 20 of which are through beer names such as *Cherry Queen* and *Blueberry Pancake Stack*. The

colours used in Amundsen's labels, which often show seven to nine colours, rank closely behind text when it comes to communicating flavour, with 21 labels showing this link. Only five of Amundsen's images have the potential to communicate flavour alone and it is often the case that images fulfil a more decorative role than being used to indicate a beer's flavour profile. In the five instances where images do communicate flavour this is often due to representations of the ingredients within the image itself such as *Lush*, a raspberry and lime flavoured sour beer depicting an anthropomorphised raspberry and lime. *Cherry Queen*, with its depiction of a queen holding a cherry in one hand and a sceptre with a cherry on the end in her other, is complicated by a lack of colour meaning that the cherry could just as easily be an apple were it not for the verbal clarification. This is a particularly good example of what Barthes (1977) calls *anchorage* (see p. 35) and what van Leeuwen (2005) calls *specification* (see p. 37).



Figure 45: Image, text, and colour combine in different ways to communicate a beer's flavour.

With none of Amundsen's labels including a blurb, the modes of text (beer name and style) and colour are therefore the brewery's main vehicles for communicating flavour. Aside from the list of ingredients which appear with other obligatory information on the back of the label, a beer's flavour profile is most often communicated on the front of the label through a combination of text, image, and effective use of colour. Similar to Salikatt, Amundsen's labels adhere to a consistent design, its salient artwork drawing the consumer in and the verbal messages which appear directly below the image providing beer name, style, and occasionally flavour.

Cervisiam's labels use a variety of modes and mechanisms when communicating flavour, with colour playing a key role. The labels mainly consist of 4-6 colours, but these contribute to identifying the flavour of a beer on 23 labels. Considering Cervisiam's use of

images that consistently fill 80% of a label's entire visual space, limiting colour use to only four to six colours serves to emphasise the colours used. Images link to the 'Cervisiam' logo that appears on the back of every label, as the prominent colours used in the image are also used for the logo. Image alone has the potential to communicate flavour on 16 labels, often through the use of anthropomorphism where humanlike ingredients are depicted in the image on the left, front, and right sections of a label. This is the most frequent use of anthropomorphism of all breweries that were part of this study, with examples including anthropomorphised cherries on the label of *Weekend at Berrie's* and a murderous, axe-wielding pecan on the label of *Pecanisher* (see Figure 46).



Figure 46: Multimodal flavour communication on 'Weekend at Berrie's' and 'Pecanisher' using text, colour, and image.

Text is an important mode for Cervisiam when communicating flavour, and flavour references are identifiable in 19 beer names and 16 blurbs, examples of which can be seen in Figure 46. Cervisiam's verbal messages (beer names and blurbs) often confirm flavours that are already apparent due to effective use of image and colour, but in other instances such as the label of *Pecanisher*, the name serves to aid the interpretation of otherwise complex imagery. Based on the findings from this study, it is clear that Cervisiam most frequently communicates flavour on the front of its labels using multimodal combinations of text, image, and colour, but the brewery's blurbs are a valuable addition in clarifying otherwise complex ensembles that are given salience due to their size and placement. Cervisiam's art-forward labels means that consumers will often find themselves rotating the can to fully decode its modal ensemble in the process of identifying a beer's flavour.

Lervig's art-forward labels mainly use a combination of colour and text to communicate flavour to consumers. Although images are the most salient element of Lervig's labels, the findings suggest that they only communicate flavour on 16 occasions. However,

the colours used in these images link to flavour on 25 labels, such as using purple and cream on the label for *Saskatoon Cheesecake Stout* and orange on the label of *Orange Velvet*.



Figure 47: Verbal elements specify a beer's flavour that is already woven into the image, making it clearer in the process.

Lervig uses verbal elements as often as colour for communicating flavour, with 25 beer names and nine blurbs. However, with 21 beer names only appearing on the back of the label, and blurbs appearing on the back or the left of the label, cans often have to be rotated in order to uncover this information. The two examples in Figure 47 show that flavour is difficult to identify from image and colour alone on the first label, and it is only when reading the back of the can that the purple colour of the berries and the cream colour of the liquid communicate their intended meaning. The image of the label on the right more readily communicates flavour, but the verbal elements draw attention to other aspects of the image, namely the cloudy cushion that has enveloped the represented participant. Having read the beer name and the blurb, the intended visual representation of the beer's velvety smoothness becomes clear.

Monkey Brew's labels communicate flavour in a manner similar to that of Salikatt, with both breweries making use of a highly consistent layout. Monkey Brew predominantly uses 4-6 colours, which are effective at communicating flavour on ten labels. Images rarely communicate flavour when viewed in isolation from the verbal elements of a label and are often dependent on beer name and verbal references to flavour to narrow the range of connotations that colours are capable of communicating.

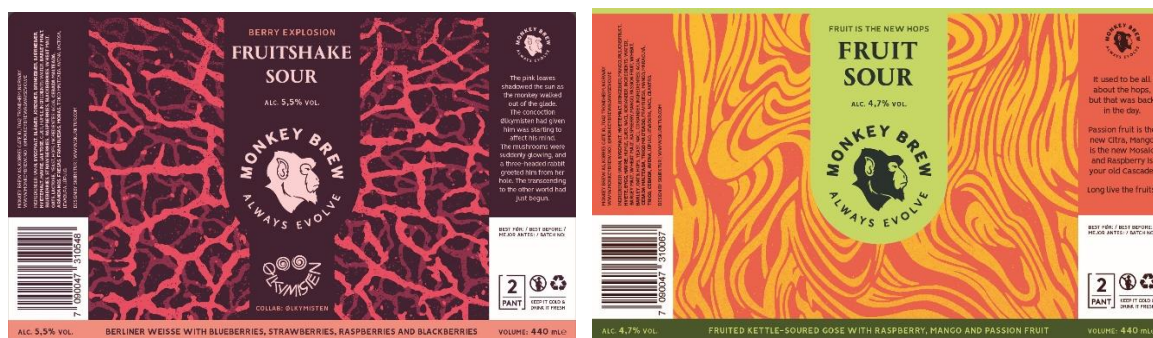


Figure 48: Monkey Brew's labels often rely on verbal elements to anchor the flavours that its colours communicate.

However, images are not the most salient element of Monkey Brew's labels and, as the findings show, the front portion of all labels is dominated by brewery logo and verbal messages. Beer name communicates flavour on eight labels such as *Guava Gazer* and *Apricot is the New Hops*, but it is the inclusion of a banner at the bottom of all labels that is most informative. These banners often confirm beer style but also include ingredients or flavour adjuncts that give beers their respective flavour profiles, and this is the case on 17 of Monkey Brew's labels. The effect of these verbal messages being read first is that images seem to take on a more illustrative role, providing the labels with decoration. Blurbs, appearing on all of Monkey Brew's labels, reference flavour on 12 labels and this means that verbal messages are the dominant flavour communicators on both the front and back of Monkey brew's labels.

As the labels from Salikatt only include images in two instances, the communication of flavour is most frequently carried out by other modes, namely colour and text. The majority of Salikatt's labels use a block colour that covers the entire label and the brewery's logo is always in a contrasting colour. There are limitations as to how much colour can communicate on its own due to the vast connotations a colour can have from one culture to another, even from one individual to another within the same culture, yet colours communicate flavour on 22 of Salikatt's labels; using light brown on the label of a milk stout flavoured with chocolate and dark brown almost reddish-black on the label of a sour beer flavoured with blackberries are particularly good examples (see Figure 49).

However, colours do not appear in isolation from other elements, and Salikatt's inclusion of beer names on the front of its labels, 19 of which communicate flavour, help to narrow down a beer's flavour profile from the available flavour associations that these colours offer. The light brown colour representing milk chocolate is confirmed with the beer name

Chocomaltichino and the dark brown colour of the blackberry sour is similarly confirmed with the beer name *Blackberry Magic*.



Figure 49: Colour works in unison with text (beer name) to communicate flavour.

Salikatt's inclusion of verbal messages in the form of blurbs on 37 of its labels is arguably the brewery's primary way of communicating a beer's flavour to consumers considering references to flavours or ingredients in 35 instances. Blurbs are particularly effective at making Salikatt's beers more accessible for consumers with limited knowledge of the craft beer scene. Based on the findings from this study, Salikatt's labels most frequently communicate flavour using verbal messages on the rear of the label than on the front of the label, and when one is accustomed to this, the most effective way of determining the flavour profile of Salikatt's beers is to rotate the can. Getting accustomed to Salikatt's label design may be enough for consumers to know that they need to interact with the can in this way.

6.3. Transmitting Culture, Identity, and Taste

O'Brien (2020) suggests that the craft beer industry has leveraged the consumption trend of neolocalism to give it a competitive position against established national and international beer brands (see p. 24). He states that one of the results of neolocalism is that beer product branding frequently draws inspiration from local history, humour, and myths and stories. Indeed, Schnell (2013) found that American craft breweries often use local history and phenomena in the branding of their beers, such as the use of historical figures, local characters, landmarks, historical events, nostalgic images, and allusions to nature in both names and artwork (see p. 24). These assertions informed the third research question: to what extent the selected breweries incorporate aspects of local culture into their label designs.

Although there are glimpses of such branding mechanisms on some labels, the findings of this study do not fully align with the observations of O'Brien (2020) and Schnell (2013). The findings show that four of the breweries, Amundsen, Cervisiam, Lervig, and Salikatt, do use verbal or visual mechanisms to reference place (see Table 8, p. 69). Of altogether 25 labels giving such references, 23 explicitly reference place by naming or depicting a city, region, or country through the use of text, image, or a combination of both. However, 15 of these labels refer to regions or countries relating to the beer style or ingredients rather than the brewery's location: stating the German origin of a beer style (Cervisiam's *Pisswasser*), highlighting a beer's Madagascan ingredients (Salikatt's *Chocolate Stout*), or stating the use of Australian hops (Salikatt's *DDH Pavlova*). Consequently, these labels do not reflect the neolocal branding mechanisms that O'Brien (2020) and Schnell (2013) identify.

Only ten labels explicitly reference the cities where the producing breweries are located; Cervisiam verbally references Oslo in the blurbs of *Black Magic* and *RoboHop*, Lervig verbally references Stavanger on the front of five of its labels (*Hoppy Joe*, *Johnny Low*, *Lucky Jack*, *Lucky Jack Grapefruit*, and *Sour Suzy*), and Salikatt verbally references Stavanger in the blurb of *Fjåge* and Trondheim (Monkey Brew's location) in the blurbs of two of its cooperative beers (*Blackberry Magic* and *Chocolate Stout*). It could therefore be argued that these labels use verbal place references to emphasise the localness of the brewery or, at the very least, that the brewery is Norwegian.

Other local references are more obscure and require a certain degree of knowledge to identify and decode. These references include Lervig's use of sardine label-like designs on five of its labels as an historical nod to Stavanger's local canning industry (see p. 90) and Salikatt's use of Stavanger slang and references to local history for the names of four of its beers (see p. 101). These labels are clear examples of the verbal and visual mechanisms suggested by O'Brien (2020) and Schnell (2013), but only account for 4.5% of all labels studied.

The use of Norwegian for beer names and blurbs, along with the use of Norwegian imagery, are effective ways of highlighting that a brewery is Norwegian. In turn, this serves to strengthen a brewery's identity and sense of place in the way that O'Brien (2020) and Schnell (2013) suggest (see p. 24). However, of the 200 labels that were categorised, Norwegian is only used for ten beer names and 31 blurbs; Lervig's labels account for two Norwegian beer names (*Perler for Svin* and *Pils*) and one Norwegian blurb (*Ranglejus*), while Salikatt's labels

account for eight Norwegian beer names (including *Junaiten* and *Makksure*) and 30 Norwegian blurbs. There are only three visual references to Norway in the form of images; Lervig's *Brut Nature* depicts a hiker with a Norwegian flag sticking out of their backpack and *Konrad's Stout* depicts a fjord landscape. Similarly, Salikatt's *Fjellpils* (Figure 41, p. 100) uses a topographical map of Sirdal, a mountainous region just outside Stavanger. This shows that Salikatt is the only brewery that convincingly relies on the use of Norwegian to strengthen its Norwegian identity, with other breweries preferring to use a combination of English and invented words for beer names and blurbs (see p. 66).

The fourth research question is concerned with the verbal and visual mechanisms that breweries use in the transmission of culture and taste and how these relate to the perceived identities of the breweries. Naylor (2017) asserts that there has been a shift from the pre-Facebook craft beer imagery of trains, craggy moors, fantasy, and lazy sexism that was designed for a middle-aged, male demographic (see p. 25). Today, traditional imagery has been replaced with more intimate label art that connects with consumers through the use of quirky visual non-sequiturs that help establish inclusive shifts in craft beer demographics. Mesker (2019) echoes this assertion suggesting that many modern craft breweries use asexual, inclusive, and urban imagery on their beer labels, embracing shared nostalgia, memes, and references to pop culture in an attempt to resonate with a particular audience (see p. 25). The findings of this study support these assertions, with Amundsen, Cervisiam, and Lervig incorporating quirky visual mechanisms and cultural references into their label designs to both create and express their identities.

The findings show that references to culture are far more prominent than references to place (see Figure 14, p. 70). Altogether 95 cultural references, on a total of 80 labels, were identified; yet none of these relate to local culture other than those from Lervig and Salikatt presented above (see Appendix 2). The majority of cultural references are concerned with pop culture, religion and beliefs, and food and drink traditions from around the world (see Figure 15, p. 71) and therefore do little to emphasise the Norwegian identities of the selected breweries. These references do, however, emphasise a brewery's taste in terms of its cultural and aesthetic preferences and this is arguably the most effective way of identifying a brewery's identity.

Amundsen's references frequently fall into the subcategory of 'religion and beliefs' such as the depiction of a Native American totem pole on the label of *Apocalyptic Thunder Juice* and a verbal and visual reference to the African water spirit *Mami Wata* on the label of a

beer of the same name. Cervisiam's labels mainly include references to 'pop culture' such as a verbal reference to the sci-fi film *Tron* (1982) on the label of *Glitched* or a verbal reference to Municipal Waste's thrash metal song *Headbanger Facerip* on the label of a beer of the same name. Lervig's references link to 'pop culture' and 'food and drink' such as verbally referencing the American football player Thomas 'Pepper' Johnson on the label of *Pepper Johnson* or using an image and composition that mimics the design of sardine tin labels (*Lucky Jack*). Monkey Brew's labels include references to 'science' and 'history' such as the verbal and visual reference to Newtonian potential theory on the label of *Gravity Well* and the verbal reference to *Plato* on the label of a beer of the same name. Finally, Salikatt's references fall into the subcategories of 'language and expressions' and 'food and drink' as evidenced by the verbal reference to Stavanger slang on the label of *Fjåge* and the verbal reference to pavlova, the national dessert of Australia and New Zealand on the label of *DDH Pavlova*.

The identifiable cultural references coupled with the design and content of the labels arguably indicates the identity that each brewery wishes to transmit to its potential consumers. Amundsen uses images and predominantly English beer names (85%), with a clear link between these two modes on 41 of the brewery's labels (89%). The brewery clearly values colourful and eye-catching artwork due to its size and front central placement. Amundsen's imagery is inclusive and non-normative projecting a youthful, urban identity which gives the brewery a craft-feel as described by Mesker (2019) and Naylor (2017) (see p. 25). Amundsen incorporates the brewery logo, beer name, and beer style on the front of the majority of its labels, and the consistent use of the same composition results in a clearly identifiable dialogue between labels; this strengthens the brewery's brand identity. However, Amundsen's lack of blurbs complicates the identification of subtle flavour variations, suggesting that the brewery's beers are for consumers who have a certain level of knowledge and not those with just a passing interest in the craft beer scene.

Cervisiam uses a combination of images, beer names, and blurbs to transmit culture and project its identity to consumers. Beer names are predominantly English (64%) and ten of its labels use invented names that are often portmanteaus of English words (19%) such as *Pecanisher* (pecan and punisher) and *Toxic Alevenger* (ale and avenger). Cervisiam's brand identity clearly aligns with Mesker's (2019) notion that craft beer breweries often use non-normative imagery to lend authenticity to their products (see p. 25). The brewery's choice of beer name and images give its labels a retro feel that highlight its embrace of shared nostalgia,

memes, and references to popular culture. The comic book style imagery of ghouls, monsters, alien creatures, weapon-wielding anthropomorphic fruits, and popular icons of 1970s, 80s, and 90s films and video games serve to strengthen Cervisiam's identity. Its depictions of horror and mild violence are mixed with dry humour that may appeal to a niche but expanding demographic, a subculture that values the cultural artefacts of yesteryear. Cervisiam's blurbs inform and entertain consumers, and its often obscure references provide consumers with engaging interpretive challenges.

Lervig uses a combination of colourful images and beer names to transmit its taste to consumers, with identifiable links between these two modes on 40 of its labels (75%). The brewery's art-forward designs are colourful and eye-catching and there is a clear dialogue between labels due to the consistent use and style of Nanna Guldbæk's artwork. Represented participants are often non-binary and may indicate the brewery's modern, liberal, and inclusive ideology. The result is a youthful, urban and somewhat playful identity that suggests the brewery does not take itself too seriously. The brewery's lack of blurbs on its labels, similar to those of Amundsen, complicate the communication of flavour and this potentially indicates the brewery's assumption that its consumers have some knowledge of the craft beer scene.

Monkey Brew's consistent designs ensure that there is a clear dialogue between its beer labels. Its compositions are by far the most informative of all the breweries that are part of this study in terms of the information it communicates to consumers when cans are stocked on retail shelves. This gives the brewery's labels a more traditional feel, initially differentiating it from the more informal approaches of Cervisiam and Lervig. A beer's style and flavour is verbally communicated to consumers and this is emphasised visually through the effective use of colour. The result is a label design that suggests a more inclusive attitude to the consumption of craft beer, arguably aiding consumers who fall into Fox's (1987) categories of 'preppies' and 'spectators' (see p. 47). However, the entertaining blurbs that the brewery includes on the back of all of its labels frequently refer to a world where monkeys have mastered the art of space travel, evolving beyond what humans have managed to achieve. Non-sequitur beer names and entertaining blurbs that reference science, mathematics, and physics brings a sense of academia to the craft beer scene, communicating beer flavour profiles to consumers at the same time (see p. 93). The result is a mature yet equally playful craft identity that communicates an inclusive and accessible approach to craft beer consumption.

Salikatt's beer names, blurbs, and label composition are good indicators of the brewery's taste. It is the only brewery that asserts its Norwegian identity and, to some extent its local identity, through the use of Norwegian for eight beer names and 30 blurbs (see p. 101), the use of slang, and the references to Norwegian culture and traditions. Bjarte Halvorsen, brew master and owner of Salikatt, believes that the contents of the can is more important than the design of the label, suggesting that label design is not a priority for the brewery (personal communication, September 24, 2020). This is clearly reflected in the simple design of its labels, a design that relies on altering beer name and colour to differentiate one brew from another. Salikatt's consistent and straightforward label design may appeal to consumers who value simplicity, and its inclusion of flavour descriptions in the form of blurbs is a sign that the brewery does not take the knowledge of its consumers for granted.

6.4. Reflecting on Kress and van Leeuwen's Framework of Visual Grammar

The final research question was concerned with whether Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) theory of visual grammar can be successfully applied to beer labels. There are some concepts put forward by the framework that are both useful and applicable when studying and classifying labels, but other concepts are complicated by the three-dimensional form that these labels assume when attached to a can. The framework is extremely practical for its varying concepts that can be used in the analysis of images and multimodal ensembles which is exactly what beer labels are.

The theory's ideational function draws attention to visual representations being charged with meaning and suggests that elements of an image will carry different meanings depending on the values, knowledge, and experience a viewer brings to the communicative act (see p. 38). This was informative for the categorisation and close reading of labels, and efforts have been made to adhere to theoretical frameworks as much as possible. With images having the potential to carry multiple meanings, verbal messages in the form of beer name, descriptions, and blurbs are vital to narrowing connotation and aiding interpretation of exactly what is being represented.

The theory's interpersonal function introduces the concept of participants taking part in a communicative act (see p. 38), and in this sense brewery and consumer are the interactive participants. The interpersonal function also draws attention to the people, places, and things

depicted in an image, suggesting that these are the represented participants of the communicative act. This highlights a vital visual mechanism that some of the breweries use to create interest and, in the case of demand images where participants make eye contact with the viewer, increase the potential of drawing the consumer in.

The framework's textual function which is concerned with the concepts of information value, framing, and salience (see p. 39) provides the terminology for describing the composition of a beer label and the potential value and prominence of its constituent elements. This in turn may indicate the aesthetic preferences of a particular brewery. Salience is the most useful concept as it highlights how various elements of a composition are given visual weight through, among other things, increasing size, using contrasting colours, or placing elements in the visual field. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) assert that salience is culturally determined, and members of different cultural groupings will most probably have different hierarchies of salience (see p. 41).

The findings of this study suggest that salience may also be physically determined by the environment in which a modal ensemble is placed; beer labels are wrapped onto three-dimensional vessels that are stocked on retail shelves and this limits a label's visual field. Therefore, the salient element is always one of the elements that appears on the front of the label and may even dictate how cans are positioned on shelves. An employee at the local wine monopoly store in Stavanger explains that there are no guidelines from either management or breweries as to how to merchandise beer cans on shelves (M. Jensen, personal communication, March 19, 2021). She suggests that brewery-forward, beer style-forward, and name-forward labels are very easy to display, yet image-forward labels are more challenging. Her method is to display as much of the labels' artwork as possible, often using represented participants as anchorage points to engage consumers. She explains that this is frequently the method for beers from Cervisiam and Lervig.

The concept of information value with its notion of the left and right of a composition relating to *given* and *new* information, and the top and bottom relating to information that is *ideal* and *real* is much more difficult to apply. There are identifiable trends, but these are far from conclusive. In one respect, the design of Monkey Brew's labels may adhere to Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) notion of information value (see p. 39), with the monkey in the logo of the brewery looking to the right of the label potentially signifying the creative, forward-thinking, and experimental spirit of the brewery. The top portion of the brewery's labels include beer names such as *Sagittarius A*, *Stargazer*, and *Tetracube* for a stout, a fruited gose,

and a double IPA, respectively. These names, which may be interpreted as the ‘ideal’, may emotively appeal to the consumer by presenting them with the promise of the product, whereas the literal verbal descriptions of flavour and style, the ‘real’, are appropriately placed at the bottom of the label. Likewise, the back of Cervisiam’s labels often include a blurb (the ideal) in the top portion of the label and the ingredients (the real) in the bottom portion.

However, these findings are not consistent and there are very few labels that use left, right, top, and bottom positioning to this effect. One observation of this study concerned with the notions of real and ideal is that the front of the label is potentially the ideal, the promise of the product that the brewery wants to communicate to the consumer, whereas the back of the label, reserved for obligatory and factual information, may be seen as representing the real to which Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) refer.

7. Conclusion

The present study has explored five Norwegian craft breweries' use of multimodal product labels to communicate flavour and transmit culture, identity, and taste to consumers. Patterns and trends were identified for each individual brewery before comparing their use of verbal and visual mechanisms to uncover similarities and peculiarities. The study was conducted with the aim of answering the following research questions:

- 1) Do breweries use similar designs for their labels?
- 2) To what extent do breweries communicate their beers' flavour profiles on their labels?
- 3) To what extent do breweries incorporate aspects of local culture into their label designs?
- 4) What verbal and visual mechanisms do breweries use in the potential transmission of culture and taste and how does this influence the perceived identity of the brewery?
- 5) Can the theory of visual grammar be successfully applied to beer labels, which take on a three-dimensional form when attached to a can?

All five breweries use multiple modes to transmit taste to consumers, both in terms of the flavour of their beers and their cultural and aesthetic preferences. The verbal and visual elements of text, image, colour, and layout combine to varying degrees and there are clear similarities between the mechanisms that breweries use. In response to the first research question, two prominent label designs were identified on the basis of the most salient element appearing in the visual field of a brewery's labels; these designs are the art-forward labels of Amundsen, Cervisiam, and Lervig, and the brewery-forward labels of Monkey Brew and Salikatt. Although some of the breweries' label designs are similar, modes are used in varying ways and to varying degrees so as to give each brewery a unique identity.

Flavour is most often communicated through beer names and blurbs, followed by colour, and then image. This indicates that verbal messages prevail. However, the composition of a typical beer label is such that multiple modes work together to communicate flavour. There were 50 labels that failed to communicate flavour at all through the use of text, image, or colour (research question 2), something that was noted as surprising considering the importance of such information on the label of a consumable beverage. One possibility for omitting indications of flavour from the label is that consumers may be expected to have a certain degree of knowledge of the craft beer scene; however, if this is the case, some of the labels in this study may prove to be quite inaccessible for the casual craft beer consumer.

As for the third research question, previous studies suggest that craft breweries often incorporate references to local culture into their label designs. In the present material, however, this was not the case. There were no visual references to local culture on any of the labels that were studied, and only ten labels included verbal references to the cities where the breweries are located. Salikatt was the only brewery that convincingly used text, a combination of beer names and blurbs, to emphasise its localness through the use of Norwegian, local slang, and historical references.

With regard to the fourth research question, the selected breweries use a combination of text and image to transmit culture to consumers, and the cultural references that were identified most frequently relate to popular culture, religion and beliefs, and culinary traditions from around the world. These references indicate the breweries' tastes in terms of their cultural and aesthetic preferences, and this in turn influences the perceived identity of each brewery.

Finally, Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) framework of visual grammar can successfully be applied to beer labels (research question 5), with the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions informing both the categorisation and close reading of labels. However, the three-dimensional form that labels assume when attached to cans complicates the framework's textual function in terms of the information value an element is given depending on where it appears within the label's composition. An observation of this study is that the front portion of the label that is visible to consumers when a product is stocked on retail shelves may be reserved for the *ideal*, the promise of the product that breweries wish to communicate. Conversely, the back of the label with its obligatory information in the form of ingredients lists and brewery information may be considered to reflect the *real*, showing the consumer where the liquid in the can is produced and what it is comprised of.

An inevitable limitation of the present kind of study is that the identification of cultural references is the work of one individual. Although the frameworks of multimodality and visual grammar guided the data collection process, the identification of cultural references was ultimately informed by the values, knowledge, and experiences of the author. In light of this, future research into beer labels could adopt a consumer-facing approach using surveys and focus groups to explore how craft beer consumers read beer labels: what element is most salient? What does the label say about the product? Are there any identifiable cultural references? Such an approach would allow for comparisons of participants' responses to measure the frequency of salient elements and to explore through interviews what it is that

gives an element more visual weight. The identification of cultural references is particularly interesting as surveys could be conducted to explore whether gender, age, nationality, or a respondent's personal interests have any effect on the successful identification of references.

Bateman (2014: 11) suggests that, in a world that is becoming more visual, there are increasingly rich combinations of different ways of making meanings and, 'when this is done well, what results is something more than either could achieve alone' (see p. 34). This study highlights craft beer breweries' reliance on multiple modes that work in unison to communicate flavour and transmit culture. Beer labels are effective modal ensembles that communicate with consumers precisely because of their multimodal designs; verbal messages, images, and colours carry meanings, but the identification and interpretation of these meanings is often dependent on the cultural values, knowledge, and experiences that a consumer brings to a communicative act. When these modes work together, connotations can be narrowed and meanings can be confirmed through specification and complementation, respectively (see p. 37), and this may strengthen the intended message whilst guiding consumers in their interpretive work.

Bibliography

- Albert-Deitch, Cameron. 'This Side Project Made These 2 Guys Heroes to Millions of Beer Lovers (But It Still Took Them Years to Quit Their Day Jobs)' *Inc.* 15 Sept. 2019. <https://www.inc.com/magazine/201909/cameron-albert-deitch/untappd-greg-avola-tim-mather-beer-social-foursquare-2019-inc5000.html> [Accessed 27.11.2020]
- Ambrose, Gavin and Paul Harris. 2011. *Packaging the Brand: The Relationship Between Packaging Design and Brand Identity*. Lausanne: AVA.
- Amundsen. 'Our Beers.' *Amundsen Brewery*. 7 Sept. 2017. <https://www.amundsenbrewery.com/> [Accessed 18.1.2021]
- Arnheim, Rudolf. 1969. *Visual Thinking*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Ashwood, Loka and Michael M. Bell. 2017. 'Affect and Taste: Bourdieu, Traditional Music, and the Performance of Possibilities.' *Sociologia Ruralis*, 57, pp. 622–640.
- Barth, Roger. 2013. *The Chemistry of Beer: The Science in the Suds*. Somerset: John Wiley & Sons.
- Barthes, Roland and Stephen Heath. 1977. *Image, Music, Text*. London: Fontana Press.
- Bateman, John A. 2014. *Text and Image: A Critical Introduction to the Visual-Verbal Divide*. London: Routledge.
- Bauters, Merja. 2007. *Changes in Beer Labels and Their Meaning: A Holistic Approach to the Semiotic Process*. Helsinki: Acta Semiotica Fennica and The Semiotic Society of Finland.
- Beaumont, Stephen. 2017. *Beer - Craft & Culture: Quick Study Reference Guide to Brewing, Ingredients, Styles & More*. Newburyport: BarCharts Inc.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Brett, Davey. 'Virtual Bar Crawl: Top 10 Craft Beers Sold Online.' *Ape to Gentleman*. 29 May 2020. <https://www.apetogentleman.com/best-online-craft-beers/> [Accessed 11.12.2020]
- Cervisiam. 'Cervisiam. Craft Weird From Oslo.' *Cervisiam*. 27 Apr. 2017. <https://www.cervisiam.no/> [Accessed 18.1.2021]
- Den Norske Bryggeriforening. 1955. *Ølet Vårt: Litt om Ølet, dets Virkning og Omsetning*. Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn. <https://www.nb.no/items/84adf6ff6241c474f87163d3a94c4e32> [Accessed 25.10.2020]
- Eisner, Will. 1985. *Comics and Sequential Art*. Tamarac: Poorhouse Press.
- English Proficiency Index. 'The World's Largest Ranking of Countries and Regions by English Skills.' *Education First*. 2020. <https://www.ef.com/wwen/epi/> [Accessed 5.3.2021]

- European Commission. 'Alcohol Labelling.' *European Commission*. 28 Jul. 2019. https://ec.europa.eu/food/safety/labelling_nutrition/labelling_legislation/alcohol_en [Accessed 4.11.2020]
- Fox, Kathryn J. 1987. 'Real Punks and Pretenders.' *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 16, pp. 344–370.
- Garavaglia, Christian and Johan Swinnen. 2018. *Economic Perspectives on Craft Beer. A Revolution in the Global Beer Industry*. Cham: Springer International.
- Garavaglia, Christian. 2020. 'The Emergence of Italian Craft Breweries and the Development of Their Local Identity.' *The Geography of Beer*. pp. 135–147. Cham: Springer International.
- Garshol, Lars Marius. 'When Not Brewing Christmas Beer Was Illegal.' *Larsblog*. 7 Dec. 2019. <https://www.garshol.priv.no/blog/407.html> [Accessed 25.10.2020]
- Giovanisci, Matt. 'The Complete List of All Hop Varieties on Earth.' *Brew Cabin*. 19 Mar. 2019. <https://www.brewcabin.com/hop-varieties/> [Accessed 18.10.2020]
- Gómez-Corona, Carlos, et al. 2016. 'Craft vs. Industrial: Habits, Attitudes and Motivations Towards Beer Consumption in Mexico.' *Appetite*, 96, pp. 358–367.
- Goodman, Sharon and David Graddol. 1996. *Redesigning English: New Texts, New Identities*. London: Routledge.
- Hansa Borg. 'Ølhistorie.' *Hansa Borg*. 20 Sept. 2018. <https://hansaborg.no/produkter/ol/historie/> [Accessed 25.10.2020]
- Hauge, Ragnar. 2009. 'Alkohol i Norsk Historie.' *Norsk Epidemiologi*, 6(1), pp. 13–21.
- Hebdige, Dick. 1979. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen.
- Hillesland, Jan and Isidor Åstrøm. 2003. *Alt om Øl*. Oslo: Cappelen.
- Hopland, Anne. 'Gulatinget.' *Gulatinget*. 26 Mar. 2014. <https://www.gulatinget.no/gulatinget-gjennom-tusen-r/2014/3/28/kva-handla-gulatingsslova-om> [Accessed 25.10.2020]
- Hornsey, Ian. 1999. *Brewing*. Cambridge: The Royal Society of Chemistry.
- Jaeger, Sara R., et al. 2020. 'Preference Segments Among Declared Craft Beer Drinkers: Perceptual, Attitudinal and Behavioral Responses Underlying Craft-style vs. Traditional-style Flavor Preferences.' *Food Quality and Preference*, 82, 103884.
- Jaeger, Sara R., et al. 2021. 'Effects of "Craft" vs. "Traditional" Labels to Beer Consumers with Different Flavor Preferences: A Comprehensive Multi-Response Approach.' *Food Quality and Preference*, 87, 104043.
- Kauppinen-Räsänen, Hannele. 2014. 'Strategic Use of Colour in Brand Packaging.' *Packaging Technology and Science*, 27(8), pp. 663–676.

- Klimchuk, Marianne Rosner and Sandra A. Krasovec. 2012. *Packaging Design: Successful Product Branding from Concept to Shelf*. 2nd ed. Hoboken, N.J: Wiley.
- Koch, Eduardo and Joao Sauerbronn. 2018. 'To Love Beer Above All Things: An Analysis of Brazilian Craft Beer Subculture of Consumption.' *Journal of Food Products Marketing*, 25, pp. 1–25.
- Kress, Gunther and Theo van Leeuwen. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold Hodder.
- Kress, Gunther and Theo van Leeuwen. 2006. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Kress, Gunther. 2010. *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication*. London: Routledge.
- Kriwaczek, Paul. 2012. *Babylon: Mesopotamia and the Birth of Civilization*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press.
- Leonard, Katherine. 'The Art and Science of Craft Beer Label Design.' *TOKY*. 12 Dec. 2018. <https://toky.com/journal/2018/12/12/the-art-science-of-craft-beer-label-design/> [Accessed 11.12.2020]
- Lervig. 'Brewery.' *Lervig*. 7 Sept. 2020 <https://lervig.no/brewery/> [Accessed 18.1.2021]
- Lovdata. 'Forskrift om Omsetning av Alkoholholdig Drikk mv. (Alkoholforskriften).' *Lovdata*. 2 Jun. 1989. <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1989-06-02-27> [Accessed 25.10.2020]
- Lovdata. 'Forskrift om Matinformasjon til Forbrukerne (Matinformasjonsforskriften).' *Lovdata*. 28 Nov. 2014. <https://lovdata.no/dokument/SF/forskrift/2014-11-28-1497> [Accessed 4.11.2020]
- Lund, Mathieu R. and Stine Måseidvåg. 2018. 'Brand Portfolio Management in the Norwegian Brewing Industry. An Assessment of External and Internal Factors Influencing the Brand Portfolio Management of Large Established Breweries in Norway.' Trondheim: NTNU
- Manning, Paul. 2010. 'The Semiotics of Brand.' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39(1), pp. 33–49.
- Mark, Joshua J. 'Beer in Ancient Egypt.' *World History Encyclopedia*. 16 Mar. 2017. <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1033/beer-in-ancient-egypt/> [Accessed 16.10.2020]
- Mark, Joshua J. 'Beer.' *World History Encyclopedia*. 17 Apr. 2018. <https://www.worldhistory.org/Beer/> [Accessed 16.10.2020]
- Mark, Joshua J. 'Norse Alcohol and the Mead of Poetry.' *World History Encyclopedia*. 7 Jan. 2019. <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1307/norse-alcohol--the-mead-of-poetry/> [Accessed 16.10.2020]

- Martinec, Radan and Andrew Salway. 2005. 'A System for Image-Text Relations in New (and Old) Media.' *Visual Communication*, 4(3), pp. 337–371.
- Mesker, Alex. 2019. 'Through an Ale Glass, Palely: Mermen, Neptune/Poseidon and Tritons as Motifs in Beer Brands and Product Labels.' *Coolabah*, 27, pp. 106–134.
- Meussdoerffer, Franz G. 2009. 'A Comprehensive History of Beer Brewing.' *Handbook of Brewing*, pp. 1–42. Weinheim, Germany: Wiley-VCH Verlag GmbH & KGaA.
- Monkey Brew. 'Om Oss'. *Monkey Brew*. 24 Nov. 2020. <https://www.monkeybrew.no/> [Accessed 18.1.2021]
- Nachel, Marty and Steve Ettlinger. 2012. *Beer for Dummies*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Naylor, Tony. 'Brew Period: The Craft Beer Labels That Are Works of Art.' *The Guardian*. 3 Sep 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/sep/03/brew-period-craft-beer-labels-works-of-art> [Accessed 28.11.2020]
- Nelson, Max. 2005. *The Barbarian's Beverage: A History of Beer in Ancient Europe*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Nelson, Max. 2014. 'Did Ancient Greeks Drink Beer?' *Phoenix*, 68(1/2), pp. 27–46.
- Nichele, Elena. 2015. 'Non-linguistic, Semiotic and Glocal Communication: 35 Beer Labeling Cases.' *On the Horizon* 23(4), pp. 352–62.
- Nielsen. 'Craft Beer Drinkers Often Judge a Beer by Its Packaging.' *Nielsen*. 25 May 2017. <https://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/article/2017/craft-beer-drinkers-often-judge-a-beer-by-its-packaging/> [Accessed 11.12.2020]
- Nome, Petter. 'The Norwegian Fairytale.' *Scandinavian Brewers' Review*. 12 Jun. 2019. <https://scandbrewrev.dk/organic-yeast-an-organic-ingredient-or-non-organic-aid-2/> [Accessed 30.9.2020]
- O'Brien, Justin. 2020. 'The Branding Geography of Surrey Craft Breweries.' *The Geography of Beer*. pp. 23–33. Cham: Springer International.
- Ortega, Eric. 2017a. 'The Golden State of Brewing: California's Economic and Cultural Influence in the American Brewing Industry. Part I.' *The Brewery History Society*, 170, pp. 35–54.
- Ortega, Eric. 2017b. 'The Golden State of Brewing: California's Economic and Cultural Influence in the American Brewing Industry. Part II.' *The Brewery History Society*, 172, pp. 9–39.
- Oswald, Laura R. 2012. *Marketing Semiotics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Otto, Christian, Matthias Springstein, Avishek Anand and Ralph Ewerth. 2020. 'Characterization and Classification of Semantic Image-Text Relations.' *International Journal of Multimedia Information Retrieval*, 9(1), pp. 31–45.

- Rindal, Magnus. 1996. 'Frå Heidendom til Kristendom.' In Rindal, Magnus (ed.). *Fra Heidendom til Kristendom. Perspektiver på Religionsskiftet i Norge*, pp. 9-19. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.
- Roberts, Graham H. 2014. 'Message on a Bottle: Packaging the Great Russian Past.' *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 17(3), pp. 295–313.
- Salikatt. 'Salikatt Bryggeri'. Facebook. 23 Oct. 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/salikatt/> [Accessed 18.1.2021]
- Schnell, Steven M. 2013. 'Deliberate Identities: Becoming Local in America in a Global Age.' *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 30(1), pp. 55–89.
- Schouten, John W. and James H. McAlexander. 1995. 'Subcultures of Consumption: An Ethnography of the New Bikers.' *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22(1), pp. 43–61.
- Sebba, Mark. 2012. 'Researching and Theorising Multilingual Texts.' In Jonsson, Carla, Shahrzad Mahootian, and Mark Sebba (eds.). *Language Mixing and Code-switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-language Written Discourse*. Vol. 2. New York: Routledge.
- Sebba, Mark. 2013. 'Multilingualism in Written Discourse: An Approach to the Analysis of Multilingual Texts.' *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, 17(1), pp. 97–118.
- Slater, Don. 1997. *Consumer Culture and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Sturken, Marita and Lisa Cartwright. 2017. *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Swaminathan, Anand. 1998. 'Entry into New Market Segments in Mature Industries: Endogenous and Exogenous Segmentation in the US Brewing Industry.' *Strategic Management Journal*, 19(4), pp. 389–404.
- The Norwegian Directorate of Health. '§ 9-2. Reklame for Alkoholholdig Drikk.' *Helsedirektoratet*. 19 Feb. 2016. <https://www.helsedirektoratet.no/rundskriv/alkoholloven/kapittel-9-reklameforbud/-9-2.reklame-for-alkoholholdig-drikk#30896b99-ee12-4f09-8152-6c44a6a1cd5a> [Accessed 25.10.2020]
- The Norwegian Food Safety Authority. 'Merking av Matvarer.' *Mattilsynet*. 14 Oct. 2019. https://www.mattilsynet.no/mat_og_vann/merking_av_mat/generelle_krav_til_merking_av_mat/merking_av_matvarer.36499 [Accessed 4.11.2020]
- The Society of Independent Brewers. 'Membership Criteria Review (2016-2018).' *The Society of Independent Brewers*. 17 Jul. 2018. <http://www.siba.co.uk/about-siba/membership-criteria-review-2016-2018/> [Accessed 11.11.2020]
- Thornton, Sarah. 1995. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Tveit, Nordvald. 1986. *Heimebrygg – Ølet som Gud Elsket*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

Underwood, Robert L. 2015. 'The Communicative Power of Product Packaging: Creating Brand Identity via Lived and Mediated Experience.' *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, 11(1), pp. 62–76.

Untappd. 'Top Rated Breweries in Norway.' *Untappd*. 12 Jun. 2019.
<https://untappd.com/brewery/top Rated?country=norway> [Accessed 1.9.2020]

Untappd. 'How Are Ratings Determined on Untappd?' *Untappd*. 19 Mar. 2020.
<https://help.untappd.com/hc/en-us/articles/360034136372-How-are-ratings-determined-on-Untappd-> [Accessed 18.1.2021]

Van Leeuwen, Theo. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London: Routledge, 2005.

Wagner, Karin. 2015. 'Reading Packages: Social Semiotics on the Shelf.' *Visual Communication*, 14(2), pp. 193–220.

Wilkins, Amy C. 2008. *Wannabes, Goths, and Christians: The Boundaries of Sex, Style, and Status*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Appendix 1

Overview of all 200 labels organised by brewery. A selection of categories have been selected and these are 'Beer Name', 'Beer Style', 'Main Colour Used', 'Most Salient Element', 'Link Between Colour and Flavour', and 'Link Between Beer Name and Flavour'.

AMUNDSEN'S BEER LABELS					
BEER NAME	BEER STYLE	MAIN COLOUR	SALIENT ELEMENT	LINK: COLOUR-FLAVOUR	LINK: NAME-FLAVOUR
Apocalyptic Thunder Juice	NEIPA	Orange	Image	No	No
Ashes to Ashes	Stout	Red	Image	No	No
Atomic Crush	Pastry Sour	Yellow	Image	Yes	No
BA DIC Peanut Butter	Not given	Light Brown	Beer name	Yes	Yes
BA DIC Rocky Road	Not given	Brown	Beer name	Yes	Yes
BA DIC Salted Caramel	Not given	Brown	Beer name	Yes	Yes
BA Upside Down Christmas Cake	Pastry Stout	Navy Blue	Image	No	Yes
Beyond the Spectrum	Hazy IPA	Black	Image	No	No
Cherry Queen	Pastry Stout	Grey	Image	No	Yes
Christmas Morning	Breakfast Stout	Turquoise	Image	Yes	No
Chuggernaut	NEIPA	Turquoise	Image	No	No
DIC Blueberry Pancake Stack	Not given	Light Yellow	Beer name	Yes	Yes
DIC Hazelnut Mochachino Sundae	Not given	Light Yellow	Beer name	Yes	Yes
DIC Mango Chocolate Creamsicle	Not given	Light Yellow	Beer name	Yes	Yes
DIC Peach Cobbler	Not given	Light Yellow	Beer name	Yes	Yes
DIC Peanutbutter Caramel	Not given	Light Yellow	Beer name	Yes	Yes
DIC Pistachio Cookie Dough Ice Cream	Not given	Light Yellow	Beer name	Yes	Yes
DIC Raspberry Salted Caramel Cheesecake	Not given	Light Yellow	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Double Apocalypse	DDH DIPA	Red	Image	No	No
Double Churro Dunker	Pastry Stout	Grey	Image	No	Yes
Downtown Pirate	Hazy IPA	Blue	Image	No	No
Endless Feedback	IPA	Red	Image	No	No
Euphoric Minds	NEIPA	Turquoise	Image	No	No
Gravitational Moonbeam	Hazy IPA	Green	Image	No	No
Hawk Wind and Fire	Pastry Stout	Grey	Image	No	No
Holy Mole	Pastry Stout	Grey	Image	No	Yes
Illusions of Funk	Hazy IPA	Turquoise	Image	No	No
Lush	Berliner Weisse	Yellow	Image	Yes	No
Madzi	Dry Hopped Lager	Orange	Image	No	No
Mami Wata	Pastry Sour	Pink	Image	Yes	No
Pale Rider	Hazy IPA	Green	Image	No	No
Parallel Worlds - Blueberry	Pastry Sour	Purple	Image	Yes	No
Parallel Worlds - Raspberry	Pastry Sour	Pink	Image	Yes	No
Personal Space Invader	Hazy IPA	Purple	Image	No	No
Pimp Dust	Pastry Sour	Purple	Image	Yes	No
Psychosphere	NEIPA	Turquoise	Image	No	No
Rebel Berries	Pastry Sour	Light Green	Image	Yes	Yes
Silhouettes of Green Enigma	Hazy IPA	Lime Green	Image	Yes	Yes
Silhouettes of Green Idaho 7	Hazy IPA	Red	Image	Yes	Yes
Silhouettes of Green Simcoe	Hazy IPA	Forest Green	Image	Yes	Yes
Small Apocalypse	Hazy Session IPA	Orange	Image	No	No
Solero Solstice Hopsteiner	Hazy IPA	Green	Image	No	No
Sticky Little Fingers	Pastry Stout	Grey-Green	Image	No	Yes
Timewarp Jukebox	NEIPA	Dark Teal	Image	No	No
Viking Brunchfest Club	Pastry Stout	Grey	Image	No	Yes
Zygoat	Stout	Dark Orange	Image	No	No

CERVISIAM'S BEER LABELS					
BEER NAME	BEER STYLE	MAIN COLOUR	SALIENT ELEMENT	LINK: COLOUR-FLAVOUR	LINK: NAME-FLAVOUR
Aylmer	NEIPA	Blue	Beer name	No	No
Bad Mango	East Coast IPA	Black	Image	Yes	Yes
Black Magic	East Coast IPA	Black	Image	No	No
Brut(e) Force	Brut IPA	Black	Beer name	No	Yes
Buzzsaw	Imperial Pastry Stout	Pink	Beer name	Yes	No
CHUD	Coconut Stout	Purple	Image	No	No
Citizen Topsy	TDH NEIPA	Orange	Image	Yes	No
Creme Ghoulée	Pastry Stout	Brown	Image	Yes	Yes
Chocolate Salty Christmas Balls	Imperial Stout	Black	Image	Yes	Yes
Dawn of the Red	Berliner Weisse	Red	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Designated Driver	Alcohol-free IPA	Blue	Image	No	No
Enough to Make a Mango Sour	Berliner Weisse	Light pink	Image	Yes	Yes
Enough to Make a Triple Mango Sour	Berliner Weisse	Light pink	Image	Yes	Yes
From the Void	NE DIPA	Black	Beer name	No	No
Gamma Gulp	NEPA	Orange	Image	No	No
Glitched	APA	Green	Image	No	No
Gryla	Imperial Stout	Green	Image	No	No
Headbanger Facerip	Imperial Gose	Blue	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Heretic	NEIPA	Orange	Image	No	No
Hopbernie Sanders	NEIPA	Green	Image	No	No
Impaled Maple (Pecanisher II)	Imperial Pastry Stout	Brown	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Impeached	Berliner Weisse	Orange	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Jingle Juice	NEIPA	Green	Image	No	No
Jungle Juice	Imperial IPA	Green	Beer name	Yes	No
Jungle Juicier	Imperial IPA	Green	Image	Yes	No
Krampus	Imperial Stout	Black	Image	No	No
Pecanisher	Imperial Pastry Stout	Brown	Image	Yes	Yes
Pisswasser	Pilsner	Yellow	Image	No	No
Profondo Rosso	Berliner Weisse	Red	Image	Yes	Yes
Robohop	Session IPA	Purple	Image	No	Yes
Rocky Road Picture Show	Stout	Pink	Image	Yes	Yes
Salty Surprise	Gose	Green	Image	No	Yes
Satanic Panic	Imperial Stout	Red	Image	No	No
Scaphism	NEIPA	Blue	Image	Yes	Yes
Seppuku	NEPA	Purple	Image	No	No
Shoryuken	Sour	Pink	Image	Yes	No
S'morbidly Obese	Imperial Pastry Stout	Brown	Image	Yes	Yes
Squatched	NEIPA	Green	Image	No	No
Sweet Toof	Pastry Stout	Brown	Image	Yes	Yes
Ti-Killers	Sour	Green	Image	Yes	No
Toxic Alevenger	APA	Yellow	Beer name	Yes	No
Weekend at Berrie's	Imperial Gose	Green	Image	Yes	Yes

LERVIG'S BEER LABELS					
BEER NAME	BEER STYLE	MAIN COLOUR	MOST SALIENT	LINK: COLOUR-FLAVOUR	LINK: NAME-FLAVOUR
3 Bean Stout	Imperial Stout	Turquoise	Image	Yes	Yes
Bad Haircut	Double Dry-Hopped DIPA	Green	Image	No	No
Big Mouth	Session IPA	Blue	Image	No	Yes
Blurry Eyes	Berliner Weisse	Purple	Image	Yes	No
Brut Nature	Brut IPA	Pink	Image	No	Yes
Butter Coffee Stout	Stout	Brown	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Cheap Lunch	Imperial Stout	Brown	Beer name	Yes	No
Christmas Crush	Red Ale	Grey	Image	No	No
Coconuts	Imperial Stout	Red	Image	No	Yes
Cookie Dough Crunch	Stout	Purple	Image	Yes	Yes
Freakshake	Milshake IPA	Pink	Image	Yes	No
Fudge Cake Supreme	Stout	Brown	Image	Yes	Yes
Grapefruit Serendipity	Double Dry-Hopped DIPA	Purple	Image	Yes	Yes
Hazy Days	American Pale Ale	Cream	Beer name	No	No
Helles Yeah	Helles Lager	Yellow	Image	No	No
Hop Drop Sour	Sour IPA	Turquoise	Image	Yes	Yes
Hoppy Joe	American Red Ale	Red	Image	No	Yes
House Party	Session IPA	Grey	Image	No	No
Hug Life	Pale Ale	Orange	Beer name	Yes	No
Human Nature	Sour	Orange	Image	Yes	No
Infinite Timelines	NEIPA	Pink	Image	No	No
Johnny Low	IPA	Green	Image	No	No
Konrad's Stout	Imperial Stout	Red	Image	Yes	No
Low Key	Micro IPA	Blue	Image	No	No
Lucky Jack	American Pale Ale	Light blue	Image	No	No
Lucky Jack Grapefruit	Not given	Orange	Image	Yes	Yes
Lucky Jack Extra Hard IPA	IPA	Midnight blue	Beer name	No	Yes
Medicine	DIPA	Purple	Image	No	No
Mom Jeans	Pale Ale	Blue	Image	No	No
Nitro Hot Chocolate Stout	Stout	Green	Image	No	Yes
No Worries Grapefruit	Alcohol-free IPA	Orange	Image	Yes	Yes
No Worries Lemon	Alcohol-free IPA	Yellow	Image	Yes	Yes
No Worries Mango	Alcohol-free IPA	Orange	Image	Yes	Yes
No Worries Pineapple	Alcohol-free IPA	Yellow	Image	Yes	Yes
NZDDHDIPA	Double Dry-Hopped DIPA	Green	Beer name	No	No
Orange Velvet	IPA	Yellow	Image	Yes	Yes
Original Sin	Imperial Stout	Black	Image	No	No
Passion Tang	Sour Ale	Purple	Image	Yes	Yes
Pepper Johnson	Stout	Grey	Image	No	Yes
Perler for Svin	IPA	Blue	Image	No	No
Pils	Pilsner	White	Beer name	No	No
Rainbow Road	IPA	Grey	Beer name	No	No
Ranglejus	Session Ale	Blue	Image	No	No
Salted Rhubarb Vanilla Sour Cream Crumble	Sour	Grey	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Saskatoon Cheescake Stout	Imperial Stout	Cream	Image	Yes	Yes
Smooth Talker	Sour Pale Ale	Orange	Image	Yes	No
Socks n Sandals	Double Dry-Hopped APA	Pink	Image	No	No
Sour Suzy	Berliner Weisse	Yellow	Image	Yes	Yes
Staring at the Sun	Stout	Blue	Beer name	No	No
Supersonic	Double Dry-Hopped DIPA	Grey	Image	No	No
Sweet Wheat	American Wheat Beer	Blue	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Tasty Juice	Double Dry-Hopped IPA	Grey	Image	No	No
Toasted Maple Stout	Stout	Grey	Image	Yes	Yes

MONKEY BREW'S BEER LABELS					
BEER NAME	BEER STYLE	MAIN COLOUR	MOST SALIENT	LINK: COLOUR-FLAVOUR	LINK: NAME-FLAVOUR
Apricot is the New Hops	Fruited Kettle-soured Gose	Orange	Logo	Yes	Yes
Berry Explosion	Berliner Weisse	Red	Logo	Yes	Yes
Chocoladia	Chocolate Stout	Dark Brown	Logo	Yes	Yes
Darwin	IPA	Light Green	Logo	No	No
Fruit is the New Hops	Fruited Kettle-soured Gose	Orange	Logo	Yes	Yes
Gravity Well	Sweet Milk Stout	Brown	Logo	Yes	No
Guava Gazer	Fruited Gose	Light Green	Logo	Yes	Yes
Hazelnut Apparatus	Porter	Brown	Logo	Yes	Yes
Hop Nebula	Double IPA	Midnight Blue	Logo	No	No
Hop Warp	NEIPA	Purple	Logo	No	No
Hoptopia	Session IPA	Turquoise	Logo	No	No
Hoptopia: Sabro	Session IPA	Fern Green	Logo	No	Yes
Hoptopia: Galaxy	Session IPA	Purple	Logo	No	Yes
Jesus	Double Bock	Brown	Logo	Yes	No
Joule	Winter Ale	Midnight blue	Logo	Yes	No
Plato	Pale Ale	Purple	Logo	No	No
Sagittarius A	Imperial Stout	Dark Brown	Logo	Yes	No
Save the Turtles	Triple IPA	Dark Green	Logo	No	No
Stargazer	Fruited Gose	Midnight Blue	Logo	No	No
Tetracube	Double IPA	Black	Logo	No	No
Wormhole	Session NEIPA	Purple	Logo	No	No

SALIKATT'S BEER LABELS					
BEER NAME	BEER STYLE	MAIN COLOUR	SALIENT ELEMENT	LINK: COLOUR-FLAVOUR	LINK: NAME-FLAVOUR
Advent Smoothie	Fruited Kettle Sour	Purple	Logo	No	No
Bank Shot	Not given	Black	Logo	No	No
Blackberry Magic	Fruited Gose	Brown	Logo	Yes	Yes
Chocolate Milk Stout	Milk Stout	Forest Green	Logo	No	Yes
Chocolate Stout	Stout	Black	Logo	No	Yes
CMC	Milk Stout	Brown	Logo	Yes	Yes
Cold Fusion	DIPA	Blue	Logo	No	No
DDH Amarillo	DDH NEIPA	Grey	Logo	Yes	Yes
DDH Citra	DDH NEIPA	Green	Logo	Yes	Yes
DDH Mosaic	DDH NEIPA	Blue	Logo	Yes	Yes
DDH Pavlova	DDH NEIPA	Pink	Logo	Yes	Yes
DDH Sabro	DDH NEIPA	Green	Logo	Yes	Yes
DDH Vic Secret	DDH NEIPA	Pink	Logo	Yes	Yes
Fjellpils	Czech Pilsner	Sand	Image	No	No
Fjåge	American Blonde Ale	Yellow	Logo	Yes	No
Guava Smoothie	Not given	Pink	Logo	Yes	Yes
HBC586	Session IPA	Purple	Logo	Yes	Yes
HBC692	NEPA	Cyan	Logo	No	Yes
Hop Cruise	NEPA	Midnight Blue	Logo	No	Yes
Hop Cruise Rakau	NEPA	Orange	Logo	Yes	Yes
Humlesjeik	Milkshake Pale Ale	Yellow	Logo	Yes	No
It's All About Citra and Mosaic	NEIPA	Turquoise	Logo	No	Yes
It's All About Fruits	IPA	Red	Logo	Yes	No
Julesjeik	Not given	Green	Logo	Yes	No
Junaiten	American Pale Ale	Purple	Logo	No	No
Makksure	DH Berliner Weisse	Emerald Green	Logo	Yes	Yes
Mango Smoothie	Berliner Weisse	Pastel Green	Logo	Yes	Yes
New England Christmas	NEIPA	Forest Green	Logo	No	No

OTP	DDH NEPA	Light Green	Logo	Yes	No
Propellor	Double NEIPA	Blue	Logo	No	No
Raspberry Smoothie	Gose	Cyan	Beer name	Yes	Yes
Rauaraddel	American Red Ale	Blue	Logo	No	No
Red Summer Smoothie	Not given	Orange	Logo	Yes	No
Roald	Berliner Weisse	Pink	Logo	Yes	No
Sali(g) Jul	Not given	Red	Logo	No	No
Slam Dunk	Double NEIPA	Grey	Logo	No	No
Theokars Jul	Russian Imperial Stout	Dark Grey	Logo	No	No
Winter is Coming	Imperial Brown Ale	Brown	Logo	Yes	No

Appendix 2

An overview of the 80 labels that included cultural references indicating cultural subcategories and the mode(s) used to communicate these references.

BEER NAME	BREWERY	SUBCATEGORY	REFERENCE AND MODE(S) USED
Apocalyptic Thunder Juice	Amundsen	Religion and beliefs	Native American totem pole (image)
Ashes to Ashes	Amundsen	Religion and beliefs	Satanism (image)
Holy Molé	Amundsen	Religion and beliefs Food and drink Language and expressions	Day of the Dead – Mexican holiday (image) Molé – Mexican hot sauce (text) Expression of surprise (text)
Madzi	Amundsen	Language and expressions	Chichewa word for ‘water’ (text)
Mami Wata	Amundsen	Religion and beliefs	African water spirit (image and text)
Pale Rider	Amundsen	Religion and beliefs Pop culture	Biblical reference (image, text) Film: Pale Rider (1985) (image, text)
Personal Space Invader	Amundsen	Pop culture	Video game: Space Invaders (1978) (text)
Viking Brunchfest Club	Amundsen	History	Vikings (image, text)
Zygoat	Amundsen	Religion and beliefs Science	Satanism (image) Zygote - a fertilised egg (text)
Aylmer	Cervisiam	Pop culture Pop culture	Film: Brain Dead (1988) (image, text) Song – Elmer’s Tune by Glenn Miller and the Modernaires (text)
Bad Mango	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Bad Boys (1995) (image)
Black Magic	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film – Dragnet (1987) (text)
Brut(e) Force	Cervisiam	Society	Police brutality in The USA (image, text)
Buzzsaw	Cervisiam	Pop culture Food and drink	Canadian Wrestling (image, text) Canadian coffee and pancakes (image, text)
CHUD	Cervisiam	Pop culture Literature	Film: Cannibalistic Humanoid Underground Dweller (1984) (text) Poem: A Visit from St. Nicholas (1823) (text)
Citizen Topsy	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Citizen Toxie: The Toxic Avenger IV (2000) (image, text)
Creme Ghoulee	Cervisiam	Food and drink	French dessert crème brûlée (image, text)
Chocolate Salty Christmas Balls	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film – Gremlins (1984) (image, text) TV series – South Park, Season 2 Episode 9 (1998) (image, text)
Dawn of the Red	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Dawn of the Dead (2004) (image, text)
Gamma Gulp	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Video game: Fallout (1997) (text)
Glitched	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Tron (1982) (image, text)
Gryla	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs	Icelandic folklore (image, text)
Headbanger Facerip	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Song: Headbanger Facerip by Municipal Waste (2007) (text)
Heretic	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs	Atheist Richard Dawkins (image, text)
Hopbernie Sanders	Cervisiam	Pop culture Politics	Film: Alien (1979) (image, text) Presidential Election (2016) (image, text)
Impaled Maple	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: The Punisher (1989) (image, text)
Jingle Juice	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs	Christian festival (image, text)
Jungle Juice	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Rambo (1972) (image, text)
Jungle Juicier	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Rambo II (1985) (image)
Krampus	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs	German folklore (image, text)
Pecanisher	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: The Punisher (1989) (image, text)
Pisswasser	Cervisiam	Pop culture Food and drink Fashion	Video game: Graft Theft Auto IV (2008) (text) German bratwurst and pilsner (image) Lederhosen (image, text)
Profondo Rosso	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Profondo Rosso (1975) (text)
Robohop	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Robocop (1987) (image, text)
Rocky Road Picture Show	Cervisiam	Pop culture Food and drink	Film: Rocky Horror Picture Show (1975) (image, text) Rocky Road – Australian dessert (image, text)
Salty Surprise	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Deep Rising (1998) (image)
Satanic Panic	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs History	Satanism (image) US moral panic (1980s) (text)
Scaphism	Cervisiam	History	Ancient Persian method of execution (image, text)
Seppuku	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs History	Japanese ritual suicide (image, text)
Shoryuken	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Video game: Street Fighter II (1991) (image, text)
S'morbidly Obese	Cervisiam	Food and drink	S'mores – Canadian and American campfire treat (image, text)
Squatched	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs	Sasquatch of Canadian and American folklore (image, text)
Ti-Killers	Cervisiam	Religion and beliefs	Polynesian artwork and carvings (image, text)

Toxic Alevenger	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: The Toxic Avenger (1984) (image, text)
Weekend at Berrie's	Cervisiam	Pop culture	Film: Weekend at Bernie's (1989) (image, text)
Brut Nature	Lervig	Lifestyle	Norwegian love of nature (image)
Christmas Crush	Lervig	Religion and beliefs	Scandinavian Christmas decoration (image)
Hoppy Joe	Lervig	Food and drink, history	Sardine box label design (image)
Hug Life	Lervig	Pop culture Society	Band: Thug Life (1994) (text) Covid-19 restrictions (image, text)
Johnny Low	Lervig	Food and drink, history	Sardine box label design (image)
Low Key	Lervig	Religion and beliefs	Meditation (image)
Lucky Jack	Lervig	Food and drink, history	Sardine box label design (image)
Lucky Jack Grapefruit	Lervig	Food and drink, history	Sardine box label design (image)
Mom Jeans	Lervig	Fashion	American fashion trend (image, text)
Pepper Johnson	Lervig	Popular culture	American football player Thomas 'Pepper' Johnson (text)
Perler for Svin	Lervig	Religion and beliefs Language and expressions	Biblical reference (text) Norwegian idiom (image, text)
Rainbow Road	Lervig	Pop culture	Video game: Mario Kart (1992-) (text)
Ranglejus	Lervig	Pop culture	Norwegian rock festival (text)
Socks n Sandals	Lervig	Fashion	British fashion trend (image, text)
Sour Suzy	Lervig	Food and drink, history	Sardine box label design (image)
Berry Explosion	Monkey Brew	Pop culture	Literature: Alice in Wonderland (1865) (text)
Darwin	Monkey Brew	Science	Charles Darwin (text)
Gravity Well	Monkey Brew	Science	Newtonian potential theory (image, text)
Hop Warp	Monkey Brew	Pop culture	Star Trek – warp speed (text)
Jesus	Monkey Brew	Religion and beliefs	Christianity (text)
Plato	Monkey Brew	History	Athenian philosopher (text)
Save the Turtles	Monkey Brew	History	Charles Darwin (turtle consumption) (text)
Advent Smoothie	Salikatt	Religion and beliefs	Christianity (text)
Bank Shot	Salikatt	Pop culture	Basketball (text)
CMC	Salikatt	Food and drink	Coffee culture (text)
DDH Pavlova	Salikatt	Food and drink	National dessert Australia and New Zealand (text)
Fjellpils	Salikatt	Lifestyle	Norwegian love of nature (text)
Fjåge	Salikatt	Language and expressions	Stavanger term for 'happy' (text)
Junaiten	Salikatt	Language and expressions	Norwegian term for The USA (text)
Makksure	Salikatt	Language and expressions	Stavanger term for very angry (text)
New England Christmas	Salikatt	Food and drink Religion and beliefs	Norwegian Christmas traditions (text) Christmas festival (text)
Rauaraddel	Salikatt	Language and expressions	Stavanger term for 'nonsense' (text)
Red Summer Smoothie	Salikatt	Food and drink	Typical fruit found in Norwegian gardens (text)
Slam Dunk	Salikatt	Pop culture	Basketball (text)
Theokars Jul	Salikatt	History Religion and beliefs	Fredrik Theokar Salicath (1847-1911) (text) Christian festival (text)