

Manufacturing 'Authenticity'

A CASE STUDY OF THE NIAGARA WINE CLUSTER

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I use “Fabricating Authenticity,” a model developed in the Production of Culture Perspective, to explore the evolving criteria for judging what constitute “real” and authentic Niagara wines, along with the naturalization of these criteria, as the Canadian Niagara wine cluster has come under increasing stress from globalization. Authenticity has been identified as a hallmark of contemporary marketing and important to cultural industries, which can use it for creating meaningful differentiation; making it a renewable resource for securing consumers, increasing market value; and for relationships with key brokers. This is important as free trade and international treaties are making traditional protective barriers, like trade tariffs and markups, obsolete and as governments increasingly allocate industry support via promotion and marketing policies that are directly linked to objectives of city and regional development, which in turn carry real implications for what gets to be judged authentic and inauthentic local culture.

This research uses a mixed methods research strategy, drawing upon ethnographic observation, marketing materials, newspaper reports, and secondary data to provide insight into the processes and conflicts over efforts to fabricate authenticity, comparing the periods before and after the passage of NAFTA to the present period. The Niagara wine cluster is a good case in point because it has little natural advantage nor was there a tradition of quality table wine making to facilitate the naturalization of authenticity. Geographic industrial clusters have been found particularly competitive in the global economy and the exploratory case study contributes to our understanding of the dynamic of “fabricating authenticity,” building on various theoretical propositions to attempt to derive explanations of how global processes affect strategies to create “authenticity,” how these strategies affect cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity at the local level, and how the concept of “cluster” contributes to the process of managing authenticity.

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Chapter 1

THE PRODUCTION OF CULTURE, MODELS AND METHODS

"Since wine is interwoven with history, politics, religion, geography, art, science, sociology and other fields, there's hardly any topic that can't be used to get back to talking about wine."

Nathalie MacLean (2006)

Canadian wine critic and author of *Red, White, and Drunk All Over*

Since the 1980s, the effects of globalization have been considered responsible for reshaping the wine industry's international landscape. The "wine lake" cliché speaks of the high degree of over-production in traditional wine-drinking countries. The more recent participation of New World countries, including warm high-yield low-cost production regions, have all contributed to a dramatic increase in the basic wine category and increased global competition for market share (Anderson 2004, Demossier 2005). With these changes has come a growing interest in regional responses to global pressures. Some are concerned that global critics, the acceleration of information flow, distribution giants and rampant consolidation are a threat to "original" local wine cultures (see the documentary *Mondovino* 2004). However, recent academic studies on wine from disciplines ranging from anthropology (Demossier 2005) to economics (Anderson 2004), including the field of cluster studies (Spawton 1990; Zalan 2005), have challenged the notion of homogenization and highlighted a growing consumer preference for typical regional wines.

As a compensational or counterbalancing concept, other writers, such as Lull and Robertson, suggest globalization might work to enhance regional particularities (Bennett 2000). In some cases, this is done strategically; for example, when marketers create local traditions on the assumption that "difference sells" (Robertson 2005). In Europe, there have been numerous joint efforts between the public and private sectors to create local cultural distinctions, represented through landscapes, foodstuffs, product designs, agricultural products etc. The production of regional identity is directly linked to the reestablishment of authentic traditions and products of origin. The registration of 526 European agricultural products and foodstuffs under the umbrella of EU legislation, with Designation of origin (PDO), or Protected Geographical Indications (PGI), since the establishment of a European union (EU), in 1992, speaks to its significance as a movement (Skuras & Dimara 2004).

Authenticity is being recognized as a central concept for cultural industries (Peterson 1997, 2005) and the search for authenticity, one of the cornerstones of contemporary marketing (Brown, Kozinets & Sherry 2003), is agreed to be of central importance to consumers (Grayson & Martinec 2004). However, how authenticity is managed to distinguish products as worthy of consumption is still not clear (Beverland 2005) and little is known about its dynamic in our global condition. Understanding authenticity is important because it is essentially ideological; representing it as a social construct can help discriminate how we measure "culture" and which "cultures" are selected as worthy of support. This is ever more critical as free trade and international treaties are contributing to make traditional protective barriers, like trade tariffs and markups, obsolete. Governments all over the world are now increasingly determining what is authentic regional culture and what is not, reallocating industry support via promotion and marketing actions that are directly linked to policies of city and regional development.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Initially developed by sociologist Richard Peterson in the production of culture perspective, the concept of “fabricating authenticity” ironically draws attention to the idea that authenticity is never an essential characteristic of a person or an object, but is the outcome of negotiation with relevant others, and their ideal representation of how something should be. In his study of early country music, Peterson demonstrates how participants encourage others, by various means, to accept the definition of “authentic” that they believe in and which reflects well on themselves. And, because the claim to authenticity suggests value relative to inauthenticity, one of the most effective ways to legitimize one particular version of reality is to claim that an action, an object or persona is natural, sincere and without artifice (Peterson, 1997). His view is inspired by earlier works showing “high culture,” as the representation of natural sensitivity, and “tradition” as ancient and virtually unchanging representation of an origin, are in fact incorrect (for example, Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1982; Ulin 1995). Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) have argued through numerous case studies that the British monarchical “tradition” was created in the middle of the nineteenth century, through a ritual that they label “invented tradition.” The “fabricating authenticity” perspective demands that the researcher understand culture, nature and the past as social constructs largely motivated and mediated by political struggle, in which the goal of each contending interest is to naturalize arbitrary constructions of authenticity. However, Peterson's perspective contrasts to that of Hobsbawm, as well as to Baudrillard and to the work of Dean MacCannell in tourism, all of whom, in discussing authenticity, maintain a distinction between origins and reproductions, between invention and reality. Instead, Peterson argues against a version of authenticity independent of the process through which it is “known.”

To contribute to the literature on popular culture, regional development and authenticity in this thesis, through the lense of “fabricating authenticity,” I offer a case study of the manufacture of authentic regional wines in the Niagara wine industry, to provide contextual data contributing to a better understanding of the meaning and dynamics of authenticity in a wine cluster as global competition accelerates. More specifically, I wish to (1) offer a critical historical survey of the process of negotiating authenticity in the Niagara Wine cluster, in response to opportunity and threat in the particular social/political/economic context of its time; (2) outline a number of features of authentic Niagara Wines that help to legitimize the product as a worthy cultural option; (3) offer an explanation as to how the cluster’s structure may contribute to the “manufacture” of authenticity; (4) offer an explanation as to how these strategies and meanings are destabilized and re-stabilized in the contexts of heightened global competition; and (5) examine what effect this may have on cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity of local culture. Paying attention to the production of authenticity is relevant for discussion around the homogenizing or particularizing effect of globalization on culture since, from Peterson’s perspective, authenticity results in part from the double demands that authentic products and firms be both *original* and, at the same time, credible representations of some *traditional* cultural form.

Wine clusters are geographically-concentrated centres of wine production, sometimes called wine regions. They provide fertile ground for the study of the contemporary manufacture of authentic regional products, as they have traditionally been closely associated with regional and national development, but have recently been subject to greater global competition. Ulin (1995) has argued that the superior quality of wines of the Bordeaux region has less to do with climate, soil and special attention to vinification, as most oenologists would suggest, and more to the work done to manufacture its authenticity, going back to the 14th century, that reinforced its natural position as

one of the “fine things” of France (Peterson 1997, p.213).¹ In addition, studies in the field of economic development of nation states have shown that industrial clusters, like wine regions, can gain performance advantages through co-location, making them particularly competitive in the global economy (Porter 1998). Still, little attention has been paid to the capacity of clusters to generate authenticity.²

The Niagara wine cluster, in particular, makes a good case study for the “fabrication” of authenticity because it has neither an established tradition in table wine production nor great natural competitive advantage to facilitate its claim to authenticity. Even though the Niagara cluster accounts for 80 per cent of wine produced in Ontario and contains the highest concentration of wineries in Canada, it is still a very small player in the world of wine. Canada ranks 32nd in the world in terms of total wine production (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2005) and its wine regions are faced with an arduous climate that makes it difficult to compete with high-yield wine regions in such “new-world” producers as Argentina, Australia or Chile. While in Ontario the industry goes back almost two hundred years, a strong tradition of commercial table wines goes back only to the 1960s. Nevertheless, on Canada’s joining the Free Trade Agreement

¹ Ulin (1995) writes that at the time, the vineyards east of Bordeaux were more highly valued on the Paris market and Bordeaux’s reputation for making high quality wines came only after its export market increased, after they successfully lobbied the English, who controlled the port of Bordeaux, to place differentially heavy taxes and other restrictions that made wines from the interior less attractive. Later, unable to compete on price with Spanish, Portuguese and Italian wines, Bordeaux producers agreed to compete on quality thus commanding a higher price. The distinction was established for example by associating selective “fine” elements of French tradition, as well as defining a particularly self-serving idea of nature and organizing an internal aesthetic hierarchy through “small and grand crus” which in practice was established on price rather than other criteria of quality. Hence, “The association between wine and chateau came to reinforce each other as part of the natural order of France’s fine things” (Peterson 1997, p.213). This set of distinctions was officially categorized in 1855, at the time of the Universal Exposition in Paris, which had as a goal the codification of the criteria for excellence in all fields of French national commerce and culture (Ulin 1995).

² A brief synopsis of that literature has only recently been provided by Ditter (2005), who studied the wine industry of Burgundy from a cluster-perspective. However, not all of the wine cluster studies refer to Porter. Other agricultural economists concerned with wine also shun the concept. For example, in Anderson’s (2004) collection of surveys of 14 regional wine economies in the world, none of the papers include a reference to Porter and none of these works engage directly with questions of authenticity. A similar conclusion was reached in a literature review produced by Peterson 2005, Peterson & Anand (2004) and Jones, Anand & Alvarez (2005), this time, from the lense of “fabricating” authenticity. Except for Ulin (1995), who studied the implications of early authenticity strategies in the reconnaissance of Bordeaux as a quality wine-producing region, nobody engaged with the {specifically examined?} production of authenticity in a contemporary wine cluster, as a medium or in relation to globalization.

(FTA) in 1988, the Niagara wine cluster turned what was predicted to be a dying enterprise³ into what marketing and corporate business groups consider “a success” (Vysniauskas 1998). Ontario wines constitute only 40 percent of the total volume of wine sold in Ontario (Hope-Ross 2006). This is small in comparison to the domestic proportion of 95 per cent of the market in France (Anderson 2004), but the industry has nevertheless expanded with impressive speed; Canada’s wine industry had the eleventh highest growth rate among 215 industry groups within the country between 1997 and 2005 (Hope-Ross 2006). Meanwhile, wine consumption in general has been growing; in 2006, for the first time in Canada’s history, wine outsold the spirits category in terms of total value among the beverages Canadians consume.

THE DYNAMIC AND GENERAL CONCEPTS CONNECTED TO AUTHENTICITY

Even though authenticity is treated, here, as a social construction rather than an essential characteristic, the literature points to several ideas and qualities associated with authenticity, helping legitimize producers or their products as worthy cultural options.

Traditionally, the concept of authenticity has been linked to such ideas as faithfulness to origins, attributions, commitments, sincerity, devotion, and intentions. In classical music, authenticity refers to a movement known as historically informed performance. In the world of historical reenactments, authenticity is gauged by how closely an item, prop, weapon, action, or custom resembles what would actually have been used or done in the time period being depicted. In philosophy, it refers to a particular way of dealing with the external world, of being faithful to internal rather than external ideas. All such definitions impose “pre-modern” criteria on the term “authenticity.”

³ Linda Franklin, late president of the Wine Council of Ontario (WCO), invited speaker at the CPRS 2006 National Conference, held that a number of industry reports predicted the end of the wine industry in Canada, under joining FTA. See also the Ontario “Wine and Grape Industry Task Force Report” (1986, p.iii) warning that “under total free trade, the industry would be placed in dramatic jeopardy”.

In *Modernity and Authenticity* (1993), Alessandro Ferrara argues against such pre-modern definitions, instead developing a modern notion of authenticity as it relates to one's identity or self, using three distinct criteria: sincerity, autonomy and intimacy. *Sincerity* first applied to objects and literally meant clean, pure or unchanged, not adulterated, referencing for example unaged wine. With increased social mobility, authenticity soon came to mean, in a person, the absence of dissimulation, feigning or pretense. To be sincere meant to be true to one's origin, as in the qualities associated with one's ethnic group, gender or the social position into which someone was born. In the modern sense, however, this has been turned around, and sincerity signifies the virtue of being one's own person, original, "true" to one's self, one's inherent character and individual essence, irrespective of social origins or influences.⁴ In being sincere, there is also an expectation of spontaneous expression of feelings, as opposed to making attempts to shape our feelings to create a sense of self-possession. The aesthetic notion of authenticity is pushed to its extreme in the work of Nietzsche and Derrida. Here, the authentic self has no inborn or rational core and is uniquely constituted by the multiple particular experiences that it encounters.

A second criterion of authenticity for Ferrara is *autonomy*, also sometimes referred to as reflective authenticity. It privileges existence before essence and is more concerned with an ethic of life, the responsibility of one's own existence, and the meaning and direction someone gives to life, beyond simply being. In the pre-modern sense, autonomy is associated with the rationalization of objective and generalizable criteria for determining truth (rationalism & universalism). In its later

⁴ The later definition is related to the Romantic Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who judged materialism-related values to be the cause of the failure and egoism of industrial societies. In response to the argument that everyone is born equal and given equal rights to social participation, his answer was instead that, if everyone is born with the ability to feel compassion, everyone is born unique and, rather than focusing on pleasing others, one must stay true to one's own innate character and feelings to find personal and communal happiness. For Rousseau, the child and the savage man are more authentic than the social being that lives more outside himself (or herself). Rousseau generally rejects high culture (and technology) in favor of direct participation in entertainment that reinforces man's sentiment of his own existence and his relations to his fellow beings. For the Romantics that feel unease with modern society, the authentic life is thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods, in organic cultures and simpler lifestyles.

sense, autonomy suggests the consistency and coherence of subjective self-imposed ethics, based on informed principles, and the realization that norms and institutions also sustain subjectivity.⁵ Here, consistency between action and reason is sometimes favored, as opposed to feelings.

Finally, the third notion of authenticity, *intimacy*, suggests a kind of wholeness or integration. The authentic person does not privilege any particular aspect of the self, but presents the self and accepts others in their entirety. Intimacy also emphasizes willingness to depart from the idealized self by acknowledging one's weaknesses and being open to criticism.

The literature suggests these ideas and qualities apply as well to authentic cultural producers, organizations, and brands. In the field of rock music, Keightley (2001) links authenticity to direct musical experiences that are sincere expressions of genuine feeling and original creativity, more than trends certified by popular meritocracy of the organic community. In the postmodern branding paradigm, Douglas Holt (2002) describes a relationship in which a Romantic ethic of "high-art" autonomy came to legitimize the production of the self through emotions and pleasure (see also Campbell 1987 for a detailed historical analysis). In similar ways, postmodern brands make a considerable effort to appear disinterested and intrinsically motivated by their inherent value rather than motivated by commercial considerations. Authenticity is produced by distancing the brand from the commodified nature of mass markets and mass consumption: for example placing firms' origins far in the past, predating trends, and even industrialization, rooted in the popular world, such as from the street or organic subculture. Authenticity is also associated with social marketing and autonomous approval (experts, taste-makers) instead of traditional mass-

⁵ This sense of authenticity is closely associated with the work of Existential philosophers such as Heidegger that privilege a sense of authenticity directed toward the future, the life project. By being aware that the past shapes our feelings, our way of "being in the world," Heidegger argues, it is possible for someone to distance him/herself from perceptual immediacy and make responsible choices that characterize authentic life and being.

market marketing. And transparency is produced using irony, creating strong emotional affect, but also increasingly depending on firms to show transparency, to be open to scrutiny by complying with industry codes of conduct. More specifically for luxury wines (over \$100), Beverland (2005) found that authenticity is connected with experiential quality and uniqueness, sometimes produced more via the creativity of the wine-maker or favoring transparency in production that allows place of origin to manifest itself, but also evidenced in a passion for winemaking proven by attention to detail, the avoidance of mass-market marketing, and a long history of quality. Beverland suggests that the authentication strategies of Old World wine producers favor an emphasis regional historical traditions, while New World wine producers tend to rely more on a personal history of quality.

In cultural fields, like country and rock music, because the genres are perceived to be especially dependent on authenticity, scholars have been actively studying their construction. In country music, one important contribution of Peterson to our understanding of authenticity is that as cultural fields are codified and institutionalized, authenticity can be established by making tradition the foundation for personal artistic experimentation and originality. This is because, while the audience expects country music performers to embed some of the tradition of country music – because to be authentic also mean to be real, as in original and true to the self – performers need to develop and be consistent to the unique style that they created for themselves, and out of their own experience, rather than merely copying someone else or keep up with new trends. Over time, as performers, organizations or brands develop a personal history, they can reflect on it to produce authenticity. Peterson (2005) gives an example of organizational reflective history, citing a study by Anand and Jones, showing how a London tea and coffee retailer takes great pains to underscore the authenticity of its products by continually referring to the date the store was founded and to the

name of the founder, by noting that the chief taster was trained by the son of the founder, and by training retail staff to appear to know and care about the products they sell.

If cultural fields offer legitimacy to artistic expression, at the same time, no style or performer is automatically entitled to recognition in a specific genre. As opposed to ethnic authenticity, where people may be ascribed authenticity/qualities based on group membership rather than training and passing qualifying tests, participants in Country Music are involved in special work. They can show that they belong to the tradition by essentializing a *personal life connection* to the field, for example through a family heritage, or a way of life. Without these types of connections, they can show that they have the *right knowledge*. This is made obvious through displaying respect for the traditions and conventions, reflecting on the right sort of rough work experience, as well as showing that a good amount of material resources are dedicated to their art. Signifiers of authenticity are not only expressed in discourse, but also conveyed through image (posters), dress codes (cowboy hat), settings (a barn), instrumentation, and physical presence (rural accent and emotional display); being able to play the part naturally and effortlessly is also among the all-important features of authenticity.

Faced with a problem in presentation, Hughes (2000) suggests that participants may overcome it by conforming more closely to traditions. He offers the example of Charlie Pride, an African-American country singer, who had difficulty realizing himself as a country music artist because the field has always been strongly identified with white Southern culture. Pride was able to find success by conforming more closely than most country music artists to very traditional Southern white vocalizations in his singing and speech, eliminating any African-American characteristics, and by identifying with and frequently performing songs by the country music legend Hank Williams both on stage and in the recording studio (Hughes 2000).

Even though anyone can claim authenticity, other groups are important in assessing and validating those claims. Peterson (1997) writes that experts of any given time offer procedures to be used in testing for authenticity. This focuses attention on the authenticator, the judge and the institutional apparatus used to separate the authentic from the inauthentic.⁶ In relation to cuisine, Johnston and Baumann (2007) found that food writers frame food worthy of consumption as exotic and authentic. They argue that these frames help provide distinction to products, without overt snobbery, in opposition to ordinary and industrially-processed food. Authenticity is defined through the use of specific geographic origin and emphasizing the connection with food personalities, families, or creative individuals, providing originality to products. Food was also validated on the basis of “simplicity.” “Simplicity” was sometimes used more in the sense of unchanged, for example in relation to traditional and organic methods of production, including creation by hand, simplicity in food preparation and cooking – a common distinction is between “the raw” and “the cooked,” the former denoting real, or authentic, products, while the latter suggests artifice. Sometimes, simplicity was used more in association with the simple way of life, as in the simple pleasure and “uncomplicated” way of eating and enjoying food. Food authenticity was also established by connecting it to historical and ethnocultural traditions, or, as Peterson found in country music, as the foundation for personal artistic experimentation and originality.

But, most importantly, in commercial fields, the audience, in their responses, influences what sorts of presentations and models are expressed, and thus has a strong impact on what is defined as authentic. Research in tourism settings by Grayson and Martinec (2004) suggests that consumers with different levels of cultural capital use different cues to signal authenticity: via

⁶ Storey (2002) describes how the cultural entrepreneurs of the late-nineteenth-century were successful at institutionalizing their particular ideas of what should constitute fine art music. Storey shows that opera, once a widely enjoyed form of entertainment, had by the end of the 19th century been removed from popular theatres to separate buildings (“opera houses”) dedicated to its performance, enforcing a dress code and privileging foreign language plays. In Boston, DiMaggio suggests that by 1930, once the opera company was made a non-profit organization, and therefore removed from the world of commerce, it finally became recognized as “serious art” (Storey 2002, p.36).

factual, physical, spatio-temporal connection to history (indexical cues or signs) and when an object is an accurate reproduction of the original, so that it resembles the original (iconic signs). In relation to food, consumers have been found to assess the authenticity of regional foods based on the physical environment, the socio-cultural heritage of the place, and the tradition of craftsmanship associated with the place or group membership.⁷ In their case study of the authenticity of updated styles of old brands, Brown et al. (2003) also found that people judge authenticity based on different criteria, but, they also found that the authenticity of a reproduction, what they refer to as brand essence (iconicity), depends on the way it makes people feel or the way it is used to define the self. For example, the new VW Beetle is authentic for some because it works and gives pleasure; for others, it is inauthentic because it hasn't maintained its original economic functionality and anti-establishment symbolism, or because the car simply does not resemble sufficiently closely the original.

The experiential or 'existential' interpretation of authenticity is manifold and complex. In *The Substance of Style* (2003), Virginia Postrel argues that the reproduction, like the original, can be deemed authentic based on the formal qualities that we value for their sensory delight. These pleasures can be taken as an assurance that it contains the aesthetic wisdom evolved through an earlier era's trials and errors. Our experiential relationship to objects can simultaneously serve to realize our identity by expressing, to us and others, a genuine expression of inner truth. "I like that. I'm like that" (Postrel 2003, p.115). Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1979) suggested that even if our taste for food is the product of socialization, its pleasure feels natural to us. And both Bourdieu and anthropologist Mary Douglas (1987) have demonstrated the status of food and alcohol as cultural

⁷ This argument has been made in relation to product of origin, by Skuras and Vakrou (2002), who in their case study of Greek consumers' willingness to pay for origin labeled wine, cite a British consumer study. Peterson (2005) cites also a number of studies where judgment of authenticity is based on essentialist characteristics associated with ethnic membership, including one that found the ethnic appearance of cooks and waiters in ethnic restaurants critical for authenticity.

signifiers of identity, community and social position. In anthropology, Hennion (2007) used the wine amateur, as a metaphor, to suggest that we use reflexivity to make ourselves sensitive to things and experiences. Sociologist Colin Campbell (1987, 2004) also wrote that through the continual flow of novelty, consumption allows us to imagine the ideal self and, in those emotions, come alive.⁸ In tourism, existential authenticity has been associated with the postmodern turn and the skepticism toward the original, with consumers instead actively seeking the staged experience as an outgrowth of the value they place on eclecticism and aesthetic enjoyment. Wang (1999) writes about existential authenticity as the state of being, triggered by activities that unveil in bodily feelings something experientially authentic about a past event (historical reenactment), the self and authentic communal relationship conducted outside the phoniness of everyday life. The authenticity derived from these collective experiences stems from not only experiencing the exotic but also in sharing and communicating the enjoyment with others. In *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, Eagleton writes that in a taste that we share, it is possible to feel that we have uncovered an essential truth that connects us (Eagleton, cited in Dovey 1999).⁹

Because authenticity judgments are subjective, with more than one objective measure of authenticity, and because there are always participants working to increase the field's commercial

⁸ Sociologist Colin Campbell (1987) has convincingly connected a modern "aesthetic of sensation" back to the romantic Expressivist tradition, where against a rational definition of true needs, new ways of knowing privileging experiences conducive to imaginative empathy and benevolent self-development came to legitimize feeling and pleasure. On the backdrop of the critique of industrialization and civilization, truth comes to be associated with inborn attributes, the spontaneous, the natural, intuition, emotions and sensations, free from social pressure and coming to the individual without effort as the truest form of understanding. For Campbell (2004) the central place of consumption in modern society underlies the same basic human need for feeling and pleasure. Emotions here are given nothing less than the function of reassuring ourselves concerning the reality that we exist. Campbell associates bodily response and desire to our connection of self and reality. In his own words, "Very simply put, we live in a culture in which reality is equated with intensity of experience, and is hence accorded both to the source of intense stimuli and to that aspect of our being that responds to them" (Campbell 2004, p.36).

⁹ Michel Maffesoli (1996) understands aesthetic communities as bringing their own intensity to subjective feelings which contribute to creating temporary moments of 'truth'. He draws on Emmanuel Kant who, influenced by Rousseau, maintained that aesthetic judgments only seem to acquire validity in reference to others. This is a point emphasized by Eagleton in *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* where, also drawing on Kant, he writes that taste we share has the power to make us feel "pure contentless consensus" with others (Eagleton, cited in Dovey 1999, p.37), as if we had uncovered something essentially true that connects us. This, writes Eagleton, transcends the objective world to become a sign of a natural essence shared between man and woman. Meyer (2000) argues that Jean-Jacques Rousseau offers "popularity" as a new rhetoric of authenticity against "taste-as-refinement," that is based in the knowledge of the conventions. For Rousseau, civilization had resulted in false needs and differences of taste that is resulting from people's search for distinction rather than true sentiment. Because the capacity for tasting is natural and universal, natural taste can only be inclusive not exclusive and "true" sentiment should be largely universal.

appeal outside the field, cultural producers don't necessarily use the same strategies to convey authenticity. Even though not always clearly separate, Keightley (2001) argues that to understand how participants create distinctions between and within fields, it is useful to turn to two relatively distinct sets of qualities, one more associated with a Romantic and another with a more Modernist sense of authenticity. For example, the Romantic ideal emphasizes continuity with the past, organic communities and nature, as well as the harmony between the sensual and spiritual, simplicity, transparency and directness, as well as a tendency to hide technology. The later Modernism sense of authenticity favors originality, creativity, rejecting the current state of things preferring reflectivity, progress, self-actualization, embracing technology, shock effect, irony, and favors the authority of expert knowledge to popular meritocracy (see Table 1.1).

<p>Table 1.1 Romantic vs Modernist Authenticity in Popular Music</p>	
<p><i>Romantic authenticity</i> tends to be found more in</p> <p>tradition and continuity with the past roots sense of community populism belief in a core or essential rock sound folk, blues, country, rock'n roll styles gradual stylistic change sincerity, directness "liveness" "natural" sounds hiding musical technology</p>	<p><i>Modernist authenticity</i> tends to be found more in</p> <p>experimentation and progress avant gardes status of artist elitism openness regarding rock sounds classical, art music, soul, pop styles radical or sudden stylistic change irony, sarcasm, obliqueness "recorded-ness" shocking sounds celebrating technology</p>
<p>Source: Keightley 2001</p>	

Keightley argues that while many rock fans will reject those performers or genres that highlight Modernist authenticity as being somehow 'artificial,' other fans might dismiss Romantic rock as being simplistic or compromised by its populism. Peterson makes a further distinction between *Soft-Shell* and *Hard-Core* country music. While hard country is justified as representative

of the authentic tradition of the field and is grounded in people's real life experiences and origins, the corresponding justification for soft country is that it melds country with elements of the popular and the sexy to make it enjoyable to much larger numbers of those not born into or knowledgeable about country music.¹⁰

But, if many different groups or agencies may be involved in the process of authentication, Peterson (1997, 2005) gives evidence that some may become more and some less important over time.¹¹ Peterson argues that because the exact copy is by definition inauthentic, what is taken to be authentic does not remain static but is continually renewed over the years in a continual political struggle in which the goal of each contending interest is to naturalize a particular construction of authenticity. But this cycle of renewal, Peterson writes, is not enough to guarantee the continual regeneration of authenticity, and he identifies three additional processes that challenge the static institutional system and encourage innovation with authenticity.

The first of Peterson's processes, the *dialectic of generations* brings into the field contemporary ways of expressing authenticity. Young artists growing up with new sources of music external to country music bring these influences into their music. Changes also occur through the *dialectic of Hard Core and Soft Shell*, with soft-shell imitators always seeking to increase country music's commercial appeal. But as fads vanished and country music seemed to lose all

¹⁰ Soft country singers favor lyrics that speak of experience that may be shared by a larger audience. They also privilege softer accents and smoother harmonies, as opposed to the strong Southern accents and untrained voices of hard core singers. They also make little reference to origin, or if so, show how far they have come, keeping their life private, with carefully controlled moments of shared intimacy with the audience. The dress code follows more popular fashion trends and generally what at the time is considered sexy.

¹¹ Peterson (1997) makes a case regarding jazz. Before the Second World War, liberal critics and intellectuals asserted that only blacks could play jazz properly, and by the 1960s those in the black pride/black power movement said that only blacks had the right to play jazz. But it is now generally agreed that anyone trained in the tradition and who has the skill to play well, has an equal right to play jazz. This, writes Peterson, shows that the right to play jazz now depends not on ethnic authenticity but on certifiable knowledge, skill and experience. However, this can also work the other way around. In country music, Peterson found that professionally trained performers who took on the appearance of "hillbillies" made one of the most popular country music records before 1930.

Those who decide what is authentic also vary from one field to another and over time. In a study of Turkmen carpets, Spooner (1986) found that the creators have no part in assessing authenticity. He finds authentication to be in the hands of merchants, critics, and collectors. In contrast, Peterson (2005) suggests that in the early formation of country music, fans didn't pay attention to folklorists and other "experts," even though they considered authenticity to be of central importance. He also notes a study conducted by Whisnant, which reported the puzzlement of rural people when confronted by experts trying to teach them songs that were supposed to be traditionally theirs.

commercial appeal, elements of the audience that favored hard-core country had already turned to emerging acts, and the wheel continues to turn. This brings us to the *changing production system*, whereby people inside the field have to respond to changes which often emanate from outside the field, usually by trying to change the structure of the field to their advantage. Tracing the consolidation of the production perspective since the 1970s, Peterson and Anand (2004) have extended the idea of 'milieus' which explains that changes to any of the six facets of the production system (technology, law and regulation, industry structure, organization structure, occupational career, and market) are interdependent, which means any one change can create a destabilization that can set off the entire production system in motion and eventually lead to its restructuring. Changes by these competing forces are "periodic", writes Peterson (1997, p.230), but they are sometimes important enough to disadvantage some actors and advantage others, and in doing so influence the direction of the field.

In summary, what is "authentic" is dynamic and negotiated through a continual political struggle, in which the goal of each contending interest is to naturalize a particular construction of the authentic. Rather than one concise and accepted definition of authenticity, there are competing meanings and qualities that allow products, brands, organizations and cultural producers to be imbued with a set of values that differentiate them from other, more commercialized entities. One sense of authenticity refers to being pure, unadulterated and unchanged; it can also refer to being "true" to an origin historically grounded and/or rooted in traditional modes of production and organic community. In a person or performance, it means being original in the sense of "real," suggesting a unique nature and essence. Authenticity in this sense privileges direct, transparent and intimate representation of something or someone. But being "real," being creative and novel, showing autonomy, that sense of authenticity privileges staying true to a distinctive ethic of life rather than

obeying others' rules and traditions. In the cultural field, as within other communities, authenticity is created in the tension between the two—between representations faithful to the field's tradition and those true to the self or its origin. Also, ideas—like traditions, origins and communities—are best understood as inventions, and if they can offer legitimacy to particular versions of authenticity, they can be contested as well. Hard-core producers provide an ideal of authenticity rooted more in personal life experience and the traditions of the field, while soft-shell producers incorporate more elements of the popular and audience life experience to appeal to audiences outside the field. Yet if anyone can claim authenticity, audiences are ultimately the ones deciding which model of authenticity will be accepted.

DEVELOPING A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The production of culture perspective doesn't privilege a particular methodology (Peterson & Anand 2004), but Peterson (1997, 2005) favors a descriptive research strategy using multiple methods that permits exploration of a wide range of approaches to authenticity. It makes the case study, a form of qualitative descriptive research open to mixed methods research, seem appropriate. The data for this thesis was generated via direct observation, photographs, wine books, annual reports, government documents, industry research, newspaper articles, wine business literature and background interviews.

Particular emphasis is placed on "the law and regulation facet," one of Peterson's six facets of the production system, to establish time-frames for comparison of authentication strategies over time. Hackett (1996) confirms that the international trade agreement forced the Canadian wine industry to restructure and become more internationally competitive. As a deregulatory force, NAFTA has meant among other things, the elimination of protective markups

and caused the Ontario Government to revise the Wine Content Act which determines the authenticity of Ontario Wines based on regulated production and labeling standards (Chapman, 1994). Canada's 1998 ratification of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (later NAFTA) was used to create three chronological time-frames: before 1989 (*Borrowing Stories*), the adaptive phase between 1989-1999 (*Adapting Stories*), and after 1999 (*Inventing New Stories*), when the treaty is fully in place. Using Peterson's study as an example, after offering the reader a critical historical survey, the second part of the analysis abandons a more-or-less linear historical narrative in order to return to the key questions and attempt an explanation relying on a number of theoretical propositions.

The Case Study Method

The case study can be extremely valuable for exploring complex issues, within its real-life context, with the goal being to understand how it works. According to Yin (cited in Mason 2004, p.166):

“...the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries.”

This is particularly significant since both globalization and the fabrication of authenticity are continuous processes rather than a static condition. Because authenticity has to be understood in the unique political and social context in which it emerged, it is impossible to make universal claims. Nevertheless, both Gray (2003) and Gerring (2004) maintain that a well chosen case study can produce extended meaning and generate insights of value into cultural processes, to further study not confined to the individual case. Since I was new to the subject, this genre of research allowed me to familiarize myself with the problem under study, and to generate questions and hypotheses to be tested later (Joppe 2006). Another argument for the case study is that

authenticity, as a strategy, is often denied; therefore, as an outside researcher, the case study approach allowed me to gain insights by spending time in the field (Hamel et al. 1993) and using multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2003).

Mixed Methods

The case study is open to mixed methods approaches for generating and systemized data. Mixed methods research is generally defined by a methodology where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study. The goal of this type of research is to draw from the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of single research studies (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004). Some of the benefits of mixed methods research proposed by Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) include: the convergence and corroboration of results; the complementarity of methods, helping to enhance, illustrate, and clarify the results from one method with results from another; the way it may facilitate the discovery of paradoxes and contradictions that lead to a re-framing of the research question; and the possibility of expanding the breadth and range of research by using different methods for different inquiries. For the case study, Yin (2003) lists six sources of evidence for generating data: documentation, archival records, direct observation, participant observation, physical artifacts and most commonly interviews. These interviews can refer to in-depth, semi-structured or loosely structured forms of interviewing (Mason 2004).

There is a rationale for preferring documents and participant-observation methods over long interviews. For one thing, producers often deny using authenticity as a strategic tool (Beverland 2005). Secondly, I was able to find a substantial number of documents that provided 'thick' description. A third reason is the time constraints and limited scope of a master's thesis. Even

though long interviews would have contributed their own insights, it may have been hard to manage the additional information.

Purposive Sampling to Assure Manageability and Relevance

To further assure manageability and relevance I have used a purposive sampling strategy. Sampling, writes Mason (2004) should have a strategic relationship to the universe one wishes to represent. In qualitative research this means to be relevant, not necessarily to represent directly. The sample should be based both on practical, theoretical logic and the argument or explanation being developed (Mason 2004). Mason also argues that meaningful selection of context and data will increase the chance for comparability.

The sample consists of 32 Niagara wineries (see Appendices, Table 2). First, the selection was made to assure that the total size of the sample was manageable. Second, it was based on the availability of materials for each winery recovered from archival research. Third, to assure adequate representation of maximum variation in the Niagara wine cluster, the size, age and ownership structure of the wineries was taken into account. As a result, I have micro- and large wineries represented, some privately owned, family- owned and publicly-traded companies, as well as some of the oldest and newest wineries.

Observation

It has already been argued that the materiality and the staging of the wine experience are important for the fabrication of authenticity. Therefore it seemed important to observe and live these settings first-hand. The idea is that immersion allows the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of meanings produced in cultural life (Mason 2004). The technique provides for rich data but is not without its difficulties. Some of the problems facing the researcher are the selection

of the setting to generate data relevant to the research questions (Mason 2004), the intricacy of defining the information because of the subjectivity of the researcher, and the volume of sensory data to deal with (Jones & Somekh 2005). This may distract the participant from the research purpose, making note taking difficult. That is why taking notes soon after the event is suggested (Jones & Somekh 2005). Also, observation captured in a photographic image can be understood better (Lee 2000); hence I took 441 pictures of buildings, interior designs, displays and tours.

Observation was used to generate data in the retail and wine tourism spaces with field notes completed after each visit. I recorded my impressions moving from winery to winery, participating in wine tasting, winery tours, wine seminars, interacting with the personnel and other visitors. This allowed me to be more conscious of sensory stimuli including sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. I would sometimes go by myself, while on other occasions, I was accompanied by friends with whom I was able to exchange observations. Normally, I didn't share the purpose of my visit while visiting wineries, since the point was to participate as a "visitor." But, on occasions, when I was asked specific questions, I didn't try to hide the purpose of my visit.

In the retail space, even though informal visits were conducted at various LCBO and private stores in the region of Waterloo and Toronto, observation focused particularly on the official Ontario Wines flagship store located in the Fairview Mall in St. Catharines. Multiple visits to the flagship store were recorded with field notes and 61 onsite pictures. I also collected the data to generate a blueprint locating Ontario wine products in the retail space.

Documentary and Archival Research

Documents are generally considered to be text-based but they can also be, for example, photographs, commercials, films, diagrams, or physical spaces which can be read as "texts" (Mason 2004). Among other things, documents and photographs can help convey 'cultural

biographies' (Plummer, cited in Mason 2004). They are also useful for making inferences about events or corroborating information (Yin 1994) and photographs and other documents may be used to verify, clarify or contextualize recollections (Mason 2004).

The selection of documents was based on three criteria: their relevance to my cluster sampling; their illustrative power; and the legitimacy and richness of the source (for example 'thickness' of description). Initially, the main sources for this study were selected after putting together a chronological list of Canadian wine books, published since 1970 (see Appendices: Table 3). I wanted to get a clearer picture of the evolution of the literature on the local wine. The list was gathered from *First Search* and *the Globalbooksinprint* databases. These are online databases that give library professionals access to more than 11 million titles. They were complemented by research on the Amazon Canada site plus the University of Waterloo and Brock University library databases. The focus was on Canadian publications targeting wine consumers. The help of industry insiders was also solicited to make the survey more complete.

I have favored eight main sources thick in description. *Wines of Ontario: An Industry Comes of Age* (1978), written by historian William F. Rannie, is a detailed rendering of the early industry history. The author gathered information from many sources and conducted interviews with "a very large" number of industry participants among other things. The *Canadian Wine Atlas* (Aspler, 2006) and two early editions of Tony Aspler's *Vintage Canada* (1983 and 1993) were selected both for their extensive coverage of the industry, often complemented with interview details, and for the author's long time involvement reporting on Canadian wines.¹² *The World of Canadian Wine* (1985) by another seasoned observer of the Canadian industry John Schreiner, was selected for similar

¹² Tony Aspler is probably the most prolific Canadian wine writer, having covered the wine industry for over thirty years through his wine column with *The Toronto Star* and through writing at least fourteen books on wine and food, including the *Canadian Wine Atlas* (2006). He is also a director of The Canadian Wine Library and a founding member of the Wine Writers Circle. In 2007, he was made a Member of the Order of Canada for "his contributions as a leading authority on Canadian wines, who has been key to the development of the Canadian wine industry".

reasons.¹³ In contrast, the early guidebook, *Discovering Ontario's Wine Country* (1992), co-authored by Dr. Linda Bramble, another long time industry observer and professor at Brock University's Cool Climate Oenology and Viticulture Institute, is rich in promotional discourses and visual data. Another pocketbook, *The Definitive Wine Tour Guide: Crush on Niagara* (2005), by accredited sommelier and Niagara tour director Andrew Brooks is also rich in promotional discourse. Finally, *Anatomy of a winery: the art of wine at Inniskillin*, the autobiography of Donald Ziraldo, co-owner of Inniskillin wines, rounded out the key sources.

These sources were supplemented by archival materials such as promotional flyers, industry reports, wine newsletters, annual reports, study-cases, magazines and media reports reviewed over broad and extensive reading, initiated from a list of wine literature, set up with the Brock University Library and in collaboration with the Viniculture Center. Marketing materials, including early advertising and flyers, as well as pictures of early retail and winery sites, were generated through research conducted in the CBC archives available via Internet, the LCBO archives and the Brock University's Special Collection. Brock University is home to a number of collections recording the popular culture of the Niagara region.

Overall, I was able to discover many valuable sources of information, although I did encounter a number of problems common to archival research. First, I found that promotional materials are often neglected by projects of archival conservation. Second, some materials, for example in Brock University's Special Collections, had not been sorted yet and in some cases the exact source or date of production was not identifiable. Third, without a coherent filing system, at least to an external eye, the LCBO archive was difficult to access and, although helpful, the personnel managing the LCBO archives didn't always have the insight necessary to guide my

¹³ Schreiner is the author of seven books on wine and was an early writer for *The Financial Post* in British Columbia. His articles on wine appear in *Wine Access*, *Vines*, *Decanter.com*, *National Post*, the *Globe and Mail*, and *NUVO* magazine.

research. Finally, the largest wineries have changed ownership and staff numerous times, and early promotional materials and other artifacts have not always been preserved.

Corroborating Data with Background Interviews

Documents can also give false leads, which has been a criticism of case study research (Yin 1994). To minimize the risk of erroneous information I have used background interviews to corroborate information gathered from other sources. The background interviews were undertaken by email, over the phone, or while conducting other research (for example, in the archives). The questions evolved largely around historical facts and practices: for example, “can you confirm that back labels on wine bottles appeared around 1994?” or “to the best of your knowledge can you tell me if this list of programs and magazines, on wine, is missing any titles from the period between 1975 and 1988?” or “Can you recall Canadian award-winning shows prior to 1988?”

Data Analysis

Yin (2003) proposes four principles to produce qualitative analysis. First, does the analysis take into account all of the relevant evidence? This means the descriptions, claims, and interpretations should be clearly explained and illustrated with real life examples (e.g., field note excerpts, document quotes) and sufficient details to lend confidence to the results. If a claim is made of typicality, it should be supported with evidence of its relative frequency. In addition to description, evidence for each claim should be accompanied by interpretive commentary of how and why the patterns may have occurred; in relation to the social and historical context in which they occurred; how they relate to theory or what new theory, questions and direction for research does it arise. Second, Yin requires that the analysis should also include all major alternative interpretations. Third, the analysis should address the most significant aspects of the case study.

Finally, whenever possible, the researcher should use his or her prior, expert knowledge to further the analysis.

My analysis started with an overview of historical, government reports and business literature on wine to get acquainted with the field and its history. Historical pictures of buildings and pictures taken at the winery were displayed side by side, reconstituting something of an industry material biography (see Appendix, Table 4). This also helped me to detect changes over time, as well as to perceive patterns. I then turn my attention to promotional materials and to observation of retail and tourism spaces to understand their significance and how the nature of authenticity was defined over time. Based on the data, for each of the three periods, I have provided a chronological overview of the cycle of authenticity renegotiation in the Niagara Wine cluster.

Concluding Reflexively

The point of this research is not to suggest that there is only one reading possible. On the contrary, my exploratory approach was inspired by the need for more research on the subject. This brings us to the production of culture perspective, which provides techniques for researching the constructed nature of collective representations. The perspective is not without criticism. Its critics claim that it overlooks the role of fans and consumers in shaping the content of cultural symbols (see the review of criticisms in Peterson & Anand 2004). It is also criticized for ignoring “what is special about art, approaching it the same as the production of automobiles or shoes” (Peterson & Anand 2004, 17). Peterson’s (Peterson & Anand 2004) answer to these critics is that the perspective does not claim to provide a complete understanding of culture. But, to concentrate on the consumer experience risks also reproducing the obvious finding that consumers make their own meanings, without addressing how these meanings come to be (Goss 2004). Another issue is the challenge to objective authenticity. There is a danger in relativizing all discourses as equal to

legitimize inequality (see Ulin 1995). But Peterson and Anand (2004, 327) argue that exploring the construction of culture "exposes the workings of power and exploitation." They give for example numerous works demonstrating the exploitation of creative people, the exploitation of women and the suppression of ethnic minorities.

My way of acknowledging some of these criticisms was to supplement the producers' viewpoint with secondary sources from consumer research studies and to attempt explanations and conclusions relying on a number of other theoretical propositions. On the other hand, such a broad engagement risks offering findings that lack some details. Still, I have found it rewarding in the context of an exploratory case study, which, in any event, is meant to generate insights and hypotheses for future, more detailed, studies. Finally, even if there are better methodologies, there is no single best methodology and this is just one way of investigating the response of local industries to globalization.

WHAT IS TO COME?

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4, the historical critical survey is divided into 3 sections, *Borrowing Stories* (before 1989), *Adapting Stories* (between 1989-1999) and *Inventing New Stories* (after 1999). Each section clearly demonstrates a change in the criteria used to define authenticity and the evolution of strategies of authentication as the Niagara wine industry responded to increase stresses from globalization. In Chapter 5, I return to the questions introduced at the beginning of this thesis, reporting my interpretations and conclusions within the context of the production of culture approach and other theoretical propositions.

Chapter 2

BORROWING STORIES: THE PERIOD BEFORE 1988

A Canadian Fairy Tale

The sun rose, one beautiful morning, over the *DOMAINE D'OR*, a lovely land of plenty, situated *ENTRE-LACS* and criss-crossed by arms of the murky *VASEAUX* river. On the horizon stood the impressive, snow-covered *SOMMET BLANC*, and beneath it one could see the chain of green hills, known as *MISSION RIDGE*. Half way up *SOMMET BLANC* stood the massive, fortified castle, *SCHLOSS LADERHEIM*, home of the much -feared Count Fritz Von *HOCHTALER*. Von *HOCHTALER* had also built a smaller residence for his obedient servants, known as *SCHLOSS LADERHEIM LIGHT*.

It was a very special day for *MARIA CHRISTINA*, Count Von *HOCHTALER*'s young wife. She had fallen in love with a handsome Italian bandit, Giuseppe *TOSCANO* and was going to run away with him to the hills of *MISSION RIDGE*. *MARIA CHRISTINA* was looking forward to this *INTERLUDE*. She had prepared a picnic basket, filled with the finest delicacies one could find anywhere in the *DOMAINE D'OR*, and some white wines made by the local chemist, Jean-Pierre *BEAUPRE*. At the last minute she decided to replace *BEAUPRE'S COUNTRY WHITE* with a wine that would suit the occasion, the *CLASSIC BLANC DE BLANCS*.

Unfortunately for *MARIA CHRISTINA*, the planned *ESCAPADE* became known to Count Von *HOCHTALER*, who sent the captain of his guard, a cruel mercenary named Franco *CAPISTRO*, to fetch Giuseppe *TOSCANO*. *TOSCANO* was arrested and put to death. *MARIA CHRISTINA*, upon hearing about the tragic death of her lover rode her horse up *MISSION RIDGE* to a cave known as *CAVES CHAUVIGNON*... Father *PANDOSY*'s efforts to dissuade her from committing suicide having failed, she took her own life by jumping off a high cliff into the deep *VASEAUX* River.

Meanwhile, Count Von *HOCHTALER* was arrested by government troops, as was his lieutenant, Franco *CAPISTRO*, for aggravated assault and murder.

Later that day the provincial government decided to put an end to all the anarchy by removing the protectionist policies, artificially high mark-ups on imported wines and low mark-up on local products and the people rejoiced and there was peace, joy and good wine in the land ever after.

Albert Givton (1987)

The extract, from Albert Givton's wine newsletter, provides an entertaining insight into the Canadian wine industry, just before Canada joined NAFTA. By then, European wines had overtaken native wines in sales and the local industry was struggling to stop the bleeding. Before going into more details of that critical period, I first present the early commercialization of native wines and the efforts of their producers at re-establishing the authenticity of the wine industry in the aftermath of Prohibition, the efforts of which were a direct result of the cluster configuration at the beginning of the 1970s.

MAKING NATIVE WINE COMMERCIAL AND AUTHENTIC

In Ontario the wine industry can be traced back to as early as 1811. There, the Niagara wine region is located approximately an hour and a half drive west of Toronto, today the largest metropolis in Canada, and delineated by the Niagara Falls area on the Canadian-American border, making it a place of choice for American tourists as well. This forty-kilometer stretch of land is located between Lake Erie to the South and Lake Ontario to the North, which create offshore winds enclosed east and west by the Niagara escarpment, rising over 200 meters above sea level at its highest point. The geography of the place, with its escarpment, creates a microclimate moderating the hot summers and harsh Canadian winters (Ziraldó, 1995). It contributed over time to an agglomeration of fruit and grape farms. Because of the close linkage between grape-growing and winemaking, wineries have tended to locate close to their suppliers with eventually additional supporting organizations and services co-locating in the region, forming a cluster. At first, wine-making was mostly a hobby and business done in the kitchen by fruit farmers and European descendants who brought with them a taste for wine. Early settlers to the region were in the fresh fruit trade, where the Concord grape, with other hybrid native varieties, similarly high yield and

resistance to the extreme winter cold, became very popular. However, this changed as Prohibition pushed a marginally viable business into an industry, growing from 12 wineries in 1916 to an all-time high of fifty-one wineries by 1928 (LCBO, 1966).

The transformation happened with World War I, when *The Ontario Temperance Act* (1916-1927) made the sale and production of alcohol illegal in Canada, except for wine. Even though beer was lower in alcohol, only wine was exempted under pressure from the grape-growers' lobby wanting to secure a source of revenue for farmers. In Ontario, wine was commonly associated with the agricultural and the natural worlds as well as accorded therapeutic and medicinal properties. Unlike the distilling industry, regulated from the start and subject to taxation, successive governments in Upper Canada and Ontario considered wine mostly as an adjunct to agriculture, rather than an industrial category, and left it to itself (Rannie, 1978). In Europe, particularly in France, grape-based beverages were portrayed as natural products by emphasizing that fermentation was a natural process, unlike distillation that was artificial. There, industrial alcohol became popular just as alcoholism was recognized as a medical condition. Instead of treating alcoholism as a long-standing social problem, it was defined as a new disease and researchers and anti-alcohol groups quickly linked to distilled alcohol (Phillips, 2000). Even though there is evidence that throughout its history, wine was also the cause for social disorder, since alcoholism was a new disease, a case could always be made that wine consumed for centuries without producing alcoholism was safe.

Prohibition took its roots in the purity movement of the late 19th century economic depression with the growth of urban centres and large-scale immigration in Canada contributing to the visibility of poverty, filth, epidemics, crime and social disorder. As one of the earliest and most popular mass consumer goods, alcohol was increasingly targeted as the cause of social problems, associated

with prostitution and promiscuity believed to contribute to the spread of diseases, and for a middle class composed of self-employed farmers, fishermen and businessmen, alcohol was in the way of social progress (Heron, 2004).¹³

In that context, wine came to be framed as pure and clean. This is illustrated by an advertisement placed in the *Canadian Almanac*, in 1864, by a M. W. Kitchen, from Grimsby, who claimed that his wine was “sold by the principal chemists in Canada, east and west” and “Now in use by some Hundreds of Churches.” Chemists and men of churches might not be what you conceive of as wine experts, but at the time, this might have been seen as a holy certification of purity for a product that was part of a healthy lifestyle.

However, during Prohibition, demand for native wine in all of Canada, totalling 221,985 gallons in 1920-21 in Ontario alone, reached over 2 million gallons ten years later (Rannie, 1978, p.67). To meet the demand, that went way beyond its borders, smuggled to the United-States, the industry popularized a number of questionable, even hazardous, practices.¹⁴ An industry report published in 1928, prepared for the Ministry of Health, testified to the widespread practice of ‘stretching’ (the addition of water to grape juice). One large winery is reported making 452 gallons of wine per ton of fruit (Aspler reports as high as 600 gallons for a ton of grapes, 1983, p.16). This seems excessive if you think that it was later regulated at 250 gallons and in some parts of the world it is closer to 160 (Aspler, 1983). In addition to stretching, it was common to use colouring, artificial flavour and sugar to increase alcohol content and hide the effect of stretching in the first

¹³ There are few records on drinking in the 19th century. But, historians usually agree that consumption per capita was probably far more than it is today (Heron, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2004). For example, in the 1830's in a typical district of Upper Canada (Bathurst), there were 6 distilleries serving the area. Each of these produced about 60 gallons a day of whisky and other spirits, which would yield a per capita consumption of 13.4 liters of ethanol for people over age 15, this figure excluding beer, cider or wine. Drinking was not socially disciplined and workers would drink before, after, as well as on the job. The annual per capita consumption of spirits was reported to be 7.5 gallons; about three times the 1985 level. In comparison, wine was drunk in small quantities, and drinkers consumed less than 10 per cent of their alcohol in the form of wine (Phillips, 2000).

¹⁴ Rannie (1978) reports that the demand for native wine in all of Canada totalling 221,985 gallons in 1920-21, in Ontario alone, reached over 2 million gallons ten years later.

place. Aspler (1983) also reports that blocks of sulphur were pitched into the vats to kill bacteria and one winemaker supposedly was using aspirins to control his fermentation. The report also highlights misleading labels and a basic lack of knowledge of wine-making responsible for making the wine taste sour or turn bad. There were also issues of questionable hygiene and the poor physical condition of wineries. Rannie (1978) writes about the establishing of wineries overnight in barns, home basements, and cellars under stores and even in a farm building that was once a pig pen (1978, p.65).

While these practices went unchallenged throughout Prohibition, they raise concern about the criteria of authenticity at the end of the dry period, in 1927, when the legal production of beer and spirits was reinstated and the industry took a downturn. In 1931, the Honourable R. B. Bennett told a delegation of 700 growers and wine men congregated in Ottawa protesting against further concessions to Australian wines, to "Go home and make better wine" and that he was not going to protect an industry that was showing no effort to make a good product, but was apparently only concerned with selling (LCBO, 1966, p.7). On top of this, shortly after, Canada entered the Great Depression, a time when domestic wine was selling as low as 30 cents a bottle.

Making authentic native wines from 100 percent home grown grapes

Another strategy dealt with the grape surplus and was meant to secure a market for Ontario farmers. It was achieved by regulation of the production of wine to a maximum of 250 gallons from a ton of grapes and put an end to the practice of importing grapes. This means that from 1931, authentic native wines could only be made from 100 per cent grown Ontario grapes (LCBO, 1966).

The Selection of Tradition: The Case of Port

Another strategy that helped to secure a market for Ontario farmers as well as for wine

producers was to lobby for the legalization of the fortification of wines in the style of “porto.” That particular method of production gave farmers a market for their grape surplus that otherwise would have gone spoiled, and the wineries a product with a maximum 31.4 per cent by volume, almost as high in alcohol as whisky, to compete with the dominant spirit category. This was at a time when the government started limiting the addition of water with sugar, considered adulteration. But it is possible to question what makes the addition of distilled alcohol more authentic than sugar. Going back to the 16th century, Port was traditionally fortified with grape-distilled alcohol to diminish spoilage during its transportation from Portugal to the British Isles. Port wine is typically sweeter and heavier, and became very popular in England, when merchants were permitted to import it at a low duty, while war with France deprived English wine drinkers of French wine (Phillips, 2000). In a period with still-strong temperance sentiment, the connection with a recognized tradition helped the industry establish legitimacy for these high-alcohol wines. The government also helped the industry with a tax cut for making Ontario wines and by 1933 these sweet and highly alcoholic wines accounted for 42 percent of total wine sales, as well as being the favorite of those “who did much of their social drinking in doorways” (George Bain as cited in Aspler, 1983, p.vi).

Instituting an assurance of purity: the Liquor Control Board of Ontario

As a compromise to prohibit alcohol consumption altogether, at the end of the dry period, The Liquor Control Act (1927) instituted the provincial Crown Corporation, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO), to control the sale, transportation and delivery of alcoholic beverages in Ontario. The role of the LCBO can be understood as keeping an arms-length distance between consumers and producers’ commercial greed. The Ontario Liquor Board aimed at disciplining producers as much as disciplining social bodies. Wine expert Tony Aspler writes: “The LCBO stores themselves used to be as inviting as a railway lost-property office” (1983, p.32). Purchase cards were

necessary, no bottles were displayed and customers had to fill out a form and hand it to a clerk. Then the bottle was slipped into a brown paper bag to be carried out.

This period was characterized by the introduction of standards and controls of production that never existed before in the wine industry. Section 6 with 'of' the Public Health Act (1930) introduced a number of standards of production dealing with product aesthetics, hygiene and adulteration. The legislation was reinforced by inspections on the premises, regular sampling and analysis, and the implementation of an experiential laboratory controlling obvious aesthetic defects. Ultimately, LCBO retail stores act to authenticate product authenticity, discarding the sales of those not meeting government standards.

Reflecting an ethic of production through investment in modern technology, standardized production methods and knowledge of winemaking

The LCBO monopoly on beverage alcohol sales, except at the wine stores, made it a much sought after goal to be listed. Producers showed an ethic of production, beyond a single commercial agenda, by complying with the new regulations and investing in modern equipment and knowledge.

Firms that were refused distribution could join the new school of winemaking, implemented by the Board's chief analyst, Bert Bonham, through the Provincial Department of Health. However, for new immigrants whose command of English was limited, it quickly became a serious barrier and served to limit their access to education. The most established, well-financed wineries were able to adapt to the new order and even benefitted from it. In 1935, at the lowest point of the depression, to help ensure the industry ability to invest and conform with the new production regulation, the Board passed Regulation #104, a policy encouraging large wineries to acquire licenses from smaller, less-viable wineries. This was done by raising license fees, thus adding stress to wineries

with little profit margin, and allowing buyers to maintain the limited retail stores that each licensee was allowed to operate.

In 1930, Mr. Bonham made also the recommendation: "That wineries be encouraged ... to keep their various brands as constant in character from season to season as standard methods of manufacture will permit" (LCBO, 1966, p.8). In marketing, brand is often described as a promise to consumer. Staying true to the brand character and its promise rather than adulterate the wine to assure profit in the event of uncontrollable external factors, like short crop, sudden increase demand, confer sincerity to the producer.

The state of the industry and the nature of its product offerings at the beginning of the 1970s is largely the result of the cleaning of wine production through industrialization and state control. From a high of 61 wineries in 1927, only six remained in 1974: Barnes, Brights, Chateau-Gai, Jordan, London and Andres.¹⁵ Nevertheless, altogether, these measures were judged a real success. A 1966 industry report, produced for the LCBO, comments: "There can be no doubt that the quality of Ontario wines has been greatly improved. At present, there is a consistency in standards for the various types and labels fairly accurately describe the contents of the package" (LCBO, 1966, p.15). The reduction in the number of wine licenses meant that Ontario wine was being produced in wineries that had: "qualified technical personnel; well-equipped laboratories; heat exchangers and pasteurizers; large-scale refrigeration; bulk and germproof filters; ion exchange; increased storage and maturing facilities; and, automatic bottling equipment" (LCBO, 1966, p.14).

¹⁵ The largest and newest member, Andrés Wines, bought the Beau Chatel winery at Winona from Imperial Tobacco in 1969, seven years after opening its first winery in British Columbia. Barnes, the oldest member of the cluster, was respectively going back to 1873, was family-owned until 1973, when it was sold to Reckitt & Colman, a British food conglomerate which had been diversifying, buying wineries in Australia and the United States. While the second oldest and one of the largest wineries, opened in 1874, Brights had been under the control of Harry C. Hatch, a distiller and former Jordan partner, since 1933. Chateau-Gai, established in 1928, was one of the five wineries in Canada and one in California owned by Canadian brewer John Labatt Ltd. Finally, there were Jordan and Ste-Michelle established in the 1920s, with a complex corporate ancestry with roots in both Ontario and British Columbia. In 1971, partially owned by Seagram, it was taken over in 1972 by Carling O'Keefe, a Canadian subsidiary of Rothmans International Ltd. of Britain.

Leftovers of these early anxieties and the enthusiasm for the purification of wine via modern technology, as opposed to the later nostalgia for hand-made and small production, is addressed in the first book on Canadian wines. Published in 1970, author Percy Rowe (1970, p.80) writes:

"The myth of a bunch of peasants, their ankles purple with juice, performing some frenzied pagan dance couldn't be further from the truth of a Canadian winery at vintage time, for then it is as organized, as sterile, as hectic as any maternity ward".

(Wine) It will be given 'beauty treatments' to make it clear and attractive. The germs around it will be destroyed and chemicals will be added to it, almost like medicines and in the end, when the last drop is drunk, it is hoped that its life will have been a worthwhile endeavor, like any man's.

(Rowe, 1970, p.81)

Rowe reminds us that the human element remains "an overriding factor in the making of wine. "The wine maker must have scientific knowledge, a high standard of ethics, long experience, an inborn awareness of dangers, a feeling for grapes, a love of wine" (1970, p.81).

THE MAKING OF POPULAR "CHAMPAGNE": THE CASE OF BABY DUCK



Figure 1. Baby Duck label



Figure 2. Baby Bear label

The sixties and seventies saw the introduction of Canadian "soft-shell" sparkling wines. The flavoured wines immediately developed into a craze which included the menageries of wines such as Gimli Goose, Pink Flamingo, Baby Deer, Baby Bear, Little White Duck, Fuddle Duck, Luv-a-Duck, Pussycat, and Spaghetti-Duck, for those uncertain what food to match. Outside the animal kingdom, in 1974, a lifestyle product was launched called Moody Blue, with its recognizable jeans

denim pocket label, named for the band *Moody Blues*, or was it for Elvis' *Moody Blue* album?¹⁶ There were also the blueberry-flavoured Lonesome Charlie, a popular 5 percent alcohol wine and even at one time a cola-flavored wine called Zoom. But, it is to its youngest, Baby Duck, that industry observers usually attribute the revolution in Canadian taste. Released in 1971, the little duck was an immediate success and kept the Canadian wine best-seller position until 1981, reaching eight million bottles a year at its peak in 1973 (Aspler, 1983). Though Baby Duck later fell out of favour, it still fills the bottom of a shelf at my neighbourhood LCBO. The label recommends serving it "chilled, with animal crackers".

Simple and Innocent Pleasure Rather than Snobbish or Immoral



Figure 3. Clio award-winning magazine ads for Baby Duck

One way we can start understanding the success of Baby Duck is by asking how it might have seemed and felt authentic in opposition to fortified wines, making up the great majority of Canadian wines of that time. Our Duck obviously shared some of the qualities of a more famous wine. Dom Pérignon and Moët et Chandon from the region of Champagne, in France, were some of the first global brands in the wine category (Zalan, 2005). In America the bubbly drink was given much of its prestige and popular appeal by Hollywood, where it was regularly featured. In the

¹⁶ Wine Diva (2006) offered a retrospective on Canadian wines of the 1970s, where she gives two versions of the fact from two former Andrés' employees. It is very possible that Andrés launched Moody Blue for both occasions, maybe in different markets.

1950's Marilyn Monroe made it her favorite drink and "champagne" appeared in such classic films as *Casablanca* with Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman (1942, Directed by Michael Curtiz), *Cleopatra* with Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton (1963, Directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz), *Murder on the Orient Express* (1974, with Albert Finney Lauren Bacall, Directed by Sidney Lumet) as well as in numerous James Bond movies. Dom Pérignon Moet et Chandon at \$30.80 and a less expensive Champagne, Bollinger brut at \$18.30, in Canada were priced high enough to confer further unique qualities to the drink.¹⁷ The glamorous image of "Champagne" contrasted with the representation of fortified wines, that made up the bulk of Canadian wines, and had come to be associated with problematic drinking.

Andres first tried registering Baby Duck as "Canadian champagne" but its demand was rejected, blocked in court by Jordan & Ste-Michelle Ltd., on the basis that it would have impinged on the general association of the public with the qualities of Canadian "champagne." Chateau-Gai who in 1928 had purchased the rights of using the Charmat process for making what the firm refers to as "authentic champagne" wrote to the LCBO protesting the sale of the carbonated flavored newcomers as harmful and demeaning to the industry (Rannie, 1978, p.114). Nevertheless, a connection to that tradition was implied, borrowing common elements associated with the more famous sparkling wines, including the typical aluminium foil around the bottleneck and the cork top wired to the bottle that makes a fun 'pop' when the bottle is opened. These associations are reinforced throughout the magazine campaign with close-ups on the bottle and foil paper. In two of the magazine ads the bubbly liquid is presented in typical sparkling wine glasses, the same type of glass Hollywood stars would have been seen drinking from.

But, at the same time as it makes a link to the tradition of "champagne", on the bottle Baby

¹⁷ Price information was taken from John Reid's *LCBO Wines & Spirits Guide Book* (1978), a buyer's guide based on LCBO listing.

Duck claimed its individuality: "The quality sparkling wine with unique taste and character." One of our fluffy friend's distinctive features was its low alcohol level. At 7 percent Baby Duck stood in sharp contrast with fortified wines and at almost half the 12 percent alcohol level typical of sparkling wines. However, at least two 7 percent wines predate Baby Duck: Du Barry made by Brights, and Chanté (as *enchanté*) produced by Andres, with Chanté priced at \$2.70, equal to Baby Duck. In these cases, rather than positioning the wines based on their distinctive features, the producers give French names to their products, making a closer implicit connection to that tradition. Instead, by claiming originality for its product, Andres suggests that Baby Duck was not made to please a ready market, and with its low alcohol level, especially not interested in attracting the "wrong" clientele. Disinterestedness implies that Baby Duck was made simply for aesthetic pleasure.

The reality was that in Canada, the table wine and sparkling wine segments that made up only 2.4 percent of total retail sales in 1946 had been continually growing in popularity, reaching 19 percent in 1966 (LCBO, 1966). In the U.S., the wine industry was already successfully targeting the beer consumers with inexpensive carbonated wines that made a "popping sound" when opened (Sloan, 2003). The popularization of these wines coincided with the post-war Baby Boom generation (1947-1966) reaching the drinking age (then 21). This horde of soft-drink and beer-drinkers was a great force in the marketplace and producers in Ontario were as much interested as their neighbour in appealing to that market. Cold Duck was a product widely popular over there, an inexpensive twelve percent sparkling wine, typically sweet, made by blending reds and whites. The original Cold Duck was a German tradition of ending a party by emptying glasses into a bowl, and afterward sampling it. Andrés Wines launched a similar product in Canada, made of Concord grapes, the lowest-priced grapes available. It turned out to be a success here as well. The firm

tried to register the name as its own brand, but it was blocked by Château-Gai, which released its own version in late 1971, followed by the rest of the industry. In 1971, because of a government tax break intended to encourage the production of low-alcohol sparkling wines, Andrés released a light version, only 7 percent alcohol content, named simply Baby Duck.¹⁸

Another feature that differentiated Baby Duck, but was followed after by the likes of Baby Bear and Pussycat, is the illustration of an animal creature on its label. Personification or anthropomorphism is commonly employed in books for children where objects are given human-like faces. Even without a literal design element, like an animal or a person's name, psychologists tell us that people have a tendency to assign personality attributes to inanimate objects. Fun, sweet, loving, kind and soft are only a few of the personality descriptors found to be persistently recognized in product design (Jordan, 2004). As people project shared personality attributes in products, they are more likely to feel attracted to them. The process of melding familiar elements and make them pleasurable to a new generation unfamiliar with wine helped create an emotional connection with Baby Duck. Peterson (1997) suggests that this is an important aspect of making soft-shell products authentic to audiences outside the field.

This melding of tradition and familiarity is what also distinguished Baby Duck's taste. Schreiner (1985, p.37) wrote that "Sweetened and with their acidity balanced, however (Labrusca grapes), they gave Baby Duck a unique character that proved popular from the start." Baby Duck's unique taste came out of the Andres effort to hide a particular characteristic of the Concord Labrusca grape. In the style of port or sherry with the addition of sugar and aged in barrels, labrusca grapes were reported generally decent; however, processed as table wines they were

¹⁸ The technique for producing 7 percent wines was tricky since alcohol helps stabilize wine in the bottle. Nevertheless, it was developed by de Chaunac, employed at Brights, in the 1950s, at the request of the Ontario Liquor board, no doubt, writes Schreiner (1985), in the cause of temperance. As a sparkling product, a tax of \$2.50 per gallon applied. But in 1952, Aspler (1983) tells us that J.F. Jones of Brights argued successfully with the LCBO to lower the tax and the mark-up because of the product's low alcohol level. The tax per gallon was fixed at 25 cents.

characterized as 'foxy' or grapey. Even though in 1985 the best selling Canadian wine was still a concord-flavoured medium-sweet red from Calona, BC, the strong particular taste of Labrusca wines, seemed to demand an acquired taste. In 1880, one man was reported describing foxy as "the odour detected in a cup in which a mouse has been" (Rannie, 1978, p.159). Another, William Bartram defined foxiness as "the strong, rancid smell of its ripe fruit, very like the effluvia arising from the body of a fox" (Rannie, 1978, p. 159). But, around the same period, William Haskins found (as cited in Aspler, 1983) "that the public generally prefer native wines after they have begun to use them" (p. vi). Since wines made of Labrusca have been banned in Ontario, from 1988, I'm left with this intriguing metaphor. The only other way to get rid of the 'foxy' taste was very cost effective and consisted of adding sugar to the diluted juice of grape with water, which gave Baby Duck a unique pop quality.

Wine writer Nathalie McLean speculated on Baby Duck's particular appeal and suggests that its pop quality made it easy for a new generation of pop drinkers to jump from cola to wine. An observer of the time, Winston Collins, at *Saturday Night*, discusses this further (as cited in Aspler, 1983, p.24):

Most Canadians grow up on soft drinks, and prefer to consume their alcoholic beverages flavoured, sweetened, carbonated, chilled, and diluted – rum and Coke, rye and ginger. Baby Duck was an easy transition from soft drinks to not-too-hard alcohol for the baby boom generation, young people who may have been attracted to wine but were put off by its 'come-alive-for-a-dollar-five' image, or else intimidated by the overly sophisticated aura of something with an unpronounceable foreign name.

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1979) uses the concept of 'Habitus' to describe an internalized structuring structure that functions underneath the level of consciousness to predispose our pleasure to certain foods. In other words, the food to which we have become habituated contributes to determine what will come "easy" and "natural" to us. Even though immediate pleasure may feel more natural, 'habitus' presupposes that tastes are not so much natural as

cultural. Nevertheless, in the romantic ethic, nature is closely associated with goodness and since it feels good Baby Duck may also feel “right” and “ethical”. Woodward & Emmison (2001), using data from a recent Australian national survey, suggest that even today everyday judgements of taste are not only understood as a question of aesthetics, but that they are also matters of moral, ethical and communal sensibility, consistent with many aspects of the classical writings on taste (Woodward & Emmison, 2001).

“Who doesn’t like a little Baby Duck?” asks the campaign headline. This connection, in addition to the white color label, associated with purity, its fun name Baby Duck and innocent image of youth all come together to convey pure innocent fun. One particular ad calls attention to the purity of the wine, showcasing the bottle with a real baby duck floating in clear water. The experiential lightness of Baby Duck stands also in sharp contrast with the heavier, darker wines, made in the style of port or sherry.

But, the Canadian elite never cared much for Baby Duck. For example, in 1979, a CBC reporter reporting the launch of Baby Duck in the British market labelled Baby Duck consumers, along with Mateus drinkers, “novices” and “unsophisticated.” Over the years, wine writers have consistently challenged Baby Duck’s qualification as a wine, and making it little less than sugar and tap water. Even though today there are plenty of Canadians still drinking Baby Duck, a survey shows that they would not serve it to visitors or give it as a gift to their employer (Franklin, 2006). Since then, to distance its wine production from the Baby Duck image, Andres has downgraded Baby Duck from a wine to a “refreshment drink.”

Yet, looking back in the context of its first success, what Baby Duck promised, altogether, was an original, the first of a kind, more grownup, exciting, and sophisticated experience than pop or beer and did so at the same time as suggesting a more natural product than fortified wines and

offering itself as the symbol of pure innocent pleasure that helped legitimize drinking wine. Accessibly-priced Baby Duck presented itself as the perfect product for celebrating life's simple pleasures, including gathering with friends and family and celebrating the weekend.

POPULAR MERITOCRACY IN RETAIL SETTINGS

In the 1960's Canadian wines were outselling imports three to one in Canada (Schreiner, 1985, p.17). This was as well a time when European producers found themselves with large surpluses of wines.¹⁹ In response, liquor boards across Canada listed an ever-greater number of affordable imports, quickly filling the gap between the ports, the sherries and the ducks, until in 1977, imports outsold domestic ones for the first time (Schreiner, 1985, p.40). By 1975, Tony Aspler (1983, p.24-25) counted 3,315 imports listed across the country, as opposed to 1,875 domestic products.²⁰

The growing listing of dry table wines concurred with changes in ways of thinking about alcohol in the health sector. An era of liberalization, that first began in the 1950s, shifting the attribution of alcohol problems not to liquor but to a minority of diseased or weak individuals (Marquis, 2003). This was a time, writes Marquis, when "modernizers spoke of ending 'puritanical' restrictions and encouraging moderate drinking in the way of 'European' modes of consumption" (2003).²¹ However, in Ontario it was tempered, in the late 1960s, by the Addiction Research

¹⁹After two World Wars that considerably slowed down wine production, Phillips (2000) reports that by the 1950s and 1960s, many wine-producing countries expanded the land in vines, increasing wine-production beyond demand. Helped by mechanization and advances in clone selection, from 1940 to the mid 1960s, worldwide production rose 45 percent. Western Europe's production jumped by 43 percent, Eastern Europe's more than doubled, and New World production increased by 57 percent. As production rose in Europe, new patterns of consumption contributed to decreased demand by an estimated two million hectoliters a year.

²⁰ And, by 1974, Rannie (1978, p.152) reports the provincial Liquor authorities' price lists showing 67.68 percent of their total listings as coming from outside Canada.

²¹ Dr. Greg Marquis is an Associate professor in the Department of History and Politics at the University of New Brunswick, Saint John, where he leads the *Alcohol and Canadian Society Project*, which has been widely published (see Marquis, 2003). The project examines how Canada 'dealt with drink' from the early 1920s until the early 1980s. The project focuses on policy and law, and the politics of alcohol control, resulting from the interaction of various interest groups (Alcoholics Anonymous, organized labour, military veterans), medical, legal and social scientific experts, the alcohol industry, the media and government.

Foundation, a provincial agency established to run research and a provincial alcoholism treatment system, which started promoting the rise of alcohol prices in order to control rising levels of consumption (Marquis, 2001). But, the LCBO decision to allow large purchases of wines from Europe, South Africa and Australia, far outnumbering domestic listings, was not without criticism. Industry observers have consistently made the link between LCBO claims that it was giving what consumers wanted and the liquor board mark-up which in practice generated from imports twice as much profit as did local wines. Yet Schreiner writes that from the mid-seventies consumer attitudes towards Canadian wines were "harmfully negative" (1985, p.17). He tells an anecdote in which the president of a Canadian winery, travelling on Air Canada, once asked for one of his products. He was given by the stewardess, who did not recognize him, supposedly six bottles of what they had started to call "million milers" with the comment: "You may as well have them all. No one else wants them".

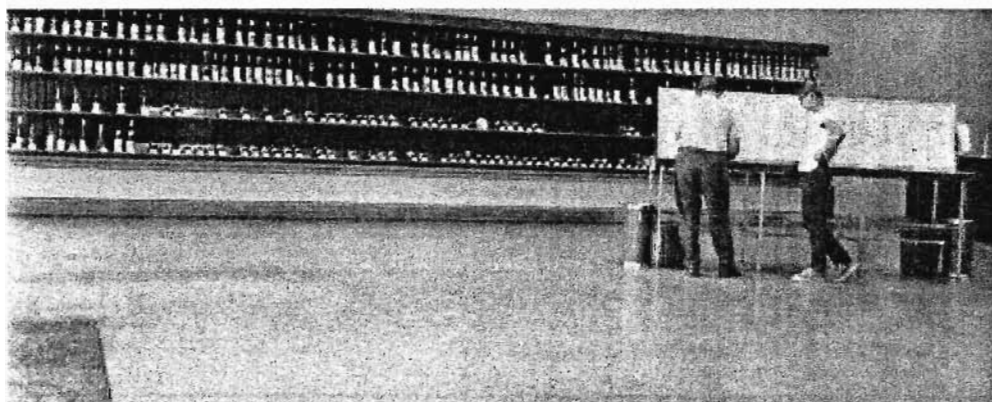


Figure 4. LCBO retail outlet, located in Peterborough, picture dated from 1969.

When in the mid-sixties Canadian wines were outselling imports in Canada, the popularity of Niagara wines could always be raised against criticism. In response to a terrible put-down of Ontario wine by the English wine critic Hughes Johnson, Ronald C. Moyer, Chairman of the

Ontario Grape Growers' marketing Board, in a telegram sent in November 1971, replied that: "By public demand Canadian wines outsell all imported wines by a ratio of two to one. Your comments demonstrate your experience and knowledge of this subject lack even basic understanding." Meyer (2000) associated the rhetoric of authenticity/popularity to the romantic tradition and to Rousseau, who argues that as opposed to those who change their taste to, everyone is born with the natural capacity to taste. So, because taste is natural, it can only be inclusive, not exclusive, and "true" sentiment should find large agreement. Popularity was often implicitly suggested by large wineries in their promotional materials.

But, as imports became more accessible and consumers enthusiastically chose them over native wines, in 1976, domestic grape growers and wineries appealed to the provincial government for help. This was at a time when stores were starting to be more conveniently located, as well as having façades and interiors that were more inviting.²² In 1962, first in selected stores, a limited number of Ontario wines were eventually put up behind glass, followed by imported wines the next year (Aspler, 1983). And in 1969 the first self-service stores were introduced in the province. The government responded with the Ontario Wine Industry Assistance Program, a five-year interest-free loan program to facilitate growers' move from producing *labrusca* to hybrids and *vinifera* grapes (Aspler, 1983). That same year the LCBO began a conscious policy of promoting native wines through better display space on the shelves of LCBO stores, and allowing favourable markups on Ontario table wines (Rannie, 1978).²³ Tony Aspler (1983) recounts a memo sent by the LCBO head office to all its stores on which it said, "Delist imported wines that are not meeting

²² Already then, the limited private retail force of 51 stores (including wineries) in 1965 had little impact on the market, compared to the 362 liquor stores managed by the LCBO. The Ontario Wine Industry Assistance Program was to allow the industry to turn around and increase its production of dry table wines.

²³ For example in 1985 markups for Ontario wines were 45 percent compared with imported table wines' 110 percent (Schreiner, 1985, p.36). In 1988, it went down to 66% for imported table wines and to 1%, for Ontario table wines (LCBO, archive). This was at the same time as it reached 18 percent for wine Ontario dessert, 40 percent for Ontario wine coolers and 75% for Ontario wine cream.

their sales quotas and thereby make room for Ontario wines ... Urge store managers and wine consultants to mention Ontario wines ... Store managers will rearrange present shelf-facings and thereby make room for additional brands of Ontario wines ...". The industry responded by flooding, as quickly as possible, the store shelves with multiple brand-name bottles.

There is a definitive link that can be made between retail space and museums. Like museums and galleries, retail settings are not neutral containers offering a transparent, unmediated experience. Tony Bennett (1995) argues that galleries potentially act as evaluative categories and principles of classification that mediate the relation between the visitor and the art on display. They serve as a means of seeing by giving an invisible order of significance to objects on display. In comparison with museums, retail spaces are generally understood as driven by demand. The size and the quality of the space assigned to commodities, categories, wine regions, or wine varietals may be read as a reflection of product popularity. Lockshin (2003), citing a study by Ehrenberg and his associates, reports that many consumers today choose brands that they assess to have the greater market share. When the LCBO asked its store managers to give preferential shelf treatment to Ontario wines, it played back to its consumer a slightly-distorted reality of their community aesthetic value. The same thing may have happened when the LCBO quickly increased table wine imports; it not only responded to consumer demand, but, probably contributed to it. Several factors may contribute to the influence of the popularity cue, but in this case little tradition of wine drinking and little information available may explain it. For example, contemporary wine purchase behavior shows retailers as an important source of information for consumers. Yet, in those years, LCBO staff was mostly untrained, white males (Yaccato, 2003), making for consumers, especially women and minorities, an unreliable and remote source of information.

Even though it is impossible today to accurately report or measure the extent of these efforts, especially since this was individually enforced by managers on a voluntary basis, however, combined, these efforts were successful. For Ontario products, they resulted in a 10 percent increase in total sales and around 25-30 percent for table wines at the expense of foreign wines (Rannie, 1978). Maybe more important, they gave wineries a chance to respond to the enormous change in provincial wine taste. For example, Barnes' wine production that was in 1973, eighty-five percent Sherries and Ports, exactly ten years later, accounted for 90 percent of table wines (Aspler, 1983).

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND A NEW DELIMITATION BETWEEN THE REAL AND THE FAKE

In the mid 1980s we traded up in quality, and when we went to bars and restaurants, we ordered "white wine." Didn't matter what it was as long as it wasn't red, because someone somewhere got the idea that white wine was less fattening than red.

Tony Aspler (2003b)

By the end of the 1970s, a new interest in healthy lifestyle and slim body made dry white table wines increasingly popular. And without the addition of sugar, the foxy taste of Labrusca wines was more than ever a barrier for their adoption. European wines also carried a certain "snob" appeal as much as the "savoir-faire" of hundreds of years of tradition. However, this was to some extent misleading. For example, Mateus, the number one selling wine in the world at that time, was customized for the American palate, and rarely found in Portugal where wines were preferred much drier (Osborne, 2004). This was also a time when the post-war generation was entering the work force and living a more complex life, with European wine maybe symbolizing an idealized way of life, a simpler, more natural and authentic life. The introduction of the Boeing 707 in the mid-60s, the first successful commercial jet plane, with its 160-passenger capacity, meant that more people travelled and discovered the old world (McCoy, 2005). This is the case for the world-renowned

American wine critic, Robert Parker, Jr., who speaks of his first trip to the old world, with the wine and food, as a changing experience for him and many of his middle-class friends (McCoy, 2005). From Parker's biography, it is clear that the "good life" stands in contrast with American processed food and his passion for wine, his "real life", persists against the "soulless concrete building" where he spent his days as a lawyer in a conservative credit bank (McCoy, 2005, p.55). There is a large body of literature on the propensity to nostalgia in the 1970s, as a new generation was trying to manage the changing family and work relationship (Schulman, 2001). A blockbuster novel like *The Godfather* (Puzo 1969) followed by the hugely popular film trilogy (1972, directed by Ford Coppola) both reflects and contributes to the idea of the opposite Old World, with a simpler way of life compared to the complexity of industrial America (see *The Godfather* analysis by Messenger, 2002).

Inventing a Connection to Tradition: Generic Place of Origin Wine Label

The earliest response to Canadian changing preference was the release of drier blends of table wines bearing labels suggesting an association with European classics. It started with large wineries establishing themselves in non-grape growing, where they were legally allowed the practices of stretch and the blending of wines based on local and imported grapes.^{24 25} In Ontario, under the protection of the Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board (OGGMB), grape growers resisted the changes towards vinifera until the mid-seventies (Schreiner, 1985). The history of viniculture of vinifera grapes in Niagara had seen its share of failure and was a risky endeavour for farmers, requiring a longer growing season for the fruit to be ripe at harvest, as well as the danger

²⁴ Through acquisition in 1976 and 1980, Chateau-Gai expanded into British Columbia and Alberta. They were followed by Brights which in 1986 entered Quebec through the purchase of St. Michelle Cellars and acquired Jordan Wines. Two years later, Chateau-Gai purchased Barnes Wines, thus reducing the original six large wineries to four. In 1989, Chateau-Gai was purchased in a management buyout from Labatts by Alan Jackson and Don Triggs, who renamed the company Cartier.

²⁵ In Canada, each individual Province regulates the production and sale of alcohol.

of extreme cold and mildew being potentially deadly to vines. And, since at the time wine producers were forced to purchase raw material from Ontario farmers, at protected prices, there was little incentive for grape growers to take risks. But, after a shortfall in 1972 and again in 1975, following the sudden boom in wine sales that caused wineries to be short of grapes, finally, in 1983 the Wine Content Act was definitively amended to permit the introduction of both imported wine and imported grapes grown outside Ontario, although restricted to 30% in any one blend (Aspler, 1983).



Figure 5. Semi-generic



Figure 6. Iconic label.

The blend of imported juice and grapes with local grapes was a less risky and a more cost-effective way to deliver wine with a closer taste profile to European imports. Large wineries brought in foreign winemakers who specifically blended native hybrid varieties with vinifera in the style of successful European products. In 1976, Schloss Laderheim, a Labrusca white table wine by Calona's (British Columbia) winery, consciously modeled on such successful German brands as Blue Nun and Black Tower, was able to replace Baby Duck as Canada's single largest-selling domestic wine. With its brown bottle on which the labelling displayed a fabled German castle and German Gothic script, it closely resembled a Rhine Riesling. The product started a fashion in Niagara that included Hochtaler (Andrés), Liebesheim (Brights), Falkenberg (Jordan), Weinsfest (Barnes) and Alpenweiss (Château-Gai). Château-Gai in an effort to make wine drinkers feel

differently about Canadian products, ran an advertising campaign in 1978 based on the theme, "We can change your mind" (Aspler, 1983). The company actively wanted the public to know it could make product equivalent in taste to European blends. Tony Aspler (1983) ironically notes, that in case consumers couldn't be convinced, to make the label look more 'foreign', the Château-Gai name appeared in tiny print on the bottom. The release of wines bearing labels suggesting 'Europeaness' was not new. Wines called Claret, Burgundy, Chablis and Chianti were also produced in the United States and Australia. The practice started with early immigrants from Europe who, when they turned to winemaking, had no local reference or government agency to guide them, so they named the wines after their place of origin or after an ideal of wine making embedded by it. But wine writer John Schreiner (1985) writes that in the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s the practice was taken to the extreme as Canadians battled for market share.

Its critics argue that these inexpensive copies have little commonality with the original. One argument generally goes that the wines named after French appellations are not authentic because they are not made from the varieties grown there. Brights President Burgundy was made from Marechal Foch, not Pinot Noir, and Barnes Sauternes was made from Elvira and Niagara, not Sauvignon Blanc or Semillon. The other popular argument was that these wines were not originating from where they suggest they were. But the commercial producers' response was that generic places of origin had come to inform consumers to what style of wine they offer. In retaliation, the French who were successful arguing against Spanish 'champagne' before a British court that real "champagne" must originate from that region of France and "that the imitations cannot be passed off as the real thing", took Château-Gai to court (Schreiner, 1985, p.25). The latter got to use the argument that the term 'champagne' had passed into common usage, like the brand name Aspirin, in front of the Supreme Court of Canada. In 1964, the French won in the

Quebec High Court against Château-Gai. This was ultimately brought to the Supreme Court of Canada, where, in 1974, the Quebec decision was upheld. In Ontario, wine producers with The Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board demanded retaliation on French champagnes by the provincial Liquor board. General George Kitching, then the board's commissioner, refused its support, responding: "The implications of denying champagne – true champagne – to the people of Ontario are certainly serious. We have many consumers who would insist that it be available and I know many of them feel that the name 'champagne' should never have been used by the domestic wineries" (Schreiner, 1985, p.24). In 1987, in another court battle, local wine expert Tony Aspler appeared as an expert witness for the Champagne houses. Recalling the event, he writes, "I believed then, as I do now, that no wine region should appropriate the appellations of other established regions in order to pass off their products as similar" (Aspler, 2002a). On a more positive note, in 1983 Aspler (p.123) wrote that nevertheless, by conforming closer to tradition, producers were moving to re-establish some authenticity to native products:

The fact that the Baby Duck craze has given way to the Schloss Laderheim boom is perhaps the most cheering pointer of all: it shows that the wineries themselves are moving towards authenticity in their products – away from alcoholically-flavoured sugar water to wines in which the grape predominates.

Finally, the Supreme Court of Ontario ruled the public would not confuse Canadian champagne with the French product, that the term champagne had become semi-generic. In retribution, a formal complaint by the European Community (E.C.) was placed under the GATT Panel Report arguing that LCBO preferential treatment given to Ontario wines was inconsistent with international trading rules. Maybe even more significant, when the French franc was devalued in 1983, it caused the prices for European wines to drop significantly, shrinking even more the competitive advantage of inexpensive authentic copies.

VINIFERA GRAPES AS THE ESSENCE OF TRADITION AND THE FOUNDATION FOR ARTISTIC EXPERIMENTATION AND ORIGINALITY

After a moratorium on the issuance of new wine licenses for almost five decades, 1975 marked the renaissance of the industry with Inniskillin given the first Ontario Wine Licence. LCBO relaxation led to the establishment of a dozen new estate wineries, up until 1989.²⁶ Unlike large wineries who had abandoned viticulture to focus mostly on the purchase of local *Labrusca* grapes and the importation of *vinifera* grapes for blending, the newcomers were integrated grower-vintners specializing in the production of *vinifera* and hybrid-*vinifera* wines. Generally, estate wineries were established by European immigrants, with training in viniculture and viticulture, who had been experimenting with hybrids and imported European *vinifera* grape varieties for some time. This has meant that since the mid-seventies more wineries are generally producing their own vineyard, building competitive advantage by the quality of the raw material.

For this new generation of producers, the essence of European classic wines is above all the grape. Popular expressions such as “Not so much bound by tradition as inspired by it” and “enabling the creation of what tradition and nature have inspired” express the authenticity of native wines as a unique expression of the experimentation and adaptation of *vinifera* grapes and European traditional methods to the Niagara region. Estate wineries carried out experiments in the vineyard, trying-out vine maturation, dormancy, canopy management, training systems, rootstocks, water and soil management, nutrient requirements and clonal selection (Mytelka & Goertzen, 2007). There was a movement that also owes a debt to the long-term research and development programme established in the great depression by French-born winemaker De Chaunac, under

²⁶ In my sample, five of the owners are first generation immigrants. Like Paul Bosc, from Algeria, having studied oenology at the University of Dijon in Burgundy, after working for Château-Gai as a wine maker for fifteen years, started his own winery, Château des Charmes, in 1978. Reif Estates winery opened in 1983, at its head Ewald Reif who has supplied Inniskillin with *vinifera* grapes, the same years as Vineland Estates and followed by Konzelmann Estates in 1984, with Joseph Konzelmann, ex-head winemaker for Jordan & Ste-Michelle Cellars; the three have roots in Germany with a family tradition in viniculture and/or viticulture. Self-taught winemaker, Joe Pohorly, who opened Newark, soon to become Hillebrand Estates Wines, had farmed vines on 35 acres of the family property since the early 1967.

T.G. Bright and Company, and together with the agricultural research stations at Vineland (Ontario). At Vineland, from the beginning in 1913 and until 1960, some 80,000 seedlings were grown and evaluated (Rannie, 1978, p. 37). Already then, one objective of the grape-breeding program was to produce cultivars with fewer labrusca characteristics and more resemblances to vinifera varieties.

Showing Through Inside the Bottle: Single Varietal Wines and Varietal Labelling

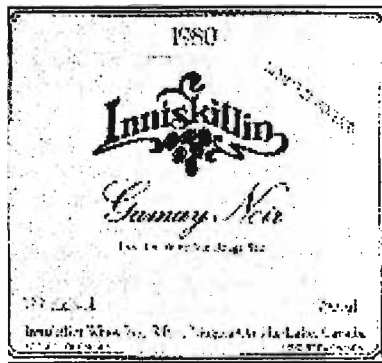


Figure 7. Inniskillin, Varietal labels

The production of single varietal wines is another feature distinguishing cottage wineries from the large commercial producers.²⁷ Blending had the advantage of facilitating the production of consistent wine experience. Contrary to single variety wines, it made it easier and cheaper to achieve a consistent character over time, by allowing producers to compensate for the inequality of the raw material in the vineyards, from one vintage to another. Blending small quantities of vinifera with labrusca grapes also improved the taste of the wine without increasing too much the cost of production. Even though more expensive and more risky, single varietal wines offer themselves to the wine drinker as an assurance that the product is not spoiled by the blend of Labrusca grapes. As John Schreiner explains it to his reader in *The World of Canadian Wine*

²⁷ For 1977, Inniskillin expected to supply the market with only one brand of wine, named Vin Nouveau, and eight wines labeled under varietals' names (Rannie, 1978, p.125). Again in 1978, counting product offered from the LCBO, I have the same brand wine with five labeled varietals wines (Reid, 1978). This compared with Andrés who supplied that same year 19 wines labeled under brand names or generic names and only two labeled varietals wines (Reid, 1978).

(1985, p.226):

Most commercial table wines are simply generic or brand-name blends from a variety of grapes, designed to be consistent over time in taste and quality. But when a bottle of Canadian wine bears on its label the name of the predominant grape from which it is made – such as vidal or chardonnay or de chaunac – it may well be of better than average quality.

Varietal labelling was pioneered, in California, by among others Robert Mondavi, around 1970, who was one of the first to label the majority of his wines by varietals' names, a practice encouraged there first by Frank Schoonmaker, an importer and journalist wine writer of the 1950s and 1960s (see McCoy, 2005). The varietals become the primary classification, with place of origin secondary. This contrasted with European practices, where with the exception of Alsace, wines were classified based on geographic origin, with higher-designation categories further classified, from a regional AOC (e.g., Bordeaux, Burgundy, and Rhone), to a communal or village AOC (e.g., Pauillac in Bordeaux, Beaujolais in Burgundy), and to a premier cru and a grand cru for vineyards in Burgundy and a fifth- to a first-growth in Bordeaux (Zhao, 2005).

Rather than single varietal wines, in Europe it is common to blend wines based on the varietal's implicit tradition of that region. But it leaves the Ontario consumer with foreign names of region, vineyard, château, village, commune, rank of crue or growth, on the label to make sense of wine purchases. Try to remember the difference between a Pouilly-Fuissé and a Pouilly-Fumé. Merlot's early popularity is sometimes attributed to its ease of pronunciation that diminishes the risk of social pitfall. Varietal wines in general make it easier not only to pronounce, but also to remember, compare and discuss them over dinner, very probably contributing to pleasure.

Reflecting on the Origin of the Grape

Specific geographic origin signals product authenticity by showing transparency and

accountability as well as granting the product the unique qualities of where it is from. The link to place of origin is sometimes established with the winery's name. For example, the name Inniskillin Wines was inspired by the historic plot by the Niagara Parkway, where the winery was initially established. The land was originally granted to a British officer of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers that fought in the War of 1812. The name was proposed by the LCBO chairman, General Kitching, an ex-officer, who thought that it would be "bloody nonsense" to give the winery a European name instead of a regional one (Schreiner, 1985, p.177). Even though the regiment played a part in Canada and the American colonies in the 18th and 19th centuries, it never campaigned in the Niagara Peninsula.

The connection to place was also made by linking wine to well-recognized creative talents. For example, from 1985, Hillebrand started the production of a limited number of Collectors' Choice wines with reproductions of paintings from the famous Canadian Group of Seven. Today, it has extended the practice to its Artist Series that feature the work of young upcoming artists and painters.

Over time, this kind of selective connection to the history and culture of place helped contribute to the impression that quality wine in Niagara was part of the natural outcome of an exceptional place.

Reflecting on Personal Ethnic Connection to Tradition

Ethnic connection helped provide authenticity to products by testifying that historic winemaking traditions and knowledge were passed on in the process of its production. In the past, it was common for producers to confer Europeaness to their products using foreign names for their wine and winery. For example, one of the oldest wineries bore the name Chateau-Gai and another invented connection was Andrés Wines, a faux-French variation of its Hungarian president's first

name, Andrew (Aspler, 1983). In 1974, working as a wine maker for Chateau-Gai, Paul Bosc was featured in a television commercial, to make a similar ethnic connection, for the release of a new wine. There, his French accent and Italian looks were said to be very successful in selling the first Marechal Foch wine (Schreiner, 1985).

But, as Chateau des Charmes' owner and winemaker, Paul Bosc takes great care to claim its French heritage through a more personal connection. For example, the name of his winery Chateau des Charmes was inspired by the villa named Charmes in which he grew up in Algeria (Aspler, 1983). In the early years, his blended wines bore names such as Cour Blanc, Primer Rouge, and the label of his Blanc de Noir Gamay Beaujolais claimed to be made "in the oldest European tradition". In fact, his wine-making style was described as typically Burgundian, using for example wine-making techniques like carbonic maceration, in which fermentation starts prior to crushing, while the juice is still inside the grape. Ethnic connection with the Old World is also made by giving the family name to the winery as did for example Reif Estates and Konzelmann Estates.

Finally, by making vinifera grapes the essence of tradition and the foundation for artistic experimentation and claiming their place of origin, the small estate wineries, with no budget for advertising, were able to win media support from whom they generated a fair amount of publicity, starting with what Aspler refers to as the greatest "public relations coup," when Toronto wine writer Michael Vaughan took with him some Ontario wines for a wine tasting in Europe. The same Hughes Johnson who had given a huge put-down to Ontario wines a few years earlier, thought things had started to change in Ontario: "My favourite without doubt was the Inniskillin 1974 Marechal Foch" (Aspler, 1983, p.54). After that, Inniskillin quickly became chic at dinner parties.

THE NEW LOCAL WINE EXPERT: MAKING AUTHENTICITY ABOUT AESTHETIC REFLEXIVITY, PURITY AND MORAL JUDGMENT

Canadian Labrusca wines were generally disregarded or put down by international wine experts. In 1965, British wine writer Cyril Ray suggested the British would prefer almost any cheap vinifera from Europe or South America to a range of Château-Gai wines (Schreiner, 1985, p.205). In 1977, Courtine, this time a French wine critic commenting on another wine by Château-Gai, wrote that it deserved the label "Château Headache 1976", adding that the wine he tasted was "horrific", "...tasting like fermented sugarbeet juice. It's pumped so full of sugar it could pass for strawberry jam" (Rannie, 1978, p. 156). Briton Hughes Johnson in 1971, in the first edition of his *World Atlas of Wine*, called France "the undisputed mistress of the vine" (Taber, 2005, p.28). In his 247-page volume it only dedicated 24 pages to the New World and there you won't find any reference to Canadian wines. Again in 1971, the same Hughes Johnson commenting in media upon Ontario wines was quoted saying: "The foulness of taste is what I remember best – an artificially scented, soapy flavour" (Rannie, 1978, p.156). These kinds of comments were not limited to outsiders. In 1974, Canadian actor Christopher Plummer (*The Sound of Music*, 1964) was reported saying of Canadian wines: "My God, they're terrible! I had a glass on the train from Montreal, and my hand nearly fell off" (Rannie, 1978, p. 156).

In Ontario, there were few signs of the professionalization of the local wine experts before 1970. Publications from the old world provided basic information on etiquette and general background but, as the Provincial Liquor boards multiplied their offerings from different parts of the world, at prices that varied considerably, these were not helpful when it was time to make a selection. That decade saw the first book on Canadian wine, authored by travel journalist Percy Rowe (1970), followed by 21 books, from 1970 to 1988, on wine written from a Canadian voice (see Annex A). It also comes with the multiplication of newsletters based on private subscription, the introduction of regular wine columns for major Toronto Newspapers and *Wine Canada*, the first

periodicals dedicated to wine published in 1985.²⁸ But also more popular formats in publications started to devote regular space to wine writing. This is illustrated from 1979 with the regular contribution of wine writer Margaret Swaine to *Chatelaine* and *Toronto Life* magazine.

In contrast with England, where wine experts were often as well wine merchants, or brokers with some training, or with a tradition of connoisseurship, here in North-America, wine writing developed more like a cottage industry. American wine critic Robert Parker, Jr. ²⁹ describes how there, people learn about wine comparing expensive wines next to inexpensive ones with sometimes surprising results (McCoy, 2005). The popularization of single varietal wines and labelling made it also easier to make comparisons. Blind tasting gave certain objectivity to subjective taste that legitimized a new way of thinking about wine. This was well-encouraged by the famous Paris Wine Tasting of 1976, renamed the Judgment of Paris. The event set Californian wines against French wines in a blind tasting with fifteen of the most influential French critics, who to their consternation, gave California wine top position for both white and red wines. It had repercussions way beyond the world of wine featured in *Time* magazine and broadcast on the nightly CBS News television (McCoy, 2005) (See these works for more on the impact of the event: Domenic, 2004; McCoy, 2005; Taber, 2005). The result was to show that with the right grape New World countries could make wines of equal quality to France.

In France, wine had never been only about aesthetic; it was also about how a wine reflected continuity with regional tradition, local identity, part of a way of eating and living. Blind tasting and single varietals help to think of authenticity judgment has a comparative evaluation of how it tastes

²⁸ These included a column by Rowe for the *Toronto Sun*, Bob Pennington for the *Toronto Star*, and Michael Vaughan writing for the *Financial Post* (that became the *National Post* in 1998), who still occupies this position today. At first part time, *The Globe and Mail* followed with a regular wine column by David Lawrason, in 1986.

²⁹ Parker is famous for introducing a 100-point scoring scale in the U.S. which his detractors argue gives a degree of artificial statistical accuracy to a process based on subjective personal taste (Taber, 2005).

in your mouth and not so much an evaluation of how it relates to tradition and place of origin. Schreiner (1985, p.225) insists, "... it is the right of any individual, and indeed it is his duty, to drink what most pleases him." However, this is not so much a democratic impulse than the redrawing of boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate culture. Aspler argues that the popularity of such wines as Spumante Bambino and Baby Duck says more about the influence of advertising than the relative merits of either wines. To recognize the authentic from the inauthentic pleasure requires cultural capital that can only come from experimenting with wine.

There will always be consumers who enjoy the sweet grapey flavour of Concord and Elvira, but as wine drinkers in Canada become more sophisticated in their tastes, they will eventually turn their backs on these wines in favour of more complex and elegant European products.

(Aspler, 1983, p.118)

He also warns his reader that as large Canadian wineries see imported wines taking a great share of the market, the instinct is to imitate the taste and look of inexpensive European blends which are not necessarily any better than those they could produce from grapes currently at their disposal. At the end, he writes, Canadian wines will be judged against the ideal model set by 2,000 years of viticultural practice in Europe and that wine-producing countries like Australia, South Africa, the United States and Chile were already measuring their best Cabernets, Pinot Noirs and Chardonnays against those of Bordeaux and Burgundy and eventually this is what the Canadian industry will have to do.

Authenticity as Moral Judgment

The problem, writes Aspler (1983, 119), "... is that the marketing men have taken over from the winemakers." This has meant that large companies are more interested in investing in packaging and advertising to move a large quantity of inexpensive wines than to invest in the production of wine of individual character.

On one hand are the small producers – the cottage or farm wineries – dedicated to the production of labour-intensive wines in limited quantities, and on the other are the major companies whose initial concern is profit – the bottom line. While both arms of the industry are profit-motivated (wine for wine's sake is a luxury no one can afford), the small wineries flourish because of the individuality of their products.

Aspler (1983, 119)

Aspler deplored the lack of diversity of Canadian wines. With large producers, “instead of leading public taste, the wineries merely followed it” (Aspler, 1983, p.118). Until the cottage wineries showed that there was a demand for wine of an individual character, “all-Canadian products tended to look and taste alike” (Aspler, 1983, p.118). But Aspler warns that the public prefers variety. The importance of variety can be understood as well in the context of the legitimate and illegitimate boundaries of alcohol consumption. Variety helps make the pleasure of drinking wine legitimate by making it the focus of consuming wine rather than the pleasure of alcohol.

More to the point, the varietal name on the label is a helpful guide to consumers. The alert wine drinker soon discovers that all well-made Johannesburg rieslings have a lovely floral aroma and a fresh, fruity character, qualities derived from the grape itself. If that character becomes a consumer's favourite, he soon learns to seek out such wines. Much of the needless confusion about wine drinking disappears once a consumer begins noting which grapes he prefers consistently and which he does not.

(Schreiner, 1985, p.225)

The focus on aesthetic pleasure helps dealing with the particular cultural and historical ambiguity around the consumption of alcohol in Ontario. Anthropologist Mary Douglas (1987) stresses the importance of self-control in America and the prized image of the person who knows how to resist temptations. Just as well, stressing the relation between wine and food helps set wine consumption against deviant consumption patterns. Alcohol taken with food diminishes the effect of alcohol on our body and contributes to creating wine drinking as a gustative experience. Wine is said to open the appetite and under the right combination improve food taste. European ways of life are often cited as examples of an unproblematic relationship with alcohol. Schreiner suggests that in Canada our habit of drinking outside the table has been the problem all along.

But, another problem for the aesthetic virtuoso is the lack of transparency in labelling. This is best expressed when Reid writes (1978, p.24):

Designations of authenticity and quality such as names of regions, estates and grape variety are not regulated by law. As a result, labels on Ontario wines are usually of little help to the consumer.

Reid (1978, p.23) warns his readers that most Canadian wines are blends and could include Vinifera grapes from anywhere that “may be spoiled for sensitive palates by the telltale Labrusca taste or odour.”

How can you tell what's in Canadian wines? I have tried to show in the product comment in this book what the various brands contain. Unfortunately, the information can't be guaranteed: winemakers change blends without changing their labels; some companies are unwilling to disclose what is in their wine; and makers are tempted to use as much wine from native grapes as they can because it's cheaper. The result is that even a wine made with expensive grapes ...

What we need, suggests Aspler, is some sort of appellation system for Canadian wines or at the very least an indication of origin. Meanwhile, as opposed as to the early years when small wineries came to be associated with poor quality and hygiene of production today the small cottage wineries are made to be a sign of sincere commitment to quality.

A group to watch however is the small wineries ... These are small-scale wineries specialising in hand-made wines. They do little or no advertising. They have spent their limited capital on vineyards and first class equipment ... They go at it with a zeal and an uncompromising pursuit of excellence that promises a brilliant future.

(Reid, 1978, p.23)

Finally, Aspler leaves his readers on a positive note. We have now the grape, the knowledge and the demand, he writes:

We have nowhere to go but up. And as long as it remembers it is a wine industry and not a commodities market where the bottom line is all that counts, it can win the respect and admiration of wine lovers across Canada.

(Aspler, 1983, p.28)

The “Natural” and the Invention of Vinifera Superior Quality

In 1980, the Liquor Licence Act defined Ontario wines as made of honey or grapes, cherries, apples or other fruit grown in Ontario, or grape juice to which has been added herbs, water, honey,

sugar or the distillate of Ontario wine or cereal grains grown in Ontario. At the same time as it demanded more variety from Canadian producers, Tony Aspler deplored this disorder when he wrote (1983, p.29):

Wine is nothing more or less than a natural fermentation of fresh grape juice ... Until we have an appellation system similar to other wine-growing countries, a vintage-dated Chardonnay grown in Niagara will be treated in the same manner as Baby Duck, mead, apple wine or vermouth.

This is different from Howe who earlier, in 1970, wrote that consumers can choose from a great diversity of Canadian wines, from the blueberry wines made in Lac St-Jean to the apple wines of Alberta to the grape wines of Ontario. But, the invention of wine as a natural product is another demonstration of how socially produced differentiation is made part of the natural order of things. This particular definition of wine leaves out the fact that natural fermented wines made for example of dates and honey have existed since the dynastic periods (3200 BC and before) (Phillips, 2000). In France wine was legally made of other fruits until 1911. The French adopted a law that declared wine to be the fruit of the grape and nothing else under French grape growers' lobbying, when a grape surplus made other fruits threatening to their livelihood (Phillips, 2000). If wine can be made from the fermentation of any number of dried fruits as well as pressed grapes, then, shouldn't it be left entirely to nature to determine the issue of the authenticity of wine? This goes as well for the addition of sugar and other "ameliorations." If Baby Duck is inauthentic because sugar is added, what makes the wines of Burgundy more authentic, where the addition of sugar in the process of fermentation (called Chaptalisation) is allowed under appellation guidelines?

My point is that to refer to wine as "natural" tends to naturalize a definition that is culturally determined. Instead, it should be understood as part of a process of inventing the superior quality of vinifera wines. For one thing, this definition favours Ontario producers who are the largest

producers of wine grapes in Canada. Also, without the addition of water and sugar or distilled alcohol, limiting the pleasure that they procured, the foxy taste of Labrusca wines made more than ever a barrier for their adoption. Even though at the time vinifera wines made up only 3 percent of Canadian Wines sold, this particular definition of “natural” helped reinforce its production as the local legitimate wine culture.³⁰ Finally, by containing local wine culture to vinifera grapes, wines also helped connect local culture to the legitimacy of the European tradition. Vinifera wines offered, to those who valued the display of self-control and were moving toward a healthier lifestyle, a softer flavour that made it more approachable to a new generation of Canadians for whom what had been before a structural faith was now a choice.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER 2

Just as Ontario's wine industry seemed to know a renaissance in the 1980s, in 1988 the Canadian government announced its intention to join the Canada–US Free Trade Agreement, threatening to cut away the preferential treatment and pricing for Canadian wines. The previous ten years had seen Ontario's wine market share drop every year and by that time, the grape growing sector had been deficient for a number of years, with government buying the surplus of grapes just for the industry to survive.

³⁰ This figure is given by Aspler (1983) and confirmed in a government report produced in 1986. That same report suggests that 80 percent of consumers in the wine category are price sensitive.

Chapter 3

ADAPTING STORIES: THE PERIOD FROM 1989 TO 1999

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the best days of the specialist, the small individual wine maker producing superior wine for an increasingly sophisticated clientele, still lie in the future.

Local historian William F. Rannie (1978, p.132)

In 1989, fortified wines were practically gone and table wine constituted the largest segment of the market. Following the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (FTA), preferential practices regarding product of origin, including tax treatments, were to be phased out entirely over the following 10 years. The most pessimistic government report concluded that under the new regime, the industry wouldn't last more than four years.³¹ Large Californian companies, with more favorable growing conditions and very large-scale production, were substantially more competitive than any large Canadian company. Economies of scale critical in the production of low-priced wines had less impact on premium-priced products. Premium quality wines were not in competition with the products of the large US wine producers. Most American specialty wine manufacturers

³¹ Linda Franklin (WCO ex-president) stated the government believed the industry wouldn't survive more than four years under the free-trade agreement with the US. But it's not clear if this was taken from one particular report or an opinion formed from multiple sources. For example, the "Task Force Report", produced earlier, in 1986, suggests that: "... under total free trade, the industry would be placed in dramatic jeopardy". Another report published that same year stressed the major obstacles facing the industry and the major changes it would have to be ready to make (see Industry, Science and Technology, 1986). Linda Franklin made this comment in the frame of the Canadian Public Relations Society hosting the twentieth annual CPRS National Conference, Beyond Borders. The conference was held June 11 to 13, 2006 in Niagara Falls, Ontario. The title was From Baby Duck to Reserve Chardonnay: The Transformation of the Ontario Wine Industry.

had much smaller operations and limited distribution, and charged a premium price for their product. The cottage or small estate wineries, producing small volumes of top-quality premium wines in Canada and the US, were more likely to be fairly comparable in cost. Too small to compete with larger companies from the US, the wine industry under the Ontario Wine Council lobbied the government for supporting a premium-quality strategy.

The Ontario Liberals had campaigned in opposition to Free Trade, and discussions around the future of the wine industry became a highly publicized debate between the federal and provincial governments. OGGMB underwent a major public relations campaign stressing the danger of losing an important Canadian and family tradition.³² It also juxtaposed the significance of agricultural production to the superficiality of commercial motive driving the Free Trade Agreement. Not surprisingly, looking back at the nation's ambiguous relationship with alcohol, legitimacy was drawn by connecting to the region's agricultural tradition, not so much to its tradition of wine making. Extracts taken from an OGGMB written submission to the Cabinet Sub-Committee on Free Trade, November 1987, reflect this:

Within a couple of years, family farms that have been worked by successive generations for up to 200 years will go out of production. Agricultural land that is the envy of farmers throughout Canada, and indeed the world, will disappear. Somehow, some bureaucrat in his three-piece suit up in Ottawa has decided that the ability of a nation to feed itself is negotiable.

This angle was adopted by the media as well, with headlines such as *Free trade: Crisis or opportunity?* (CBC, *The Journal*, Oct. 21, 1987) and *Selling the Farm* (CBC, *The National*, April 21, 1989). OEB International, handling public relations for OGGMB, calculated that there were close to 100 news reports on the agreement between Ontario and Ottawa on wine pricing.

³² The important role played by OGGMB is indicated in an internal communication addressed to Brian Leyden, for Brian Nash, then, chairman of the organization, on February 17, 1989, just before the governments announced major financial help for the industry.

"This compromise will be fair and reasonable under the circumstances. It will satisfy the EEC and the FTA". Under threat of retaliation by Ottawa, "The Premier has done his very best and the agreement is history. There will be no sympathy for the OGGMB if they complain. I am told the Government is tired of their complaints and anxious to be thanked for going to bat for the industry. It would not surprise me that part of the deal with Peterson and Mulroney was to have Peterson stand with Mulroney and reaffirm his support for Meech Lake".

Finally, both levels of government agreed to engage in a 12-year, \$156 million plan to help the industry (Aspler, 1993). The plan provided wineries with forgivable loans to upgrade their equipment and facilities, and \$50 million was allocated by the Federal government to pull out labrusca and unwanted hybrids and replace it with vinifera vines—with the condition that wineries buy more local grapes, in effect making the new program an indirect subsidy to growers.

The industry by then was realizing that they would all “die together” or they would “all have to figure out how to go forward together” (Franklin, 2006). They had to find a common vision and it had to be based on quality (Franklin, 2006). By now, the industry had grown to 20 wineries, but at the end of the 1980s, 6 companies accounted for more than 70 percent of the domestic wine market in Canada (Industry, Science and Technology, 1986). However, taking into account the turn to quality, Tony Aspler (1993) writes that the power shifted, to some degree, from the large commercial wineries to the estate wineries, whose voices were the ones people were listening to.

The authentication strategies of that period mirror the cottage wineries’ early efforts: invoking tradition as the foundation of regional and personal experimentation; winning the authority of experts; valuing geographic specificity; and asserting a more personal connection, in addition to the elaboration of new spaces facilitating and educating consumers’ subjective judgment.

RULING VINIFERA GRAPE, AND NOT NATIVE GRAPE, IN MAKING NATIVE WINES

In the end, the invention of the superiority of vinifera wines mattered for the question of authenticity because in 1988, even though not everyone agreed on the superior quality of vinifera wines, to increase industry competitiveness the government ruled that authentic Ontario wines could only be made of vinifera and hybrid-vinifera grapes and not native labrusca grapes. It also stipulates that under the label *Cellared in Canada*, authentic Ontario wines can be made from

grapes grown locally and blended with up to 70 percent grapes grown outside Ontario. This was meant to assure producers enough raw materials, at competitive cost. It made foreign vinifera grapes more authentic than native labrusca grapes grown in Ontario. It also contributed to two legal measures of authenticity: wines made of vinifera grapes manufactured (creativity) in Ontario and wines made of vinifera grapes grown (place of origin) in Ontario.

After almost 200 years of trials and failure growing vinifera grapes, Ontario wine making was re-invented as the perfect synergy between the right ethic of production and the natural conditions for growing vinifera grapes.

Nobel wines do not happen by accident. They are the happy result of the finest grapes being planted in the right soils, ripened in a conducive climate, then selected and vented with care.

VQA flyer (1989)

Niagara's conducive physical environment for growing vinifera grapes is demonstrated by connecting its geography and climate to classic wine regions and downplaying human and technological factors involved in growing vinifera grapes. A VQA early flyer provides diagrams showing the Niagara Peninsula's close location in degree latitude with classic wine regions, and the similar average monthly temperature of Bordeaux and Burgundy. In 1994, Inniskillin published a book titled *Anatomy of a Winery: The Art of Wine at Inniskillin*, in which it explains that the potential of a wine region can be measured by calculating its degree days (1994, p.7):

These are measured as the sum of the average daily temperatures over 10° C, below which there is little, if any, physiological activity in the vines, from April 1st to October 31st. In terms of growing degree days, cool climate viticulture areas are mostly regions that are below 1426 growing degree days.

This means that Niagara, with 1,426 degree days, has more prime grape growing days annually than that the world-class region of Burgundy, with 1,315 degree days, a strategy to validate Niagara's place among the best winemaking region in the world:

The minerals eroded from the Escarpment, coupled with material left behind after the last Ice Age, have given the area between the Escarpment and Lake Ontario the ideal mixture of soil and minerals for the growth of *Vitis vinifera* and *Vitis vinifera* hybrid grapes. The sheltering effect of the Escarpment and the moderating effect of Lake Ontario create what is known as a micro-climate... What this means is that the area produces many superb wines, with a complexity and fullness which places them squarely among the best in the world.

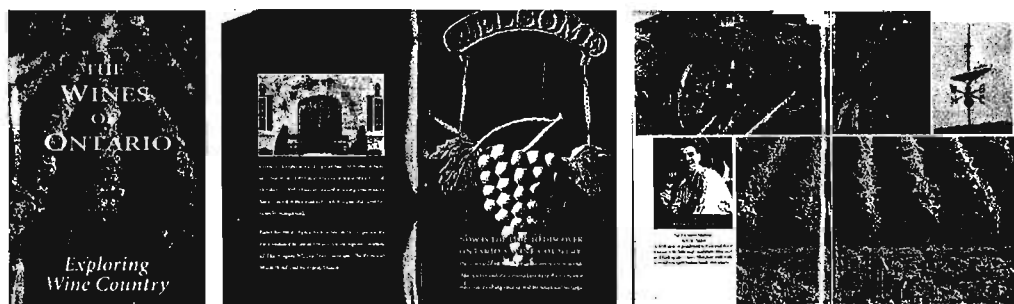


Figure 8. LCBO promotion launched in 1995



Figure 9. LCBO promotion launched in 2000

Just as discourses in texts, images selected in promotional materials help make a link with classic wine regions evoking scenes and landscapes of vineyards that someone could potentially expect visiting Bordeaux or Burgundy. In 1995, under the headline “Exploring wine country”, the LCBO proposed bringing Ontario wine regions to consumers. These close-up and rather generic shots are localized with additional symbols like the Canadian flag and a map of the region. In a later promotion, “Stars of Our Own”, released in 2000, the focus remains on the winemaker as artist and the connection, again, with the terroir of France. Winemakers’ photographic portraits are annexed to watercolor illustrations of wine stuff and vineyards, produced in a style inspired by 19th century French Fauvism. The French stylized icon of vineyard and grape offers consumers a visual

metaphor implying that both products of origin are material for great art and a variation on the same theme rather than fundamentally different.

AUTHENTICITY AND QUALITY CERTIFICATION: THE VINTNER QUALITY ALLIANCE

Appellation is a term that comes from the French "to name". Remember high school French class, "Je m'appelle Linda?" An appellation is the name of the place in which the grapes for a wine were grown. If a wine comes from a designated appellation, it means that that place is a good place to grow grapes, hence the wine should be better in flavour. When the appellation is revealed you know that you're not buying generic wine imported in bulk that could be made from Thompson seedless. If it's two dollars a bottle, nothing to fuss about. More expensive than the name of the place where the grapes were grown becomes important.

Linda Bramble, wine writer and professor (cheers.libsyn.com, 2000)

Like the banning of labrusca, in 1988, the formation of the Vintner Quality Alliance (VQA) regulatory system was considered another significant innovation. First introduced on a voluntary basis, VQA was oriented towards the production of a more demanding and transparent set of rules: "quality control from the vineyard to the glass" (VQA, 1989). VQA standards help create distinctions between wines manufactured (creativity) in Ontario and wines made of vinifera grapes grown (place of origin) in Ontario. VQA standards make authenticity, in the sense of purity, "true" to its origin and aesthetic iconicity, an all-important characteristic of quality.

Over the years, in the *Liquor Licence Act* and *Wine Content and Labelling Act*, the status of the origin of the grape in regulating the authenticity of Ontario wines has been amended several times, offering a good example of the changing criteria for judging authenticity. During Prohibition, vast quantities of California grapes were shipped into Ontario to supply the demand. But, at the end of Prohibition, as Canada entered the Great Depression and the government tried to secure a market for Ontario farmers, authentic native wines were redefined under the law as made from 100 percent Ontario grown grapes (LCBO, 1966). However, following a disastrous harvest in 1972, the Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board agreed to allow 18,000 tons of grape concentrate to be

imported into the province by wineries to make up for 80 percent of the estimated shortfall (Aspler, 1983). With the sudden healthy trend, and the boom in white table wine sales and imports' success in that category, in 1975, the wineries again found themselves short of the raw material. Again, the Wine Content Act was amended in 1976 to permit the introduction of imported wine and imported grapes grown outside Ontario, restricted to 30 percent in one blend (Aspler, 1983), and renegotiated up to 70 percent under Free Trade to make the industry more competitive in the low-priced segment. These blended wines from offshore sources are still selling today under *Cellared in Canada*. This fraction is now 75 percent and in 2005, a year of low crop, special legislation permitted up to 99 percent of foreign content for none VQA wines. However, this practice is now restricted to pre-1993 licensed wineries, making it highly contested in the cluster, and it may soon change again.

Unlike the label *Manufactured in Canada*, VQA requires that wines be produced from 100 percent domestically-grown Ontario grapes. In addition, VQA categorizes 100 percent Ontario wines under four designations: the Provincial Designation (Ontario), one of the three (today four) recognized geographic areas (DVA: Niagara Peninsula, Lake Erie North Shore, Pelee Island), Estate Bottled, Vineyard Designated. To be Vineyard Designated, the wine must be made from 100 percent grapes grown in that vineyard. The VQA conception of quality as well blurs together "purity" with geographic specificity. For example, both hybrid and vinifera can be bottled under the Provincial Designation but only vinifera can bare the Geographic Designation. Also, under the Provincial Designation a single varietal wine must be made from 75 percent of the designated grape. But if a wine is labeled as one of the three recognized viticultural areas, the wine must be made of at least 85 percent of the designated grape variety.

Inspired by classic appellations, VQA standards dictate, for example, what grapes varieties

are allowed under the VQA designation with maximum yields as well as prohibit the addition of water, for more concentrated wines. It also sets minimum brix (natural sugar) and regulates the addition of sugar in the process of Chaptalization. The wines are further assessed for experiential flaws by an independent tasting panel under blind tasting. One important component of the criteria on which varietal wines are evaluated is the varietal character: "For example, a fine well-made Grüner Velliner may score only 12 out of 20 judged as a 'wine,' but judged as a Grüner Veltliner it may be near the top of its class and merit a 15" (Aspler, 1993, p.281). This measure suggests that quality depends on the varietal and that not all varietals are made equal. It also implies that, for each grape type, one ideal model exists that winemakers must strive to realize—and that, under the right conditions and with the right knowledge and ethic of production, it can attain the same ideal taste profile. More than that, in striving to attain this ideal, winemakers along with grape growers are showing an authentic, genuine and sincere ethic of production: "The VQA medallion is a commitment to quality and a guarantee that the wine expresses the highest aspirations of the vintner's art" (VQA, 1989).

This is different, for example, from France, where regional origin and the vineyard – including the soil, topography, climatic interactions, temperature, sunlight, and hydrology – are believed to impart unique characteristic to the grape, more distinctive than just the fruit flavor. From that perspective, the role of the winemaker should be transparent (there is no French word for "winemaker"). It is assumed that a great wine is a consequence of a great vineyard site, and that all the winemaker has to do is allow it to emerge by not interfering too much. This leads to the belief that a set of production standards, as stipulated by AOC regulations, will result in wine of character and quality that is typical of the AOC in question. Because AOC taste tests focus more on regional distinction, some complain that if AOC regulations are successful in preserving the diversity of wine

styles, they are not acting as a guarantee of quality.

Nevertheless, through a selection and adaptation of classic appellation, VQA asserts the legitimacy of its own standards by connecting itself to appellation systems developed in classic wine-producing regions. "VQA is to Canada what AOC is to France, DOC is to Italy and QMP is to Germany" (VQA, 1989). First set as a voluntary code of quality, VQA helps create distinctions between producers, or product lines, by potentially indicating that participants are driven by a superior and sincere ethic of production rather than commercial consideration. For example, Andres Wines introduced the Peller Estates label in 1991 to market its more high-end products that conformed to VQA regulation, while Chateau des Charmes follow the VQA standard for all its vinifera wines, and Konzelmann dedicated 100 percent of its production to VQA.

Ultimately, downplaying technological innovation, and producing the Niagara Peninsula as a naturally suited region for the production of vinifera grapes, contributes to added rent value for the land and gives a competitive advantage to producers situated inside the designated area. The powerful influence of the VQA is exemplified in the case of Prince Edward County, the latest accredited VQA region recognized in 2007. In an interview with *Toronto Life*, Richard Johnston, chairman of the PEC Winegrowers Association, declares: "In eight short but challenging years, we have gone from being dismissed as preposterous dreamers trying to grow fine wine in an impossibly cool climate, to heralded winegrowers using innovative viticultural techniques" (Lawrason, 2007).

THE TASTE IS THE TEST

Tasting and particularly blind tasting was an important tool to disrupt the authority of tradition. Before Canada joined the Free-Trade Agreement, the government of Ontario, through the work of

regional representatives, had already convinced a number of people that Ontario could produce wines that compared well with France. Notes from the Ontario Legislative Assembly from April 17, 1984, second reading of the Wine Content Act, confirm discussion of an earlier blind tasting organized by a former member for Lincoln, Ross Hall, intended for known wine connoisseur colleagues who had been critical of Ontario wines. There, it says that a Niagara wine was chosen ahead of all French wines. At the same time as the cluster conformed more closely to the traditional model of quality winemaking, throughout the 1990s, under such headlines as “The pride and the prejudice”, consumers were persistently called to judge for themselves the quality of Ontario wines. In the same period, innovations were also introduced in the retail space and at the winery that facilitated subjective authenticity.

In 1991, the LCBO introduces store product sampling, which since then has been regularly used in promoting local wine products. Launched in 1995, the first IMAGE store offered a demonstration kitchen for cooking presentations and wine seminars. These award-winning, innovative design spaces provided a more upscale environment for highlighting wine and local products. The release of the *Food and Drink* magazine, in 1993, also became a platform to promote wine and food as part of a legitimate and idealized lifestyle.³³ For the liquor board, promoting wine with food and quality over quantity was becoming an essential strategy to manage the double mandate of increasing revenue under recurrent threats of privatization, while winning public support by committing to being a socially responsible retailer.³⁴

³³ A free publication published six times a year and rapidly reaching circulation of over 520,000 copies. The magazine offers suggestions for matching wine and food, entertaining and décor ideas, with beautifully illustrated images, lush color photography, and high quality print and layout. It features exceptional quality at the cost of \$6,739,941 to produce (2002-2003) with advertising revenues that offset only \$3.6 million of the costs (see Canadian Magazine Publisher Association, 2005). This means that the LCBO injected approximately half the cost from other revenues as an investment that would be unthinkable for a privately owned publication. This also offers wine producers an exceptional tool for quality positioning.

³⁴ LCBO and its unionized workers had been facing threats of privatization since 1985, when the Liberals in Ontario had promised to introduce beer and wine into corner stores. Even though it never came to that, the electoral campaign had served to highlight the archaic condition of the Ontario liquor retail market. But by the 1980s, a neo-temperance critique had emerged. Concerns were cited around issues such as impaired driving, the

Also, in 1991 the provincial government announced the creation of a wine route through the Peninsula that also encourages product trials. In 1990, estate wineries were legally allowed to accept credit cards for on-site sales, five years before this was permitted for liquor retailers. In addition, until recently they were the only retail outlets licensed for Sunday wine sales (Telfer, 2000). All these measures encourage consumers to explore and rediscover the wines of Ontario through their own palettes, albeit palettes that were the subject of intense education.

THE GLOBAL GRAPE AND THE WINE EXPERT CERTIFICATION

One measure of the health of an industry is how it evaluates itself in public.

Tony Aspler (2002b)

Donald Ziraldo (2002) has maintained that, "It's not what you say about yourself, but letting others have their say about you." At the beginning of the 1990s, books published in Britain still neglected to mention Canadian regions, and major wine magazines such as Decanter had yet to publish articles on Ontario wines (Aspler, 1993). The expansion of local Canadian (consumer) wine publications was highly significant. From approximately one book on wine published per year on average from 1970 to 1988, there were almost four a year in the 1990s, rising to seven after 2000 (see Appendix: A). This is not including the proliferation of magazines and, since the mid-1990s, of internet resources, digital newsletters, and blogs dedicated to the subject.

Period	1970-1988	1989-1999	2000-2006
Number of publications per year	1.222	3.7	7.167

The significance of expert certification is also evident in its growing institutionalization in the local. From only one organization in 1980 awarding recognition to Ontario wines, there were four

implications of a lower legal minimum drinking age, fetal alcohol effects and general threats to public health (see Marquis, 2003). Neo-temperance advocates called for restrictions on alcohol and the LCBO energetically engaged themselves in social responsibility.

by 2001, including the Ontario Wine Awards (1995) founded by wine writer Tony Aspler.³⁵ The formalization of new criteria for judging authenticity in Aspler's (1993) guide book, *Vintage Canada*, suggests a further internationalization of the grape. His rating system gives three out of five stars for "a good wine, clean and well made, true to its grape type" (p.176). Again, "true" to its grape type suggests that there exists one ideal aesthetic model.

At the same time, continuing the early successful strategy of estates wineries, the cluster was active in entering wine shows, generating publicity and word of mouth by targeting influencers through wine tastings, and sponsoring visits of international figures able to engender positive media attention. For example, in 1989, the visit of Jean Lenoir, a 'wine educator' from Burgundy, was funded by the VQA and is reported in a memo to have received positive reviews in Niagara and in the *Globe and Mail* for his comments on the quality of Ontario grapes and wines. The extent of such efforts is evident when Jancis Robinson, British wine critic, writes that, in her experience, no nation is as defensive when it comes to its wines, even though Canada has fewer vineyards than Slovenia or Japan. She continues (Robinson, 2007):

Every time I go there to launch a book, usually a reference book about the wines of the world, I am berated for not having devoted more space to the land of maple syrup. I suspect this is partly because Canadians tend to be fed stories which rather overstate Canadian wine's place in the world of wine.

It took recognition from abroad, says Linda Franklin (2006), a public relations veteran and WCO president for ten years, for Canadians to start believing that we could produce quality wine in Ontario.

One significant strategy was to reflect on Niagara's growing international recognition. In 1991, the cluster innovated with a \$5 million government-financed marketing and promotional campaign in which, for the first time, the industry promoted itself together. Two television

³⁵ The Canada Wine Championships was founded in 1980, followed by the Cuvee Awards in 1990, where the winemakers judge themselves, and the Ontario Wine Awards in 1995, founded by wine writer Tony Aspler and The Canadian Wine Awards (2001), a National organization.

commercials and a series of print ads, under the theme “We’re ready when you are”, sought to change negative perceptions and convince imported wine drinkers to give Ontario wines another try. A full-page ad announces, “The world is turning on to the wines of Ontario”, with the copy, “Each year brings news of medals won for the creations of the Wine Regions of Ontario.” There follows a list of international awards taking up more than half the page. In another ad, another headline reads, “Ontario Icewine victory in Europe continues a trend.” This was Inniskillin winning the coveted France Grand Prix d’Honneur at Vinexpo, for its 1989 Icewine, another important marker for the industry.

The campaign resulted in a 1.1 percent raise of VQA wine sales for the 1991 fiscal year. This is even more significant considering that imports fell 3.8 percent that year and that, in each of the previous three years, Ontario wine sales had declined by 7.5 percent (Aspler, 1993). Over the years, the industry would continue to reflect on expert certification in promoting itself as polls continually showed that what people remembered the most were the numerous prizes Ontario wines had been winning (Franklin, 2006).

PERFORMING AUTHENTICITY IN THE INTIMACY OF WINE TOURISM

The more you know about fine wines, the better we’ll look.

Inniskillin Winery (Sub-headline from an early promotional pamphlet)

Wine tourism was not entirely new in Niagara; for instance before 1974, both Brights Wines and Barnes Wines had tasting rooms and both offered tours of their facilities. But, professor and wine writer Linda Bramble (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2007) reports that there were few visitors at the time. Largely under Donald Ziraldo’s efforts, the development of a wine route stretching from Windsor, Ontario, in the west, to the Long Island region of New York State, in the east, was announced in 1990 (Telfer, 2000). In the early years, Inniskillin welcomed around 1000 visitors a

year; it is now up to 300 000, and altogether, the Niagara regions greet between 700 000 and 1 million people a year. Early research with Ontario wine consumers showed that people were interested in stories about wine and intrigued by the winemaking process (Franklin, 2006).³⁶ In the words of Michèle Bosc, director of communications for Chateau des Charmes (as cited by MacLeod, The Hamilton Spectator, August 2006):

“...this industry has its roots in authenticity”. “(At the winery) They can meet the people who grew the grapes and bottled the wine and taste it in their facility. Consumers want to know how it’s made”.

Wine tourism was also perceived as an opportunity to educate and convince visitors who would ‘see’ for themselves that it was truly possible to grow vinifera grapes in Ontario (Franklin, 2006). It was further motivated by free-trade freeing new off-site wine retail shops, thus reinforcing the importance of cellar door sales, and as much an economic motivation for growers who were affected by the rationalization of labrusca grapes.

Reflecting on a Personal Connection to Classic Wine Regions’ Tradition and Culture

Reflecting on a personal and family ethnic connection to the classic winemaking tradition is one-way firms could certify knowledge and aesthetic wisdom, which evolved from earlier trials and errors, were passed on to products. This is sometimes connected to a philosophy of winemaking. At Chateau des Charmes, “Paul Bosc produces wines which are the closest to the French style by virtue of his heritage (fifth generation French winegrower) and education” (Aspler, 1993, p.49). In the tourismscape, this link is sometimes reflected with, for example, old family photos on the walls of Konzelmann Estates bringing you far back to Germany where the family has been making wine since 1893. At Pillitteri Estates the family connection to Italy was expressed in the symbol of a Sicilian cart, called a carretto, illustrated in the corporate logo and with the original family antique

³⁶ Earlier on, consumer research was principally conducted in wine clubs and organizing wine tasting with consumers involve with wine rather than the general public.

displayed for visitors to see on the winery site. The carretto is there to represent the history of a family whose roots are said to go far back in the cultivation of the land and the making of wine. Today, this is also illustrated with the release of a family reserve, Trivalent, featuring pictures of five generations of Pillitery.



Figure 10. Chateau des Charmes original winery

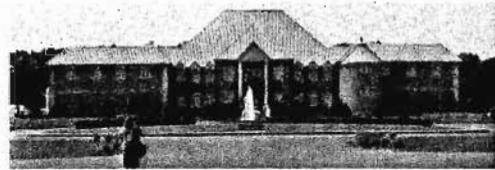


Figure 11. Chateau des Charmes

In 1994, Paul Bosc reflected on a personal ethnic connection to France with the construction of Niagara's first monumental Chateaux-style building. It has "one foot in the Old World and one foot in the New World, just like my dad", says Paul-André Bosc (MacLeod, *The Hamilton Spectator*, August 2006). For years, writes Tony Aspler, "... the wineries had taken an apologetic stance, dressing their products in labels that suggested that they came from a castle on the Rhine or a chateau in Bordeaux rather than an industrial park in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Oakville or Woodbridge, Ontario" (1993, p.34). But with the construction of Chateau des Charmes, the image became reality. The 40,000 square-foot, \$6 million winery has replaced the earlier rundown industrial building winery. The 19th-century railway hotels of Canada like the Chateaux Laurier and Frontenac inspired the stylized-chateau building, with a stone and green copper-roof. The railway chateaux style is a mix of Victorian Gothic Revival, with castles of the Loire in France incorporating French and English ideas at the time considered distinctly Canadian. However, the connection between Bosc and an elite European origin and winemaking traditions is highly selective. For example, French Algeria, where Paul Bosc moved from to Canada, has been historically dedicated to the production of "vin ordinaire."

Personal connection is also established through formal and informal knowledge of tradition. Paul-André Bosc says (as cited by Wade, Reality Times, 2007) that the quick turn to quality in Niagara involved the scientific investigation of time-tested traditions to eliminate “generations of trial and error” by certifying the selection of best practices, “taking advantage of modern technology to achieve in five or ten years what it would have taken our ancestors fifty or one hundred years to learn”. His father, Paul Bosc, graduated from the University of Burgundy at Dijon, claimed that (as cited in Aspler, 1993, “His experience in Burgundy has allowed him to enjoy his greatest success with those varieties (Chardonnay, Pinot Noir, Gamay, Aligote)...” (p.49). Another winery, Hillebrand, calls its style of wine making “multicultural”, because, between its three winemakers they bring formal knowledge from France, Germany and California (as cited in Bramble & Darling, 1992, p.52). To keep informed and renew knowledge of tradition is significant and at Inniskillin Karl Kaiser, originally Austrian, who has a chemistry degree from Guelph University, claims that, “To support our knowledge, all of us travel extensively to the renowned wine regions of the world in our quest to produce Canada’s best” (early flyer).

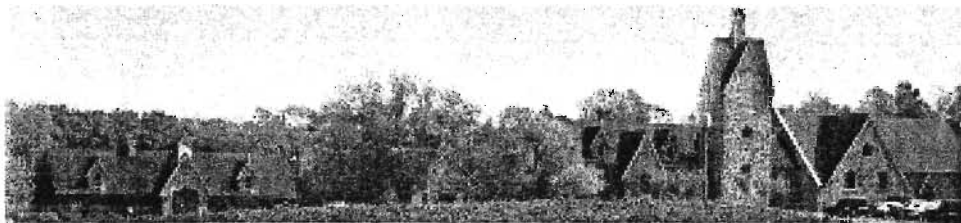


Figure 10. Chateau des Charmes original winery

Another strategy is to connect the local wine product with an Old World experience of fine food. At Vineland, customers can also enjoy a glass of wine on the deck looking at the vineyards while having “fine meats and cheeses in an old European Tradition” (early flyer). In the end, these connections matter because where the winemaker comes from, his or her knowledge and who they

have become can potentially be transferred to the wine, to be enjoyed by customers. This is well illustrated when Michele Bosc, Chateau des Charmes' communication director, says:

"When I savour a glass of our flagship red, Equileus, I picture my father-in-law and I riding his Egyptian Arabian horses on the vineyard inspecting the vines, smelling the earth and the forest, feeling the warm sun on our faces and enjoying the rhythmic sound of the horses hooves'. This is not what we do, this is who we are."

Michèle Bosc, Château des Charmes
(Canadian Tourism Commission, 2008)

Reflecting on an ethnic connection is still important today. At Chateau des Charmes the visitor starts the tour of the facilities with a video presentation covering the history of the winery, with the family origin going back to France and Algeria. Great emphasis is placed on the continuation of that heritage with Bosc's son, Paul-André, pursuing his studies, like his father, in Burgundy.

Personal Creativity

It is common to make a straight connection to tradition to legitimizing product quality.

Red varieties, such as Pinot Noir, are aged in small oak cooperage allowing optimum contact between wine and wood. In this manner we develop complexities of bouquet and flavour which have proven successful for hundreds of years.

Inniskillin Winery (early flyer)

However, winemaking is also connected to the arts and the creative sensitivity of the artist. At Henry of Pelham, the "art of the winemaking is the ultimate challenge and the palate is the ultimate tool". How cool is cool when fermentation begins?" "When should he bottle?" (Bramble & Darling, 1992, p.47) This is also expressed in an early promotional flyer published by Inniskillin.

While climate, excellent soil and fine grapes are the requisites to producing fine wines, they are only the starting point. The wine making process which must use all these aspects is both a science and an art. The work of true craftsmanship.

Personal creativity is sometimes connected with a flamboyant individual. Talking of Inniskillin, co-owner Donald Ziraldo is described as an extroverted young agronomist with a penchant for white suites, white sports cars and beautiful women, in a sense "Falconcrest revisited, or Robert

Mondavi Canadian-style" (Aspler, 1983, p.53). He is made to be the prime mover and shaker of a lazy industry. He is presented as the leader in setting up the Vintner Quality Alliance and getting the government to create a wine route through the Peninsula. He and his partner are portrayed as "rejuvenating" the Ontario wine industry at a time when they could "easily have foundered in the swamps of labrusca" (Aspler, 1993, p.62) and determined to make only quality wines when large commercial wineries ferociously competed with Baby Duck-style products and imitation Liebfraumlich.

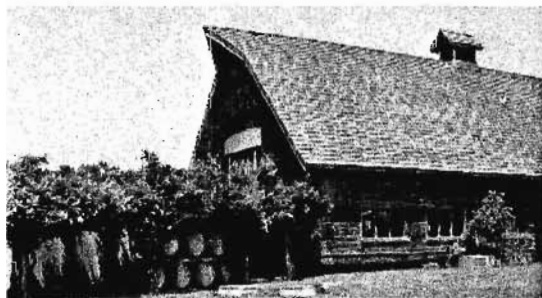


Figure 11. Inniskillin's retail store

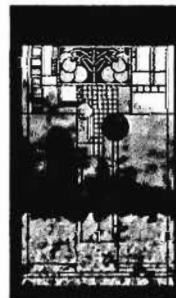


Figure 12. Glass window inspired by Wright

Personal creativity and originality was also established sometime in connection with a well-known creative personality. Inniskillin Wines first started operating in a garage, but over one year Inniskillin's was moved to The Brae Burn Estate. 'Brae Burn' is said to be of Gaelic origin and translates as 'Hill Stream', referring to the Niagara Escarpment and the Niagara River. The historic Brae Burn Barn, constructed in the mid-1920s, houses the winery boutique. The main floor consists of the retail wine boutique and tours centre, and over the years the upper level loft, has been maintained in its original open-beamed structure. Promotional materials suggest the barn was designed or at least influenced by the famous architect Frank Lloyd Wright. The link is between early works done by Wright in Buffalo for the Larkin family, who owned the land where Brae Burn now sits. However, there are no official documents to prove this or expert consensus on the matter. Actually, traces on a number of blogs and articles, emailed to me by the firm, suggest that a lot of

efforts were made to certify the link to Wright. The later additional building where the wines are produced in annex to the barn was constructed in Wright's style, reinforcing an "invented" connection with the architect. It has inspired as well the interior design of the retail shop, with great details such as a reproduction of an original stained glass window designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. In his book, *Anatomy of a Winery* (1994), Ziraldo reflects on the philosophy that Inniskillin shares with the artist. Both are innovators who reject borrowing from other places and instead find their inspiration in nature.

To be the first and experiment on the foundation of tradition allowed firms to demonstrate leadership as well as a sincere ethic of quality by not simply following the crowd, but taking risk going beyond market demand. How this is done is well illustrated in an early promotional flyer published by Konzelmann Estates: "Herbert Konzelmann first introduced vertical vine training to Canada." The flyer also announced that although Konzelmann's reputation for quality has been largely established around the premium *vitis vinifera*, "Herbert has never been content with the status quo" and added that five acres of trial varieties were being tested "to yield exceptional new wines." Personal creativity is also sometimes established in connection with a family tradition of innovation. A family-owned winery, Henry the Pelham, bore the first name of an Empire Loyalist ancestor whose father fought in the Revolutionary War of 1776. The winery claims that an ancestor may as well have been responsible for planting the first commercial vineyard in Niagara, back in 1857 (Aspler, 1993). This long heritage is reinforced by the building winery store, a former inn, built in 1842, by the son of Henry of Pelham, on a piece of crown land that he received for his effort in the Revolutionary War of 1776. The graveyard, next to the winery, attests to that unbroken link. Today, the website allows you to follow the family tree which shows deep roots in the history of the local community. With Icewine, through the pursuit of adapting and innovating traditional methods,

which consist in leaving the grapes on the vine to be naturally frozen by the cold temperature, Canada has become the only wine region in the world where the Icewine harvest is guaranteed every year. This is a natural advantage that made it the largest and most renowned producer of ice wines, in front of Germany who first innovated it in 1794.

Today, organizations can also reflect on a personal history to demonstrate their sincerity. On my visit to Cave Spring, the guide told me they have the oldest vines of Riesling, while Henry of Pelham claim the same for Baco Noir—on which, the website suggests, they gambled back in 1984 when Chardonnay was the craze and Ontarians wanted almost nothing but white. At Chateau des Charmes, you learn that Paul Bosc planted the first 100 percent vinifera vineyard in the region. On the website, an article by the Hamilton Spectator tells the story: (vineyard) “I knew it could be wiped out. Everyone said, the man is mad. He’ll be wiped out in two years” (as cited in MacLeod, August 2006). Again, with the first in Canada to buy giant wind towers to circulate warmer air through the vines in the winter, at a cost of more than \$600,000: “Most thought it a crazy move, but when Château des Charmes emerged mostly unscathed from recent brutal winters that knocked some wineries out of business, heads began to turn. The 15-metre towers are now popping up all over Niagara” (as cited in MacLeod, August 2006). The significance of these claims is best illustrated when wine expert Konrad Ejbich, writes (as cited in Jolley, Gremolata, February 2007) that his choice of Icewine by Pillitteri Estates had two reasons: “first and foremost, it is outstanding; and second, because Pillitteri is the only producer who does not pretend to have invented it.”

At the same time, firms select which organizational stories they reflect on. Although winemaking is often portrayed as both science and art, more emphasis is given to the latter, the art of winemaking. Chateau des Charmes does a lot to promote its French heritage and does little to promote its research and utilization of a process of reverse osmosis to remove water in the wine in

order to intensify its character and increase sugar content. And, although personal creativity provides uniqueness, tradition and context also provide limits for creative license. More recently, with growing consumer concerns about genetic manipulation of their food supply, Chateau des Charmes has removed from its website an article announcing, earlier in 1999, its efforts to make the first transgenic grape vine to be grown in the world. At the time, the planting of the first transgenic vines was in the presence of Ontario Premier Mike Harris to celebrate that historic day. A wine grape with the addition of a gene from a wild broccoli that would have protected varieties from an additional five degrees of killing frost, promised to triple production, enlarge varieties selection and open up new grape-growing areas across Canada. Today, that research has been abandoned.

Material Investment

An authentic, and sincere commitment to quality was also expressed with a large material investment. This was often made in connection to Europe's classic wine regions. Cave Spring Cellars showed its dedication to quality by investing in 16 and Inniskillin 40 to 80 new French oak barrels for each vintage (Aspler, 1993). Reif claimed its equipment was sent from his brother's winery in Germany (Aspler, 1993). The acquisition of traditional equipment was sometimes promoted in conjunction with modern technology. This strategy offered legitimacy to innovation by suggesting that it was founded on a European philosophy of winemaking. For example, Konzelmann Estates claims in an early promotional flyer that its whites undergo a long, cool fermentation period under controlled temperatures in modern "Rieger" stainless steel tanks from Germany. For its red wines, it uses a sophisticated "Rieger Vino Top-Fermenter" to create softer, velvety red wines. Commitment to invest in Old World equipment is still common today. While touring Fielding Estates the guide mentioned that they had stainless steel tanks customized and

ordered from Italy. It was usual for most wineries to acknowledge the firm's dedication to quality with the use of French Oak barrels that cost around \$1000 each and also American Oak barrels around \$600. The dedication to quality was not only in the purchase of hundreds of these, but the limited utilization that didn't, in most cases, go beyond three aging cycles.

Reflecting on a Connection to History and Culture of Place



Figure 13. Marynissen Estates

Especially for those with no ethnic connection to classic wine regions, claiming knowledge of place coming from a personal agriculture tradition or as a *way of life* helped establish producers' right to speak as quality winemakers. At Henry of Pelham, we are told that the winemaker resident has great affinity for the area. Born in Vineland, only minutes away, "... Giesbrecht has spent a lifetime on the Bench and knows its promise by heart" (Bramble & Darling, 1992, p.46). Visiting Palatine Hills, I was told that the family had a long history in grape growing and came to make wine, without planning it, out of the owner's passion and success as an amateur winemaker. Another winery, Hernder, claimed to have been growing grapes since 1967 (Aspler, 1993). Over time, these connections helped establish a dedication to quality as essential personal characteristic and believe that can be passed on to family members. Speaking of Vineland winemaker, wine expert Andrew Brooks (2005) writes, "grape-growing goes back three generations in this family; it's in the blood. It shows in the high-quality wines produced in large volume" (p.134).

Personal connections to the agricultural tradition of place are often given further hold with the selection of heritage buildings. How heritage buildings possibly contribute to authenticity is suggested by journalist Mark Criden, who writes, in the Buffalo Spree magazine (2006): "Despite its very modern restaurant and winery, there is a sense of permanence about Vineland Estates." Vineland was established on a homestead dating back to 1845, on which is located a historic stone Carriage House originating from 1857 and next to an 1877 historic barn in which the winery boutique is sited. Hernder Estates is also located on a heritage site, in a restored 1867 Victorian barn with on its site a now-rare wooden covered bridge. Especially after 1993, with the adoption of a new law requiring 5 acres of lands for the allocation of a wine license favoring grape growers, the simple wood barn becomes another popular marker symbolizing the agricultural history and its way of life going back prior to industrialization.



Figure 14. Andres Wines



Figure 15. Jordan & Ste-Michelle Ltd

Emphasis is also given to the history of the land. Palatine's marketing material tells you that an Empire Loyalist gave its name to the land in the 1780s, a name that it says can be traced back to Ancient Rome. On visiting Château des Charmes and repeated on the web site, it says that the land has historic ties to grape growing and wine. "Christian Warner, a United Empire Loyalist, was granted land by the British government and settled the property in 1783. He then formed a Methodist church and the writings of the period indicate that wine played an important role in church ceremonies".

As the cluster progressed, its landscape was transformed and deliberately created selectively out of available symbolic resources. By connecting their products to a rich selective history and culture of place, the estate wineries suggest that quality wine production was a natural outcome of an extraordinary place. What is especially interesting here is the way in which both place and wine are part of, or emerge in, processes of brand positioning, where there is a deliberate dissociation from the factory 'feel'. This produces a rather romanticized and pre-industrial image of the Niagara region.

Expert Certification



Figure 16. Reif Estates



Figure 17. Pillitteri Estates

A way of life often works in conjunction with producers establishing a more formal institutional recognition of excellence. For example, we are told that John Marynissen, an amateur winemaker, and farmer for over forty years, has a cabinet full of trophies (Aspler, 1993). In the winescape, expert certification is an important strategy of authentication. Today, an organization can reflect on an authentic, sincere dedication to quality, showcasing informal certification received over the years. Pillittery Estates has put up a 'wall of fame' showcasing an impressive number of certificates. At Chateau des Charmes, while touring the winery you follow the guide through staircases where award-winning certificates hang at your eye view, all the way up and down the

stairs. As impressive, Reif Estates has put together an imposing display next to the wine-tasting bar.

Transparent Winemaking

Another strategy is to claim a more hands-off approach to winemaking. Transparency is a strategy that confers unique aesthetic quality to product by suggesting a more direct representation of the unique physical characteristic of place. By vinifying only 100 percent vinifera grapes grown on the Beamsville Bench, Cave Spring claims to illustrate the connection between a wine's origins and its quality. President Leonard Pennachetti says (as cited in Bramble & Darling, 1992), "Our wines capture what the French call a *goût du terroir*, or 'a taste of the soil' from which they come and no amount of artifice – viticultural, oenological or otherwise – could ever replicate the particular flavour profile they achieve" (p.44). Cave Spring's philosophy is to provide the least intervention in the winemaking process with, for example, filtration kept to an absolute minimum (Aspler, 1993). At the same time, like in the romantic tradition, because nature is essentially good, it grants universal quality to products. In a self-published flyer Konzelmann Estates claims that: "All wines are produced in the most natural way to satisfy individual preferences of even the most discriminating palate" (early flyer). This is also reflected in Marynissen Estates' hands-off approach: "We emphasize working with nature and producing wines as natural as possible." These statements however are contradicted or tempered with the will to produce consistent quality. For example Marynissen in the same paragraph states: "We also use crop control depending on the weather" (Aspler, 1983, p.74).

The validity of such a non-interventionist claim can be questioned. Extensive work and research have been conducted not only in the winery but in the vineyards of Niagara as well. There, growers have modified the conditions in which grapes are produced, from clonal selection to

plant breeding, plant spacing, irrigation, wind machines and fertilization, etc. But, generally speaking, transparency helps create authenticity for producers whose knowledge has its roots more in the tradition of agriculture against producers with knowledge more in viniculture. It also helps distinguish their products from larger commercial wineries, for whom, like with Andres Wines "... the philosophy has always been to follow the taste of the consumer rather than to dictate it..." (Bramble & Darling, 1992, p.39).

Geographic Specificity

Geographic specificity is a strategy connected more with those producers who favour a "transparent" approach to winemaking. This is often done relating product characteristics with the particular constitution of the vineyard, its soil and the Niagara Escarpment. This is well illustrated in Vintage Canada (Aspler, 1993, p.46) where Cave Spring's vineyard is described:

A steep north-facing slope affords good natural water drainage and excellent air drainage. Close proximity to the Niagara Escarpment gives a relatively high concentration of mineral deposits from erosion which add complexity as trace elements in the wine.

But, there is as well a new and more general emphasis on the climate and the geographic condition of Niagara. It is explained to consumers, in great detail why and how the physical environment in the Niagara Peninsula contributes to product quality. This is expressed in collective as well as individual promotional materials. Inniskillin takes this a step further and offers its visitors a small museum dedicated to the physical and climatic particularity of the region and its similarities with other classic wine regions.

Attention to Details

A more general dedication to the value of craftsmanship is expressed in attention to details, with "hand-made" methods of viticulture, "small batch" production, "specialization" and an

allegiance to stay “small.” Rather than mechanized processes, the value of craftsmanship suggests authenticity by demonstrating a sincere ethic of quality beyond the temptation to increase production for profit. This is expressed in an early promotional flyer published by Vineland Estates:

Since the conception of Vineland Estate Wines in 1983, there has been a clear dedication to quality, ignoring the temptation to expand for growth's sake alone for fear of jeopardizing quality. We only use the finest grapes available, grown at our own estate, St. Urban Vineyards. This allows us to supervise and control the entire production process from fertilizing the fields to labelling the bottles... We are in practice and philosophy an uncompromising artist.

As opposed to a large producer like Brights that claims quality through mechanical harvesting, Konzelmann's promotional material states that “In these days of mechanization, the Konzelmann family and staff still pick their grapes by hand” (early flyer). At Inniskillin, Karl Kaiser, claims, “Classics have always been made by hand; wines, are no exception” (Early flyer). In the winery, for example, Inniskillin shows attention to details by conducting experiments to find which Chardonnay grapes, from two vineyards, produce the best wines using different vinification and aging techniques, and by fermenting in stainless steel and two styles of French oak, as well as blends of both in enough combinations to produce eight different Chardonnays (Early flyer). Aspler also gives, for example, Cave Springs as a “model for what small Ontario wineries should be” (1993, p.45). The winery is unique among small wineries in specializing only in the production of vinifera wines and producing only single varietals wines, no blended house wine.



Figure 18. 1980



Figure 19. 1984



Figure 20. 1986



Figure 21. 1990

The collective promotional materials also suggest to me a new attention to details, which help give coherence and consistency to Niagara brand identity. Linda Franklin (2006) has stressed that

it would have not been enough to produce a good product; both product and image needed to be improved. In the 1980s, guides to the winery of Ontario were produced under varied organizations, often with little budget, and resulting in inconsistent visual and conceptual brand identity. Under the leadership of the Wine Council of Ontario (WCO is a non-profit trade association representing collectively the wine producers of Ontario) the cluster developed the institutional apparatus allowing consistent and coherent management of a more consistent brand image. Even though there was a search for the right image at the beginning of the 1990s, in the frame of yearly promotions with the Liquor Board of Ontario, the brand identity gradually developed. From the mid-1990s it is possible to distinguish regular features. This includes the constant use of thick glossy paper, professional photography, quality print and highlights on the winemaker. This contributes to authenticity by strengthening the producer's sincere dedication to quality to everything they do. It helps reinforce a sincere passion for quality as a genuine expression of an inner personal truth.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER 3: AUTHENTIC, AS REAL AND SINCERE, NOT FAKE OR SNOB FOR MATERIAL GAIN

These rich stories altogether contribute to a personal history of sincere dedication to quality, through the innovation of time-tested tradition, creativity, dedication to place, craftsmanship and constant re-investment in the firm. The narratives, often portray the small boutique winery against the large commercial giants and the battle of visionary men, motivated by authentic, as in sincere values of excellence, beyond commercial motive. Firms actively cultivate these myths, in order to create images of authenticity. The kind of impression potentially made by those stories on early visitors to the Niagara wine region is captured by *The New York Times* article published in 1993 where after a tour of the region journalist Howard G. Goldberg depicted a war between David and Goliath between the value of craftsmanship and mass production:

Concentrating on the European grapes, these estates have radically altered Canadians' taste formed by simple mass-market wines made from native grapes like Concord and Niagara. Competition forced giants like Brights and Andres to follow suit. In 1988, the boutiques' victory was sealed when the provincial government banned the use of Concord and Niagara grapes for still wines.

In the end, the authenticity of Ontario wines is presented to the public in the value that it offers consumers. At Vineland, "Quality is a major part of establishing value – for without quality there is no value. We shall endeavour at all times to bring our customers the highest quality wine for the best price" (early flyer). A quest for "quality" suggests authenticity, as sincerity, with people driven by a superior ethic of excellence, which helps to distinguish their products from more commercial products. But value also suggests authenticity because in this instance, quality is produced by hard-working people who are not tempted to profit from the snobbishness of some of the Old World wine producers. As a result, in Ontario, local wines have moved in front of France in market share. And, the sales of wine bearing the VQA symbol recorded a growth of 41 percent from 1996 to 1997, according to the late LCBO chairman Andy Brandt, an amount unheard of in almost any industry (Vysniauskas, Wine Business, June 1998).

Chapter 4

INVENTING NEW STORIES: THE PERIOD AFTER 1999

“There was a time when those of us who know something about the vineyards of Canada felt we had a handle on what was happening across the country. Suddenly there are more winemakers than an outsider could possibly know. And the details of what works best, and where, have taken on the complexity of a great tapestry.”

John Ralston Saul (as cited in Aspler, 2006a, Foreword)

Protective tariffs negotiated in the framework of FTA were completely phased out by 1999. The Niagara cluster at this time faced more competition from imports than at any other time in its history. While at the end of 1998 Ontario wines had captured 43.3 percent of the overall Ontario marketplace, in 2001, even though it continued its growth, its market share slipped to 40 percent (LCBO, Annual Report, 2001-2002). Locally, competition had also exploded, and by 2008, the cluster numbered around 80 wineries, with more than half of the wineries opening after 1999. As opposed to the six large wineries of the 1970s, uniform in size and market power, the cluster had quickly polarized between a large number of small wineries and a few medium and large ones.

In the retail space, sales of French wines had reached an all time low, while Australia and the US doubled their exports to Canada during 1995-2000.³⁷ In addition, regions like Chile, Spain,

³⁷ The LCBO reports that the volume sale of French wine has decreased 6.7 percent between 2005 and 2006 (Annual Report). This is paralleled by the EU decline in share of worldwide wine exports from 91 percent to 66 percent between 1988 and 1999, while “New World” warm and high yield

southern France, southern Italy and Portugal, which had mostly made ordinary and fortified wines, like the Niagara region, had undergone a quality revolution and now offered consumer good value wines which added to the world surplus. Stress from global competition was aggravated by the EU 2003 settlement, in which the European Community received assurances that the provincial liquor systems would take a more even-handed approach to imported products. In exchange, the EU recognized the VQA appellation, opening the market for its exportation of Icewine.

With its quasi-monopoly, the LCBO now claimed to be the single largest purchaser of alcohol in the world. Its purchase power on the international scene made it harder for local producers to compete over price. In 1995, threatened again with privatization by the Tories, and in 2005, by the Liberals, the organization was under pressure to increase revenue and efficiency. In response, the Liquor Control Board introduced a shelf management system requiring wineries to meet minimum quantity supplies and discard brands that did not sell well enough. This tended to favor well-known brands as well as local and international producers with large advertising budgets. How much was being spent on promotion through LCBO and other media had become one of the most important factors in considering new products' requests to be listed in the general listing. The request form uses a scoring system, where promotion makes up 40 points and packaging gets 20 points. That leaves 20 points for 'market' and 20 points for organoleptic assessment. The LCBO's further internationalization is also suggested by the introduction of a new brand vision in 2003-04, *Discover the World*, which calls on employees "... to take customers on engaging and enjoyable journeys of discovery, demystifying the products we sell and helping customers make more informed purchases" (p.2). This has meant, among other things, increased

viticulture countries such as Chile, Argentina, South Africa and Australia—which, like Niagara, have undergone a quality revolution—grew from eight percent to nearly one-third (Anderson, 2004).

opportunity for store promotions and in-store product sampling open to local but also international producers, creating more revenue for the organization.

As a result of these changes, according to the Wine Council of Ontario, even though Ontario wines account for more than 30 percent of overall LCBO wine sales in a given year, in 2004, Ontario wines received only about 17 percent of the shelf space (Menzies, 2007). Small Ontario producers that concentrate on small batch wine made of 100 percent Ontario grapes, and with little budget for advertising, have been particularly affected. This has meant that these producers' product can be found only sporadically through the Vintage section of the government liquor store, if at all. Changes in the retail space have been more beneficial for larger producers. Mytelka and Goertzen (2004) report that Vincor's and Andres's share of LCBO listings had increased from 44.3 percent in 1998 to 57.7 percent five years later. Furthermore, Andres Wines and Vincor also have their own retail chain stores, accounting for around 265 licenses together, with retail licensing frozen for over a decade. This gives them a distinct competitive advantage over new producers limited to selling their wine directly to customers at the winery or through the LCBO. In this context, what constitutes an authentic Ontario wine is increasingly contested because this determines who can and cannot access the Ontario market.

THE NEW CULT OF "SINCERITY"

The period around the new millennium was distinguished by the return of the "critter" wines and a wave of ironic, unpretentious products. Australia was a leader in the "critter" category and saw the highest growth at the LCBO between 2004-2005 (LCBO, Annual Report). Yellow Tail drove the growth in Canada and other parts of the world. Launched in 2001, it features on its label the now famous Kangaroo. Yellow Tail's success brought numerous other exotic animals to the

shelves of the LCBO. The “critter” wines’ success came as the generation of the new millennium started to reach drinking age, in 2000. This particular group was reported to be the largest demographic group after the post-war generation.

The Case of Megalomaniac

Wines with ironic, tongue-in-cheek names like Fat Bastard, Cat’s Pee on a Gooseberry Bush, Glamour Puss, Bootleg, and so on were also taking their place in the mainstream wine market, with *Business Week* (2006) calling the French Fat Bastard wines a “marketing phenomenon.” Irony works to frame authenticity at least in two ways. It suggests intimacy, with the producer acknowledging that the audience knows wines can be pretentious. It also suggests sincerity, with the producer admitting the snobbism of the game and making fun of it. It shows a willingness to depart from the ideal image of self by acknowledging its weaknesses and opening itself up to criticism.

Niagara responded, in 2008, with among others Megalomaniac. When John Howard retired from Vineland Estates and got bored, he decided to start a new wine venture, which he planned to simply call John Howard. The website suggests that his good friends accused him of being yet another megalomaniac, and the name stuck. And so, the story goes, “I now produce wines called Megalomaniac. Meant to be shared with friends of equivalent, or even greater egos. Pairs extremely well with delusional fantasies of wealth, power, and occasionally, omnipotence.”

In reality, the idea came from Brandever, a Vancouver-based design firm Howard partnered with for Megalomaniac. The firm had already created memorable labels such as Blasted Church, Laughing Stock and Dirty Laundry at several British Columbia wineries and around the globe, but none yet for the Niagara market. Brandever founder and principal Bernie Hadley-Beauregard said in an interview that a lot of wine labels are too conservative and end up looking alike. “People are

looking for something that's fresh and different at all times" (Beech, The Standard, November 8, 2008). Megalomaniac came as much from the personality of the wine maker as the need to create differentiation in a crowded market.

"Ironie" and "critter" wines' fun and unpretentious approach to wine distinguish them as much today as did Baby Duck, in the 1970's, against the seriousness of chateaux labels, complicated regional systems of commune and estates vineyards. It is not only the names that make these wines seem distinctive, down-to-earth and real. Listed at only \$12, Fat Bastard 1990 Chardonnay received a rating of 84 out of 100 from Wine Spectator.

The Case of Naked-Grape

In response to the popularity of critter and ironic wines, in 2005, Vincor Canada launched Naked Grape, a concept wine to appeal to the same consumer group, but not as another "critter" wine. Naked Grape is another take on authenticity, an existential authenticity, that legitimize being real and being yourself against social pressure. The man behind the idea is Steve Bolliger, Vincor's VP of marketing, previously responsible for launching Rotting Grape and Mike's Hard Lemonade for Vancouver-based Mark Anthony Cellars. Bolliger's six core pillars of marketing are innovation, media support, consumer knowledge, superior quality and execution. At the time of Naked Grape's release, there was no other wine brand marketing itself as unoaked in Canada. But it was already getting the attention of the wine world. Before the launch of Naked Grape, the *Seattle Times Magazine* (Gregutt, 2005) was calling the chardonnay unoaked phenomenon an Australian and New Zealand "trendy trend." Starvedog Lane, an Australian producer committed to the concept, explains: "Unoaked chardonnay displays the true fruit flavors of this variety, without the tricks and treatment of wood." It contrasts with the overpowering styles that became sophisticated at the beginning of the 1990s. For some, the early style feature more winemaker intervention and reflects

more on winemakers' egos and ideologies than the grapes from which they are made. What is more, however, Vincor research had shown the more fruit forward “unoaked” taste appealed to the novice wine drinker. Unoaked wines are also less expensive to produce, and making a wine manufactured in Canada rather than a VQA wine allowed Vincor to quickly access an unlimited quantity of low cost wine juice. It allowed Vincor to quickly respond to the trend and create authenticity for the brand, as it seemed to lead rather than follow demand and trend. As a result, the firm’s effort was dubbed the most successful wine launch in Vincor history.

To secure listings with the LCBO, the brand was launch with a television campaign. Bos Toronto handled the advertising launch and focused on further differentiating the brand from the crowd (Cassies, 2006).³⁸ The team used a proprietary strategic exercise that exposed the common themes, words, adjectives and images commonly employed in the industry. In wine, they found that most campaigns were anchored in tradition, craftsmanship or lifestyle. Since the category was growing, they decided they did not have to justify the quality of the wine. Instead, they explored three other areas: truth, purity and confidence, all qualities coming from the unoaked difference. The idea of confidence was based on findings that indicate consumers lack confidence when drinking wine, especially if they are novices. The notion of “confidence” fitted well with the name, Naked Grape, and the concept of unoaked wine, which allows the flavour of the grapes to “express themselves completely,” with no need to hide behind oak. This gave birth to the line, *“It takes confidence to go unoaked,”* which became the platform for all elements of the campaign.

One commercial, “Crying Grape,” opens with an animated grape on a white background. As opera music plays, the grape, which has a deep male voice, begins to snuffle and weep, then says, “That’s beautiful.” The announcer says, “That’s one confident grape,” as the camera pulls out and

³⁸ The information is based on crossover notes provided by the advertising agency Bos in the frame of the Cassies 2006 Cases competition.

the grape character becomes the iconic grape on the Naked Grape Shiraz bottle. The spot ends with the announcer saying: "Naked Grape. It takes confidence to go unoaked." The use of anthropomorphism, as in the case of Baby Duck, helps create an emotional connection with the consumer, who can potentially see himself or herself standing confident against everyday social pressure. The message valorizes authenticity as being original, as real and true to one's own definition of pleasure. This emotional connection may have been more significant in the success of Naked Grape than the purity of the grape. This is suggested by Boss, who conducted six 45-minute mini-groups showing that, despite respondents' limited understanding of the unoaked concept, they found the campaign highly intrusive, engaging and entertaining.

Also, instead of the typical strategy to approach wine writers for reviews, the advertising agency chose to approach well known and liked community members such as radio hosts, and to partner with Food TV chef Bob Blumer, known as the Surreal Gourmet for his eccentric and unconventional approach to food. This helped position the Naked Grape brand as simple, bold, fun and original. The brand strategy was recognized with a *Cassies Award, Off to a Good Start—Bronze*.

CERTIFIED PLEASURABLE, BOTTLING HOME CELEBRITIES: THE CASE OF DAN AYKROYD

If California has Francis Ford Coppola, and France has Gerard Depardieu, now the Niagara wine cluster has its own Canadian celebrities, with new wines created in collaboration with retired hockey star Wayne Gretzky, former Masters champion Mike Weir and Canadian actor Dan Aykroyd (*The Blues Brothers* and *Ghostbusters*). For the WCO, this is a sign that "Athletes, celebrities and Hollywood actors have caught on that Ontario's internationally award winning VQA wines are worth investing in as well as drinking" (Wines of Ontario, 2006).

A good example of how linking wine to local celebrity helps to establish authenticity is the case of actor Dan Aykroyd. In 2007, the actor released a line of wines under his name, in collaboration with Diamond Estates Wines & Spirits, which owns a number of wineries in the cluster, including EastDell Estates. During his numerous interviews, Aykroyd takes great care to stress his close involvement in the production of the wines that bear his name. We learn that the project took nearly two years of close collaboration with winemaker Tom Green, from Lakeview Cellars, one of the wineries represented by Diamond Estates Wines & Spirits. Aykroyd himself suggests how his involvement may help establish authenticity for the consumer:

I taste every case that comes in with my father. I go to the barrel. I have yet to harvest the grapes, but if it doesn't pass my palate, if it doesn't taste like Latour's Corton-Charlemagne, the sauvignon blanc, or comparable French wine, I fight them on putting it in the market. So I am policing quality pretty extensively.

(Tannenbaum, 2008)

Asked about his wine philosophy, Aykroyd explains, "We're sort of anti-wine snobs here. We are not too sure what we smell, but we know what we like to drink." The same populist appeal is used in print ads, announcing Aykroyd's line of wines with the headline: "Made from 100% snob free grapes." With a line of wine around the \$15 price point, Aykroyd position his products as real, simple and pleasurable wine experience against not-so-good or snobbery-for-profit wines: "...people up here, in Canada especially, trust the Aykroyd name as someone that's honest who will give them a great experience for a good price."

The actor also established sincerity by showing a dedication and a deep connection to the Ontario community. During interviews, he often mentions his origins in Kingston, Ontario, where he says he still spends holidays and "down time," and where he gave a series of interviews: "My family just celebrated our 180th anniversary of being on our farm and my dad is really into fine wine, too" (Stimmell, 2007). On announcing, in 2005, a \$1 million investment in Diamond Estates Wines &

Spirits,³⁹ Aykroyd suggests that this is not only a sane business investment, but also a contribution to his community:

It's also an investment in my home province and an opportunity to put more Canadian wines on shelves alongside Australian and Chilean vintages. I look forward to taking Canadian wines to the world through the House of Blues nightclub network and by promoting these products in other markets.

Diamond Estates Wines & Spirits (2006)

However, the sincerity of his dedication and disinterestedness is at times contradicted in action. For example, Gordon Stimmell, writing for the *Toronto Star* (2007), reports an instance in which, when asked by a journalist how much oak was used in his Chardonnay label series, the actor answered, "It's unoaked," while a voice in the background clarifies that, in fact, it has a touch of oak to round it out. Aykroyd, annoyed, replies, "I thought we agreed to do an unoaked chardonnay." What is also left unsaid is that his investment in the Ontario wine industry is also an investment in the wine import business, helping to put wines from Australia and Chile on the shelves of the LCBO alongside Ontario wines. Soon after Aykroyd invested in Diamond Estates Wines & Spirits, the firm released a business statement announcing the acquisition of Brave New Wines Ltd., representing in Canada such international wine brands as Fat Bastard, Mad Fish and Angus the Bull. In the press release (2006), Aykroyd clearly declare his commercial interest:

My investment into Niagara Cellars and Diamond Estates is clearly one that has already been positively leveraged through this strategic acquisition. By adding the Brave New Wines' portfolio to our existing brands, we are rapidly becoming one of Canada's leaders in the wines and spirits industry.

Diamond Estates Wines & Spirits (2006)

DRINKING PLACE

A growing interest in a sense of 'somewhereness'⁴⁰ in wine comes with a growing concern regarding the standardization of wine culture. In a multipart series of articles published in

³⁹ Diamond Estates Wines & Spirits Ltd. includes EastDell Estates, Birchwood Estate, Lakeview Cellars, De Sousa Wine Cellars, 20 Bees Winery and Dan Aykroyd Wines

⁴⁰ *Wine Spectator* columnist Matt Kramer recently coined the term "somewhereness" to describe the effects of "terroir" on wine.

November 2002, tracing the rise of brand wines, British wine writer Jimmy Good describes brand wines as “parasite and mimics” threatening geographic diversity in wine.

This interest stems from the fact that there exists a diversity of wine types that are each able to express elements of their cultural and geographical origins in the finished product...Unlike lager or whisky, where the agricultural input (wheat or barley) is minimal and the human input is dominant, winemaking is best viewed as a process of stewardship rather than one of manufacturing.

(Good, 2002)

Jonathan Nossiter envisages a similar threat in the award-winning documentary *Mondovino* (2004) in which he explores globalization. The rise of multinational flying wine makers and the influence of international critics are cited as a danger to diversity of place and terroir. International wine critics, in particular American critic Robert Parker, Jr., are presented as promoting an international style measuring every wine on the same scale, leaving out subjectivity in taste, the pleasures of subtlety, and the value of tradition and typicality. In seeking to capitalize on the international model, terroir in wine is given substantially altered using too much oak, over-ripened fruit, cultured yeast, and diverse unnatural technologies like reverse osmosis, spinning cone to augment flavors, or microoxygenation for the equivalent of barrel aging, and so on.

Geographic Specificity

“Terroir is a wine’s certificate of authenticity, its link to the deepest sense of place.”

Lawrence Osborne, *The Accidental Connoisseur* (2004, p. 15)

This is not to suggest that terroir is a new concept in Niagara. Cave Spring has claimed to make terroir wines at least since 1992 (Bramble & Darling, 1992, p.44). However, writing for the wine and food magazine *Gremolata* (2005), Malcolm Jolley observes that ever since the release of *Mondovino*, it is quite impossible to have a conversation with anyone remotely associated with marketing wine that does not include the word “terroir.” Terroir helps provide authenticity for the wine by transferring the unique natural conditions of time and place to the characteristics of the grape. The British wine expert Hughes Johnson says (as cited in Ziraldo, 1994) that each of the

classic wine regions has a distinctive identity of place: “[wine regions] when you get to know them well, their terroir, the sum of climate, soil and terrain that stamps their personality, becomes almost tangible; their style of wine is somehow inevitable” (p.3). “Le goût du terroir” also imparts authenticity to the wine by certifying that the wine is natural and has not been adulterated. Harold McGee and Daniel Patterson, in *The New York Times* (2007), write that unlike the quality of “minerality” associated with terroir, wines featuring the flavors of berries or tropical fruits in wines are assumed to lack a clear connection to the earth, suggesting that they can come from anywhere and are thought to bear the mark of human intervention.

In 2006, with the division of the Niagara peninsula into 10 sub-appellations, VQA developed another tool for the production of terroir wines. The divisions are based on differences in the growing conditions of each sub-appellation identified on the basis of a three-year study examining topographic, pedological, geological and climatic data. Shortly after its implementation, in an interview for the food magazine *Gremolata*, Charles Baker, the Director of Marketing and Sales at Stratus Vineyards, was already talking about moving past these first steps (as cited in Jolley, 2008):

Our industry needs to explore more closely the notion of terroir. To accomplish this, we have to move beyond the sub-appellations that were recently created, we have to move beyond the large farms that cover large areas and delve into the small unique vineyards that dot the landscape.

Malivoire, Stratus Vineyards and Flat Rock, Le Clos Jordanne, Featherstone and Frogpond are some of the wineries devoted to making terroir wines.

Transparent wine making: Letting the Terroir Express Itself

Producers use “terroir” as a guiding philosophy, with a number of strategies and levels of commitment to demonstrate sincerity around this issue. In making terroir wines, a key element is transparency. This philosophy is reflected in investment in integrated viticulture, which seeks to

remove the use of pesticides from the production of wine through practices like minimal spray strategies or the replacement of chemicals with natural methods. There are examples of more extreme alternative methods, with Featherstone introducing bird prey for pest control and small flocks of sheep to eat leaves from the grapevines, exposing the grapes to more sunlight and air circulation. When I visited Flat Rock, it was explained to me that eliminating the use of chemicals forced the vine to work harder for its necessary nutrients, producing roots that reach deep into the land and fewer and smaller fruits with, greater concentration, on which the land has left its characteristics. Also, Le Clos Jordanne uses principles of biodynamic farming that recognize the force of the earth, among other thing through the use of a moon calender "to produce wines that clearly express the unique terroir in complete harmony with nature" (Vintage, January 2007). Frogpond Farm, an organic winery, also argues that harmony with nature is the "prerequisite for a great authentic wine" (Frogpond Farm, 2007).

In the winery, filtration is kept to a minimum and the use of wild yeast has become more popular. Starting with Malivoire in 1995, the first gravity-flow winery in Ontario, many including Jackson-Triggs (2001), Flat Rock (2004), and Stratus (2005) have invested in the technology, stressing the importance of such non-intrusive techniques. Allowing the fruit to be moved gently by nature, rather than by machines, is supposed to diminish the need for filtration and bring out the more subtle flavours. Cultured yeast can be collected anywhere in the world and replace local yeast, offering more control over converting sugar to alcohol and contributing to the wine's fruit aromas. According to the Scott Labs website, Delteil's culture yeast ICV-GRE, isolated from the Côte Rôtie area of the Rhône Valley, promises to deliver "a big fore-mouth impact". This practice has been connected to the homogenization of the wine culture. Instead, for example, Le Clos Jordanne and Flat Rock both favor indigenous yeast. On their website, Le Clos Jordanne explains

that the wines are fermented using wild yeasts from the respective vineyard parcels. This helps the wine to display its sense of place and the differences in terroir, because the yeasts are coming from the same vineyards as the grapes themselves. However, this commitment to authenticity as a pure reflection of place is tempered by the need to ensure consistency of quality. Because of its instability, Flat Rock Cellars replaces 'indigenous yeast' with cultured yeast when rain at harvest reduces their populations.

Personal Creativity: Enhancing the Terroir

Even though transparency is an important aspect of terroir wines, "terroirists" also make use of agricultural methods and technology and personal sensibility to enhance the distinctiveness of place. For example, in the cluster there is a new dedication to low yield production via pruning and close spacing. These techniques, like organic methods or old vines, produce concentration in wines. Even though this tendency has been associated with the internationalization of wine, it can now be legitimized in relation to terroir. This is well illustrated on Cave Spring website:

By planting at densities of 4500 vines per hectare, twice Niagara's average, we are able to increase competition among the vines for vital ground nutrients. This forces vine roots deep into the lime-rich soils of the Bench and enhances flavour development in the berries. Careful winter pruning combined with removal of excess fruit during the growing season also permit us to reduce yields and improve ripeness at harvest; all of which guarantees that Cave Spring 'Estate Bottled' wines embody our highest commitment to the terroir of the Beamsville Bench.

In the winery, there is a trend toward longer fermentations (cold soaking days of grape skin/juice contact before the yeast starter is added). Also, starting with Lailey Vineyard in 2001, some producers are now experimenting with Ontario oak. As expensive as French oak, the wood supposedly leaves a particular taste that complements Ontario terroir. The use of a computerized system is also used to keep a close connection between the winemaker and the wines, which he or she can monitor at all times.

Perhaps the most creative of the so-called terroirists is Stratus winemaker resident J.-L. Groulx. He argues that the art of assemblage is the quintessence of winemaking. Assemblage, the French close equivalent term for blending, refers to the crafting of several grape varieties to create layered wines described as more complex, and “wines that are a true expression of the vineyard's terroir” (Stratus Wines, 2008). In the 1990's Groulx became well known for his Trius line developed with Hillebrand. Trius is a blend of the same three grapes used in “Bordeaux” blend. Sold in the US and Canada under the name “Meritage”, it is made of Cabernet-Sauvignon, Merlot and Cabernet-Franc. Today, Groulx has moved away from the traditional blend and his “Stratus White” and “Stratus Red” can include as many as 13 varieties of grapes. His selection of varietal is unlike any European tradition.

Making tradition the foundation of creativity helps legitimate innovation. The Stratus website suggests that the synergy created with assemblage reflects the age-old theory that the sum is greater than the parts. As well, Le Clos Jordanne biodynamic approach to viticulture is described as far from new, inspired by 19th century Yugoslavian scientist-philosopher Rudolf Steiner. Also, according to Malivoire winemaker Ann Sperling, the new trend in longer fermentations is actually an old practice. Considered new in Burgundy, she argues that prior to modern temperature-control and yeast inoculations, fermentations traditionally took many days to start and are in fact a pre-modern technique (Baldock, 2004). And as it was casually explained to me as I was visiting Stratus, gravity flow is what was used before people came up with the pump.

Firms also reinforce their sincerity of commitment to place by showing leadership in environmentally sustainable practice. Frogpond Farm claims to be the first certified organic winery in Ontario, and Flat Rock Cellars the first to introduce environmental stewardship from vines to wine. Also, Stratus received significant media coverage as the first winery worldwide, in 2005, to

receive LEED certification (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design). It generated articles in sources ranging from international lifestyle magazines like *Interior World Korea* (May 2007) and *Wallpaper* (October 2006), to architecture and design publications like *Azure Magazine* (September 2006) and business coverage in *Time Magazine* (November 7, 2005) and *Business Edge* (June 23, 2005), as well as in wine literature like *Vines Magazine* (April 2005) and numerous major local newspapers. In part because terms like “sustainability” and “organic” have yet to be clearly defined and regulated, allowing anyone to claim them, in 5 of the 26 cases dedication to terroir is enhanced with the adoption of formal, externally audited environmental standards (e.g. ISO standards).

Attention to Detail

The producer’s sincere commitment to terroir is also established with the integration of the site and its protection into the built environment. EastDell Estates is built entirely of wood and stone from the property. Like many wineries in recent years, it has made an effort to reduce its environmental foot print, integrating features like a biofilter system to treat the winery’s wastewater. In the case of Malivoire, the location of the winery was selected to take advantage of a natural ravine slope for the gravity flow system, and also, in part, because it allowed the incorporation and recycling of an old building structure, conserving the energy and materials that would be expended to tear it down. From the outside, the winery’s functional approach is strengthened by its utilitarian Bauhaus look. The website explains that these choices validate three Malivoire priorities: “conscientious use (and re-use) of natural resources, while reinforcing its Canadian identity and a focus on producing the best wines” (Malivoire, 2008)

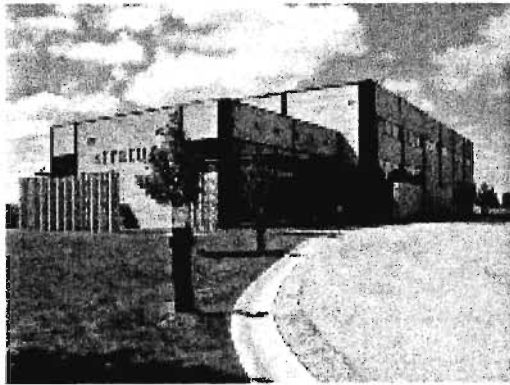


Figure 22. Stratus building



Figure 23. Stratus retail space

The winery in Niagara that makes the biggest commitment to a small footprint is probably Stratus. The firm claims that its goal was to build a winery model capable of producing world-class, hand-crafted wines in an environmentally-responsible manner. On opening, in 2005, it became the world's first winery to gain LEED green certification. In order to qualify for LEED, the winery had to meet numerous criteria that reduced the negative impact on the environment, both during construction and on a permanent, operational basis. Some of the features implemented at Stratus include geothermal technology to heat and cool the building; the use of recycled materials in construction and design; resource- and energy- efficient electrical and plumbing systems; a toxin-free waste management program; and a landscape plan that is organic and based on indigenous grasses and plants. The construction, a high tech minimalist box, stands out against Niagara's cultural landscape. The interior design pursues the value of craftsmanship, with a focus on function and simplicity, adding luxurious touches and enormous attention to detail. In the white, black and grey tasting room, you find unusual materials, walls of oiled end-grain mesquite in one room, a textured ceiling of engineered-wood planks in another. But this is not how it all started, and the building design emerged from efforts to negotiate a synergy with the site and maintain a dedication

to quality, as well as to create distinction from the competition. Initially, the owner had approached the architect Les Andrew with the idea of doing something closer to a faux chateau. The idea was to create something akin to Opus in Napa. Opus is a winery that makes hedonistic cult reds, from a building that looks like a spaceship set inside a Greek temple. According to Andrew, this was before “The client basically fired everyone from the project, then rehired me because I had told him the truth... I told him the best thing would be to create a simple, elegant box with a kind of minimalist theme, nothing showoffy” (Hume, *Azure Magazine*, 2006, p.137). The project had also already started construction before the team decided to go for LEED certification. Charles Baker, Director of Marketing and Sales, recognized the growing demand from a concerned public that the wine community contribute to responsible environmental behavior. His sincerity is further established when he admits that this is good business, but also argues that another reason is his four-year-old daughter. “I don’t want her inheriting a poisoned piece of land that doesn’t grow very good grapes” (Stauffer, *Business Edge Magazine*, 2005).

Terroir is also closely associated with specialization in agricultural, which suggest a close attention to the natural synergy between the grape and the site on which it grows. In the vineyard, Le Clos Jordanne Estate shows an extreme level of attention via planting rootstock and clone combinations chosen to suit the individual personality of each vineyard. Their website provides charts with details of each clone number and typical plant spacing for each vineyard. They claim now that, unlike other wineries, they are moving to mixing clones within planting blocks—a practice known as ‘sélection massale’—in order to de-emphasize the taste profile of the clone and instead showcase the distinct terroir of each vineyard.

Unlike in the earlier period, when new varietal trial was a sign of sincere dedication to quality, terroir is closely associated with regional specialization. Regional specialization in classic wine

regions forms the basis of the Appellation system. It has also found some success, for example, in California, which made a name for itself early on with Zinfandel; Australia, with Shiraz; Argentina, with Malbec; and New Zealand, with Sauvignon Blanc. Regional specialization is complicated by research and technology that in recent years have rapidly altered the relation with natural conditions. In Niagara, there are now more than fifty vinifera and hybrid-vinifera being cultivated. One of the advantages of terroir is its ability to lend originality to varietals with a ready market. Even though the relation between the grape and the region is suppose to express a unique synergy, in reality, this last point is tempered with the need to find a market. This is clearly express in the WCO's strategic framework, *Poise for Greatness* (1999) where one of the six key objectives listed is to concentrate regional production on grapes that match Ontario's soils and microclimates, but also that must "capture compelling market attention" (p. 9).

For Don Triggs, Vincor's then-president and CEO, Pinot Noir was no doubt the upcoming grape in the Niagara Peninsula. His new venture, Le Clos Jordanne, dedicated to the production of Pinot noir and Chardonnay, was given further legitimacy by Vincor's collaboration with Boisset Vin et Spiritueux, France's largest Burgundy producer (Burgundy has traditionally grown Pinot Noir). In the opinion of its winemaker, Tomas Bachelder, Pinot Noir wines, like Chardonnay and Riesling, are particularly suited to creating "the signature of a 'sense of place'" because they are sensitive to minerality in the soil (Aspler, 2006b). The wine movie *Sideways* (2004) did much to popularized Pinot Noir in America. The film was a winner at the box office and gained many prestigious accolades and awards. As a result of the movie's success, sales of Pinot Noir in the US were up 22 percent in the four weeks following the movie's release (Aspler, 2005). In Niagara, it now makes up some of the most expensive table wines. Even though it is a difficult grape to grow, notoriously

susceptible to bunch rot and with a naturally low yield, its further appeal lies in its cult following among wine enthusiasts, which seems to transcend trends in wine.

However, not everyone agrees on the choice of Pinot Noir. Jean-Pierre Colas—a native of Burgundy, where the grape originates, and the winemaker for Peninsula Ridge Estates Winery—does not make Pinot Noir, and is doubtful as to its potential. “I don’t understand all the excitement here.” He remained unimpressed after conducting a tasting of fifteen different Ontario Pinot Noirs. “They don’t have the structure... Some were average, some were faulty, and some were quite stupid” (Gillmor, *The Walrus*, September 2006, p. 2). For Colas, Boisset is a mass producer and their investment may have more to do with the company’s need to expand and diversify rather than the certification of a great synergy between the land and the grape. Since most agree on the quality of Niagara Riesling, *Vines Magazine* instead proclaimed Riesling the Ontario “signature” grape (Pinkus, 2006). But in *Ontario Wine Review* (2006), a bi-weekly newsletter dedicated to Ontario Wines and Wineries, Michael Pinkus argues that Germany already owns that grape, making it the wrong choice. A better choice, he suggests, would be Cabernet Franc. Used mainly in blending grapes in Cabernet-Merlot or Bordeaux blends, Ontario has been making quality, single-varietal, age-worthy Cabernet Franc for years, something done nowhere else.

Consistent Quality and Style

The consistency in quality, year after year, is an important aspect of the equation and a sign of natural synergy between the grape and the land in which it grows. Tony Aspler makes the point that if you can’t ripen Shiraz and Cabernet Sauvignon every year, like in Australia or California, there is no reason for doing it—unless, like Bordeaux, you determine a number of suited varieties for blending. This is a strategy, writes Aspler (2007), allowing Bordeaux producers to come up with good to great wines nine years out of ten. This is echoed by Beppi Crosariol who, writing for the

Globe and Mail (2007), insists that the better choice is Chardonnay, because of the grape's commercial appeal and because "Brilliant ones are made in most years." Nevertheless, while he does not deny that Baco Noir is a signature grape of Ontario, because the hybrid variety will always hold much greater export interest, he would rather leave it out.

Reflecting on a Regional Tradition

If it has become easier, in an era of information flows and technology, to reproduce terroir, it has also become more difficult to generate the regional consensus necessary for its naturalization. Producers often legitimize a self-serving definition of an authentic synergy with terroir, making a connection to historical tradition. In an article titled "Baco Noir and Maréchal Foch: The True Canadian Grapes?" (2003), Tony Aspler associate the these grapes to the popular, describing them as the "blue-collar grapes, the early-ripening, winter-hardy, heavy-bearing hybrids" and against the "finesse" and the "delicate dispositions" of Old Europe's noble vinifera varieties. But, he also reminds his readers of the important role these grapes have played in the history of Ontario wine, turning the dying industry into a success. He cites, for example, Henry of Pelham, which has established a cult following for its Baco Noir reaching high prices. Ron Giesbrecht, winemaker at Henry of Pelham (as cited in Aspler, 2003a), likes working with Baco Noir because it "makes a consistent and reliable red of good weight and concentration" He also makes the point that, since "Baco does not display a pleasing character in all places,"—like in Loire where it is now outlawed—it means that "our site is suited to the grape." The idea is that instead of producing the omnipresent Chardonnay, Cabernet Sauvignon and Merlot, if the grape is unique to the region, the greater the chance that its wines will have a distinctive originality. The interest in these hardy vines, once mostly considered only good for coloring, has emerged as wine regions around the world are re-discovering their historic indigenous varieties. For instant, once-popular Viognier—from the

appellations of Condrieu and Château Grillet, located on the west bank of the Rhône River—because it is a difficult plant to grow, had been in decline since the disastrous introduction of phylloxera insects in the mid and late 1800s. Almost extinct by 1960, it has regained popularity since the 1990s. South Africa's Pinotage is at least one example of a hybrid grape that is gaining prominence on international markets. Unlike other famous hybrids such as Cabernet Sauvignon and Syrah, which occurred naturally through crosspollination, Pinotage was created from viticulture. However, there are further distinctions between viticulture crosses like Pinotage and hybrids of a cultivar bred from members of different species such as Baco Noire. In France, where viticulturists were involved in developing hybrids in response to phylloxera, today they have practically all been banned (Berberoglu, 2004). Discrimination exists even though, since the great phylloxera epidemic, there are few pure vinifera vines. What we have instead are vines in which *Vitis vinifera* scion was grafted onto the roots of *Vitis labrusca* or other native American species to increase their resistance. How this affects the taste of wine is also contested.

THE INVENTION OF A ROMANTIC COMMUNITY: THE AUTHENTIC NIAGARA EXPERIENCE

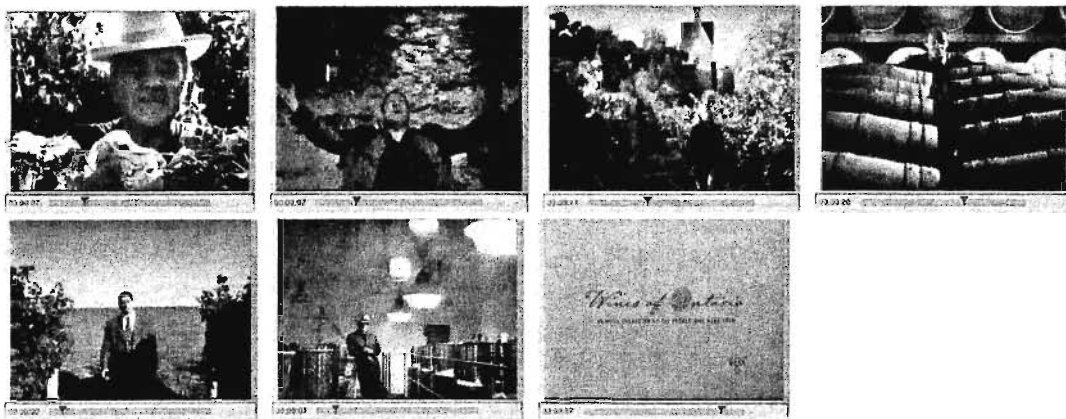


Figure 24. Wines of Ontario

In October 2002, as part of a \$20 million investment shared equally between the Government of Ontario and the industry, in an effort to boost its market share, the industry came together again in a major ad campaign under the slogan, "As much character as the people who make them". The campaign, created by Taxi Toronto, consists of three television spots supported with print ads in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, as well as in the lifestyle magazines *Toronto Life* and *Canadian House & Home*. The TV commercials featured real winemakers, in real recognizable settings, talking about their own approach to winemaking, a new realism that contrasts with faceless brand names. The diversity of Ontario wines is conveyed by the diversity of its winemakers, with different genders, ages, styles and convictions with respect to winemaking. A second spot focuses on the distinctive international awards wineries had received over the years, and a third one on matching wine and food. The campaign also reinforces a sense of communal identity, united at the end by a unique thumbprint, under the Ontario banner. Together, the wine producers offer the image of a harmonious, abundant and class-free community, related, like a school of painters, by shared traits. The community's relative diversity suggests a difference in style rather than quality, as well as making the discovery of Ontario wines a rich and stimulating cultural adventure. The campaign could just as well be about celebrating Ontario prosperity, cultural diversity and openness.

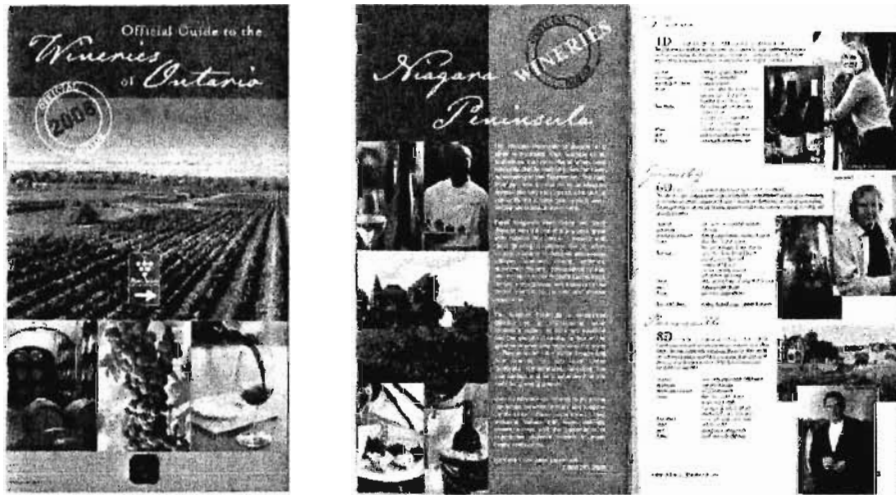


Figure 25. The Official Guide to the Wineries of Ontario 2005 and 2006

This sense of community is reinforced in the revamped Official Guide to the Wineries of Ontario and the wine route map, 600,000 copies of which were printed and distributed through the LCBO retail channel and tourism centers. Inside the guide, each winery is distinguished with a unique image and description, often juxtaposed with a picture of the wine-maker or, less frequently, of the owner(s). These individual units are brought together collectively through consistent conventions. For example, the name of each individual winery is written in the same handwriting, and the space is equally allocated over a white background that joins them all together. Collectively, these images of a place, its people and its wine start to blend and form a regional identity. While touring the region, the Wine Route that connects wineries with signposts operates to frame the region as a wine region. These are public street signs, which cannot be bought, and which therefore blur public and private in the signage. They are multiplying in the landscape, up from twenty-six wineries joined in 1997 to fifty in 2006.

There were also several efforts to build a sense of community in the retail space. That same year, there were 280 LCBO stores appointed with trained Ontario wine advocates. This was following earlier efforts, in 2000, when some 6,800 LCBO employees took part in *Wonderful*

Ontario Wines, From Vines to Wines, a training program taking employees from all parts of the province on tours of Ontario's wine regions. The premise was that if they knew more about and were more comfortable with local products, employees would become convinced and sincere advocates for them. These efforts were also sustained with a number of new promotional initiatives including the VQA Wines of the Month program and the Craft Winery Program. As a result of cumulative efforts, for 2002, sales growth of VQA wines reached 9.2%. This was almost four times the overall growth of the provincial wine market at 2.7%. For September and October, VQA wines registered a 4% growth, compared to 2.5% for imported wines (WineryToHome.com, 2003).

In 1995, new regulation helped put VQA wines on the wine lists of Ontario restaurants. Chris Willsher, for the food and wine magazine *Gremolata* (2008), suggests that Restaurants can help authenticate the distinctive quality of Ontario wine for their customers. He writes about the recognition received by Thirteenth Street winery from many top restaurants throughout Ontario, such as Rain, Starfish, Canoe and Jamie Kennedy Kitchens, and argues that their acknowledgement serves as a strong endorsement of the winery's quality. The new regulation encourage the addition of VQA wines on local restaurants' wine list by allowing producers to sell VQA wines directly to restaurants at reduce tax rates and retail prices. This measure was introduced to compensate sales lost at the winery, as LCBO stores were allowed to open on Sundays. This if further supported with the government of Ontario and the industry introducing the VQA Restaurant Award of Excellence and the VQA Restaurant Best in Show (higher representation of VQA wines) in 2004 and 2005 respectively. Winners receive a certificate and are featured in the Ontario Wine and Culinary Guide as well as the WCO website. In addition, to optimize people experience with Ontario wines, the industry introduced a practical food wine-pairing training program emphasizing the harmony of Ontario wines with a wide range of cuisines.

The Toronto scene, has also known an explosion of wine bar restaurants offering a large selection of wines by the glass. This new generation of restaurants distinguished themselves by offering clientele a unique wine experience, carrying wines hard to find elsewhere. This has given Ontario producers of small-batch quality wines a new market. One of the most important showcases for Ontario wine so far is FRANK, the new contemporary Art Gallery of Ontario restaurant. Like the rest of the transformed AGO, its interior space bears the signature of famous Canadian-born architect Frank Gehry, to which it owes its name. FRANK's menu showcases Ontario wines exclusively, and local seasonal ingredients, against a backdrop of chic international décor. You can enjoy your choice of Ontario wines at the bar, in the lounge space or while dining. FRANK, like many new venues in recent years, is striving to support local producers. The restaurant welcomes up to 130 guests and displays contemporary art from the AGO, in addition to a free street-side contemporary art space showcasing the work of emerging Toronto artists, creating unique connections in its wine and food experience with art, the Gallery and the city.

Reflecting a Connection to the Canadian Creative Community

Another new strategy is to promote the cluster in connection with creative local talent. In 2007, the WCO initiated what it refers as the largest ever media launch of its kind. Right in the middle of downtown Toronto (Brookfield Place), Dan Aykroyd and musician Steven Page of the Barenaked Ladies provided a free concert, attracting more than 1,000 people who not only watched the concert but also participated in a large-scale tasting of Ontario VQA wines. More than nine television cameras, from all major media in the GTA, covered the event. Tony Aspler says that having someone like Aykroyd champion Ontario wines gives the industry, and Niagara, international recognition. But wine columnist Chris Waters (Niagara Falls Blog, 2007) is more cautious, and acknowledges that this sort of representation is not for everyone:

For serious wine people, the idea might be abhorrent... If they're all about terroir and loftier things, then that's great, other people in Niagara are doing that kind of thing. Having the Weir, the Aykroyd ... it just makes (the industry) more robust, as far as what kind of message — and what kind of wines are being made — is being sent about what's happening in Niagara.

Reflecting a Invented History of Place

The first-time visitor to a winery is invariably disappointed. In his quick tour, if it be an old style plant in Europe, he will pass through rows of wooden vats black with age and so high that he can't look over the top to see what is inside. In Canada, he would best remember all the stainless steel, the valves, the hoses on the floor. At the finish, he gets a sample — but not in Canada, where it is illegal.

Percy Rowe (1970, p.80)

Connecting wine far back with the history of place helps confer originality and realness or genuineness upon wine as an authentic local experience. However, realness is tempered with what has become a marketing strategic goal, since 1999:

The Ontario wine industry's core strategy will be to reinvent Ontario wines' total customer experience: rationally, emotionally and from a sensory stand-point, building on our current sources of strength... The plan is to transform the Wines of Ontario into a world-class brand that consistently delivers better overall value, consistency and convenience of purchase; superior wine, food and place experience; and pride and passion in the Ontario Wine experience. Current imagery weaknesses such as dullness and inconsistency will be replaced by unfailing quality, craftsmanship, enthusiasm, passion and trust.

(The Wines of Ontario: building a world-class brand, 1999, p.9)

Producers' attention to the experience of wine can contribute to make it taste better. Wine writer Tony Aspler (2004) contends that 60 percent of our enjoyment of wine has nothing to do with the wine itself: "It's all about occasion, ambiance and your own mood." An experience may be so good or so bad as to influence every subsequent encounter with that same wine. From around the mid-1990s, but more so in the new millennium, the Niagara wine experience has been undergoing what can be described as a process of aestheticization. While there are still boutique-minded enthusiasts opening their own estate wineries, large renovation and design projects are making headlines. The connection to the invention of an elite past helps distinguish the site and makes it seem to have been timelessly appropriated for the production of distinctive quality wines. Another way the environment may contribute to authenticity is by strengthening the producer's sincere dedication to quality. This is explained by Hernder Estates. Announcing its wines online through

Lanigan & Edwards Wine Merchants, the text says: "The same craftsmanship and care that went into restoring the historic barn shown on our label is mirrored in the quality of all our 100% VQA accredited wines". By extending their commitment to quality to everything they do, producers help reinforce a sincere passion for quality as a genuine expression of an inner personal truth.

Peninsula Ridge Estates is a tribute to the region's heritage and opened in 2000 after \$6 million was injected into its renovation. The winery, located in an ancient post-and-beam barn, was rebuilt after raising the floor and installing modern infrastructure using antique barn boards sourced locally. The second-floor wine shop now serves as an antique boutique. The site also features a restaurant situated in an imposing 1885 red brick Queen Anne revival Victorian house. The property and surrounding vineyards, located on the Niagara Escarpment, offer an exceptional view of Lake Ontario and the Toronto skyline.

In 2007, Pennachetti received the Niagara Community Design Award for its ability to create "a unique sense of place" in Jordan Village, Lincoln. However, the result is a very selective and creative assemblage of old and new, in which traces of industrialization and the working class have been erased.



Figure 26. Old image of Cave Spring



Figure 27. Facade

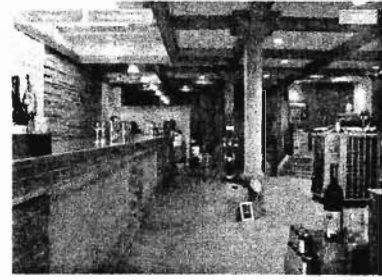


Figure 28. Retail space



Figure 29. 1840, Georgian House



Figure 30. Inn On The Twenty

The magnitude of the amelioration projects transforming Niagara heritage is best illustrated by the case of Cave Spring Cellars. The winery and store are located seven kilometers away. The store is situated in the small Jordan Village, in one of the oldest wine cellars in Ontario, an historic industrial winery building dating back to 1871. Since its purchase in 1990, the village has been under transformation. In an interview with the *Toronto Star*, owner Len Pennachetti (Pigg, 2007) explains: "In 1986 this was a neglected, derelict company town, almost like an old mining town." Pennachetti and his family have converted the old industrial building of the former Jordan Wines plant into Cave Spring Cellars, with an adjoining gourmet restaurant, On the Twenty (1994). The façade has been embellished with the addition of elaborate ornamental wood moldings around the doors, windows and roof cornices. Across the street, an old Jordan warehouse was transformed into an upscale historic 24-room hotel. Called the Inn on the Twenty, it is decorated with modern pieces and antiques rescued from heritage buildings throughout Niagara and western New York. The long history of the building is stressed, with ground floor suites named after local pioneer

families. They have also renovated and adjoined what is known as the Vintage House, a Georgian house built around 1840, and once owned by the original Jordan Winery, to serve as a seasonal home for workers during harvest. The Vintage House was renovated, keeping its old pine plank floors and a black wood stove under which, the website claims, “all the modern conveniences are hidden within this beautiful old skin.” In 2003, a luxury spa was added to the inn providing special vinotherapeutic services. More recently, in 2006, Jordan's 1842 roadhouse, once said to be a biker hangout, was bought out and transformed into the fine and affordable 14-room Jordan House and Tavern. According to the website, there has been a roadhouse on the site since 1844 that has hosted everything from church services to vigilante meetings in its history. While the architecture has little to do with the earlier building, the website copy stresses that the renovation included the use of original beams, and that the fireplace was built from fieldstones that were originally part of the Jordan Housecellar: “the old place is gone but far from forgotten.” These changes have all happened at the center of Jordan Village, where more buildings were renovated to house a range of antique, craft and gift shops as well as local artists' studios and an aboriginal art gallery. There is also the small and trendy Zooma Zooma Café lounge, a casual place where urban visitors feel at home enjoying Niagara wines with their food.



Figure 31. Angels Gate entrance Figure 32. View from the back

While the creativity of Pennachetti, within certain limit of tradition, is prized, Angels' Gate Winery, a more radical reinvention of the past, is described by the *Buffalo Spree* magazine as

another example of the “Disneyfication” of the local wine business (Criden, 2005). The estate winery opened in 2002 on land that was once owned by the Congregation of Missionary Sisters of Christian Charity in Ontario. Promotional materials suggest that the “mission style” building was inspired by the land’s history. “Mission style” is associated specifically with early Spanish missionaries in the southwestern United States (Mikel, 2004). It is recognizable by its use of smooth plaster (stucco) and typically includes Roman or semi-circular arcades and fenestration. The old mission was re-imagined as magnificent, reminiscent of California’s Napa wine country.

**Time and Place as a Source of Creative Inspiration:
The Case of Jackson Triggs Estates**

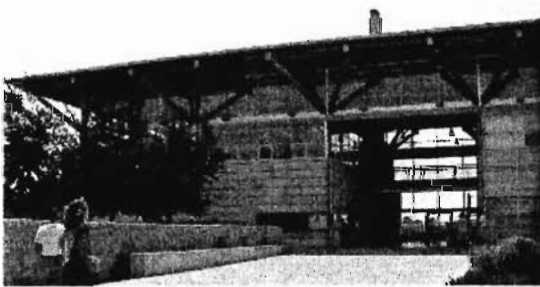


Figure 33. Jackson Triggs entrance



Figure 34. Open air



Figure 35. Production

Jackson-Triggs Niagara Estate Winery is generally recognized as the first Ontario winery to break the mold in architectural design as neither a “faux chateau winery” (Alter, 2008) nor one employing “cliché references to an imagined past” (Hume, Azure, 2006, p.137). An article in the *Globe and Mail* (Bagnell, 1999) is more lenient, describing how the “château-like architecture of some Niagara wineries might seem a bit imitative, but if you allow your imagination a little latitude, they give this landscape a fresh appeal”. Regardless, there is no doubt that these iconic buildings, now numbering three—between Chateau des Charmes, Peller Estates (2001) and the Germanic inspired chateau building newly constructed for Konzelmann Estates (2006)—are popular with tourists. For example, Chateau des Charmes welcomes between 125,000 and 150,000 visitors

yearly. Nevertheless, the magazine *Interior Design* suggests that these sorts of “faux-Chateaux” are actually the sign of little tradition in winemaking (Pupo, 2006). Instead, Jackson-Triggs winery makes a lot of sense when it maintains, in the magazine *Azure* (2006), “after all, Ontario wines have only gained international recognition in the past decade or so. Their best years could well lie ahead” (p.137).

The Jackson Triggs winery emerged from Vincor International Inc. demanding, for its winery, a unique and powerful identity that would strengthen its brand as well as house technology enabling the company to produce premium and super-premium wines. Opened in 2001, the postmodern barn is a monumental 47,000 square foot winemaking facility that blends into a 26-acre vineyard. The architect team, Kuwabara Payne McKenna Blumberg, explains on its website (n.d.) that the building does not break from the past but can be described as “an authentic architectural response to the agricultural tradition of the region.” The facility is presented as authentic because tradition and place form the foundation for artistic experimentation. Place is incorporated in its unique design, for example through the selection of local materials and by taking advantage of the site and window placement to heat and cool the building naturally. The materials for this project were mainly natural, including wood, metal, cement and strata stone, symbolically linking the building to the traditional barn. In the summer the hall is opened to provide a view all through the building to the vineyard and create a synergy between the natural setting and the building. The winery was the first to study consumer and the manner in which the visitor experiences the building to build its guided tour to the winery facility. The great hall has a bridge connecting both the public and production areas. From there, the visitor ascends an exterior ramp, which offers a stunning view of the landscape, to the fermentation tanks on the second level, then descends to the barrel cellar. The facility has been equipped with an open-air Amphitheatre hosting

Canadian musical and theatrical performances, and with a transitory dining area hosting such events as Savour the Sights, "A Truly Unique Wine and Food Experience" in which wine is "savoured in many locations throughout the night from the Great Hall to the vaulted Barrel Cellar and ending in the Estate Lounge." Even though attention is given to the visitor experience, authenticity is still presented as remaining intact, because no compromise was made in the winemaking process. Taking a guided tour of the facility, our host stressed the winery's innovative approach in using a gravity flow system, the importance of such techniques for the quality of the final product, and how the process itself fundamentally influenced the building design. The monumentality of the building, resembling a temple dedicated to the cult of wine, may also act to reinforce the sincerity of commitment to quality production as well as create authenticity/originality by the intensity of the experience itself. This religious aspect of experience is reinforced by the ritual of tasting in the cellar, surrounded by oak barrels.

A Taste of Niagara: Wine Grounded in Culture of Place

Another important strategy is to connect wine to local food. In 1994, Cave Spring opened the first winery restaurant dedicated to local food and wine, and today there are eleven dining wineries. In recent years, many wineries like Inniskillin have extended their facilities to offer wine and food experiences. With little typical regional tradition in food, local cuisine stresses handcraft and freshness of local products as well as their impact on people's lives. For Henry of Pelham, the focus is on Canadian cheeses and light lunches with "lots of true honest flavours" (Henry of Pelham, 2008). At Cave Spring you are served innovative regional cuisine that complements the wines and leave guests "wanting more Niagara" (Inn on the Twenty, 2008). Hillebrand Winery Restaurant announces itself as a celebration of the relationship between the land, its people, its wines and its food (Hillebrand, 2008). Also, participating in a wine and food seminar in the

company of Hillebrand's Chef Dodd, I found him to be a passionate advocate for the winery and local agriculture, which he associated with a "true" and "unique" culinary experience (notes). At Peller Estates, Chef Jason Parsons's food is complemented by "sweeping vineyard views" and a warm ambiance that make it easy to relax and "enjoy life's simple pleasures" (Peller Estates, 2008). These simple pleasures are, however, relatively expensive and targeted to high-income visitors.

For wineries located in or near Niagara-on-the-Lake, it has been relatively easy to build packages that offer winery tours along with other tourist attractions. Visitors can complement their winery itinerary with a visit to the Shaw Festival, a round of golf at North America's oldest golf course or shopping along historic main streets, as well as to choose to visit historical sites like Fort George, visit the winery by bicycle, and admire Niagara Falls.

Drinking the Country Side: Wine Grounded in the Natural Setting of Place



Figure 36. Flat Rock Cellars

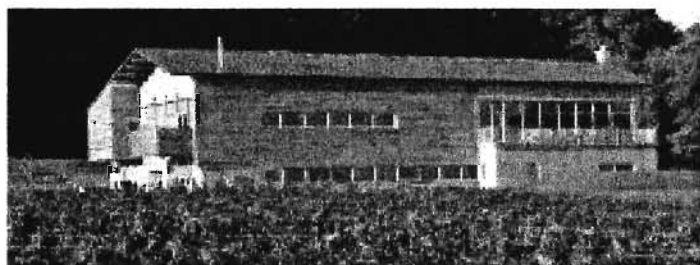


Figure 37. Flat Rock Cellars

Other wineries have developed unique experiences by creating a more direct link with nature. Large numbers of visitors to Niagara wineries are urban dwellers and for them, the 'countryside' is some other place, a place spatially, temporally and symbolically distanced from the everyday way of life (Hopkins, 2003). Such distance enhances differences, real or imagined, contributing to the originality of the wine experience. In fact, it is free trade's freezing of new off-site wine retail shops, reinforcing the importance of cellar door sales, that is responsible for the unique country-side

experience offered to visitors. EastDell makes available to guests the hiking trails on its escarpment vineyards, which include scenic ponds and a portion of the Bruce Trail. Flat Rock Cellars, in contrast, has incorporated the natural setting into its architecture. Towering 30 feet into the air, the glass-encased tasting room is located in a hexagonal pavilion where you can enjoy a glass of wine while observing acres of vines and the Toronto skyline across the lake. However, Fielding Estate is the very epitome of leaving the city life behind. With its thick contemporary wood construction, the family estate recalls the ideal Muskoka cottage, where you can lie comfortably back in deck in chairs of the same style to enjoy the views of Lake Ontario.

Living Winemaking: The Authentic Experience

Way back, Jean-Jacques Rousseau has argued that direct participation in entertainment reinforces man's sentiment of his own being and his relations to his fellow beings. It suggests that authentic organic community can be build through shared experience with the understanding of the world that comes of it and shared feelings that join us. Wineries have been increasingly dedicated to visitor experience. Hillebrand Estates likes to say it offers not just wine, but a 3-D sensory immersion. Rather than only one standard tour, the winery offers a multitude of tours that visitors can customize according to their knowledge and interest (focus on sparkling wines, or on the art of blending wine allowing you to buy your own blend). At harvest time, its club members are invited to share the work of the winery. They get to experience for themselves the hard work that goes into harvesting the grapes, share lunch with the fieldworkers, and end the day with a private tour and tailored tasting or dinner at their restaurant. This with the hope that the sincerity of commitment to quality winemaking is taken to another level when people "feel" the hard work it involves.

Social Marketing: Reflecting an Ethic of Community in Action

The wine cluster also makes good use of social marketing, creating an emotional connection and a sense of shared value with specific communities in Ontario. Under the effort of the WCO, Ontario producers came together to help raise money for the Toronto-based Sick Kids Foundation and Niagara's St. Catharines General Hospital. The events attracted around 1,000 people, who paid \$1,000 a ticket to sip wine, be entertained and walk on a red carpet lined with photographers from such media outlets as ET Canada. In an interview with the *Globe and Mail*, Norm Beal, chairman of the Wine Council of Ontario and president of Peninsula Ridge Estates Winery in Beamsville (as cited in Crosariol, 2008), explains that charity is not the only motivation behind the two-year-old event. "I'll tell you, our target market was the Rosedale crowd," he says, referring to Toronto's old-money neighbourhood. "One of the reasons we partnered with Sick Kids is because we know that they're very well-connected with those people. And what we need to do in the Niagara wine industry is get our wines in that demographic. A lot of these folks still remember Niagara wines from 30 years ago."

Joining together, the industry is also able to distinguish its products from import wines by stressing their economic contribution to the province. The WCO of Ontario regularly produces a summary for the media of a yearly KPMG study showing the economic impact of the Ontario wine industry. For example, the study suggests that for 2007, the "value-added" of the Ontario wine industry to the Ontario economy was \$529 million, up from \$202 million in 1997. The industry also supported approximately 7,000 Ontario jobs, up from 4,700 jobs in 1997, and that, for every litre of Ontario wine purchased by Ontario residents in 2007, the value-added return to the Ontario economy was \$8.48 (combined income for labour, business and government) versus \$0.67 per litre for foreign wines.

In 2007, the WCO also launched a sustainable program to provide wineries with a tool for benchmarking, improving, assessing and certifying environmental sustainability. This was done in response to what the WCO characterized as a “major cultural shift” occurring within public expectations and organizations such as the Ministry of the Environment. In the community, this echoed a growing interest in sustainable economic development. In Ontario, environmentalist and television host David Suzuki is publicly promoting the importance of environmental criteria for buying food by minimizing the distance between field and table. The local is presented as a communal space where people’s choices and consumption can make a difference on a global scale. “Each day you invent the future with the choices you make about food, transportation, and energy use by protecting the environment and our quality of life for future generations” (David Suzuki Foundation, 2008).

However, the industry’s commitment to place is selective and does not contribute equally to all social groups. For example, even though Chateau des Charmes is a local producer, which claims to use sustainable agriculture methods, it also employs seasonal Mexican agricultural workers rather than local workers. The explanation is that since the early years, there has been no one in the region willing to pick fruits: “People were coming to work drunk and by noon, half of them were gone” (Mandel-Campbell, *The Financial Times*, 2001). In contrast, Mexicans are presented as skilled workers who accept working for minimum wage.

Also, even though since 2002 there has been oversurplus of vinifera grapes in Ontario, large commercial producers have pursued an economy of scale, buying from cheaper global regions. And with the quality market segment growing faster than the ordinary segment, large producers throughout the 1990s and into this decade have adopted a strategy of mergers and acquisitions of small quality wineries. Andres Wines bought Hillebrand in 1994 and more recently,

in 2005, Thirty Bench, with which it completes its portfolio of craft wineries. Then there is Vincor, which started it all by merging in 1991 with Cartier and Inniskillin to become Cartier Inniskillin Vintners. This was followed, in 1993, with the merger of Brights and Cartier Inniskillin Vintners to form Vincor. The company is also responsible for the creation of the Jackson-Triggs brand and the very upscale winery Le Clos Jordanne. Then, in 2006, came the Constellation Brands of New York State, the world's largest wine conglomerate, which swallowed Vincor in a hostile takeover.



Figure 38. Three of Vincor's board of directors

30A JACKSON-TRIGGS NIAGARA ESTATE WINERY
 Comprehensive tours reveal the latest in modern winemaking technology at this striking winemaking facility. During the summer, the outdoor amphitheatre is the atmospheric setting for live performances. Taste fine wines and indulge in the gourmet culinary events that are offered year round.

Location:	2145 Niagara Stone Road, Niagara-on-the-Lake
Winemakers:	Marco Piccoli, Lydia Tornek
Winemakers' Choice:	Proprietors' Grand Reserve Meritage
Hours:	Summer: 10:30 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.
	Winter: 10:30 a.m. - 5:30 p.m.
Tour Hours:	Summer: 10:30 a.m. - 5:30 p.m.
	Winter: 11:30 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.
Phone:	905 468 4631 ext. 3, Concierge desk
Web:	www.jacksontriggswinery.com
E-mail:	info@jacksontriggswinery.com
Best LCBO Brand:	Proprietors' Reserve Meritage



Figure 39. Jackson Triggs winemaker Marco Piccoli

In a world where small is associated with “sincere” dedication to quality, large producers are able to keep a consistent image of art and craft by keeping their estates brands separate from their mass products. In promotional materials, the presence of the parent company is erased by avoiding photographic standardization of corporate conventions and focusing instead on the creative image of the winemaker. In 2006, Andres Wines was also renamed Andrew Peller Limited, after its founder, to further distance itself from the Baby Duck image. In the wine tourism space, the blurring between mass and small craft producers is managed by keeping the business management of brand and craft wines separate. Since 2002, Andres Wines has shut down its guided tours of the industrial winery, thus making it invisible to consumers. Vincor has adopted a similar strategy, moving its business side from the defunct Bright Wineries, located in Niagara, to Mississauga, a suburb of Toronto. Constellation Brands Inc., after taking over Vincor in 2006, still

carries on the compelling story of how the company first came about when Rick Thorpe, Don Triggs, former winemaker Allan Jackson, Allan George and Peter Granger risked everything they had to buy the company from mass-brewer Labatts, which wanted out. But at no time is the acquisition of the winery by an American stakeholder mentioned.

In recent years, the image of a romantic community has come under increasing criticism. In the retail space, large companies like Andres Wines and Vincor International sell blended offshore wines, but with their large advertising budgets, they often take center stage during LCBO promotions of local Ontario wines. Many complain that the sale of these wines under the umbrella of local products misleads consumers into thinking they are purchasing Ontario grown wines, while some suggest that these companies have gained sales on the back of VQA attention. Founded in 2005, the Ontario Wine Producers Association (OWPA), a group of quality minded producers dedicated to making “authentic” wines from 100 percent Ontario grown grapes, has come together as a result of what they see as the inefficacy of the Wine Council of Ontario in representing industry interests. They accuse the WCO, which has been selling the crucial importance of having ‘one voice’, of lobbying the government on behalf of the interests of the large wineries that dominate its executive and its policies, instead of protecting the Ontario wine brand. In summary, the argument is that appellation marketing mostly benefits producers that offer low-end products, which usually do little to improve the image of a region. Because many customers are not exposed to “real” Ontario wines, they are unaware that some are of much better quality. “Marketing dollars focus on the look-alikes” instead of promoting the unique characteristic that makes quality Ontario wines (OWPA, 2005).

CONCLUDING CHAPTER 4

As opposed to one common vision of authenticity, like in the previous period, the cluster had now become fragmented between multiple, sometimes contradictory, authenticity strategies. The industry was increasingly divided by those who could take advantage of world wine surpluses and those who could not. With the complete elimination of advantageous tax breaks for local producers, and import products from high yield countries that had also undergone a turn to quality, local wineries were now better positioned to claim good value for their product against the snobbery for commercial motives of expensive wine regions. With the prospect that any wine could be made to taste like any other wine, in the local, the value attached to authenticity shifted ever more to “naturalness” and “originality.”

Chapter 5

INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

To contribute to our understanding of authenticity, its meaning, qualities and dynamics, using the Niagara Wine cluster as a case study, I have provided a brief historical review in the previous sections of the process of negotiating and manufacturing authenticity from the early commercialization of the Niagara wine industry to 2008. The case study started from the premise that authenticity is to be examined in relation to the agreed upon and contested qualities that constitute “real” Niagara wines, along with the naturalization of these arbitrary distinctions. Through the analysis, the themes of manufacture and invention have helped me frame the activity of the cluster not as the simple inheritance of traditions, culture and natural environment, but in terms that emphasize its active selection, creation and adaptation in response to the opportunities and threats of the particular social, political and economic context of its time. The study offers a case in point of how ideas like tradition, purity, place, superior aesthetics and sincerity are not fixed, but better understood as inventions or collective interpretations, which change with the context of production. This historical review has also served to highlight the potential competitive strategic positioning that authenticity offers the Niagara wine industry, as well as its significant role, from early on, in

strengthening public and government support for the industry. This will become clearer as I return, equipped with examples from the previous historical review, to the initial questions posed at the beginning, and attempt to offer some interpretations and conclusions.

MEANING AND ATTRIBUTES OF AUTHENTICITY

As this study has shown, there is more than one meaning and quality associated with authentic Niagara Wines. Even though the leading meanings and qualities associated with authenticity may change over time and in different contexts, with the divisions not always clear, it is possible to formalise three general dimensions of authenticity in the manufacture of Niagara Wines. These dimensions are reproduced in Table 1. These findings build on Peterson's Soft-Shell and Hard-Core division, and on the work of Keightley (2001), who first proposed two distinctive senses of authenticity with their own sets of attributes, one more Romantic and another more Modern.

Soft-Shell	Hard-Core: Romantic	Hard-Core: Modernist
Competitive strategic positioning: Simple fun against snobism for material gain or unethical pleasure.	Competitive strategic positioning: Pure and unadulterated against sophistication for profit.	Competitive strategic positioning: Creativity for aesthetic excellence and effect.
Aesthetic is customized to target market to create more direct, immediate and consistent pleasurable experience.	Aesthetic represents more time and place and should share some unique common regional characteristics and traditions of place. But, simultaneously, innovation in the vineyard (irrigating the land, clones and wind-blowers) allows regional style a degree of customization to market changes.	Aesthetic represents more a personal consistent style and self-expression. But, at the same time, much attention is given to the aesthetization of the wine experience based on targeting wider cultural interests and ethics, like food or architecture.
Images are more generic and represent consumer expectations of a popular style or place or create an emotional connection and facilitate personal authenticity	Images and buildings reflect functionalism (craftsmanship value) and a connection to place of origin: for example, privileging heritage buildings, recognizable natural sites, indigenous animals, architecture reflecting a symbiosis with the site and a commitment to protecting it.	Images and buildings favor creativity, effect and the winemaker's history: for example, privileging irony, iconicity, abstraction, even deconstruction and the creator's own personal history and personal ethic rather than an organic relation to the land.
Build claim to authenticity on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uniqueness: The first of its kind. Mixing the traditional with the popular. Access to worldwide surplus also allows brand to follow trends but quickly enough to seem to predate the trend. • Consistent brand taste: True to the unique brand character rather than adulteration to assure profit in case of uncontrollable external events, like short crop, sudden increase in demand, etc. • Wine is natural: Building on popular knowledge of the time (In the early years, low alcohol table wines consumed with food were associated with healthier drinking custom. In the 1980s, whites were believed low in calories and so part of a healthy lifestyle, and now reds are in favour.) 	Build claim to authenticity on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uniqueness: Geography transmits to the grapes the unique cultural and physical characteristics of place and time. Geographic specificity also limits quantity that can be produced • Sincerity: Personal and family connection to tradition, place, community, a way of life and of being • Purity and transparency (Wine is made in the vineyard not in the winery): favoring single varietals, crafts, traditional and organic methods of production, low yield and unfiltered wines • Attention to detail: Pledging to stay small, geographic specificity and agricultural specialization reflects firm's priority in time and resource allocation demonstrating a dedication to quality found in the synergy between nature and culture. 	Build claim to authenticity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uniqueness: Linked to winemaker's creativity, unique personal style, personal taste or sensibility, and place and time (experimenting with new varietals and with a new blend every vintage) • Sincerity and autonomy: consistent personal style; using irony to reinforce intimacy and sincerity, by admitting the snobism of the game and making fun of it; reflecting on a personal ethic of excellence, being the first, demonstrating integrity to the self and to a higher standard of quality, above concern for profit • Investing material resources in new technology for the sincere pursue of aesthetic excellence; based in the idea of progress, the best you can be • Attention to detail: small batches of experimental wines, testing with different production process and blends.
Authentication through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common knowledge and popularity • Direct pleasure • Consistent experience • Endorsement of well liked personality • Government authority 	Authentication through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aesthetic judgment based more on experience and knowledge of tradition and culture of place • Communal consensus: Regional Appellation • Subcultural popular meritocracy (the wine lover community, restaurants) 	Authentication through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aesthetic judgment based more on experiential effect and excellence • Unique and consistent personal style • Endorsement by wine experts

EMERGENT AUTHENTICITY AND GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is often discussed in relation to a dominant homogenizing force. It has been associated, on the one hand, with both the values of Western modernity and the assumption that history has a linear impetus, understood as “progress” and leading ultimately to a better or ideal social life. On the other hand, it has also been viewed as a cover concept for global capitalism and American imperialism. In essence, both perspectives refer to globalization as threatening to homogenize all the particularities of all regions and spheres of life. More recently, writes Bennett, a number of theorists have suggested the opposite: instead of the disappearance of the local, some, like Lull and Robertson suggest globalization might work to enhance its particularities (see also Featherstone, 1995). Making a link between these discussions and our analysis, it is possible to theorize and such theories can contribute to a better understanding of how deregularization in the sphere of culture may contribute to both the sense of homogenization and particularization as local industry struggles to re-negotiate authenticity under the dominant model.

Authenticity and Homogenization

One of Peterson’s founding assumptions is that, as fields of culture are codified, they offer participants the means to win legitimacy by showing their dedication to that tradition. If a participant has a problem in a presentation, for example lacking personal connection to tradition or rough experience, both significant elements in the country music tradition, the performance can be adjusted to dramatically realize the role of the country music performer. Hughes (2000) offers a good example with Charlie Pride, an African-American country signer, who has faced significant problems in dramatically realizing the role of a country music artist, because country music has been so strongly identified with whites and white Southern culture from the beginning. Pride has successfully overcome this by conforming more closely than most country music artists to very

traditional Southern white vocalizations in his singing and speech, eliminating any African American characteristics whatsoever, and identifying with—and very frequently performing songs by—the country music icon and legend Hank Williams, on stage and in recordings.

A parallel can be made with the work of authenticity in the Niagara cluster. As Ontario lost its dominance to French and Italian wines, this study shows that the response of the local industry was to conform more closely to the legitimate models offered by Bordeaux and Burgundy. Instead of “race,” in this instance, it is the essentializing of differences attributed to “place” that creates the line between exclusion and originality. It is in this tension that I make sense of the manufacture of authenticity of that period.

The capacity to grow vinifera grapes in Niagara, and not in some other places in the world, is given as proof that Niagara is naturally suited to the production of “quality” wine, entitled to the same status as Burgundy and Bordeaux. But, as I have suggested earlier, at the same time as producers turn to nature to determine authenticity, they engage in a process of invention and re-interpretation of place, transforming the land to conform more closely to an international aesthetic ideal of wine. The right to speak from these traditions is reinforced with the adaptation of traditional methods of production, international standards of production and expert certification, at the same time producing stereotyped images of European wine regions to stage themselves in promotional materials.

This has served, over the years, to establish a personal connection to tradition, particularly in wine tourism. Pioneer wineries telling stories of immigrant family traditions, or how they were the first to adopt a traditional method of production, regional style and/or new wine varietal; material and life dedication, commitment to purity, and stories of ‘beating the odds’, which were myths celebrated—all of this contributed to the development of a personal and organizational tradition of

quality. Over time, firms further supported a sincere dedication to quality by paying attention to details and extending their commitment to quality to every aspect of their operations, including buildings. In this way, companies suggest that their commitment to quality is a genuine expression of an inner personal ethic.

These efforts come with the introduction of transparent varietal labeling, facilitating exploration and giving aesthetic comparison a semblance of objectivity. One varietal against one varietal is easier to compare, and worked to the advantage of Niagara wine producers trying to convince consumers of their equal quality at similar or lower prices. Like varietal labeling, the popularization of blind tasting, tasting in retail settings, the multiplication of wine-related magazines and point-scale ratings, both facilitated and directed exploration with wine and encouraged a more personal judgment of authenticity. Finally, it allowed wineries to position themselves as more authentic and sincere, against the snobbery and commercial motives of expensive wine regions.

Ironically, local producers, through selection, experimentation based on the foundation of tradition and showing their dedication to these same traditions, contribute to resisting the very system of classification that was designed to establish the hierarchy between “quality” and “popular” wines. This shows that if globalization contrives the manufacture of authenticity in the local, at the same time, it offers opportunities. The Canada-US Free-Trade agreement provided the necessary bond for a common vision. From that common vision came the institutionalization of the VQA regulatory and appellation system and the implementation of vinifera across the cluster, two apparatus necessary to allow the management of a consistent and credible performance of the cluster.

Authenticity and Particularization

Looking only to the period following Free Trade (1988-1999), it is easy to mistakenly assume

that the expansion of an international wine culture, in the local, equals an increasing homogenization. However, looking at the bigger picture complicates such an assumption. The data suggests that, since 1999, with the complete elimination of advantageous tax breaks for local producers and more competition from high yield countries, which had also undergone a turn to quality, local wineries were better positioned to claim to greater authenticity and sincerity against the elitism and profit motive of expensive wine regions. With the prospect that any wine could be made to taste like any other wine, the value attached to authenticity shifted ever more to “naturalness” and “originality.” New patterns of innovation focused on creating further distinctions, rather than a relation, with other wine regions.

However, as opposed to holding one common vision of authenticity, as in the 1990s, the cluster is now fragmented between multiple, sometimes contradictory, authentication strategies. The data shows that after 1999, while pioneer wineries focus more on their personal history of innovation, mass producers, with an unlimited source of grapes and more retail visibility, instead confer authenticity on their products by following new trends and seeming to stay ahead. In a world where small is associated with sincere dedication to quality, large producers are able to keep a consistent image of art and craft, by keeping their estates brands separate from their core business.

Another pattern of innovation is in the aestheticization of the wine experience. This centres around the manufacture of semblance, aura, atmosphere, the aestheticization of heritage, townscapes and landscapes, and the unique juxtaposition of wine with other local cultural experiences of place. Finally, the most recent pattern of development is wineries’ further attention to geographic specificity, which values showing the experiential characteristic of the wine’s place of origin.

Is it the end of the soft-shell and hard-core cycle?

Peterson suggests that one way change occurs in country music is through the dialectic of a Hard Core and Soft Shell cycle. History shows that success in marketing soft-shell and pop country music usually creates an opening for hard-core artists and producers. But, because softened country music alienated hard-core fans, they can be lured back to buying and listening by a reinvention of hard-core. This dialectic creates an ongoing cycle of renewal and change in the nature and meaning of country music. Looking back on Niagara wine history, the cycle of soft-shell and hard-core cycle is credible. But, under further deregulation, the soft-shell and hard-core cycle of renewal seems to break down and allows a multitude of competing definitions of authenticity to exist in tandem (see Table 3).

Earlier:

- 1. Soft-Shell: Prohibition, introducing a number of questionable practices to satisfy the demand
- 2. Hard-Core: In response, the industry conforms more closely to the tradition of Port
- 3. Soft-Shell: Baby Duck increases wine's appeal incorporating popular elements of beer and pop
- 4. Hard-Core: The introduction of estate wineries: Personal creativity on the foundation of tradition

Today:

Soft-Shell: Pre-dating trends	Soft-Shell: Aesthetization	Hard-Core: Personal Creativity	Hard-Core: Terroir
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Table 3. Hard Core and Soft Shell cycle brake down

One explanation is that the regular environment controlling and preventing competition in the alcohol category was partly responsible for a Soft-Shell and Hard-Shell cycle pattern, and that under increased competition, it does not offer a valuable explanation for changes in authenticity. Like in the Ontario wine industry, Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) recount a similar fragmentation in the U.S. beer industry, with the number of small specialty brewers increasing from 43 in 1983 to over 1400 in 1999. This occurred even though mass-production brewing companies increasingly dominated the market for beer. Their conclusion suggests that the niches supporting the generalist

and specialist organizations are clearly distinct and that most consumer industries are able to support both distinctive specialist and generalist mass-market niches. One explanation the authors offer revolves around questions of tradition and authenticity. They see the problems of authenticity for both mass production and contract brewers as rooted in organizational form and size. Carroll & Swaminathan (2000) posit that a minority of postindustrial consumers seeks to avoid being identified as consuming products of the large and dominant oligarchic bureaucracies.

Another explanation is the conservatism of the wine industry and its propensity for concentrating its marketing efforts on the Baby Boomer generation. As a large group of consumers, they have been especially influential in our economy. This consumer group has been identified as the principal engine behind the demand for quality wines. In the 1990s, there was the idea that if consumers were educated, they would automatically move to buying higher “quality” wines. What we now experience is what can be described as a democratization of the market. Producers move to customize their authenticity strategies to different customer groups. Darryl Roberts, founder of the defunct *WineX* magazine, has been critical of this conservatism. The magazine, founded in 1993, targeted his own generation, with a readership of 70 percent women; 30 percent men; 80 percent between the ages of 21 and 30; 15 percent between 31 and 40; and 70 percent with a yearly income over \$75,000 (Resnick, 2008). But what Roberts found (as cited in Resnick, 2008) was that “It’s not that young adults aren’t interested in wine, it’s that the wine industry isn’t interested in them” (p.130). Roberts argues that the industry did not understand the magazine because the producers themselves belong to the Baby Boom generation. The result was that even though Robert claims he was attracting sufficient readership, he could not attract advertisers.

AUTHENTICITY AND THE CLUSTER STRUCTURE

In an era of global competition, in theory, location should no longer be a source of competitive advantage. Open global markets, rapid transportation, and high-speed communications should allow any company to source anything from any place at any time. But in practice, location remains central to competition. Porter (1998) argues that clusters foster high levels of productivity and innovation and have implications for competitive strategy and economic policy. So how can a wine structure facilitate or be a factor in the manufacturing of authenticity?

The study, for one thing, helps to show wine clusters' potential for inventing and naturalizing a particular self-serving relation to place, its tradition and nature. Another significant characteristic of the cluster is that its structure allows user customization. Postrel (2003) suggests that with the proliferation of aesthetic choices, the chances that pleasure, personal meaning, and social meaning will be in sync are increased. For example, we can look at how *The Guide to Ontario Wineries* allows users to filter their experience of wine through their explicit requirements. This is enhanced by the proliferation of specific site images in promotional materials. The destination itself is composed of fragmented sights and attractions, each a symbolic marker that is complementary to the holistic experience. The guide provides consumers with the means to design their own wine experiences based on their own perceptions of what an authentic wine, producer and experience should be. It allows visitors to plan their trips based on important features of authenticity, from the size of the winery to its relation to agricultural tradition, method of production, contribution to the cultural heritage, and so on. Customization should increase pleasure and thus intensify internal signs of authenticity. Authenticity is made to work as much from the inside out as from the outside in (Postrel, 2003).

If the cluster's structure has the necessary flexibility for niche marketing, under the umbrella of the WCO, the cluster can claim to be at the center of their community. Winning government support has been essential for the industry, going back at least to the Honourable R. B. Bennett who made it clear that he was not going to support an industry that was only concerned with "selling" (LCBO, 1966, p.7). And the support of LCBO Chairman General Kitching was given to those who shared his ideal of wine. But governments are also accountable for their share of taxpayers' money, and to give financial and political support to an industry they need to be able to show that they are beyond elitism. Popularity and market share equals cultural democracy and ideological justification for funding. Even though the VQA image has taken over, it accounts for only 30 percent of Canadian products sold; there is still plenty of Baby Duck being drunk in Canadian homes. The cluster's ability to present a "local" united in diversity can be seen to be more inclusive and more legitimate. This way, the industry can seem to belong at the center of its "local" culture in accounting for a diversity of perspectives and origins.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER 5

In summary, the study contributes to our understanding of how authenticity is negotiated within its larger institutional context and how it creates distinction. It also reveals how the need for cultural industries to be perceived as authentic, and the strategies deployed, can contribute to the process of homogenization, as well as to the production of distinctive regional identity under further global stress. If it is true that the new accessibility of European wines, with a strong connection to tradition, and the development of international regulation have limited the freedom of local companies to define what constitute an authentic rendering of wine, these same processes also offer space for competition, among other things, enabling the development of a personal and

regional history of quality. It also contributes to Peterson's model in suggesting that the cluster's structure facilitates niche-marketing and, as a result, may displace the cycle of hard-core and soft-shell authenticity to allow instead a multitude of strategies to exist in parallel. There are further insights to be gained from empirical research that will clarify the cluster's ability to manage fragmentation into a believable performance of authenticity. In particular, more attention should be paid to its ability to innovate strategies channeling subjective authenticity in the local.

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APPENDICES

Table 1: *Wineries Before 1988: Summary of Data*

Table 2: *Wineries After 1988: Summary of Ethnographic and Observation Work with the Organizational Characteristics of the Sample*

Table 3: *Wine Publications Consulted, by Era*

Table 4: *Visual Data: The Architectural Evolution of Niagara Wineries*

Table 1: *Wineries Before 1988: Summary of Data*

Winery Name	Age	Annual Cases	Source of information
Andres Wines	1970	4,710,735	1 promotional brochure, 9 wine labels, 3 full page magazine advertisements for Baby Duck, a 5.5 min. radio clip from CBC and 1 picture of the winery building
Barnes	1873-1988	504,722	2 early promotional brochures, 3 wine labels and one drawing of the early building
Bright's	1874-1993	4,794,855	4 early promotional brochures, 9 wine labels and 5 pictures: 1 of the winery building, 1 inside the tasting room and 3 during winery tours
Cave Spring Cellars	1986	631	4 promotional brochures, 1 wine label and 1 picture of the early building
Chateau des Charmes	1978	54,258	1 promotional brochure, 4 wine labels and 1 picture of the winery building
Chateau-Gai	1928-1990	1,472,105	1 early brochure, 6 wine labels and 1 picture of the winery building
Hillebrand Estates	1979	42,060	2 early promotional brochures, 5 wine labels and 1 drawing of the winery buildings
Inniskillin Winery	1975	84,120	1 early promotional brochure, 3 wine labels, a 14:08 min. CBC television interview and 4 pictures of the buildings
Jordan & Ste-Michelle	1920	2,733,908	3 early promotional brochures, 9 wine labels and 1 picture of the winery building
Konzelmann Estates	1984	631	1 promotional brochure and 1 picture of the winery building
Reif Estates	1983	8,412	2 promotional brochures and 1 drawing of the early winery building
Vineland Estates	1983	4,206	2 promotional brochures and one drawing of the winery buildings

Note. A total of 52 hours of archive research was conducted: 32 hours through the Niagara wine industry collections, located in the Special Collection of Brock University, with 20 hours through the LCBO archives.

Table 2. *Wineries After 1988: Summary of Observation Work With The Organizational Characteristics of The Sample*

Winery Name	Age	Annual Cases	Source of information	Time spent in the field/minutes
13th Street Winery	1998	1,500	I made three visits. On my first visit I spoke informally with the wine producer and an employee. I recorded my first visit with 7 pictures plus notes taken after the visit. I was with friends on my third visit and enjoyed a barbecue with other 13 th Street customers. I have also reviewed 1 promotional brochure plus the website.	95
Angels Gate Winery	2002	6,000	Observation was recorded with 20 pictures and field notes. I have also reviewed the website.	30
Cave Spring Cellars	1986	631 up to 60,000	I made three visits. On my first visit I was with a friend and spoke informally with wine consultant Brian Kelly in the context of the "Tasting Series 06", which included a guided tour of the facility. Observation was recorded with 20 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've also reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	90
Chateau des Charmes	1978	54,258 up to 100,000	Observation was conducted with friends and the guided tour of the facility was recorded with 20 pictures and field notes. I've also reviewed 3 promotional brochures and the website.	60
Dan Aykroyd Winery	2008		To open in 2008.	30
EastDell Estates	1999	17,000	Observation was recorded with 13 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	30
Featherstone Estates	1998	3,500	Observation was recorded with 6 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	30
Fielding Estates	2005	400	Observation was conducted with a friend and a guided tour of the facility was recorded with 21 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	
Flat Rock Cellars	2004	2,500	I made two visits. Observation was conducted both times with friends and included a guided tour of the facility. I took field notes after both visits and reviewed the website.	90
Frogpond Farms	2001	2,500	Observation was recorded with 6 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure, the website and reviewed 1 wine case study. And 1 radio interview with Linda Bramble.	30
Henry of Pelham Family Vineyard	1987	80,000	I made two visits, one by myself and one with friends. Observation was recorded with 14 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website and enjoyed lunch on the patio.	60
Hernder Estates	1991	45,000	I made three visits, one with a friend. Observation was recorded with field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure, 1 radio interview with Linda Bramble and the website.	60
Hillebrand Estates (New York)	1979	42,060 up to 250,000	Observation was recorded with 30 pictures and field notes taken after the tour. I've reviewed 2 promotional brochures, the website, 1 case study and 1 autobiographic book.	60
Inniskillin Winery	1975	84,120 up to 120,000	I made two visits. On my first visit Observation and a guided tour of the facility was recorded with 20 pictures and field notes. On my second visit I spoke informally with owner/founder Kari Kaiser. I've also reviewed 1 promotional brochure, the website, 1 case study and autobiographic book.	90
Jackson-Triggs	1992	100,000	Observation was conducted with friends and a guided tour of the facility was recorded with 37 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure, the website and a wine case study.	90
Konzelmann Estates	1984	631 up to 35,000	Observation was conducted with a friend and recorded with 7 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	20
Lailey Vineyards	2001	6,000	Observation was conducted with friends and field notes were taken after the visit. I've also reviewed the website.	35
Le Clos Jordanne	2007		Opening indefinite. I studied plans of the future winery.	
Mallivoire Wine Company	1995	10,000	I made two visits. Observation was conducted with friends and recorded with 8 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've also reviewed the website.	30
Palatine Hills Estates	1998	8,000	Observation and guided tour of the facility was recorded with 10 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	45
Peller Estates	2001	40,000	Observation was conducted with friends and a guided tour of the facility was recorded with 19 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've also reviewed the website.	30
Peninsula Ridge Estate	2000	17,000	Observation was conducted with a friend and guided tour of the facility was recorded with 35 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	60
Pillitteri Estates	1993	40,000	Observation and a guided tour of the facility was recorded with 24 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've also reviewed 2 promotional brochures and the website.	30
Reif Estates	1983	8,412 up to	Observation was recorded with 17 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 2	20

	40,000	promotional brochures and the website.	
Stratus	2000	I made two visits. On my first visit I spoke informally with a senior staff member in the company of friends. Observation was recorded with 19 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've also reviewed the website.	45
Thirty Bench Wines	1995 8,500	I spoke informally to a wine consultant while participating to a one on one guided tasting with a friend. Observation was recorded with 9 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 1 promotional brochure and the website.	60
Vineland Estates	1983 4,206 up to 60,000	Observation was conducted with a friend and recorded with 3 pictures and field notes taken after the visit. I've reviewed 2 promotional brochures and the website.	30

Note. Year of age refers to the start of wine making rather than when vines were first planted. 'Spoke informally' usually refers to conversations in which the person was unaware of my research project.

Ownership:

Andres Wines: A Canadian publicly trade company that first opened its doors in BC, in 1961. It entered the Ontario market in 1970. It owns a distribution channel of over 100 Vineyard Estates Wines and The Wine Shoppe, rebranded since 2005 as Vineyard Estates Wines and more recently Aisle43 stores and Wine Country Vintners. It makes VQA wines through its Peller, Thirty Bench and Hillbebrand wineries. Andres Wines operates seven wineries across Canada and markets wines from around the world through its import agency subsidiaries. Its popular wine category includes, among others, Hochtaler, Domaine D'Or, XO XO, and Croc Crossing. It also owns vineyards in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia.

Constellation Brands Inc.: Vincer International was acquired, in the spring of 2006, by the American company Constellation Brands Inc., making it number one in Canada. It owns over 165 Wine Rack stores. Vincer International was born of the union of Chateau-Gay (Cartier) Wines and T.G. Bright and renamed under Vincer Inc in 1994. Inniskillin was acquired in 1992. Dumont Vins & Spiritueux Inc., London Winery and Okanagan Vineyard followed in 1996, R.J. Grape for home wine makers in 1997 and finally, Spagnol's in 1998. The company owns wine companies in Australia, California, Washington, British Columbia, New-Zeland and South-Africa. It also has alliances with bordelais Ginestet and with Boisset, the largest producer in Bourguignon, with whom it will collaborate in the up-coming Le Clos Jordanne. In Ontario, Vincer produces VQA wines under Jackson Triggs and Le Clos Jordanne, as well as Canadian cellared wines from imported fruit juice, and handles the distribution of imported products.

Hernders Estates Winery and Harvest Estates Winery: Canadian family owned companies.

Niagara Cellars Inc.: Canadian company, which owns four Niagara wineries, Birchwood Estates Wines, Lakeview Cellars, Estates Winery, Tomas and Vaughan Vintners, EastDell Estates, and the new kid on the block, Dan Aykroyd Winery. In addition to representing domestic wine products, the company handles marketing and sales promotion for several well known international brands including California's Kendall-Jackson, Jackson Estates (New Zealand), and Fat Bastard creator Guy Anderson's French and Spanish wines Le Freak and Mad Dogs & Englishmen.

Table 3. Wine Publications Consulted, by era

Pre-1988 (CUSFTA/NAFTA)	1988 to 2006
Rowe, P. (1970). <i>The wines of Canada</i> . Toronto: McGraw-Hill.	Elliott, J. (1989). <i>Trent/Severn Waterway boating & road guide: Where to dock, shop, wine, dine, explore & enjoy</i> . Toronto: Ontario Travel Guides.
Sharp, Andrew. (1977). <i>Vineland 1000</i> . Toronto: Andrew Sharp Publications.	Elliott, J. (1990). <i>Rideau boating & road guide: Where to dock, shop, wine, dine, explore & enjoy</i> . Toronto: Ontario Travel Guides.
Reid, J. (1978). <i>LCBO wines & spirits guide book</i> . Canada: Greey De Pencier.	Sharp, A. (1990). <i>Intervin guide to award winning wines</i> . InterVin.
Rowe, P. (1978). <i>Red, white & rose</i> . Don Mills, ON: Musson.	Liquor Control Board of Ontario (1990). <i>Speaking of spirits, wine and beer 1990</i> . Author.
Rannie, W. F. (1978). <i>Wines of Ontario: An industry comes of age</i> . Lincoln, Ontario: Rannie.	Wine Trails Pub. (1992). <i>Wine trails in the wine regions of Ontario</i> . St. Catharines, ON: Author.
Masson, G. (1979). <i>Wine from Ontario grapes: a guide to winemaking with the new hybrids</i> . Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON: G. Masson.	Bramble, L. and Darling, S. (1992). <i>Discovering Ontario's wine country</i> . Toronto: Stoddart.
Campbell, H. R. (1980). <i>Four goblets of wine</i> . Kingston, ON: H.R.C. Simcoe Holdings.	Berberoglu, H. (1993). <i>Canadian wines and wineries</i> . Scarborough, ON: Food and Beverage Consultants.
Ontario Grape Growers' Marketing Board (1980). <i>Niagara, grape and wine tours</i> . Author.	Darling, S. (1994). <i>Canada cheese and wine lovers' cookbook</i> . Toronto: Macmillan Canada.
Wine Tidings Editors (1981). <i>Gateway to wine</i> . Kylix Media	Aspler, T. (1994). <i>Wine Lover's Companion: All about wines from Canada's most widely read wine columnist and author</i> . Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
Sharp, A. (1981). <i>Winetaster's secrets</i> . Toronto: Horizon.	Zirardo, D. J. (1995). <i>Anatomy of a winery: The art of wine at Inniskillin</i> . Toronto: Key Porter
Filer, P. (1982). <i>The winemaker: The autobiography of Andrew Peller, founder of Andres Wines Ltd</i> . Alfin, Publishers for Andres Wines.	Blue Moose Publications (1995). <i>BC wine country, Vol. 2: The Blue Moose guide to the wines and wineries of British Columbia</i> . Kelowna, BC: Author.
Heinz, G. K. (1982). <i>Wine making at home</i> . Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Canada.	Walker, J. E. (1995). <i>The Janice guide to the wines and wineries of British Columbia</i> . Calgary: Janus Publishing.
Waveman, L. (1983). <i>The penny pincher's wine guide</i> . Scarborough, ON: Avon Books of Canada.	Aspler, T. (1995). <i>Vintage Canada: a tasteful companion of Canadian wines</i> . Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
Berberoglu, H. (1983). <i>Canadian wines and wineries</i> . Toronto: Food and Beverage Consultants.	Berberoglu, H. (1996). <i>Professor B's selected wines: From the regular wine listings of the L.C.B.O.</i> Scarborough, ON: Food and Beverage Consultants.
Ontario Grape Growers' Marketing Board (1984). <i>Niagara, grape and wine tours</i> . Author.	Borrello, J. & Patel, P. (1995). <i>Wineries of the great lakes</i> . Habitex.
Aspler, T. (1984). <i>Vintage Canada</i> . Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Canada.	Tiessen, R. (1996). <i>The vinedressers: A history of grape farming & wineries on Pelee Island</i> . Pelee Island Heritage Centre.
Goldenson, S. (1985). <i>Vintage places: A connoisseur's guide to North American wineries and vineyards</i> . Pittstown, NJ: Main Street Press.	Aspler, T. (1996). <i>Tony Aspler's guide to new world wines: The most comprehensive guide to the wines of the United States, Canada, Mexico, South America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa</i> . Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
John, S. (1985). <i>World of Canadian wine</i> . Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre	Jean Aubry, V. D. (1997). <i>L'Abecedaire des Vins, Bieres, Cidres et Spiriteux</i> . Les Éditions LOGIQUES.
Aspler, T & Lindsay, J. (1986). <i>Tony Aspler's international guide to wine</i> . Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall.	Dubois, J. and Deshaies, L. (1997). <i>Le guide des vignobles du Québec: Sur la route des vins</i> . Laval, QC: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.
Wine, C. (1986). <i>The Toronto underground restaurant book: A guide to neighborhood restaurants in Toronto</i> . Toronto, Doubleday Canada.	Bachelder, T. and Delaney, M. M. (October 1997). <i>The 50 best B. Y. O. B. restaurants of Montreal and the best wines to take with you (Les 50 meilleurs restaurants de Montréal ou apporter son vin et les meilleurs vins</i>
Aspler, T. (1986). <i>The wine lover dines: A selection of fine recipes to match the wines of the world</i> . Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Canada.	
Elliott, J. (1987). <i>Trent-Severn Waterway boating & road guide: Where to dock, shop, wine, dine, explore & enjoy</i> . Toronto: Ontario Travel Guides.	

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Darling, J. M. and Ejrich, K. (1997). *The wine manual*. Toronto: Gage Educational.

Kochan, S., Large K. and Schreiner, J. (1998). *BC wine country, vol. 4: Travel survival*. Illus. Alex Fong. Kelowna, BC: Blue Moose Publications.

Schreiner, J. (1998). *Chardonnay and friends: Varietal wines of British Columbia*. Victoria, BC: Orca Book Publishers.

Le Cours, R. (1998). *La decouverte des vins et des boissons artisanales du Québec*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Homme.

Stevenson, T. (1998). *Le vin*. Outremont, QC: Éditions du Trécarré.

Ryan, J. (1998). *Trent-Severn Waterway: Boating and road guide: Where to dock, shop, wine, dine, explore & enjoy*. Peterborough, ON: Lyons Den Enterprises.

Laverick, C. (Ed.) (1999). *Buying guide to wines of North America: More than 3000 wines reviewed by the Beverage Testing Institute*. New York: Sterling Publishing.

Whitecap Books (1999). *The B. C. food and wine annual 2000*. BC: Author.

Stumpf, M. (1999). *Growing up in Guasti*. Phoenix, AZ: Stumpf.

Aspler, T. (1999). *Tony Aspler's vintage Canada: The complete guide to Canadian wines*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Skolnik, T. (1999). *Touring Wine Guide to Victoria*. Harper Collins Publishers Canada.

Zirald, D. J. (2000). *Anatomy of a winery: The art of wine at Inniskillin*. Toronto: Key Porter Books.

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Widmer, K and Wagner, C. (Eds) (2000). *BC wine country - the book: A compendium of fact and fiction*. Illus. Alex Fong. Kelowna, BC: Blue Moose Publications.

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Finstein, E. (2002). *Ask the wine doctor: All the questions you had about wine but were too busy sipping to ask*. Plattsburgh, NY: McClelland & Stewart.

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TABLE 4. Winery: analysis of architectural evolution

1988

2006



1980s- Chateau-Gai



1990- Chateau-Gai changed its name for Cartier



1980s- Jordan & Michelle Cellars Ltd. and Barnes buildings



1980s- T.G. Brights & Co. Ltd. buys Barnes and Jordan & Michella Cellars Ltd.



1990s- T.G. Brights & Co. Ltd. and Cartier merged under Vincor, Inniskillin is bought in 1993

1975- Inniskillin started production in a garage and moved in 1978 to the Brae Burn Estates where a second batiment was designed by local architect Rapheal Belvedere

1979- Hillebrand Estates, first known under Newark, is built in the Colonial Revival Style. The winery is took over by Andres in 1994

1983- Reif opened its retail facility in a historical old coach house

1986- Cave Spring Cellars opens its retail store in a 1871 wine facility of Jordan village

Vincor International is the result of many mergers. By the middle of the 90s Chateau-Gai, Cartier, Brights and Inniskillin are all owned by Vincor. The business is conducted in Brights building and later updated to finally be destroyed. The business side of wine is later physically dissociated from the wine production and moved to Mississauga. While Vincor offers a number of branded wines their Niagara VQA wines are made available under the Inniskillin, Jackson Triggs and now Les Clos Jordannes brands.



1988

1987- Henry of Pelham's retail store is a former carriage house built by an ancestor in 1842

1991- Hemder Estates's counts a wooden covered bridge and a restored 1867 Victorian barn

1984- Vineland Estates Winery was established on a homestead dating back to 1845



1993- Pillitteri Estates Winery operates on a family fruit farm build in the 50s



1994- Chateau des Charmes opened in 1978 but the 6.5\$ chateau came later in 1994



1995- Thirty Bench is located in a traditional farm building with a newly modern interior

1995- Melville winery was build to take advantage of a 30-foot escarpment

1998- Thirteen Street is a garage style winery

1998- Featherstone is located in a farmhouse partly dated from 1830

2006



1988

1998- Palatine Hills Estates' retail space is located in a machinery building

1999- EastDell Estates' rustic building was built with wood and stone from the property

2000- Peninsula Ridge Estates' retail store is located in a restored 1885 post and beam barn and with a Queen Anne revival Victorian home for the restaurant

2001- Frong Pond Farms is the first certified organic farm. The retail store is located in a rustic wood building in a barn style.



2001- Jackson-Triggs is a postmodern take on the barn. The building integrates some local materials as well as some elements of sustainable practice

2001- Lailey Vineyards is Toronto architect Barry Isenor's contemporary take on the barn



2001- Peller Estate, owned by Andres Wines, is an inspired Italian chateau style building

2002- Angels Gate's design was inspired by an early Christian mission located on their land

2004- Flat Rocks Cellars is an environmentally friendly contemporary designed winery

2006



1988

2006

2005- Fielding Estate winery is a contemporary take on Canadiana cottage



2001- Lailey Vineyards is Toronto architect Barry Isenor's contemporary takes on the barn



2006- Konzelmann's original 1984 retail space is being rebuilt as a German chateau style



2007- Les Clos Jordan designed by Canadian architect Frank Gehry is the latest of Vincoor