History and Theorizing: The Case of Fine Winemaking in the Ontario Wine Industry

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ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that theorization has been established as an important social mechanism in a variety of contexts, little research has explicated how this process works. I argue that theorization entails strategic constructions of history, or rhetorical history, in order to persuade audiences of legitimacy. I examine the role that history plays in actors' theorizations of the Ontario wine industry as world class. By conducting a rhetorical analysis of the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries, I find that various themes of history are routinely employed to re-theorize the industry as one that produces world class wines. In general, the findings suggest that the narratives of Ontario wineries tap into global repertoires of fine wine to portray the continuity of current practices with those of Old World winemaking. In addition, wineries sometimes tap into local histories to convey a sense of uniqueness, but they also obscure the history of poor winemaking in the region.

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INTRODUCTION

The notion of theorization has been used in a variety of research contexts within as well as outside of institutional theory. It is the process whereby broad, abstract categories and the relationships between these categories are defined (Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Strang & Meyer, 1993), and it has been credited for playing important roles in such diverse spheres as creating or transforming institutions (Greenwood et al., 2002; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Strang & Meyer, 1993), legitimizing management innovations (Birkenshaw, Hamil, & Mol, 2008), bridging diverse actors' interests (Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004), and so on. More broadly, theorization enables actors to make sense of their institutional environments (Weber & Glynn, 2006) and prescribes and proscribes certain actions (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Tolbert & Zucker, 1996), making some actions seem legitimate and normal (Birkenshaw et al., 2008) and others unacceptable (Greenwood et al., 2002). Standards of acceptability inform how actors can persuade audiences of legitimacy through appropriate marketing, framing, or categorization. Actors can tap into these repertoires to construct marketing and identity schemas that audiences are able to perceive as meaningful. Marketability relies upon the capacity of audiences to perceive particular product categories and see them as valuable, and its purpose relates to the identification and differentiation of these categories (Ballantyne, 2011). The process of theorization enables actors, and audiences, to make sense of and interpret such categories. Thus, theorization has already been shown to be a very illuminating social mechanism (Davis & Marquis, 2005).

However, despite the variety of contexts in which the notion of theorization has been evoked, it is typically seen as a step in some more elaborate process, whether it be

institutional change (Greenwood et al., 2002) or a new style creation (Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007), but not a research topic in its own right. The usefulness of theorization for organization studies as a conceptual tool for explaining various phenomena is conditional upon the explication of how the mechanism itself works. Thus, I propose a shift from the *what* to the *how* of theorization. Because theorization inevitably involves some form of engagement with the past, in advocating a break with the status quo (e.g., Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) or claiming that new practices represent a continuity with the status quo (e.g., Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007), I argue that a core theorization activity is the strategic construction of particular versions of history in order to persuade audiences about the desirable relationship between the past, current, and future states of a field or organization. In other words, I argue that an essential component of theorization is the utilization of *rhetorical history* (Anteby & Molnar, in press; Suddaby, Foster, & Trank, 2010) or "the strategic use of the past as a persuasive strategy to manage" key actors' perceptions (Suddaby et al., 2010: 157). It operates by constructing a particular version of the past in order to rhetorically establish either a continuity or a discontinuity with past practices in an effort to legitimize and normalize preferred courses of action.

The questions of how history is used to facilitate such theorizations and how the process works overall are largely unanswered, which emphasizes the need for a more complete explication of how actors use rhetorical history to theorize a particular industry. Such a strategic use of history could perhaps be used to *re-theorize perceptions of an organization or industry* so that organizations gain access to resources and legitimacy. Thus, in this study, I examine the role of rhetorical history in the theorization process. Specifically, I aim to understand how history is

used strategically by organizations to theorize and re-theorize an industry as reputable. To study theorization, I draw on organizational discourse theory and the extant research on theorization, and conduct a qualitative case study that employs discourse analysis of the rhetoric used by Ontario wineries in their ongoing communications on websites and in newsletters. Based on the organizational discourse literature, I understand texts as important to the creation of meaning not independently, but as collections of texts that are produced, distributed, and consumed within a given context, and recursively shaped by these meanings (Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004). This thesis explores the importance of theorization, through the strategic use of history, in a particular setting, the Ontario wine industry. My empirical focus is on the theorization attempts found in newsletters and websites produced and distributed by Ontario wineries as they work to persuade audiences of the legitimacy of the Ontario wine industry as a whole and to enhance its reputation.

This thesis begins with a brief literature review, wherein I consider existing literatures and address the broad, but largely non-specific ways in which theorization is used. This is followed by a methodology section, in which I introduce the specific context of this study and the rhetorical and discursive analyses I employ. Next, the findings are described, and subsequently I discuss implications of these findings for future research involving rhetorical history and theorization.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theorization

Theorization involves the development of a coherent rationale that links organizational opportunities and the innovation being adopted (Birkenshaw et al., 2008). It entails the "self-conscious development and specification of abstract categories and the formulation of patterned relationships such as chains of cause and effect" (Strang & Meyer, 1993; 492). Stakeholders are motivated to adopt new practices as these practices are framed as necessary and valued (Greenwood et al., 2002). Actors engage in theorization activities when attempting to motivate the adoption of practices via repeated interactions that work to develop common understandings and normative support for adoption (Maguire et al., 2004). Integral to theorization is the expression of rationales in ways that resonate with key stakeholders both within and outside the organization (Birkenshaw et al., 2008), thereby influencing patterns of social action. It is not exclusively a top-down process that is done by elite actors, but is also engaged in individual-specific ways by actors at various positions in the field (Strang & Meyer, 1993; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010; Zilber, 2006).

The notion of theorization has been used in a variety of research contexts, spanning from the transformation of institutions to the legitimization of innovation and change. Theorization involves the development of coherent rationales and allows for broad, abstract categories to become defined (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Strang & Meyer, 1993). In this way, theorization informs patterns of social action (Maguire et al., 2004) and influences patterns of diffusion, normalization (Strang & Meyer, 1993), and change (Greenwood et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004). Thus, it is important in the

building (Greenwood et al., 2002; Hwang & Powell, 2005; Strang & Meyer, 1993), maintenance (Zilber, 2006), justification (Hinings, Greenwood, Reay & Suddaby, 2004), and disruption (Greenwood et al., 2002) of institutional activities. Despite the fact that theorization is seen as an important social mechanism and has been used in a variety of contexts, it is often only described as part of larger processes of instutionalization and organizational change. In this thesis, I intend to demonstrate in more detail how theorization operates within a particular organizational context.

Theorization plays an important role in the diffusion of practices and activities (Kennedy & Fiss, 2009; Strang & Meyer, 1993; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007). The more theorized and normalized a particular practice becomes, the more rapidly it should diffuse and become legitimated (Strang & Meyer, 1993; Maguire et al., 2004). As some categorizations are designated more meaningful than others, those categories are also viewed as more consequential, which enhances the adoption rate of some activities over others (Strang & Meyer, 1993). In this way, theorization leads to the enhanced diffusion of practices among actors within the same institutional field as such patterns become more global and increasingly specified.

The role of theorization in the disruption of institutional fields has also been highlighted by researchers (Maguire et al., 2004). Actors can utilize collectively defined categories and theorizations to disrupt and implement institutional change. Further, by limiting the significance of some practices, support can be garnered for particular activities. Theorization can act to cast certain existing practices as unacceptable, working as a mechanism whereby solutions can be proposed and adopted, and change can occur (Greenwood et al., 2002). These theorizations can be used to interpret problems and

formulate courses of action that can challenge previously normalized practices and incite collective action towards change (Benford & Snow, 2000; Maguire & Hardy, 2009). On the whole, researchers have used theorization in different ways and have utilized the term for a variety of purposes. There are some scholars that allude to the process as being largely *ex ante*, or taking place prior to activity, and as facilitating the adoption and diffusion of practices. Initially, Strang and Meyer (1993) conceived of the term as involving the specification of conceptual categories into patterns of cause and effect relationships. Similarly, it was used by Greenwood et al. (2002) to describe a process that allows for the specification of failings and provision of solutions, thereby enabling institutional change efforts. Institutional entrepreneurship is also portrayed as involving the proactive use of subject positions that are effectively used to bridge the interests of different stakeholders (Maguire et al., 2004). In general, these scholars have used theorization to describe proactive attempts to define problems and solutions through the use of appropriate subject positions and engage in an ex ante dimension of theorization.

However, other researchers have used theorization such that it entails *ex post* activity, or activity that occurs after the event has taken place. For example, theorization is seen as manifesting itself "through record-keeping, self-reflection, and categorization" (Svejenova et al., 2007: 541). Further, theorization transpires after management innovation has been implemented as this implementation is made sense of and legitimized (Birkenshaw et al., 2008). Other studies have indicated the ex post nature of theorization in the legitimization of management forms (Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007) and media efforts to convey the legitimacy (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003) of innovation after it has been enacted.

Because the collective definitions and meanings that are propagated and disseminated through interactions are based in linguistic exchange, I argue that the process of theorization can be understood as an inherently discursive activity. Discourses are collections of interrelated texts (Parker, 1992) that mediate meaning through socially constructed language practices (Boje, Oswick, & Ford, 2004). Discourse shapes and is shaped by the construction of various events, the motivation for certain forms of action and behaviour, and change initiatives. Discursive models of institutionalization highlight the relationships among texts, discourse, institutions, and action (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). Language, discourse, and rhetoric are forms of symbolic action that work to define boundaries and ignite change in institutions.

Discourse may be interpreted as action in its own right (van Dijk, 1997), and also as providing context for action by enabling and constraining the ways concepts, objects, and subject positions are constituted (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004; Maguire & Hardy, 2009). Maguire and Hardy (2009), in their case study of the abandonment of DDT use, found that translation affected the collapse of the practice and described discursive work as a forum from which actors can disrupt and defend practices by producing texts. At the organizational level, firms can provide a sense of community wherein identity structures discourse, coordination, and learning (Kogut & Zander, 1996). For example, Kogut and Zander (1996) suggest that the establishment of coherence within a firm stems from the need for consistency in the categorization of its activities. At the same time, processes of institutions and institutionalization are fueled and shaped by discursive practices that work to create new global regulatory institutions as actors and firms act to frame the institution building process (Maguire & Hardy, 2006). Shared meanings formulated from

dominant frames allow actors to make sense of and navigate organizational and institutional fields while restricting and constraining the social action that occurs within them (Ostrom, 1991).

As institutions become taken-for-granted and take on an assumed reality, they operate within and are produced by specific discourses through processes of social construction because texts mediate action (Phillips et al., 2004). As normative notions are communicated and categorized, discourse becomes an integral vehicle by which theorization is mobilized. Legitimacy of practices can result from conformity with social norms (Weber, 1978), and the production of texts that draw upon discourses to establish, verify, or change meanings associated with actions involves the strategic use of meaningful symbols to garner legitimacy among audiences by appropriate theorization (Phillips et al., 2004). In order to garner legitimacy, audiences must be convinced of the relevance and utility of particular practices, which is often done by demonstrating past successes or failures, and proposing and justifying solutions. I argue that theorization must engage discursive portrayals of the past in order to make sense of present environments and activities.

History and Theorization

Rhetorical history

Suddaby et al. (2010) declare that "history is an important symbolic resource in its own right" and challenge the notion of history as constraining to those organizations that either lack a clear history or have a negative and illegitimate history. Traditionally perceived as neither strategic nor manageable due to its existence or non-existence, history has been conceptualized as constraining to those organizations lacking a clear or distinct history (Ostrom, 1991). However, Suddaby et al. (2010) describe one company, The History Company, which specifically sets out to create a historical position and portrayal of an organization's history for organizations attempting to theorize their practices or services more concretely. This example indicates that history can be constructed and created by using certain depictions of past events.

The concept of rhetorical history indicates that history is not only malleable and manageable, but that it is a "means through which organizations can strategically mediate between their material and symbolic environments" (Suddaby et al., 2010: 14). Because some organizations are able to successfully theorize particular product categories as congruent with normative values, they can enjoy access to both material and symbolic resources, which can include, as discussed previously, the incorporation of that organization with the identity of something or someone else. Rhetorical history, used as a strategic narrative, legitimizes organizational structures and practices, and is used to manage the identity and image of organizations (Suddaby et al., 2010). In essence, rhetorical history refers to the strategic persuasion of others, using history, in an effort to manipulate perceptions of legitimacy and appropriateness.

As a form of collective recollection and memory that informs interpretations of the past, history itself is dialogic in nature and only exists in communications between people. Collective memory, as it relates to the socially embedded memories of the past, is constructed and perpetuated in a variety of ways, but heavily relies upon discursive narratives, myths, and theorizations as they are communicated between individuals. According to Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, and Wiebe (2011) such discursive narratives take on two forms. The specific narrative template links events along plotlines that are grounded in a temporal order and geographical space. The schematic narrative template involves the use of the specific narratives of a cultural tradition and provides significance and meaning that extends beyond the activity itself.

Recently, theories have emerged as attempts to understand the shape and structure of collective memory. For example, Zeruvabel (2003) describes collective memories as map-like, topographical structures existing within the mind. Language plays a vital role in the communication and dissemination of such historical maps as it allows memories to be passed between people. Attempts to present history discursively as eventful or uneventful, continuous or discontinuous, reflect some of the different shapes and spaces that the past can occupy within our memories. According to Zeruvabel (2003), depictions of historical continuity bridge traditions and current activities via mnemonic "bridging" and "pasting" that persuasively links present and past times. Ruins, relics, monuments, and antiques represent efforts to present continuity between historical periods. Symbolic simultaneity can be observed in cultural holidays and anniversaries, and in cultural analogies and historical lessons that create models and parallels to construct discursively continuous timelines. Alternately, historical discontinuity involves the social

and mental partitioning of past events into separate and distinct periods. Such representations of the past compartmentalize events or eras as points of historical departure. Collective amnesia may result from normalized depictions of an era as uneventful or inconsequential.

This notion of discontinuity is related to the notion of organizational forgetting. For example, forgetting events that conflict with organizational identity and values may result in an emphasis upon various eras that highlights more congruent events while obscuring events that are more incongruous. This depiction of continuous versus discontinuous history by Zerubavel (2003) provides a useful topography from which to understand the process of theorization, whereby actors seek to align practices and activities with normative conceptions of appropriateness.

While the social space of collective memory has been effectively mapped and charted by theorists like Zeruvabel, the discursive and rhetorical acts of individual actors and organizations working to manage and manipulate this space is largely ignored. Throughout the course of this research, I aim to highlight these individual discursive acts to understand how actors contribute to the social space of memory and history by effectively theorizing current practices and events alongside strategic constructions of history. By linking Zeruvabel's (2003) notions of time as continuous and discontinuous with scholarly descriptions of theorization as ex ante, before the event, or ex post, after the event, I suggest that theorization inherently involves strategic portrayals of history to make sense of and influence activities occurring in the present and future (see Table 1).

Dimensions of theorization and narratives of history

Ex ante (before the event) theorization that represents continuity with the past involves the proactive assertion of continuity with the past to hide deviations (see Table 1, upper left). For example, Hargadon & Douglas (2001) describe the case of Edison's invention of the light bulb wherein he actively worked to design it in a fashion similar to the gaslights consumers were used to. Despite the obvious deviation from the norms that electric light represented, Edison aided consumer recognition and identification of his product by aligning it alongside categories that were familiar to and easily understood by consumers. Ex ante theorization alongside normative constructions of a familiar past allow audiences to recognize and value innovations. Strategic adherence to prevailing historical expectations and values can, by conferring a sense of similarity and familiarity, enhance the legitimization and diffusion of particular practices.

On the other hand, ex ante (before the event) theorization, representing discontinuity with the past, involves a proactive assertion of the inferiority of current or past practices when compared to preferred potential practices (see Table 1, lower left). By specifying organizational failings and justifying potential solutions, theorization allows for the "development and specification of abstract categories and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect" (Greenwood et al., 2002: 60). According to Suddaby and Greenwood (2005), this can be accomplished by using persuasive discourse to identify the genres, goals, and shared assumptions that become embedded in texts. The authors suggest that historical theorizations utilize institutional vocabularies to make the need for change comprehensible and to theorize the change itself as comprehensible. To dislodge existing institutional logics, the authors suggest that actors use language to persuade

audiences of the desirableness and appropriateness of institutional deviance. Actors, by strategically using rhetorical devices linking practices to wider societal values, can engage ex ante theorization in an attempt to persuade audiences of the necessity for deviant or innovative practices that are discontinuous with older, inferior practices.

Ex post (after the event) theorization that demonstrates continuity with the past involves a denial of assertions that current practices are abnormal or different from previous, older practices (see Table 1, upper right). For example, in a paper aiming to develop a process model of practice creation, Lounsbury and Crumley (2007) suggest that anomalies between old and current or new practices may require active, collective mobilization to make the innovation salient. In an effort to do so, these authors suggest that actors can influence perceptions and interpretations of the appropriateness of new practices by theorizing them alongside activities that are deemed traditionally appropriate. Enhancing the appearance of appropriateness of practices involves engaging ex post theorization to demonstrate its continuity with longstanding appropriate activity. Alternately, ex post (after the event) theorization espouses discontinuity with the past by reflecting on what has been done in order to demonstrate how a new practice is superior (Hinings et al., 2004) (see Table 1, lower right). According to Svejenova et al.. (2007), theorization takes stock of new ideas and occurs as actors partake in record keeping, self-reflection, and categorization. These authors describe the notion of sense-making as entailing a retrospective component that is facilitated by record keeping and self-reflection, which contributes to the categorization and recognition of the contribution of new ideas, and finally the dissemination of these ideas. Birkenshaw et al. (2008) examine the role of key change agents inside and outside an organization that drive and shape

processes of motivation, invention, implementation, and theorizing and labeling. They define the theorization and labeling process as social in nature and one that occurs both inside and outside the organization as actors make sense of and validate innovation in an effort to increase its legitimacy. To accomplish this, it is important that key change agents aim to show the legitimacy of the practice, despite its departure from older, inferior practices (Hinings et al., 2004). Via strategic reflection on what has been done to demonstrate the utility and legitimacy of newly implemented practices, ex post theorization points to the discontinuity between past and present practices to show the superiority of the present practice.

Insert Table 1 about here

Theorization, in garnering and justifying legitimacy for particular institutional activities, must engage with the past in order to show failings or propose legitimate alternate solutions to those failings. In the naturalization stage, categories become increasingly defined and begin to form normative concepts and possibilities. This

includes justifying and providing support to audiences for a newly, already adopted practice and demonstrating how it has worked or will work successfully within a particular context. As legitimacy is demonstrated through success, the diffusion of the practice occurs. Disruption occurs when current ways of doing things are called into question. Justification for abandoning an existing practice involves challenging what has been done and demonstrating the illegitimacy of it. As solutions to failings are proposed, actors engage in persuasive attempts to legitimize and rationalize the adoption of new or alternate practices in lieu of existing ones that have been used, which represents the rhetorical aspect of the process of theorization. By understanding how these themes might be used to induce particular interpretations and perceptions, I hope to shed light on how organizations in a specific industry strategically use history, and how they may contribute to the theorizations of institutional activities. In this study, I investigate the strategic use of history in the course of routine and ongoing theorization attempts by Ontario wineries. I argue that theorization must employ, to some extent, depictions of the past to inform actors in a field about what should or should not be done. While researchers have alluded to this idea, the fact that history is essential to the process of theorization has not been explicitly identified or described. In this thesis, I aim to integrate some of the recent research on theorization as a discursive practice involving notions of the past and describe how this process operates and is operated by actors within a given industry. History, as a constructed narrative, is a discursive tool by which stakeholders can influence perceptions of identity, authenticity, and legitimacy, and it represents an important symbolic resource for organizational success.

Identity

History is constructed in ways that connect the past, present, and future, and it can be strategically utilized to interpret and motivate particular forms of action and enhance feelings of "common identity and vision" (Suddaby et al., 2010: 3). Historical motifs and narratives can work to confer and construct identities which rely upon shared notions of reality and collective norms and values. For example, in Foster et al. (2011), the use of history as a strategic endeavor on the part of Tim Hortons involved utilizing specific schematic narratives portraying associations between the company and larger theorizations of Canadian identity and history. In essence, this company successfully and strategically theorized its identity, using history and myth, alongside national identity by associating itself, through marketing campaigns, with the idea of what it means to be Canadian.

Organizational identity is maintained not only through history construction and collective memory, but also through organizational attempts to forget and omit particular events in an effort to demonstrate who the organization is and who the organization is not (Anteby & Molnar, in press). Research into organizational forgetting also suggests that remembering to forget skills and knowledge that are no longer relevant or have become detrimental to success is an important strategic activity of stakeholders (de Holan & Phillips, 2004; de Holan, Phillips, & Lawrence, 2004). Intentional forgetting, or the unlearning and breaking of routines, can be a strategically managed aspect of organizational culture that can enhance success (de Holan et al., 2004). In their case study, De Holan and Phillips (2004) developed a theory of organizational forgetting. They noted that managers frequently engaged in types of forgetting, the effects of which were largely context-dependent. One type of forgetting involved intentional attempts to

forget irrelevant or superfluous knowledge. On the other hand, managers also attempted to retain, and not forget, valued forms of knowledge. De Holan and Phillips (2004) found that forgetting can have both beneficial and detrimental effects: beneficial forgetting allowed for the loss of interfering information, whereas forgetting competitive skills and important values could be detrimental to organizational success. These authors call upon managers to focus on the types of forgetting that are beneficial for organizational impression and identity management.

Research attends to the notion that identity is a process of continuous narrative construction (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1994), but has also pointed out that the individual narratives composing organizational identity are sometimes divergent (Boje, 1995). Narratives of identity can converge or diverge, and their legitimacy as a coherent expression of identity depends on their ability to manage the cultural material available in the form of social discourses (Chreim, 2005; Czarniawska, 1997). Identity can shift over time; it changes as themes are drawn from external environments and continuity can be rhetorically constructed when these changes occur (Chreim, 2005). Thus, by tapping into cultural repertoires, identity changes can be rhetorically constructed as continuous or discontinuous with the past.

Authenticity

In addition to their roles in identity creation, history and culture are vital referents from which stakeholders can convey a sense of sincerity and authenticity to audiences. Beverland (2005) describes in detail how luxury wine firms in France work to create impressions of authenticity by using history in careful characterizations such as traditional, passionate, and using handcrafted methods. These factors work together to

create a narrative that highlights the firms' historical and traditional methods while downplaying their industrial and commercial involvement, marking them as authentic wineries that espouse heritage and tradition. Thus, by drawing upon past events to create links between the past and present activities, firms can effectively communicate authenticity, and legitimacy, to audiences.

Legitimacy

Organizations must achieve legitimacy prior to being granted access to specific resources and opportunities (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2008). Legitimacy can arise from organizational alignment with perceived appropriate social norms and values (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), and it can be measured in terms of the degree of scrutiny and questioning that an organization faces (Deephouse, 2005; Suchman, 1995). By utilizing history as a source of competitive advantage, actors can strategically utilize portrayals of history in such a way as to conform more congruently to appropriate social norms and values, and thereby work to gain organizational legitimacy via successful theorization (Suddaby et al., 2010). As a particular mechanism of discursive theorization, history can be used to frame organizations in particular ways that influence perceptions of the value of those organizations among key stakeholders, and thus, it can be used to theorize particular categories of products, practices, and fields (Phillips et al., 2004; Meyer & Rowan, 1997; Suddaby et al., 2010). Adhering and conforming to particular normalized, valued, and culturally appropriated versions of history can propel organizations toward legitimated social standing.

This thesis argues that successfully theorizing and making sense of events as they occur necessitates some level of engagement with the past, and therefore history, is

required. Theorization, as described previously, represents a continuous process within institutional processes that allows actors to access and frame normative notions of what should or should not be done within a particular context. To describe what should be done, actors theorize about what happened in the past, or what has been happening thus far, linking these events causally to events that are presently occurring. Successful theorization thereby relies on inherently discursive interpretations of past events to make sense of existing contexts and events. The question that guides this research is: How do actors deploy history as a rhetorical resource in their theorization attempts? Specifically, I aim to understand how rhetorical history operates as a mechanism by which the Ontario wine industry is theorized and re-theorized as a high quality producer of fine wine.

METHODOLOGY

Institutions are recognized as products of social construction (Phillips et al., 2004) that become realized through repeated and meaningful interactions (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Theorization is a process through which institutions can be realized. As institutional practices, and institutions more broadly, are theorized, texts are created and consumed as a function of these interactions, thereby representing concrete artifacts by which meaningful interactions may be understood. Definitions of reality are constructed through combinations of shared definitions (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) and are produced through processes of theorization (Strang & Meyer, 1993). Because they inherently represent attempts at meaningful interaction, texts and narratives offer a particularly useful medium from which to understand such institutional processes as theorization, as they are explicitly composed of collective definitions in order to be sensible for audiences. Rhetorical analysis, a form of discourse analysis, is an invaluable tool for analyzing collections of texts or narratives, including the construction and deployment of historical accounts, because it allows researchers to understand how such discursive constructions might be used to persuade and shape meaning.

Research Setting

The setting for this research is the Ontario wine industry, and I aim to understand how actors in the field use historical resources to theorize Ontario wine as legitimate and reputable. Despite the fact that winemaking in Ontario dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, many only attribute the birth of serious winemaking to the late twentieth century, specifically 1975, with the founding of Inniskillin winery. When the Free Trade Agreement of 1988 was implemented, the Ontario wine industry was nearly decimated by the influx of higher quality, cheaper wines from the United States.

However, it was this near destruction of the industry that forced wine producers to uproot their native labrusca varietals, like Concord, which, in accordance with the Global winemaking standards, were unsuitable for high quality wines, and replant their fields with the European vinifera varietals, like Pinot Noir, that are associated with high quality wines.

Since that time, the local industry has focused on producing high quality wines that are consistent with global traditions of winemaking and production. Ontario as a winemaking region has had to overcome the widespread notion that it is too cold for the production of high quality wines, though the region has a similar climate to renowned wine growing regions like Mosel, Germany, or Burgundy, France. In addition, actors of the industry must overcome perceptions of poor quality that persist, both globally and domestically, due to the less than superior winemaking practices that were dominant in the region prior to 1988. Several Ontario wineries have won major international awards and have garnered critical acclaim from noted critics including the British critic, Jancis Robinson. Icewine is the most well known wine product that the region produces, and the main export destinations for Ontario wine include, but are not limited to, United States, China, South Korea, United Kingdom, and Hong Kong.

Despite the fact that the Ontario wine industry has had some success in terms of increasing its international reputation, Ontario wine does not yet enjoy universal acceptance among consumers. Thus, actors must still work to theorize Ontario wine as world class and must also, at times, attempt to overcome negative perceptions that continue among audiences. This continuous and *salient* bottom-up theorization (Strang & Meyer, 1993), whereby actors engage in ad hoc theorization activities on a day-to-day

basis, makes this particular industry an especially relevant context in which to study theorization. Additionally, rhetorical history, which is the specific mechanism I am interested in understanding, is interesting to study in this context due to the fact that the Ontario wine industry does not have an acclaimed or noble history that can be used strategically. Thus, understanding how the industry is coping without having such a history is particularly interesting, especially as I aim to unveil whether and how rhetorical history might still be utilized by Ontario wineries in theorization work.

Data Collection

I focused my research on electronic newsletters and websites to understand the role of rhetorical history in theorization processes. Texts like these constitute symbolic artifacts that can be analyzed in terms of the rhetorical forms they employ. In essence, these texts, like other texts, represent social and cultural artifacts that are open to interpretive analysis (Burke, 1989). Newsletters and websites represent distinctive genres of the rhetorical products of Ontario wineries. They often contain a multitude of compelling and relevant information about wineries and wine history, and are also designed purposefully to engage and persuade audiences of the value of particular practices and activities. Both newsletters and websites are texts that are created on behalf of wineries to convey particular forms of information, as well as certain ideals and values that essentially contribute to the communication of the projected image of the organizations (Moingeon, 2002). The data for this study comes from electronic newsletters (over 300) and websites (34) produced and distributed by a sample of Ontario wineries (34). The data was gathered over a period of five years. NVivo software was used to facilitate data management and analyses.

Newsletters are made accessible to audiences who have actively signed up for, and are willing to partake in, theorizations about the Ontario wine industry; the intended audience is subscribers who are already interested and invested, to some degree, in the industry. Generally, website passages presented portrayals of history that were more explicit and in depth, going into much more detail than the newsletters. References to history in the newsletters was sometimes, but not always, less direct, and involved, on the whole, much less detail when using elements of history. Although newsletters represent just one facet of theorization work, these texts provide a unique chance for researchers to understand the discursive practices through which organizations attempt to characterize themselves and explain their practices and activities to stakeholders. Such texts also allow insight into the actual discursive techniques used as well as the implicit industry rules that guide the use of such techniques. I was interested in how wineries tap into various historical resources in order to construct theorizations that enable wineries to claim that their wines, and the Ontario wine industry in general, are reputable and of high quality.

As well as analyzing newsletters, I analyzed the websites of 34 wineries. These texts were slightly different in terms of their target audience and their content. While newsletters were intended for loyal customers and other stakeholders with whom individual wineries have ongoing relationships, websites represent the wineries' attempts to portray themselves in a desirable manner to a more general audience. The websites were complementary data that, combined with the analysis of the newsletters, allowed for a better understanding of the various discursive and rhetorical devices used in theorization processes.

In all, text-based information, like electronic newsletters and websites, lends itself naturally to interpretive analysis. The newsletters and websites produced and distributed by Ontario wineries collectively constitute a coherent collection of texts that can be discursively analyzed as specific genres to understand how actors work to theorize and re-theorize an industry as a whole. By using rhetorical and discourse analysis, I offer a data-driven account of situated phenomena to construct an explanatory theory of the behaviours of actors in a specific field.

Data Analysis

Implicit interpretations are important in understanding rhetoric and discourse (Heracleous & Barrett, 2001 Khaire & Wadhwani, 2010; Pentland, 1999; Zilber, 2006); they are not usually referred to as clearly stated and full expressions, and often require readers to take an extra step in understanding their full significance. These extra steps are often necessitated by taken-for-granted assumptions and involve truth as determined from social and cultural contexts. By aiming to understand these more implicit themes, the taken-for-granted assumptions and values that they are based upon within a given context can be unveiled, and rhetorical analysis is appropriate methodology for this task (Heracleous & Barrett, 2001; Sillince & Brown, 2009). By focusing on these implicit messages that collectively represent the theorization attempts of various actors, this thesis is aimed at shedding light on the themes and strategies that are used to express continuity with some aspects of history and discontinuity with others.

My approach to identifying these prevalent themes, based on Heracleous and Barrett's (2001) steps of enthymeme identification, involved a serious of interrelated steps. The stages of analysis were the same for both the newsletters and the websites. Similarities and differences between the two text genres were examined throughout the

research process because the intended audiences of the genres are different, and the texts might use history in slightly different ways to theorize practices and activities. Because discourse and rhetorical analyses require the appreciation of specific utterances within a particular context, the units of analysis ranged between a single paragraph and an entire newsletter, depending on the smallest selection that could be meaningfully interpreted. Whenever rhetorical strategies that did not relate to rhetorical history were used, no further analysis was undertaken as these were outside my research scope. Largely, the theorization involved in newsletters and websites was ex post, or after the event, in nature, as the industry works to overcome ongoing perceptions of poor reputation that date back prior to 1988.

Step 1: Open Coding

Firstly, I explored and coded individual texts for predominant themes that were explicitly expressed. This involved initially reading over the newsletters and websites to understand their general content and format. While reading, general impressions were noted, and themes were then identified and coded. For example, frequent occurrences of historical depictions of the land upon which grapes are grown were coded as "terroir." I then compared these findings between the texts to make sense of the patterns among the themes that were present across the various texts produced and disseminated by wineries across Ontario's winemaking regions.

Step 2: Identifying Rhetorical Strategies

Secondly, I analyzed the relationships between the central themes identified to understand how they operated as arguments within the narratives. For example, I found that in some instances, the notion of terroir was used in reference to Old World

mythology, while in others, it referred specifically to the local history of the region. Many times these themes were overlapping within a single reference to terroir. Next, I went over the texts again to identify the various rhetorical devices that were employed to express these themes. As an illustration, the notion of terroir was often communicated by the rhetorical device of imagery, which enables readers to visualize the qualities of time and space that the mythology of terroir evokes. In all, this analysis of the various rhetorical devices assisted my understanding of how the various themes were being communicated throughout the texts.

Extensive exploratory coding of the dataset and consultation of the literature on rhetoric and discourse allowed me to identify various rhetorical strategies that could be used as sensitizing devices in the data analysis. These rhetorical strategies are often employed implicitly. Although a plethora of such devices is available, I found the following strategies to be especially relevant in the context of Ontario wineries' deployment of rhetorical history and used these as sensitizing devices.

Characterization refers to particular vivid and idiosyncratic representations of persons as portrayed within the texts. I took this to "include direct methods like the attribution of qualities in description or commentary, and indirect (or 'dramatic') methods inviting readers to infer qualities from characters' actions, speech, or appearance" (Baldick, 2008: 52). According to Burke (1962), characterization allows audiences to ascribe particular moral qualities to an actor. In this way, we can ascertain that characterization involves attempts to portray wineries and their representatives as having certain values, morals, and characteristics. These might include, for example, accounts of

a winemaker's heroic effort to produce a superb wine and the sacrifices that had to be made to accomplish that.

In utilizing *identification* as a rhetorical device, I relied heavily upon Burke's (1962: 580) observation that: "you persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his." In this way, identification attempts to establish a shared sense of values with the audience. Thus, wineries might try to ingratiate themselves with the audience or invite the audience to participate in certain winery experiences that should be especially appealing to them.

Diatyposis, or "a rhetorical figure in which advice is given" (Mills, 2010; 115), is used as a way of providing instruction to audiences through rules and precepts, and indicates that the wineries occupy a space of authority in terms of their ability to provide such direction (Peacham, 1977; Whately, 1963). Examples of diatyposis include suggestions for traditional pairings of particular food with a certain wine.

Denotation provides "the most literal and limited meaning of a word, regardless of what one may feel about it or the suggestions and ideas it connotates" (Cuddon & Preston, 1998: 215). As Burke (1962: 24) suggests: "[T]o tell what a thing is, you place it in terms of something else. This idea of locating, or placing, is implicit in our very word for definition itself: to define, or determine a thing, is to mark its boundaries, hence to use terms that possess, implicitly at least, contextual reference." Thus, in providing literal definitions for audiences, wineries can work to define the boundaries of meaning surrounding a word and can ensure a congruity of understanding among readers. For example, wineries might explain in detail the meaning of a particular grape growing or

winemaking practice. *Personification* refers to a rhetorical device that describes inanimate objects and other nonhuman concepts in terms of human characteristics and qualities (Baldick, 2008; Cuddon & Preston, 1998). For example, wineries often endow wines with human traits, such as "personality."

Imagery involves the use of language to represent various sensory experiences that extend beyond mental pictures and may appeal to senses other than sight (Baldick, 2008; Cuddon & Preston, 1998). As such, the use of imagery allows audiences to participate in the texts on a deeper, sensory level that provides a different experience as individuals can witness what the text describes. For example, wineries may attempt to use such a device in order to help readers imagine themselves in the vineyard, experiencing the beauty, sounds, and other sensations associated with it.

The analytic methodology was largely inductive as I began with specific observations of what was occurring in a particular context and then used more general theoretical explanations to explain and understand these observations. Texts are meaningful because they are constructed within broader notions of social reality. Through the reading of individual texts, patterns and themes emerge that, in their interconnection with other texts and discourses, provide clues into broader social realities (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Rhetorical analysis is especially useful in understanding how particular organizations are persuasively using history, as history itself is a narrative form that lends itself to analysis. Further, as Selzer (2004: 280-81) notes, "rhetorical analysis or rhetorical criticism can be understood as an effort to understand how people within specific social situations attempt to influence others through language."

Step 3: Integration

By combining the findings of the first and second stages, I was able to understand and identify the assumptions and values that the texts employed more implicitly. For example, the use of terroir is related to the broader social construct of geological history, which details the origins and history of the development of Earth and essentially describes time as sequential in its attempts to make sense of the events that have taken place in a region. Iteratively, I analyzed the themes that were common and different between the patterns I had previously found among the texts. For example, I aimed to understand what role terroir plays in the newsletters and websites, and how the various texts act rhetorically to persuade audiences. Terroir was found to play an interesting role as it is used in the texts to conform to broader global repertoires and values, while at the same time appealing to a more local history to confer a sense of distinctiveness and uniqueness.

Ensuring Data Authenticity

I worked to ensure the trustworthiness of the data in a number of ways. Firstly, all coding of newsletters and websites were vigilantly managed using NVivo qualitative data management software. Second, I worked to triangulate various data sources in an effort to verify and safeguard the validity of my interpretations of texts and the themes and rhetorical devices utilized within those texts. I also routinely consulted my thesis supervisor, who has extensive knowledge of the field, and was able to corroborate or challenge my interpretations. When disagreements were found pertaining to the possible meaning or assignment of data to particular categories, either between sources or via

consultation, the data were reexamined to understand the reasons for the differences until consensus was reached.

FINDINGS

The question that guides this research is: How do actors deploy history as a rhetorical resource in their theorization attempts? History is used frequently within the texts of Ontario wineries as the industry is re-theorized as world class. Most texts in the sample were occupied to some degree with the past. Wine making is embedded within global repertoires of quality wine production. While many new world wine regions are typically said to use different repertoires (Beverland, 2005) that often involve science and technology, I found that history is used overwhelmingly in the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries to demonstrate continuity with global traditions of winemaking, while also obscuring the history of poor winemaking that is associated with the region.

Types of History Employed

Overall, the findings suggest that various types of history are used by Ontario wineries and are often presented as overlapping themes. These modes of history are used in ways that frequently tap into global repertoires of winemaking and terroir based methods. The themes that are most prominent in these texts include portrayals of family history, Old World winemaking traditions, local and geological history, and a theme of innovation, which entails a break of some kind from past events or activities.

Family histories largely involved depicting the activities of ancestors, either locally or in traditional winemaking regions. Old World winemaking traditions consisted of the earthbound and terroir based approaches that have been used for centuries in quality wine production. Local and geological history relied on descriptions of prehistoric and cultural events in various areas of Ontario. Innovation mainly incorporated accounts of the first efforts toward creating quality wine in Ontario, but also involved the identification of

new and sometimes unorthodox techniques or technologies being used. Largely, these types of history were used to characterize wineries as continuous with Old World winemaking standards and discontinuous with the poor history of Ontario wine. Wineries often related their family history in traditional grape growing regions, or detailed their use of traditional methods. However, as the Old World mythology of terroir based winemaking suggests, the role of unique, local plots of land in creating distinctive wines is of great importance; thus, in many of the newsletters and websites, there is noteworthy use of local history to describe wines as a representation of place and time. The notion of innovation was frequently used to distinguish wineries from the activities and practices of the area that were considered illegitimate in terms of global standards of winemaking. However, multiple themes of history were often used within a single newsletter or website page; the themes of history that were found to occur throughout the texts were highly overlapping and did not fall into rigid categories.

In the following section, I will provide detailed explanations and examples of how these themes of history were used throughout the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries. Quotes have been included along with the analyses as illustrative examples of the narratives used. Additionally, analyses of portrayals of continuity, wherein activities are represented as the same as and continuous with activities of the past, and discontinuity, indicating that activity is different from and discontinuous with activities of the past, are included. In all, the next section is intended to describe, in detail, how history is being used within the texts produced and distributed by Ontario wineries.

I. Old World Traditions

The category of Old World traditions consists of narratives that relied upon traditional mythologies and repertoires to describe various practices and methods involved in the winemaking process. The methods that are often described by Ontario wineries are inspired by and characteristic of those of Old World wine producing regions, particularly those in Europe, including France, Italy, and Spain. These methods of winemaking generally entail the use of time-honoured techniques that have been traditionally and globally associated with quality wine production.

Traditional methods and styles

The newsletters and websites overwhelmingly describe and define winery practices as continuous with Old World, traditional methods of winemaking and grape growing. While the newsletters tend merely to reference or mention these traditional methods, wineries' websites are generally more explicit in describing efforts to maintain tradition in creating quality wines. Held as traditionally acceptable ways of growing and producing wine, Old World models are often relied upon as frameworks from which wineries can create world-class wines. Old World traditional winemaking emphasizes the more earthbound practices and methods of making wine that underemphasize the role of the winemaker, science, and technology.

Foreign Affairs, for example, relies upon the Amarone-style of drying grapes prior to making wine from them to describe this wine in a newsletter:

> *"We are excited to report … the long anticipated* ***2007 100% Amarone-style Cabernet Franc*** *… We are confident that this latest vintage is the ultimate expression of what our wines are all about and for what we have continuously and patiently been striving!"*

The straightforward message from this statement relates to the traditional methods used to create this wine. The notion of terroir is less obviously insinuated from the pronouncement that this wine is the "ultimate expression" of what the winery stands and works hard for. What is left unsaid, but is still nonetheless bundled into the interpretation is the role that terroir, the earth, weather, and sun, plays in the expression of character in wine. Thus, a commitment to terroir is, in effect, communicated by metaphorically linking the wine and the ultimate expression of the winery, the land upon which the grapes are grown, and thus, the local history that contributed to the characteristics of the land expressed in the wine. Furthermore, the fact that this wine is a vintage that expresses this metaphor links to global traditional values of age and slowness in winemaking.

As a whole, this passage indicates a commitment to traditional methods and values in winemaking through its use of the Old World mythology of terroir to characterize this wine as a vintage expression of local history. In this newsletter passage, the Amarone-style is merely mentioned. This passage works to *characterize* this winery as traditional in their approach to creating this wine, and as committed and dedicated to producing quality wines that are an "expression of what our wines are all about."

In a website narrative, the story behind the commitment to Amarone-style winemaking is explicated in much more detail:

> *"...Italy introduced us to a whole new world of fine food, wine, and the simple joys of everyday life. We discovered the wonders of Amarone styled wines in the northern part of the country. The more we learned about them, the more excited we became at the prospect of bringing this incredible*

> *craftsmanship back with us to Ontario […] And so we did…. […] In the time-held tradition of Amarone, we then proceeded to delicately dry our grape stock in a barn until each of the varietals were perfect for winemaking…We are very proud of the fact that our wines are Canadian and home grown. But […] we were greatly influenced by the rich Italian (Veneto Region) history of appassimento (drying process). It was in Veneto where it all started and reference to amarone or recioto belong only to those winemaking visionaries. They were and still are the legendary pioneers for whom we have huge respect and admiration. Our Canadian stylistic interpretation with locally grown vinifera varietals are referred to as appassimento (grape drying or Reductio Method) rather than the uniquely owned names found in Veneto. A glass of our wine tells the rest of the story."*

The most explicit references to history in this selection involve connections to Old World traditions and local history. The Old World traditional Amarone method inspires these winery owners but can only be ascribed to the traditional wine craftsmen of Amarone. Because the techniques are imitated locally, in local soils with their own characteristics, rather than in Amarone, they are referred to as appassimento, or Amarone-style. The traditional method used for grape growing and winemaking is explicit, but the reference to local terroir, and thus the local history and geology of the land that allow for this "locally grown vinifera," is implicit. The family connection to northern Italian wines is explained in more detail on the website, as is Amarone-style winemaking. We learn the history of the method, and how this family winery adapted these traditional Italian methods to Canadian winemaking. Wine is *personified* at the end of this passage, as it

takes on the ability to tell a story. Such a personification of wines represents a traditional repertoire or discourse enabling wine connoisseurs to describe the particular characters and personalities of wines (Suarez-Torte, 2007). Wine is historically personified as having the characteristics of living entities; by personifying wine, the wine is given an individual identity which essentially brings the wine to life in the mind of a reader.

Foreign Affair attempts to demonstrate continuity by using a characterization of themselves as continuous with traditional methods of Italian winemaking due to their use of Amarone methods. The newsletters of Foreign Affair make reference to, but do not explicate the Amarone styles and the appassimento and recioto methods used by the winery. While these methods are merely mentioned in newsletters, they are described and detailed in more depth on the website. This pattern was consistent in the newsletters and websites of other Ontario wineries. Such references indicate a valuation of the traditional, foreign, and Old World methods used in Italian winemaking. Amarone is associated primarily with Veneto, Italy, and involves appassimento, or partially drying grapes, which results in concentrated, complex wines with higher alcohol contents than other wines. Appassimento is very time and labour intensive and must be done largely by hand, including the de-stemming processes due to the brittleness of the dried grape stems (Robinson, 2006). Further, the grapes must be closely monitored and gently handled to prevent mold growth. This traditional, "time-held" Italian winemaking style utilizes one of perhaps the first recorded grape concentrate technologies, originally the use of straw mats for drying grapes.

While Foreign Affair demonstrates continuity with this traditional method of winemaking, they also refer to discontinuity from the original method as they embrace a

"Canadian stylistic interpretation." This reference taps into a theme of local history whereby the local terroir plays a role in making these wines distinctive and unique. Because the wines are originally from the Veneto growing region and have been imported to local vineyards, they are different and the winery works to create distinctive versions of the wines rather than exact replicas of the wines from Veneto.

As they explain on their website:

> *"It was in Veneto where it all started and reference to amarone or recioto belong only to those winemaking visionaries. They were and still are the legendary pioneers for whom we have huge respect and admiration. Our Canadian stylistic interpretation with locally grown vinifera varietals are referred to as appassimento (grape drying or Reductio Method) rather than the uniquely owned names found in Veneto."*

Although there is a continuity portrayed between Amarone styles of winemaking and Foreign Affair, the previous quote also indicates a separation or distinction from that traditional method in terms of its unique Canadianness. This topic of portraying continuity with Old World history while simultaneously portraying distinctiveness as a result of terroir and local history is discussed further in a later section. In this case, history is perhaps appealed to in a way that also evokes a sense of heritage, whereby Italy provides a sense of identity to the winery that shapes the traditional winemaking styles used. The Amarone methods of winemaking that the winemakers were exposed to on their trip provided an exemplar from which this winery has modeled their current practices and methods. Such references to traditional Italian drying methods indicate a valuation of the tradition, foreign, and Old World methods used in Italian winemaking.

Another example of references to traditional methods occurs in a newsletter from 13th Street:

> *"2000 Rosé Sparkling Wine, G. H. Funk Vineyard ($22.00): the first 700 bottles of this perennial favourite are ready. The wine is predominately pinot noir with some chardonnay and syrah. It was produced following the traditional method where it is fermented in the bottle and left on the lees for 14 months prior to disgorging. Described as having lovely strawberry aromas, good balance (albeit on the dry side) and a long finish. The final 300 bottles will be available for our December 7th release."*

As this traditional sparkling wine is depicted using *imagery*, readers can almost taste and smell this rosé. The explanation of how the wine was produced using traditional techniques emphasizes the amount of time it takes to create quality wines. Pinot Noir, Chardonnay, and Syrah are all grape varietals that are traditionally associated with quality wines, which further indicates a continuity with these traditional values. The deliberate use of bottle aging is typically reserved for quality wines that benefit from the enhanced flavour that this method can encourage (Robinson, 2006).

Similarly, Angels Gate describes one of their wines in a newsletter:

> *"2007 Archangel Pinot Noir VQA, Sparkling Wine: Our Archangel is perfect for celebrating any occasion. This wine is a traditional method sparkling wine made from 100% Pinot Noir. The wine has been aged on its lees for 12 months with a further 4 months of aging in bottle after being disgorged. The nose is elegant and complex with hints of fresh berries and minerality. Pairs*

well with poultry, white fish, cream cheese, pork, and sweet and savoury pastries."

Traditional methods of winemaking are used for this sparkling wine, and the wine has been produced according to the values of aging and slow production. While this passage emphasizes the amount of time it takes to create this traditional method sparkling wine through the use of *imagery*, it also relays useful suggestions to audiences through the rhetorical device of *diatyposis*. Food pairings, which are discussed in more detail later in this section, are suggested in addition to the descriptive taste notes that are provided for this traditional method sparkling wine. This selection also personifies the wine as having an elegant nose, tapping into global mythologies of wines as having particular characters and personalities.

Commitment to Expression of Terroir

The concept of terroir in the crafting of fine wine plays an important role in the global history of wine. Terroir refers to the distinct characteristics of particular regions, including soil structure, minerality, slope, climate, microclimates, and amount of sunshine that differentiate various wine producing regions. Wines of specific terroirs are often portrayed as evoking a particular time and place that represents the unique characteristics of location, and quality wines are often said to depend on the quality of soil and climate. The notion stems from the French term which loosely translate as earth or land but refers to an entire mythology surrounding the characteristics of each plot of land that imbue wines with unique qualities. In essence, terroir indicates the prominent importance of land and grape growing over the use of science and technology in global winemaking traditions (Robinson, 2006), and Ontario wineries overwhelming rely on

descriptions of terroir, which indicates their reliance upon, and commitment to, Old World winemaking traditions.

By nature, however, the notion of terroir conjures images of local land, growing conditions, and soils, and relies upon local and geological histories. Glacial events that happened in prehistoric times produced the minerality and soil compositions, and the specific microclimates that make Ontario wines unique and distinctive. The importance of terroir in Old World mythology lays in the individual characteristics that different plots of land and different growing regions impart upon the grapes, and ultimately, the wines that are grown in these areas. Because Ontario wineries grow their vines in local soils, and endure local weather, climate, and other conditions, the use of terroir by Ontario wineries necessitates a discussion of the unique terroirs that Ontario vineyards and wines express.

Henry of Pelham seeks to define this notion using the rhetorical device of *denotation* in one passage on their website:

> *"The origin of the grapes used to make wine has long been important in traditional winemaking regions to both winemakers and wine drinkers. The combination of location, soil, topography and climate—the terroir—is an important factor in determining the character of a wine and, in many cases, its quality."*

The traditional ideology of terroir is very clearly discussed in this passage. In this particular excerpt, the notion of traditional winemaking is made very explicit; however, the local aspect of this notion is somewhat downplayed. Here, as in many other narratives that describe wines and their terroir, wine is *personified* as having character,

and the land is deemed responsible for imbuing wine with particular characteristics. Additionally, this passage, much like the narratives of other wineries, provides a definition of terroir that strategically links the land of the winery to the quality wines it produces. The explicit overtone is that of traditional winemaking, while local terroir and the history of the land must be inferred from the definition provided.

A passage on the website of Sprucewood Shores also defines terroir:

> *"The creation of excellent wine starts in the vineyard. The French have coined the term "terroir" to define the factors that have an impact on the unique taste of each wine. These factors are the specific compilation of soil conditions, the trellising method used, the amount of precipitation, the proximity to the moderating influence of bodies of water, the intensity of heat units and the length of time for growing and maturing the grapes."*

Through a form of *denotation*, the notion of terroir is seen as involving the methods of growing grapes and proximity to water, as well as the climate and soil. Thus, this message pertains explicitly to global traditions that value terroir based wine making. There is also an explicit reference to the "French" aspect of terroir, which further indicates continuity with the traditions of this Old World wine producing region. However, less explicit is the reliance upon local geological history for providing the "bodies of water" and "length of time for growing" that influence grape growing.

Yet another passage on the Cave Springs website offers a further explanation of the concept of terroir:

> *"Great wines come from great vineyards. As winegrowers, our goal is to honor the rich, expressive character of our vineyards, and to craft wines that capture the essential essence—the terroir—that defines our land."*

The key theme of this passage again relates to traditional values of terroir and indicates that the role of the winegrower is to "capture the essential essence" of the vineyard in the wines that are produced. Further, we see the notion of the "craft" of winemaking. Such references to winemaking as a craft, and especially to wines as handcrafted, are highly prevalent throughout the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries, and they highlight traditional conceptions of winemakers as artisans who, through labourious methods, create quality wines by hand. However, the role of terroir is not diminished by the efforts of the winemaker; indeed, the winemaker is often seen, as here, merely as bringing out the qualities of the land that are already inherent within the grapes.

Another way that a small group of Ontario wineries describes their terroir is through the more recently coined term, "somewhereness." Despite the fact that this term is often related to a New World sensibility which takes into account the variations in weather, climate, and history of the New World, the notion is inherently celebratory of the Old World notion of terroir. In fact, many of the newsletters and websites that use the term also use the notion of terroir to explain it.

For example, one Stratus newsletter uses a form of *denotation* to define somwhereness in terms of terroir:

> *"The elusive character of a vineyard in a bottle of wine — the influences of soil, location and climate — is often referred to as terroir.* Wine Spectator *columnist Matt Kramer brought this old-world notion to the new-world*

lexicon by coining the term, "somewhereness" in his book Making Sense of Wine.*"*

Here, we see the explicit reference to the traditional notion of terroir. However, also of note is the more implicit use of local history. In expressing commitment to the global mythology of terroir, one must necessarily reflect upon the local conditions of terroir. The notion of somewhereness involves a mixture of traditions from the Old World and local considerations of the location's soil and climate.

Both Tawse and Southbrook, among other wineries, use the notion of somewhereness rather than imagery and detailed description to portray their land and provide vivid depictions of the unique terroir of their wineries.. Southbrook uses a form of denotation provided by their director of winemaking to describe the term:

"somewhereness wines as time capsules - - the small, ethereal gifts of a carefully tended place and a fleeting moment in time. These wines are imprinted with the vineyard site and soil, the climate, the seasons, the vintage fluctuations and variations."

The explicit message of this passage connects to the Old World mythology of terroir, while at the same time relating to the local history of the land upon which these wines are grown. The reference to wines as a unique expression of place and time is quite similar to the ways in which other wineries portray their distinct terroir and wines. An example of this is provided by Tawse in one newsletter that again explicitly links the notion of terroir to somewhereness and describes an upcoming event:

"'Somewhereness' is an event focused on terroir (soil, exposition and microclimate) and the notion that a plot of soil plays a significant role in determining a wine's character."

Thus, the notion of somewhereness necessarily evokes the history behind the French term for terroir that is so integral to Old World winemaking.

Terroir symbolizes the particular essences of a region that are unique in time and place, as exemplified by a description of one wine in a Stratus newsletter:

> *"Announcing the 2007 Stratus Red Release! We are proud to offer you a wine that we believe defines a time and place like no other.* [It is] *Described as "somewhere between satin and velvet"[…]. The Stratus Vineyard is a ground-up piece of geological history. We have grown a limited amount of wine to ensure the concentration of flavours that you have come to expect from your investment in Stratus. The return is a wine that expresses the diversity and age of our vines, complexity in our soils and the vagaries of Mother Nature — all adding up to be a very fine wine!"*

The geological history of this vineyard is explicitly referenced, and the Old World notion of terroir is implied through the connection to geology and the production of fine wine that "defines a time and place like no other." Further, fine wine is portrayed as being created from vines, soils, and Mother Nature, which emphasizes traditional, earthbound values while implicitly downplaying the role of the winemaker. This passage uses *metaphor* and *personification* to provide an expression of terroir. Time and place are symbolically defined by this red wine, and they work to metaphorically align the soils of the region and the vines of the winery to the character of the wine itself. In personifying nature, the earth and climate are attributed erratic and Motherhood qualities, two traditional characteristics that are often relied upon to describe the variability of weather and the providing nature of Earth. In essence, these depictions of terroir allow readers to

visualize themselves experiencing the unique aspects of place and time that the traditional notion of terroir represents. Another theme that is found in this passage is that of rarity, indicated by the mention of a "limited amount of wine," which refers to Old World values of low yields and limited production of fine wines; it also implies the status of this wine by alluding to it as a "very fine wine".

Role of Earthbound and Laboursome Methods

The role of earthbound and hand crafted winemaking techniques is often alluded to by Ontario wineries. Both in newsletters and on websites, wineries tend to detail the labourious, hands on methods of growing and harvesting grapes. Such references implicitly rely upon Old World notions of terroir and commitment to the expression of the land in the creation of quality wines. While some Ontario wineries, particularly in earlier newsletters, describe the work associated with wine making as grueling drudgery, most wineries describe the work associated with traditional methods, including hand harvesting, as motivated by passion and a dedication to quality. For example, an older newsletter of 13th Street described grape growing as follows:

> *"First of all, let me be blunt, there is no romance in growing grapes, just a lot of hard work consisting of a series of repetitive tasks that typically have to be completed within a narrow window of opportunity. Why do we do it? I guess because it is very satisfying at the end of the day to look back on what you have achieved, whether it is pruning a row of grapes or cutting the grass in the vineyard. We view the vineyard as an extension of our garden and continue to feel challenged by the prospect of growing the best grapes we can."*

While describing the process of growing grapes as lacking in romance, this passage still portrays Old World values implicitly as the owners are depicted as satisfied with their work. The explicit message of this selection is that grape growing is hard work, while the more implicit idea is that this hard work is pleasurable. Despite the depiction of this work as laboursome and less than romantic, this passage uses *hypophora* to raise and answer a question that readers will perhaps ask, and at the same time *characterize* the winemakers as dedicated to growing quality grapes. The motivation behind partaking in the "series of repetitive tasks" is the satisfaction achieved after labouring to grow the "best grapes we can." Most other wineries tend to instead portray the more romantic side of grape growing and winemaking.

On many occasions, readers of newsletters are invited to get involved with the work that goes into harvesting and are urged to take part in exciting opportunities to experience the traditions involved in wine making. In one newsletter from Flat Rock, readers are invited to partake in the exciting activities of the Grape Stomp:

> *"Harvest is a busy and exciting time, and this is your chance to experience it! Roll up your pants and make wine the old fashioned way. Book now, spaces are filling up fast..."*

In this passage, *identification* is used to offer readers a chance to take part in the creation of a wine by performing the traditional method of grape stomping. The winery is *characterized* as excited at the prospects of the harvest and to share this busy time with readers, "the old fashioned way." Invitations like this one extend the enjoyment of hard work to readers by offering the chance to partake in various events around the winery. Flat Rock also invites their newsletter audience to join in similar activities:

> *"As with every fall there are always many things to experience at Flat Rock Cellars. Please take the time to truly immerse yourself in the joys of harvest. It's what truly motivates all of us at Flat Rock Cellars."*

Together, these passages characterize the winery as enjoying the hard work associated with the harvest the season so much that they want readers to join in the enjoyment and excitement.

In a passage on the website for Henry of Pelham, Paul Speck is quoted as saying:

> *"Perhaps everyone became a knowledge worker in the 1990's* [sic]*, but we have always connected to our roots, what you might call "Green Collar" work. Hard work."*

Here, the explicit theme is family history, as demonstrated in "we have always connected to our roots." There is another, more implicit theme of Old World values and local history as the family commitment to hard work despite the local trends of the time is referenced. This passage characterizes the Speck family as having a heritage grounded in hard work and farming, and it does so further in the following quote which uses denotation to define viticulture:

> *""Viticulture" is a scientific word for "grape farming." And there is no question that we are in the business of farming first."*

In providing this brief definition of viticulture for audiences, the family history and winery are also aligned with farming. Further, by providing this definition to audiences, readers are also given important vocabulary in the discursive repertoire of wine which emphasizes the naturalness and earthboundedness of the techniques used by this winery (Beverland, 2005).

The team members of Henry of Pelham are also characterized on their website as hard working and dedicated:

> *"Choosing not to live the life of quiet contemplation, Paul and brothers Matt and Daniel, planted the early vineyards…Matt began work at Henry of Pelham Family Estate Winery in the early 1980s. He planted, posted, wired and grew 65 acres of vinifera and vinifera hybrid vineyards along with brothers Paul and Daniel…."*

The reference to local family history is straightforward as the start of the family estate winery is narrated in these excerpts. Another theme of Old World values is suggested as well; the commitment to hard work, rather than "quiet contemplation," and the references to the work that had to be undertaken to create the winery are examples of traditional values. These passages highlight the winery's characteristics of action, rather than contemplation, and refer to the efforts and work of the two founders in planting, posting, and wiring early vineyards. These passages contrast "knowledge" and "green" work, positioning "green" as equivalent to "hard" work. The development of the vineyard into one of the region's finest is attributed to this commitment and dedication to hard work.

Yet another quote, this one from a newsletter, invites readers to take part in the hard work of harvest at the winery and help create a vintage:

> *"Put your boots on the ground and join Paul, Matt and myself as we hand-pick fruit from the 2007 vintage. Live the life of a winemaker for a day and later drink the wine you helped to create. For this 3rd year event we invite you to join the harvest of another great vintage in Niagara's Short Hills Bench on the morning of September 24th."*

This passage is related to local history and Old World traditional methods. Local history is apparent in the mention of the sub-appellation and precise location of Short Hills Bench, and that the vintage harvested from there encapsulates the specific time and space. The vintage itself refers to the traditional notion of terroir, whereby wines encapsulate a particular moment in space and time and represent the conditions of terroir in a specific year and region. The rhetorical device of metaphor is used in the saying "Put your boots on the ground," wherein the boots are symbolizing the hard work of hand harvesting in the vineyard. Identification is also employed, as readers are invited to join in the creation of a vintage and be a part of an essentially unique time and place.

Hand Harvesting

Within the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries, it is often noted that wineries use minimal amounts of technology in winemaking, relying instead on traditional and laborious hands-on grape growing and winemaking techniques. Hand pruning, tying, picking, sorting, and bottling tend to be described as essential to outstanding results.

One Flat Rock newsletter nicely demonstrates this attention to hands-on methods in the creation of one wine:

> *"It's been a 4 year love affair with this wine, let us just say that it involved a lot of hand holding (read: hand picking, hand sorting, hand bottling, hand labeling) but it was certainly worth all the effort because we think the result is outstanding."*

By emphasizing the work done by hand, this winery is appealing to global traditions of authentic handcrafted wines. More implicitly, this selection works to characterize the winery as dedicated to the hard work involved in developing outstanding wine.

On the website for Cave Springs, one passage details the efforts that go into crafting wines that uniquely express the land:

> *"To achieve this goal, we apply meticulous viticultural practices to ensure overall vine health, full, flavourful ripening and exceptional fruit quality. These techniques are tailored to individual grape varietals and vineyard blocks, and include such practices as higher density planting and deep soil tillage, which are utilized to encourage root penetration and mineral uptake by the vines. On the trellis, vertical shoot positioning, leaf removal and cluster thinning serve to concentrate both the extract and the flavours in the berries. Finally, we selectively hand-harvest at the ideal moment of ripeness so that our wines embody the richness, depth and sophistication that have become the hallmarks of fruit from Cave Spring Vineyard."*

This passage obviously links to the historical theme of Old World tradition and incorporates local history as well. The events of hand harvesting and the various methods of growing that are described entail traditional cultivation techniques that have been employed by winemakers for centuries. Further, there is a reference to the notion of terroir in the description of wines that "embody…Cave Spring Vineyard." These various factors of grape growing and the earthbound techniques all belong to the essence that is terroir, and hand harvesting "at the ideal moment" is an important part of the process. In referencing the notion of terroir vaguely, there is also a minor emphasis on the role that

local history and geological aspects play in combination with these traditional techniques to enhance wine quality.

One more quote from the Legends website helps to further depict the emphasis that Ontario wineries tend to place on creating traditional handcrafted wines:

> *"Crafted With Refinement*
>
> *Our Winemaker has married his passion with exceptional talent to develop compelling wines of outstanding quality. They are a renaissance of old-world character and quintessential craftsmanship, rich and full-bodied yet finely balanced. As steward of an intimate ritual, he carefully determines the best varietals for the sandy lakeside soil, and oversees the planting of vineyards that will be the birthplace of great vintages of the future. Through each stage, his artisan's hand selects, inspects, and sorts; choosing only the best grapes for a process grounded in traditional wine-making practices. A master whose passion is to create legendary wines from Canada's Niagara Peninsula and share them with the world."*

The connection of this selection to Old World traditions is straightforward and is mentioned specifically as the aims of the winemaker are to recreate "old-world character" in his wines. Further, the winemaker is *characterized* as a passionate, meticulous artisan of handcrafted wines. The role of hand selecting, inspecting, and sorting is seen as a vital part of the winemaker's ability to choose "the best grapes for a process grounded in traditional wine-making practices." The creation of high quality, crafted wines is seen as a process that requires attention to detail and hard work. The theme of local history is implied as the designs of the winemaker include making "legendary wines from Canada's

Niagara Peninsula"; the notions of local terroir and geological history are latent but still visible in this passage.

The Role of Nature/ Passivity on the Part of Humans

The finding that some wineries portray their efforts as passive, particularly on websites, was quite surprising due to its apparent contradiction to the hard work that is often described as a necessary part of traditional methods of winemaking. Interestingly, wineries that characterize themselves as passive nurturers of fruit often detail the labour that goes into creating quality wines, portraying themselves as dedicated to the hard work that creates quality wines. Furthermore, many of the references to passivity are used in conjunction with narratives that portray wineries as stewards of the land who partake in sustainable efforts. Such attempts, while seeming to counter the theme of hard work commonly used within narratives of Ontario wineries, refer to the same earthbound notions upon which terroir and traditional grape growing are founded. In underemphasizing the role of the winemaker, the earth, terroir, and grape vines are attributed a much more active role in the creation of quality, world-class wines.

Fielding Estate is characterized on their website as playing a more passive role as they watch their wines grow and develop:

> *"For this energetic couple, Fielding Estate Winery is a labour of love. Curtis and Heidi enjoy the variety of challenges as well as the joys that come their way each day, and the satisfaction they get from watching something grow until it fully matures at the tasting bar."*

Again we see the continuity with Old World traditional values in the description of the winery owners enjoying the hard work that goes along with growing wine. Further, the

notion of terroir is implied in the process of turning grapes to wine and is emphasized over the inputs of the winemaker. The description of winemaking for this winery is as a "labour of love" that involves many challenges, hinting at the hard work that is undertaken to face these challenges. However, the winemakers are also portrayed as simply watching as fruit ripens and matures as wines. In this way, the winery is *characterized* as both engaging in hard work and as taking a more passive role in the winemaking process.

The website for Henry of Pelham, which, as noted previously, details their family heritage of dedicated hard work to create quality wines, also refers to human passivity:

> *"Great Wine is Grown, Not Made*
>
> *While this has become somewhat of a cliché it still describes what is the most important element in making great wine. The winemaker is an assistant to the fruit. He helps and nurtures the fruit as a teacher nurtures a student. Similar to a teacher, the winemaker tries to bring out the best characteristics that the fruit has to offer without forcing it."*

The explicit emphasis of the selection is on Old World traditions. The Old World mythology of terroir is evoked in describing grapes as already inherently imbued with particular characteristics that simply have to be nurtured by a capable winemaker. By using *metaphor* to compare the winemaker to a nurturing teacher, the grape is ascribed a more pivotal role in the creation of wine, and the winemaker a less principal, but still important role in the wine making process. In all, this excerpt works to characterize the winemaker as more passively bringing out what the grape already has to offer.

A Henry of Pelham newsletter also characterizes their commitment to traditional values and techniques:

> *"Hand-crafted wines are better than perfect, they're beautiful. Much of the work that makes wine of character – wine of quality that tastes like they came from a place and a time – must still be done by hand. It's been said that wine gets it's* [sic] *character from the soil, it's personality from the vintage, it's quality from the influence of man."*

As before, we see the homage paid to Old World traditional values with its references to the contribution of the land to the quality of the wine. Using the rhetorical device of *metaphor*, the winemaker is described as an assistant who simply nurtures the fruit like a teacher does a student. Downplaying the effort and hard work that the winemakers elsewhere describe to characterize themselves, they are here instead characterized as playing a more passive part in winemaking.

This is also apparent in a passage on the website for Norman Hardie:

> *"The vines are from France. The limestone soil is in Southern Ontario. The taste and the nose are from me. I invite you to experience my experience."*

The prominent theme, as in the previous quotes, is the Old World traditional mythology of terroir and its hefty contribution to the winemaking process. Local history is a theme that is also prominent, and it is implied in the creation of the soil composition of Southern Ontario. This passage portrays the winemaker in a more passive light, but also *characterizes* him as committed to the full expression of terroir as is indicated in the reference to the value of the vines "from France," an explicit and physical expression of continuity with this traditional growing region and the limestone soil, alongside his

activities of providing the nose and taste. As in the passages that refer to passive efforts toward sustainability, these references simply portray continuity with Old World efforts of expressing terroir.

One narrative on the Cattail Creek website works to *characterize* the winemakers as trying to do a minimal amount of interfering with the natural characteristics expressed in grapes:

> *"We are traditionalists when it comes to winemaking. Our source of inspiration comes from the vineyards as we take the unique qualities of each individual block of grapes and works with it to bring out the essence of the vineyard. By working with the grapes to allow them to develop into wines reflective of their upbringing we highlight the best of each variety rather than manipulating the grapes to become a predetermined product. Each wine is handled as little as possible in order to retain the delicate characteristics which make each grape distinct. This makes each wine produced by Cattail Creek Estate Winery unique to our vineyards."*

This commitment to tradition is highly evident in this extract. This commitment is further communicated in the reference to terroir as wine is made to "bring out the essence of the vineyard." The use of *imagery* to detail the traditional winemaking process helps readers almost visualize the winemakers hard at work in bringing out the "delicate characteristics." In noting that wines are "handled as little as possible" in an effort to attain distinction, the winemakers are attributed a much more passive part in the creation of unique wines.

Another connection between this sort of passivity on the part of the winemaker and quality of wine is made on the Reif website:

> *"Roberto's winemaking philosophy of 'letting nature make wine' married perfectly with Klaus's belief that "[...]today we are growing wine in the vineyard…" These beliefs, partnered with a commitment to produce predominantly estate bottled wines from our 125 acre vineyard are the cornerstone of the quality and integrity of Reif Estate wines."*

The practices of winemakers are quite literally characterized as "letting nature make the wine," and are portrayed as being the "cornerstone of quality and integrity." The very active role of the winemaker that we see in other passages is obscured by the notion of simply allowing nature to take its course rather than emphasizing the amount of effort and work that is put towards the creation of world class wines. This taps into the themes of global traditions by emphasizing the important role of terroir and nature in the winemaking process.

Knowledge of When and How to Drink Wine

Diatyposis, or a strategy used to make recommendations or provide useful advice to an audience, is used frequently, particularly within the newsletters of wineries as wineries suggest and describe foods that complement the wines they produce. This strategy is used as wine and food pairings and seasonal and event wine matches are recommended to readers, representing cultural and traditional understandings of when, where, and how to drink wine. Traditional pairings are often consistent with regional dishes that are served in the regions from which particular wine and grape varietals originate. For example, Henry of Pelham details an upcoming event at the winery in one newsletter:

"In person from Toronto, John Petcoff from Oyster Boy will be on hand to shuck fresh oysters paired to our perfect "oyster wines" including Sauvignon Blanc."

While Sauvignon Blanc can be found throughout France and worldwide, it is historically associated with the Bordeaux region of France where both stream and sea fishing have represented important industries. The natural oyster beds lining the coasts of France have led to the inclusion of oysters as ingredients in many traditional regional dishes, and they offer an authentic pairing with wines like Sauvignon Blanc.

A similar pairing is suggested by one Malivoire newsletter:

"For oysters, mussels and other shellfish, it's Melon. Malivoire pioneered the introduction of Melon to Canada. This is the same variety used for the highly popular Muscadet wines of France's Loire valley."

The Muscat grape is one of the oldest grape varietals in the world and was originally shipped from Frontignon in South West France. Due to its location along the Atlantic coast, there is a pronounced maritime influence in the region, and mussels and other shellfish are readily available and represent staples in regional dishes. With regard to the continuity between the introduction of Melon and Loire Valley that is presented by Malivoire, it is also important to see the discontinuity with Canadian winemaking history that is presented as Malivoire separated itself from Canada's past to be the first to bring Melon to Canada.

In a newsletter detailing an upcoming serving at the winery, Malivoire shares some of the food and wine pairings they may be presenting:

> *"A variety of intriguing foods will be selected and prepared specifically to match each of the wine groups. Some sample pairings could be - Canadian Cheese and Courtney Gamay, Braised Lamb and Pinot Noir, Lobster Chowder and Moira Vineyard Chardonnay, and traditional Cassoulet from Castelnaudary and Old Vines Foch."*

Pinot Noir is associated with the Burgundy region of France where livestock, especially cattle, pork, sheep, and goats, and agriculture have represented traditional industries since the Neolithic Age. With lamb being farmed in abundance, its appearance in regional dishes is common, and its pairing with Pinot Noir is not surprising. Old Vines Foch is made from the Marechal Foch hybrid varietal that is thought to have originated in the Alsace region of France. Further inland than other coastal regions, livestock and agriculture are important sources of food in the region. Thus, the beans and duck, pork or lamb that are combined in traditional cassoulet from Castelnaudary are regionally widely available ingredients with which to pair wines produced from Marechal Foch grapes, especially considering the abundance of viable countryside in which goose and duck prevail and game has been hunted for centuries.

In each newsletter sent out by Creekside, readers are provided with a recipe and appropriate wine pairing. For example, a spring newsletter pairs fennel and grapefruit salad with Sauvignon Blanc or Riesling:

> *"Mother Nature may not be quite sure what season it is, but we here at the Creek have had enough of snow and are cheering on spring. To help flip into warm weather mode, here's a zesty full-flavoured salad that we recommend pairing with our Sauvignon Blanc or our Butler's Grant Riesling. By sheer*

force of will (and awesome salads) we'll drag spring in, kicking and screaming if necessary."

White wines are traditionally paired with warmer weather because they are lighter, and they are often served as chilled refreshments (Jackson, 2009). The lighter weights of these white wines are also paired nicely with salad, which is lighter than other dishes.

A newsletter from Tawse also makes a pairing suggestion:

"In addition, Tawse Winery is releasing for the first time two stellar wine selections that answer all of your entertaining needs. Our rich Robyn's Block Chardonnay is the perfect pairing for your festive turkey dinner and our crisp Quarry Road Chardonnay works well with all your cocktail canapes!"

Chardonnay has been traditionally paired with white meats and less delicate seafoods rather than red meats, again due to its lighter weight, but also due to the buttery oakiness of chardonnays; the wine and food pairing suggested here is thus consistent with historical food pairings.

II. Local History

Texts that related to local history used narratives involving the past events of a specific geographic location in Ontario. These depictions of the past presupposed either physical events, indicative of pre-historic geological events, or cultural happenings of the past in the area. Geologic events of the Ontario region are mostly employed to portray unique aspects of terroir, which links to Old World traditions of wine making. Cultural events, conveyed less frequently than geologic events, are often described in terms of family history in the region and events that occurred in the past at specific locations.

Local Terroir and Geological History

This theme of local history can involve educating consumers and other audiences about the geographical history of the region. The emphasis is on explaining how certain events during prehistoric times created the kind of soil structure and mineral composition that putatively makes the region conducive to not only excellent winemaking, but also to the production of unique wine styles that cannot be reproduced elsewhere.

The importance of terroir in the region can be inferred from this passage on the website for the Wine Council of Ontario:

> *"**Consumers are interested in where their wines come from…***
>
> *When it comes to great wines, it's all about the grapes - the soils they grow in, the climate and the topography. It is these factors (often called "terroir") that influence the flavour and distinctive characteristics of a wine.*
>
> *Discerning consumers are becoming more knowledgeable and interested in the origin of the grapes in the wines they love. A few years ago, Ontario VQA and Ontario's winemakers decided the time had come to take a hard look at the Niagara Peninsula. "*

This selection, from a council dedicated to the growth and sustainability of the Ontario industry, highlights the commitment of Ontario winemakers to terroir. In its emphasis on the local aspect of terroir, themes of both Old World tradition and local history are displayed. By explicitly using the term terroir, this narrative indicates continuity with the global mythology surrounding this French term. Further, this passage indicates a shift in consumer knowledge and interest in the wine industry and the unique characteristics that particular plots of land have. This represents an implicit reference to local cultural events

that have allowed this shift to occur, such as the more recent legitimate practices of wine producers of the region. On the whole, this passage indicates that there has been a shift in the industry that involves an emphasis on local terroir.

The terroir mythology is described in a slightly different way than seen previously with individual wineries that emphasize a more local aspect of terroir, but do not necessarily employ the term. For example, in a newsletter Angels Gate describes the unique terroir of a wine series called Mountainview:

> *" ... This name represents the origin of the wines, a place that we are honoured to grow our grapes, the Beamsvile Bench. Mountainview speaks to our location which is nestled against the escarpment while having a commanding view of Lake Ontario in the distance. These two geographical features create the ideal conditions for growing premium vinifera grapes."*

Here, the local and geological history of the vineyard is amplified. While the actual traditional terminology of terroir is not used, the mythology behind the term is, as the unique geographical features of the vineyard are described and accredited with "growing premium vinifera grapes." Again the link between this specific plot of land and the quality of the wine grown upon it is made, and the wine is imbued with the qualities of the land. The decision to name the wine after the place implicitly *characterizes* a commitment to the unique terroir that contributes to, and is defined by, the wine. Through the *imagery* used in this passage, readers can nearly picture themselves absorbing the beautiful scenery of the vineyard while sipping on a glass of this wine. In all, this passage indicates a more local history in its invocation of terroir mythology,

rather than explicitly referring to the traditional term itself, by relaying that this wine embodies the unique geological features of the vineyard.

This next passage from the website for Ancient Coast demonstrates a somewhat different rhetorical use of local and geological history in the imagery of terroir it engages:

> *"Many years ago, a massive inland sea, larger than the great lakes, covered most of Ontario. Over time, the sea receded and left behind a legacy of corals and crustaceans, rich limestone soils, the Niagara Escarpment and Lake Ontario. Ancient Coast Wines are named after the Niagara Escarpment, which was once the coast of this ancient sea. While this sea is long forgotten, it created the natural conditions that make the Niagara Peninsula a great wine growing region. The unique soil composition along with the Niagara Escarpment's rare microclimate has provided Ontario grape growers with the perfect place for growing vines. Ancient Coast was created in May 2000 as an embodiment and celebration of the geological history of the Niagara Escarpment. Its VQA wines are made from grapes grown exclusively in the rich fertile soils of the Niagara Peninsula."*

The ancient local geological history of the land is the underlying theme of this excerpt, and prehistoric events are recognized as creating the necessary setting for premium grape growing and winemaking. Along with historical renditions of forgotten geology, local history is implied in its description of the land evolving to create the Niagara Peninsula as a winegrowing region. Again, while the actual traditional terminology of terroir is not explicitly noted, it is invoked as these geological conditions that allow for the production of great wines are described. This passage relies upon geological history to link between

the winery and ancient events. It describes ancient geologic events as providing the conditions necessary for rare expression of terroir in wines created from the "rich fertile soils" of the vineyard. Altogether, this website excerpt links the wine produced in current growing conditions to prehistoric geological history; this ultimately connects to the global tradition of terroir and earthbound winemaking, which place value on specific plots of land and the historical conditions that imbue wine with its unique characteristics.

Another website passage, this one from Cave Spring, details the role of ancient glacial events in the creation of their distinctive wines:

> *"The geologic history of the Niagara Peninsula is the foundation of our region's finest wines. The forces of sun, wind and water, combined with the passage of time, formed the area's ancient bedrock more than 450 million years ago. Deposited by continental ice drifts over the past 100,000 years, our glacial till soils are unique in the winegrowing world. A complex blend of local sedimentary stone and metamorphic rock from the world-renowned Canadian Shield, these soils help define the distinctive character of Cave Spring wines."*

Again, the emphasis on local geological history is of note. The lack of explicit reference to terroir does not preclude the invocation of its mythology as the ancient local history is ascribed the role of initiating the circumstances that the "distinctive character of Cave Spring wines" is necessitated upon. The *imagery* that is routinely used by wineries in many descriptions of terroir, both within newsletters and on websites, allows readers to almost experience, through vivid detail, the sights, sounds, smells, and feelings of being in the vineyard.

A fairly common pattern among wineries using local geological history and notions of terroir was their references to the similarities between the Ontario growing region and the growing regions of areas traditionally associated with winemaking. The website for Grape Growers of Ontario describes the local terroir as continuous with that of other regions that produce world class wine:

> *"Niagara is located between 41-degrees and 44-degrees north latitude. Niagara is on the same latitudinal band as Provence and Langeudoc-Roussillon in France, the Chianti Classico region in Italy and the Rioja region in Spain. In North America, the same latitudinal band runs through Oregon State's wine region, California's Mendocino Valley at its southernmost border, and Washington State's Yakima Valley at its northernmost border. Monthly temperatures in Niagara are similar to those in Bordeaux and Burgundy in France. The moderating effects of Lakes Ontario and Erie, and the protective influence of the Niagara Escarpment, creates* [sic] *an area of moderate temperatures during spring and summer growing seasons. Its rich and fertile soils and unique microclimate are suitable for growing Vitis vinifera grapes, making Niagara a prime grape-growing region. Niagara has 13,600 acres under vine. The grape growing area stretches from Niagara-on-the-Lake in the east to Grimsby in the west."*

Although not explicitly referring to the ancient geological events that occurred locally to create this unique region, this passage does compare the terroir of Ontario to various noteworthy wine regions. Further, there is an emphasis on the growing capacities for vinifera varietals, which are globally associated with fine wines. The mention of the

moderate temperatures of the microclimate works to counteract perceptions of the area as too cold for suitable grape growing conditions. Generally, this passage indicates to audiences that this wine region is not only suitable for grape growing, but is as ideal as world renowned regions for the unique characteristics that it can impart upon the fine wines created in it.

An excerpt from the Sprucewood Shores website demonstrates this:

> *"Situated on the same latitude as the Mediterranean, the Lake Erie North Shore and Pelee Island wine region* [sic] *benefits from their proximity to Lake Erie, offering a unique maritime climate in a continental location. Some of the finest vinifera and French Hybrid wine grapes are produced by world class viticulturalists in this unique location which offers ideal soil conditions, longer sun hours and greater heat units than anywhere else in Canada…This paradise of wine growing in the midst of the largest concentration of fresh water (The Great Lakes) in the world is as far south as Northern California, the Tuscany Region of Italy, and the great Bordeaux and Burgundy wine regions of France."*

The growing region described here is described through the use of imagery, which allows readers to visualize the terroir through the depiction of the sun and proximity of the lake. The local geological conditions leading the creation of this microclimate are not explicitly mentioned but are hinted at. There is a more obvious connection made between the local land conditions and those of Old World wine regions like the Mediterranean, Bordeaux, Burgundy, and Tuscany. Such references compete against notions that Canada is too cold to grow fine wines, and these passages use warm words such as south and sun

to make connections between local terroir, Old World wine regions, and world class wines.

A slightly different reference to local events of past geology appears on the Henry of Pelham website:

> *"Simply making a good wine is not good enough. We want our wines to be distinctly Niagara, distinctly Henry of Pelham. They must represent the soil, the climate, and the grape variety as it is grown and made in Niagara."*

The predominant, although perhaps not obvious, theme of this passage is local geological history, but it also refers to the global mythology of terroir. Local history is implicated in the mention of the distinctive soils and climate of the Niagara regions and the understanding that centuries of geologic events worked to bring this terroir into existence. The notion of terroir is also fairly implicit but unmistakable in this winery's goal to create wines that are distinctly from a particular place and that represent wine "as it is grown and made in Niagara".

Local Cultural History

Some wineries attempt to use the region's local historical events and culture to tell interesting stories about their winemaking or simply to distinguish themselves from their competition. For example, one winery, *Organized Crime*, explains on its website that it derives its name from a famous feud between rival Mennonite denominations that took place in the 1800s, and another winery documents and emphasizes the 150 years of farming by the owners' family. Other connections to local and cultural aspects of history involve the telling of histories of buildings and architecture.

Historic sites, events, and buildings

In a caption for their website illustration, one vineyard of Stoney Ridge is described as rich in history:

> *"This beautiful property, bordered by ravines on either side, is steeped in local history. Originally owned by the Ball family of Ball's Falls fame in the mid-1800's*[sic]*, it was the site of numerous agricultural developments over the years. At one point the property was residence to an infamous local hermit who lived in a derelict hut cut off from the local community for decades…Cuesta, Spanish for hill or escarpment, is a perfect site for vineyard operations. Surrounded by rare Carolinian forest and sloping 50 feet from South to North, this property is picturesque as well as functional. The vineyard has excellent natural drainage as well as a perfect soil composition ranging from fine sandy loam to loam with every type of the Chinguacoucy group of soil compositions in between."*

Through the use of *imagery* to detail this picturesque vineyard, aspects of local history and Old World tradition are evoked. The relationship between the vineyard and the famous regional Ball family and the elusive "hermit who lived in a derelict hut" work to characterize this winery as having a unique history. Further, there is a reference to the escarpment and surrounding scenery, which touches on the global mythology of terroir, as do the more explicit references to unique soil composition of the area. There is also another slight reference to the Old World wine regions in the use of the Spanish word cuesta to name the vineyard.

One such reference can be found on the 13th Street website in their description of

the history of the stones used to build the amphitheatre and walls of the winery:

> *"The stones which were utilized to build the stone walls and the amphitheater found on the winery grounds came from the foundation of a* [sic] *one of the earliest barns built in Niagara. The barn was built by the Grobb family around 1800 on a farm on Maple Grove Road between Vineland and Beamsville. Quite possibly it was built even earlier as the house was built in 1800 […] The Grobbs were Pennsylvanian Dutch Mennonites who left the U.S. for a new life in Upper Canada following the Revolutionary War. The barn […] was very skillfully and thoughtfully built.[…] The part wall which is near the red shed is a reproduction of how the whole foundation under the support beams looked…The stones are field stones from the local area. They are comprised primarily of sedimentary rock primarily limestone, but there are igneous rocks such as granite as well…"*

The first part of this selection describes the barn that the stones were originally used to construct, calling it "one of the earliest" in the region. This link to the early local history of the Dutch Mennonites, which is also noted by other wineries, provides a sense of heritage to the location of the winery, and follows the history of this place from beginning to present. The stones act as a sort of representation of this heritage and as a narrative link to these histories. Imagery is used to describe the barn and the original collection of rocks in such a way that readers are able to envision the construction and collection for themselves, which allows them to partake in the historical journey that has been built into this winery. There is also a brief reference to local terroir when the

composition of the rocks is mentioned, which allows one to surmise that the surrounding soils are similarly structured.

A website passage from Henry of Pelham tells of a tavern that has been in the family for generations, after which a detailed history follows:

> *"FEW FAMILIES IN ONTARIO CAN BOAST the fact that an existing tavern built 150 years ago is still in the family. One such tavern is the Henry Smith Tavern or Mountainview Inn located where three Townships, Louth, Pelham and Thorold, come together. Henry Smith owned and operated the tavern/inn from on or about the year 1842 to February 10, 1856 when he died. This is the story of that inn…"*

The themes that are present in this excerpt are local and family history. These themes are clearly overlapping as the family and local history are traced together using the tavern and inn to symbolize that connection between present and past. This implicitly indicates that this family venture has a long connection to the industry. Further, such a tracing of family and local heritage works to *characterize* both the family and the winery as distinct, as "few families in Ontario can boast" such a prominent connection with the past.

References to local winemaking history

In the few cases where the winemaking history of Ontario is explicitly referred to, most often this history is obscured or the value of the history is in some way minimized. This appears to be an effort to demonstrate discontinuity with a local history of poor winemaking. By decreasing the importance of this aspect of history, these narratives strive to emphasize the newer, more legitimate winemaking history in Ontario.

A website selection from Sprucewood Shores demonstrates one way of minimizing the poor local history:

> *"Our region saw the earliest establishment of commercial grape to wine production in the country. While there was an ebb during Prohibition and during the influx of the Tobacco Industry, there is no doubt that the industry has roared back into prominence with the creation of the VQA standard…"*

This is an interesting depiction of local cultural history that characterizes the winery as linked to the very early wine production events of the region. This selection refers to the fact that the industry as a whole was in a state of wane or "ebb" due to the Prohibition and the entrance of the tobacco industry. This explanation reduces the effect of the poor winemaking practices of the past, including the growing of labrusca instead of vinifera varietals, and pins responsibility for the decline of the industry on other cultural events occurring at the time. It is said that the industry did not again regain prominence until the introduction of VQA standards. This portrays the industry as once prominent, prior to the events mentioned in the passage, but ignores the fact that the global reputation of the Ontario wine industry was quite poor, not due to a simple "ebb," but due to various perceived illegitimate practices that had extended back generations.

A theme that was prominent in the newsletter and website coverage is the rejection, or obscuration, of the pre-1988 local history of Ontario winemaking. The history of winemaking in Ontario is often referred to as new when compared to more established wine making regions of Europe. An example of this appears in a Pillitterri newsletter:

> ***"****In the wine world, Canada, and more specifically Niagara, is a relatively young wine producing region. When compared to the likes of France, Italy,*

and Greece, all of which have hundreds or even thousands of years of wine making history under their belts, Canada has a mere 40 or so years of solid wine making roots to draw from. Where Niagara lacks in experience, we make up in creativity and flexibility in our wine making practices."

Interestingly, despite a winemaking history in Canada extending to the nineteenth century, credit is only given to the past forty years. This relatively young portrayal of history of wine production in Canada can be seen as a way of eradicating collective memories of poor quality wine production in Canada prior to the 1980s. Even the oldest wineries only make reference to the part of their winemaking history in Canada that falls within this timeframe, despite the fact that many draw on a family heritage of wine making dating sometimes centuries prior in more established, European wine regions. Thus, the eradication of the labrusca grape varietals (such as Concord), not found in established wine regions, that flourished and were dominant in the region until 1988 is widely celebrated as a turning point that signaled a commitment to quality winemaking. For example, wineries' representatives and other actors emphasized how far the industry has removed itself from such practices as making sweet wines from labrusca grapes or cheap, low quality sparkling wines that used to be commonplace in the region.

A passage on the Inniskillin website indicates, but does not explicitly mention, the poor state of the industry in its reference to a gap in the Ontario wine market:

"It's pure Niagara legend: The tale of the unlikely odd couple that went on to become two of the founding fathers of Canadian Wine. Karl Kaiser, the studious, Austrian-born chemist, and Donald Ziraldo, the young Italian Canadian agriculture graduate, both grew up with wine at the family dinner

> *table. While tasting Ontario Wines in the early 70's, they realized a gap existed in the premium market segment. They seized the opportunity to fill that gap and set out to break new ground to produce premium varietal wines from premium grapes grown in the Niagara Peninsula. Both Karl Kaiser and Donald Ziraldo believed their future in the wine business was dependent on using the Vitis vinifera grapes, the preferred family of grapes used to produce the fine wines in the great wine regions of the world. When sourcing these limited grapes became a challenge in the early 70's*[sic]*, Ziraldo took the lead and planted a vinifera vineyard which included Riesling, Chardonnay and Gamay and formed the quality base for Kaiser to work with."*

This excerpt contains themes of local history, family history, innovation, and adherence to Old World traditions. The founders of this winery are characterized as playing a legendary role in Niagara history; they noticed "a gap existed" and, in looking to fill this gap, they decided to plant European vinifera varietals. We can surmise that this gap refers to the poor winemaking history of Ontario and that it existed because grape growers were not cultivating acceptable wine varietals, and were instead growing the native labrusca varietals. We see that the innovative thinking of this team, in realizing that the future of winemaking was in vinifera varietals and pioneering their entry to the region, has been integral to the success of the winery. We also see a connection between the family histories of the founders and the Old World winemaking regions of Austria and Italy, which indicates a link to innovation in that this heritage helped establish them as the "founding fathers of Canadian wine".

One selection on the Malivoire website obscures the poor local history to a lesser extent:

> *"There is a widespread impression that Canadian viticulture and viniculture did not exist in a meaningful way before the late 1900s. True, early Canadian wine had little or no impact (or appeal) beyond its domestic market. What is not widely recognized is that the industry had been evolving here for generations.*
>
> *Native grape varieties were known to North America's earliest inhabitants and Canada's first commercial vineyard was established in 1811 when an emigrant from Germany, Johann Schiller, planted cuttings of local labrusca vines on his farm in what is now the city of Mississauga.*
>
> *Vineyards planted to native hybrids spread across southern Ontario through the mid-1800s but the cultivation of traditional wine grape varieties was not yet possible. North American pests and the Canadian climate's legendary adversity thwarted early efforts.*
>
> *The late 1940s saw the first Niagara plantings of European varieties. This had become feasible with the success of grape breeders who had learned how to graft vinifera vines to native North American roots, enabling the more delicate vinifera to withstand New World pests. Others had developed promising hybrid varieties by successfully crossing Old World and New World vines."*

Here, the winemaking past of the area is much more detailed, especially given the discussion of the actual events that changed the industry from being of poor reputation to

becoming world class. However, this poor history is still somewhat concealed by the explanation that growing the valued European grape varietals "was not yet possible" due to disease and resistance issues. While early efforts to grow these acceptable winemaking grapes were indeed "thwarted," grape growers were also not readily attempting to plant these types of grapes at that time. Most had fields of labrusca varietals and were largely unwilling to uproot their fields until the industry was completely threatened much later on. This depiction of local history perhaps presents a more romanticized version of the past, implying that after the 1940s, vinifera and hybrid varietals started the creation of a world class wine industry that relies upon crossing the Old World and New World.

On the Grape Growers of Ontario website, the history of the region and the board is outlined in a bit more detail:

> *"The Ontario Grape Growers' Marketing Board was organized in 1947. It was established to serve the needs and represent the interests of grape growers in their dealings with processors. For the first time, growers were ensured of a unified, minimum price for grapes. Growers also gained a voice in the grape and wine processing industry… At the time of formation, the grapes being grown were labrusca varieties, native to this region of North America. Although ideal for juice, preserves, and dessert and low alcohol wines, their lower sugar levels and higher acids are not suited for the lighter, and dry, table wines which today dominate the world of wines. But that was then…. In the ensuing years, the nature of the grape and wine industry has changed dramatically…Between 1989 and 1991, growers removed 8,000*

> *acres of labrusca and hybrid vines and, over time, replaced them with Vitis vinifera vines, traditional European varieties. As part of the federal/provincial Grape Adjustment Program, this replacement program was designed to remove grape varieties deemed surplus to industry needs, and move forward with varieties suited for the higher quality table wines that consumers were demanding. At the same time, labruscas were banned from all table wines made in Ontario."*

Essentially, this passage is working to communicate the impression that local winemaking history was fairly negligible until the founding of this board. Instead, the history of the grape varietals is delineated and described as unsuitable for quality wines. The actual practices of winemakers, which were, at the time, largely concerned with the production of alcohol for alcohol's, rather than quality's, sake, are still obscured in this excerpt. In taking a closer look at the passage, we can see that it took a good forty years before the labrusca varietals were replaced with European vinifera varietals. The events between the creation of this board and the time when vinifera varietals began to be planted and labrusca varietals were banned are not discussed and are omitted in such a way that allows the explicit message of this passage to focus on the evolution of winemaking in Ontario.

III. Family History

Family histories rely on coherent narratives of the past of a family, often tracing the lineage of the winery owners or founders. The narratives are largely used to explain who these owners and founders, and in essence the winery, are in terms of family histories and heritage. These usually work to provide an identity for the winery by aligning family and

winery history to tell a story that characterizes wineries largely as passionate and committed to winemaking.

Family heritage is often referred to in both newsletters and in websites, but is described in much more detail in the website material. Stories of winery history often rely on family histories of farming and grape growing, particularly in Old World wine regions such as the Alsace, Burgundy, or Bordeaux regions of France. This use of history aligns families and vines through stories of family heritage and works to *characterize* wineries and their owners as rooted in Old World traditions. Furthermore, using family heritage provides a sense of context and links the story of a winery to a history that often extends several generations into the past.

A website selection for Angel's Gate traces the family lineage of a winemaker in such a way:

> *"... As a first generation Canadian, with Italian heritage, I grew up with wine being a part of daily life. My Grandfather, Amedeo Piccinini was a successful commercial winegrower in Italy, and only left for Canada with his wife Pasqualina, and my young mother after Phylloxera took its toll on his 150 hectare vineyard in 1958. At that time, he was nearing 60 years old, and 4 of his children were already here, so instead of replanting, which the all of Europe had to do, he traded the vines on the mountain, for the downtown city scape of Windsor's Little Italy. We've come round in a perfect circle. So I guess you can say wine runs in my blood."*

This passage uses themes of Old World traditions, family history, and local history to characterize a winemaker. This winemaker traces his roots to his grandfather, who was a

winemaker in Italy, a traditional winemaking region. He details the plight of his family and their journey to Canada, wherein the winemaking dream was reignited in him. This dream of his grandfather is aligned with his own commitment to winemaking; he says "wine runs in my blood" and symbolically links the efforts of his ancestors to his winemaking practices of the present.

Another example of this link between family and Old World history is found on the website for Cave Springs, which retells the family history:

> *"The history of the Pennachetti family in the Niagara region began in the early 1920s when Giuseppe Pennachetti emigrated from his hometown in Fermo, Italy, to work as a mason building Niagara's Welland Canal. After establishing a successful concrete business along with his sons, Giuseppe retired and proceeded to explore a passion from his days as a young man in Italy—winegrowing. On lands of modest quality and with the native labrusca grape (a variety that was the order of the day), Giuseppe would prune and tie his hobby vineyard with his son John Sr. and grandson Leonard. The wines that came from these vines were made with heart, but wanting in quality, and the family knew that better was possible."*

This passage explicitly references local history, family history, and Old World history. In describing "the history of the Pennachetti family," references are made to both local history ("building the Welland Canal") and to the family history in Fermo, Italy. This signals to readers that the family has an Italian winegrowing history, stemming from the ancient coastal region of Fermo, which has a long established wine and gastronomical history. Further, despite the fact that the labrusca varietal, unsuitable for table wines, was

initially grown, the passion that the family has for quality allowed the winery to overcome issues of poor quality grapes and "lands of modest soil." This section of the passage implicitly refers to a time in local history when the predominant grapes grown were labrusca rather than vinifera varietals.

By downplaying the years in local and family history that were less favourable, such as when they were growing labrusca varietals, and playing up the more favourable aspects of their Italian winemaking roots, the family commitment to Old World traditional winemaking is characterized. The *characterization* of the family history in working the fields and creating wines "with heart" demonstrates the experience and passion that has been passed on through the generations. Of note is the evolution of the winery that is more implicitly referred to; the winery began as a hobby, but due to the family's passion and commitment to quality, the winery became an established vineyard. In all, this passage taps into the global history of wine making by demonstrating a family winemaking heritage in an Old World winemaking region and characterizing the family as having traditional values, including a passion and love for growing quality grapes, while downplaying aspects of local and family history that indicate deviance from these traditions.

Another example of family history is provided on the Chateau de Charmes website:

> *"The story of Château des Charmes begins over five generations ago with a family that traces its roots to the Alsace region of France and the vineyards of French Algeria. Thousands of kilometers from its present day vineyards, Canada's outstanding winery, Château des Charmes, traces its beginnings. In these foreign lands, the ancestors of Paul Bosc began a heritage of fine*

winemaking that would serve the Bosc family for generations to come. This tradition of excellence continues today in the vineyards of Niagara-on-the-Lake where Paul Bosc and his family carry on this rich heritage of meticulous vinification by harmonizing science and art."

The link to family history is made clear in the description of the winery through the generations that trace back to an Old World wine region, thereby linking the family and Old World history. This selection emphasizes family history in an Old World region, Alsace, that is traditionally associated with winegrowing The explicit emphasis of this website excerpt is on family history and tracing the Bosc family's roots in winemaking, which has been passed down through the family line to continue a "tradition of excellence." There is also an emphasis on the Old World winemaking traditions that continue through in the vinification practices of the winery today; we continue to see the characterization of the winery as inspired by Old World, namely Alsace region, methods of winemaking.

By tracing the family roots to this region, the winery claims that over five generations of experience of traditional winemaking has been passed down, enabling them to carry on with their superior vinification practices. In essence, their "heritage of fine winemaking" characterizes them as capable producers of quality wines "by harmonizing science and art." Such references to the notion of balancing art and science to create wine are made by many wineries and indicate a reference to both Old World mythologies of wine as a hand crafted art and the modern day science and technology that allows for the realization of this art of winemaking. Despite this more implicit reference to the science and technology used in wine production, the explicit message relates to the ancestral heritage of winemaking in an Old World wine region that has been passed down to allow for quality wine production today.

The website for Southbrook works to *characterize* the winery as a family business, and it traces its local history to a prominent cattle farmer:

> *"Established in the 1860s at the head of the Don River by the Patterson family, Don Head Farms is purchased by William Redelmeier (current owner Bill Redelmeier's grandfather) in 1941. At its peak, Don Head Farms maintains the largest herd of Jersey cattle in Canada on hundreds of acres of fertile land north of Toronto."*

At the foreground of this website extract is the expression of family and local history. The local heritage of the family is documented through a history of cattle farming in the region. Like the family histories of some other wineries, this quote demonstrates the legitimacy of the winery as grape growers by describing its family heritage of farming, specifically, in this case, cattle farming. Further, this quote more implicitly refers to the commitment that the winery has to the land by describing the family ownership of hundreds of acres of fertile land.

Another passage on the same website recounts the purchase and expansion of the farm:

> *"Bill and partner/co-owner, Marilyn, evolve the family business from a roadside stand in the 1980s to a thriving farm market. Bill upholds his grandfather's credo: To celebrate the excellence of fresh, local products and value the heritage and beauty of the land. The market's commitment to supporting Ontario producers foreshadows the locavore movement yet to come."*

Here, the explicit references to local and family history are made again. The family business is seen as having evolved from a roadside stand to a "thriving farm market," and eventually to the winery of present. Bill is characterized as dedicated to celebrating aspects of local history,

including the "heritage and beauty of the land," which implies the geological history of this land. From inception to present, the owners are portrayed as deeply and historically committed to farming and as valuing nature and local heritage. Such a characterization connects the present activities of the winery to a local and family heritage of valuing the land; this is further related to global wine mythologies of terroir and the importance of fully expressing the soils, microclimate, and other aspects of the land that contribute to grape growing.

In one passage on their website, Cave Springs describes the importance of vineyard ventures evolving through generations:

> *"In 1981, recognizing his passion for Niagara's promising wine industry, Len built a house on the vineyard. "I saw a chance for getting back to the land and creating a place where our family could do something special," says Len. "Vineyards exist from generation to generation. The way they grow and evolve reflects all the energy and commitment you put into them. What better family business could there be?"*

This excerpt taps into both local history and family history. Describing the industry as promising and alluding to the fact that previous conditions had made it this way implicitly makes the reference to local history. Further, the family is described as residing on the vineyard, which alludes to the sincerity of the family's passion and their commitment to the vineyard. Thus, the founder is characterized as committed to both his family and his family business, the vineyard. Further, he is characterized as so passionate about winemaking that he chose to build his home and live on the vineyard. His notion of a winery existing "from generation to generation" is taken quite literally by this wine owner; and it taps explicitly into family history and less explicitly into traditional notions

of wine making, whereby age enhances the quality of the vines and grapes, and thus the wine that is produced from them. This suggestion that wineries exist over long stretches of time taps into a more global winemaking tradition that values age and slow methods of grape growing and winemaking.

Pillitterri also uses characterization in a passage on their website to align their family history and current winemaking practices:

> ***"Pillitteri Estates Winery*** *proudly continues a family tradition of viticulture and winemaking excellence. For* ***Gary Pillitteri****, the opening of Pillitteri Estates Winery in June of 1993 was the culmination of a lifetime dream. Since arriving in Canada from his native Sicily in 1948, and through many years as a grape grower in Niagara and amateur winemaker, his goal had been to open his own winery."*

The references to family history, local history and Old World traditional grape growing regions are made clear in this passage. The story tells of Gary's travel to Canada from Sicily to follow his passion for grape growing and to open a winery. Here, the Pillitterri roots are explicitly defined as Sicilian, a renowned wine-producing region in Italy. Further, the family is characterized as passionate in their fulfillment of a "lifetime dream" and their commitment to making that dream a reality. Overall, this selection relates to the global history of winemaking by linking family history to an Old World grape growing region, as well by characterizing the family as passionate and the winery as the culmination of a dream.

Another example is found in one newsletter for Pillitteri that explains the story behind a wine named Exclamation:

> *"**Exclamation is a Story!** The label itself comes directly from the story of the Pillitteri Family. A story, which in 2006 was immortalized on the walls of our barrel cellar through some very unique pieces of art. 23 Stainless Steel chairs each custom made, which now hang on the walls of the barrel cellar commemorating the past, present and future of the Pillitteri family and the winery. The front label itself is the original architectural drawings of "The Kings Chair" the largest of the chairs which hangs in the center of the barrel cellar around which all other chairs are situated. The symbols on the chair outline the story of Gary and Lena's move to Canada and their creation of a family estate winery."*

Family and local history are the predominant themes of this segment. Here, the family story is deeply, both symbolically and physically, embedded within the story of the winery itself. While the website for this winery provides much more description about the barrel cellar and chairs, this brief newsletter does much to bring to light the connection between family ownership and winemaking. Elements of *metaphor* are demonstrated in the symbolism of the chairs representing the family history and the creation of the winery. The 23 chairs are used to represent the "past, present and future" of the family and winery, which hints at the notion of evolution of the winery through local history.

Further, the winery founders are *characterized* as committed to a family venture as they travel to Canada to create an estate winery. The mention of traveling to Canada somewhat obscures the reference to the foreign region from which Pillitteri came; the chairs are representative of the story of the founders' move to Canada, rather than

focusing on their country of origin. This is in contrast to the more detailed references that are made elsewhere on this and other websites, and it emphasizes the more local history of the family founding the winery.

Another way in which wineries were depicted was through aligning family history and heritage to local sustainable efforts. Henry of Pelham utilizes this *characterization* neatly in one website passage:

> *"Our ancestors managed this land for 200 years before we acquired it from our cousins more than a quarter-century ago. We are continuing a tradition of stewardship and have discovered along the way that good vineyard practices are also often good for the bottom line too (even if the payback is long-term). As a small, privately held family business we are able to make those long-term decisions required for quality and sustainability without having to appease outside shareholder's quarterly sales targets. Long-term thinking is good for our wine, good for the land and ultimately good for you, our customers."*

This excerpt involves the use of family and local history while appealing to Old World traditions. Family history is traced back hundreds of years to demonstrate the ancestral link that this family has to the local and geological history of the land. The relationship between the family's heritage and sustainability indicates a commitment to Old World notions of earthbound winemaking. While *characterization* in terms of sustainability or stewardship is discussed in more detail later on, the passage implies that family ownership allows this winery to make superior decisions for quality through long term thinking. In addition, this passage indicates that inherited along with the land were the

experience and traditions that act as a framework for present decision making processes. *Identification* is used in the line where the author indicates that not only do such decisions benefit wineries, but they also benefit the reader. Thus, a connection is made between the audience and the winery, wherein the winery is characterized as aiming to benefit their consumers through their particular winemaking practices. In all, the implication is that the family heritage of managing local land has resulted in the ability to make decisions about quality that benefit audiences.

IV. Innovation

Innovation refers to the use of new practices or methods, rather than the reliance upon those that have been used and historically valued. Innovation is used in different ways throughout the newsletters and websites. Sometimes innovation is used to refer to the qualities that set the winery apart from the wine practices used historically in the region. Another way innovation is used is to describe the technological and scientific side of winemaking, and it entails explanations of the advanced techniques utilized in the production of quality wines. The innovative techniques that are mentioned by some, but not all, wineries are often described as involving advanced technology and strategies in order to ensure continued quality or the full expression of grape characteristics.

A fairly popular theme, especially among older wineries, is the characterization of wineries as unafraid of taking risks in their commitment to quality. This is demonstrated in a passage on the Creekside website:

> *"Early on, the darlings of the Creekside portfolio were, like the people who created them, a little outside of the mainstream fold. Sauvignon Blanc and*

Pinot Noir, despite being viticulturally off-kilter for the region at that time, showed particular promise and the altogether rosy outlook inspired further investment in the winery's facilities[…].

Creekside's success outside the norm has reinforced the hard-working, innovative, and creative ideals upon which the winery was founded, and has helped to broker the entrance of new and exciting varietals suited to growth in the Niagara Peninsula climate[…]. Creekside's portfolio is the story of a winery that refuses to be pigeon-holed…"

The people and varietals associated early on with this winery are characterized as being unconventional, or "outside the mainstream fold" and "off-kilter for the region at the time." The poor winemaking history of Ontario is suggested but not explicitly referenced, and the passage does not at all detail the fact that labrusca varietals dominated grape fields throughout the region. However, this passage does more obviously link to global traditions in its early decision to plant European vinifera varietals that, despite their continuity with world class wines, was not continuous with the activities and practices that were more typical in Ontario at that point in time. The implicit characterization of such activities as pioneering and innovative relates to a commitment to becoming more aligned with the traditions associated with world class wines.

On the website for this winery, a passage characterizes the family as pioneers for the Ontario wine industry:

"The family's commitment to producing wine of exceptional quality and character is demonstrated in each bottle bearing the Pillitteri name.

Although rooted in family tradition, Pillitteri Estates Winery has been at the

forefront of growth and expansion that has brought the Niagara wine region to the attention of the world."

This excerpt references family history, local history, innovation, and global winemaking values. The winery is characterized alongside the family tradition of commitment to quality wine production, which appeals to the Old World values of commitment and passion. Further, the theme of local history plays a role in the reference to the Ontario wine industry evolving and developing over time. The innovative activities of this winery are seen to be at the "forefront of growth and expansion," which essentially characterizes the trailblazing nature of this winery.

Although a newer winery, this website passage aligns itself with the pioneers like those mentioned in previous examples:

"Stratus is a proud new member of the Canadian wine industry and is committed to building on the existing foundations of quality-oriented pioneers and wineries in efforts to anchor Niagara as one of the world's great wine regions."

In this instance, the winery is characterized as building its foundations upon the early efforts of innovators, even though it is new. They pledge a commitment to building on these foundations to continue developing the region's role in global winemaking. The local history of illegitimacy is again underscored in this passage as only the "quality-oriented pioneers" of this era are commented upon, but this poor winemaking history nonetheless comes into a full interpretation and understanding of what is meant by the efforts of early pioneers in the region. Overall, despite the newness of this winery, it

manages to characterize practices of the present alongside the earliest quality-oriented winemakers in the region.

In a newsletter from Pillitterri, we see a more recent conception of discontinuity with other New World wine producers:

> *"…Winemaster Marc Bradshaw's winemaking philosophy puts him at odds with many New World winemakers. "Everyone is interested in new oak barrels, but I can't get enough of older ones," he explains. "I doubt I've gotten rid of more than six or seven barrels since I started here." Despite spending 15 months in barrels, his newly released 2007 Cabernet Franc is devoid of the sweet vanilla, cedar or coffee notes common in many young reds. Instead the ripe, concentrated Cabernet reveals an invitingly rich nose that suggests red pepper puree and tobacco. Made in an earthy, dry style, this is a well balanced red that will work well with simply roasted beef or lamb."*

Essentially, this passage is commenting on the fact that this wine is different from those produced typically and historically in other New World wine regions, which refers to the theme of innovation. This winemaker is *characterized* as valuing the Old World tradition of using old oak barrels and details his commitment to them. The earthy, dry style of the wine relates nicely to global traditions of the earthbound creation of dry table wines. *Imagery* allows readers to taste the ripeness and the pepper of this traditional style wine. Using *diatyposis*, this passage also suggests a traditional pairing of lamb with this red wine, which is consistent with the notion of matching the weights of various foods and

wines. In all, this selection describes the winery's winemaking practices as discontinuous with New World traditions and continuous with the traditions of the Old World.

Mix of Old World and New World

A newsletter excerpt from Pillitterri implicitly refers to the lack of winemaking history in Niagara and contrasts this with the traditional rules of the Old World to note the necessity of innovativeness:

> *"No Rules, Just Right!…Unlike Europe, in Niagara there are no hard and steadfast rules related to the wine making process. This allows our winemakers to make the absolute best wine they can by choosing the techniques best suited to a particular varietal or vintage. Our 2006 Cabernet Sauvignon Reserve is a perfect example of that creativity and flexibility. Our Winemaster, Marc Bradshaw, was able to draw on some Old World techniques from France and Italy to help create this superb wine. When these Cabernet Sauvignon grapes came in from the vineyard, he used a process made famous in Beaujolais, France called carbonic maceration - fermenting the grapes in a carbon dioxide rich environment - that helped to tame the otherwise firm tannins found in Cabernet Sauvignon. Later, after about a year in oak, he used the ripasso technique on the wine to add complexity, flavor and colour. This ripasso technique was made famous in the Valpolicella region of Italy. The resulting wine is layered, complex, and perfectly balanced - notes of dark rum raisin, cherry, chocolate and spice fill the nose and palette. The finish is long and warm, and tempts you back to the glass for more. Perfect with red meat of any kind, this wine is sure to be the*

talk of the table at your next dinner party. So, next time an occasion challenges you to think outside the box, grab our 2006 Cab Sauv Ressie - a unique wine that goes against the grain!"

The themes that are foremost in this excerpt are innovation, local history, and Old World traditions. This winemaker is essentially characterized as innovative in his attempts to bridge the Old and New World methods "best suited" to particular grapes and varietals. At the end of the passage, the wine is described as a unique mixture that "goes against the grain," which further alludes to the innovative wine that has been produced as a result of using mixed methods. Local history is almost dismissed as the passage states that there are "no hard and steadfast rules" for winemaking. This provides the foundation for the innovative and flexible measures necessary when making wine in the region. The Old World traditional methods of carbonic maceration from France and ripasso from Italy are described in detail, using the rhetorical device of imagery to allow readers to almost experience the processes. While these techniques are, in themselves, historically traditional, it is unconventional to mix them. This innovative winemaker is able to adapt and combine two different wine making techniques from two different global wine regions to create a unique and distinctive wine in Niagara.

A different way of blending the Old World and New World is described in this passage from the Strewn website:

*" **What is a Meritage?** Traditionally Cabernet Sauvignon, Cabernet Franc and Merlot grape varieties are known as the "noble" Bordeaux grape varieties. Since we make these wines in North American we needed an*

appropriate category name to identify this blend which we could call our own."

There are many references like this throughout the websites and newsletters of Ontario wineries. Due to the strict appellation and terroir systems of older wine regions with rich histories of particular methods of producing wine, the names of these methods that are unique to specific regions are often reserved for those regions alone. This works to preserve the integrity of that particular wine region and method, but also, in this case, allows a framework upon which to characterize the wines made by this winery. The use of hypophora to ask the question of what meritage is, and denotation to provide the meaning for it indicates an innovative mixture of Old World and native vines. This common occurrence of renaming techniques or varietals to indicate their adoption by local areas relies upon notions of terroir, although this is highly implicit in the interpretation of this passage.

Balancing Tradition and Technology

An example of mixing technology and tradition to create wines that truly express a sense of place is provided on the Henry of Pelham website

""Integrating Technology into Tradition…The use of high technology and leading edge techniques in the vineyard and winery are the only way for us to maintain competitiveness while striving for quality. We are constantly searching and developing new ways of improving our art form. However, we have not lost sight of some of the more traditional aspects and techniques of winemaking. Since it is an art form based on nature, in many cases it is impossible to perfect. We continue to develop and refine our viticultural and

winemaking techniques so that our wines reflect our unique soil and are truly wines of character and finesse."

Innovation is a key theme of this excerpt; this passage details the indispensability of technology and new techniques in maintaining quality in the art of wine crafting. Further, notions of local history are used in referencing the wines that "reflect our unique soil" and character, which derives from ancient geological occurrences. Old World traditions are also alluded to through this emphasis on the global terroir mythology and through the traditions that allow wines to act as an art form expressive of place and nature. Comprehensively, this website selection highlights the importance of balancing technology and tradition for a continued commitment to quality.

Another reference to this combination of innovation and tradition is made in a website for Colio:

"Welcome to the world of Colio Estate Wines, a tradition of award-winning viticulture and winemaking that blends experience, modern innovation and a palpable passion, one that is reflected in every product that we make. It is this passion that defines us…"

This passage relies on the themes of innovation and traditional values. The blend of "modern innovation" and "palpable passion" that go into creating wines characterizes this winery as innovative but still embracing the passion valued by traditional winemakers. Further, the terroir mythology is evoked in the reference to wines representing the qualities that define the winery. The tradition and experience that are mentioned implicitly refer to the local historical presence of the winery since the early 1980s. Taking all this into account, the dominant theme of this passage is balanced between

innovation and tradition, while tones of terroir, and thus local history, can also be interpreted from this selection.

The Tawse website also contains references to this necessary link between tradition and technology:

> *"We unite traditional winemaking techniques with state-of-the-art technology to create wines of exceptional elegance, depth, and character. "*

The unification of tradition and high technology is briefly portrayed as allowing this winery to create exceptional wines. Although not as explicit as other references, this passage implies that in order for the full expression of a wine's characteristics to occur, tradition and technology need to be balanced.

Summary

In summary, the main themes of rhetorical history that Ontario wineries appeal to are those tapping into global traditions, local history, family history, and innovation. Overwhelmingly, wineries of this region utilize these themes in newsletters and on websites to demonstrate continuity with global standards and traditions of excellence. I also found that Ontario wineries attempt to downplay and obscure versions of the poor winemaking history in Ontario. At the same time, local history is sometimes used to convey a sense of distinctiveness and uniqueness in the identity of wineries. Family histories often link the activities of ancestors to the present activities of a winery in an effort to demonstrate a heritage of grape growing. Innovation, while involving a necessary break from past activities, is a concept that is rarely, if ever, used without referencing the need to balance it with tradition. These themes largely overlap within

newsletters and websites, and a single passage can use any combination of the historical themes mentioned.

Almost every winery made very explicit attempts to tap into global repertoires of traditional winemaking. Many wineries highlight their use of traditional methods, such as the previously mentioned ripasso method. Nearly all wineries use narratives that place the role of terroir as central to the production of quality wines. By using the language and mythology of terroir to describe their wines and vineyards, Ontario wines essentially become more comprehensible in terms of global understandings of fine wine. In some cases, wineries identified terms like terroir or somewhereness for audiences by using the rhetorical device of *denotation*, which works to educate readers to enhance understanding. On many occasions, the rhetorical device of *imagery* was employed in describing the sights, soils, and geology of various plots of land, which allows audiences to feel as though they are experiencing the unique terroir of particular wineries. Further, the use of terroir allows Ontario wineries to imbue their wines with unique and distinctive qualities that make them competitive. Frequently, narratives, again often using *imagery*, are related to the hard work that goes into crafting earthbound wines that bring out the essences of particular vineyards. Another way that Old World traditions were frequently applied by Ontario wineries was to suggest appropriate wine pairings for food, seasons, and celebrations that are highly reminiscent of traditional values of when and how wine consumption is appropriate. The rhetorical device of *diatyposis* was very commonly used to make useful suggestions to audiences, which conveys a sense of authority through the ability to know how and when to consume wine, and also an air of stewardship or helpfulness in providing advice for readers.

This was the most prominent theme throughout the texts I analyzed. By adhering to the global standards and traditional rules for wine making, wineries are provided with a framework of appropriateness that can be used to legitimize their own practices. Further, such a framework also offers a repertoire from which wineries can work to discursively and rhetorically build a legitimate identity despite the previous illegitimacy of the industry in Ontario. In essence, by tapping into existing frameworks and repertoires that are generally viewed as legitimate, wineries can enhance the perception of their legitimacy among their audiences. However, a contradiction between what wineries are practicing and what wineries are saying appears in the dominance of the theme of Old World traditions throughout the texts. A great deal of science and technology is involved in harvesting, preparing, producing, and bottling wines of consistent quality. In relying heavily upon the mythology of Old World repertoires, Ontario wineries often, but not always, minimize the use of machinery or scientific techniques when describing the wines and winemaking practices they use. Thus, the reality of what actually goes on in the vineyards and cellars of wineries is slightly obscured by this emphasis on tradition over science and technology.

Another pattern that was very evident in the narratives of Ontario wineries was the use of a variety of references to local history. Most often, local history was used to express the local terroir of different wineries and wines. The descriptions, which often employed the use of *imagery* to enhance readers' imaginations, work to imbue plots of land with a sense of uniqueness. Further, such descriptions portray the wines created on these plots as distinctive, different, and special. These illustrations tend to refer implicitly to local geological events and have to be inferred from the portraits of soil

composition and climate that are painted in the narratives; however, some explicitly refer to the geological history of Ontario. Wineries chronicle the timelines of ancient and prehistoric events that led to, for example, the deposits of limestone and the escarpment that provides the unique microclimates of the region. This was particularly common on the Grape Growers of Ontario website, which emphasizes the unique geological history of Ontario's viticultural areas while highlighting the similarities between the climates and locations of the region and other world class wine making regions. While this local history is also implicitly present on the website for the Wine Council of Ontario as the advocacy efforts for the VQA appellation system on behalf the group are described, there is a greater emphasis on the marketing, distribution, and taxation of locally grown and crafted wines.

Ontario wineries also sometimes call upon local cultural events to provide their wines with a sense of distinction. References to local cultural history are much less frequent than those of local history themes of terroir or geology. Cultural events, like ones related to the Mennonite presence in early Canada, are nearly always presented alongside winery histories. Historic buildings, like the Henry of Pelham barn, and landmarks, like the oak tree of the 13th Street winery, are often used in such narratives to symbolically link the present place of the winery to artifacts of historical significance. Together, these cultural events and artifacts are used to convey a sense of place that is unique to individual vineyards and areas.

References to the poor history of Ontario winemaking were generally scarce in the newsletters and on the websites of Ontario wineries. When they were apparent, they were often obfuscated by a focus on other points in time, or on the evolution of the

industry as legitimate and reputable. This was often done through references to the new history of winemaking in the region and intimations that there have only recently been winegrowing efforts in the region. Another way this was done by pointing to the lack of history, which indicates a concerted effort to forget the illegitimate past of winemaking in Ontario. Thus, there is a noteworthy contradiction in the ways in which the history of local winemaking is described in winery narratives. The local history of winemaking is sometimes described as non-existent, sometimes as new, and very rarely is it explicitly referred to. In effect, this indicates that wineries tell the same story in different ways, most of which work to obscure the poor winemaking history of Ontario. Interestingly, this pattern was also present in the more collective theorizations on the Grape Growers and Wine Council websites. The Wine Council of Ontario camouflages the poor history by emphasizing the growth and evolution of the industry since the council was established in 1974. This history is more exposed on the Grape Growers website, but the illegitimate winemaking practices that were rampant in the area historically are significantly underemphasized. In essence, such narratives worked to minimize and downplay the history of growing labrusca varietals and using the less acceptable methods of wine production that had predominated in the region for generations.

Family histories were regularly recounted, particularly on the websites of Ontario wineries. These family histories were often traced to Old World wine regions like Tuscany or Alsace, and ancestral histories of grape growing, and sometimes farming, were highlighted. The lineage of some winery families, particularly those established in the region prior to or around the time of "new" local winemaking history, was traced locally, often generations into the past, and was also linked to traditions of familial grape

growing and farming. For the most part, family histories worked to facilitate perceptions of ancestral involvement in winemaking as being inherited through the generations to the existing members of the family legacy. In this way, these wineries are *characterized* as inherently having the necessary experience in traditional winemaking to craft quality wines. *Metaphor* is sometimes used, especially by older wineries, to further *characterize* the wineries as embodying a relationship between family heritage and experience with crafting quality wine, as is the case in the 23 chairs of Pillitterri.

The theme of innovation involved references to distinctive departures from the past or from the Old World traditional methods historically used in the winemaking process. This notion of innovation is used only in conjunction with references to tradition or global values of fine wine. Often, especially in the case of older wineries, narratives are used to characterize winery founders as pioneers who went against the regional practices of the time to introduce methods of quality wine crafting. In such characterizations, the continuity that is demonstrated with global traditions of winemaking is combined with a discontinuity with the historical practices of Ontario.

An additional way that innovation was sometimes used was in highlighting the necessity of balancing tradition with technology, particularly in the case of newer and larger wineries. When wineries tap into this use of innovation, they often indicate that the ability to create wines of high quality relies on integrating high technological advancement with the traditions of Old World winemakers. Commonly, such references worked to characterize wineries as both innovative and committed to tradition. Never was the theme of innovation used to minimize the role of traditional values of winemaking. The themes of innovation and global traditions were always used in

conjunction with one another, and were explained in terms of being an adaptation necessary for competitiveness and quality.

Some wineries used innovation to describe their sustainable practices. While not prevalent across all wineries, this was especially the case for the more high profile, acclaimed, and pricier wineries of the Niagara Escarpment and Niagara on the Lake regions of Ontario. Innovation in these cases refers at times to the techniques and technologies utilized, and at other times, it is used to describe sustainable practices as pioneering when compared to the normative practices of other local wineries. For example, Southbrook highlights its status as the first Canadian winery to be a certified biodynamic winery and its use of various innovative technologies. These narratives work to characterize the winery as innovative, both as a pioneer of the region and in terms of the technologies employed. However, the website for Southbrook also details, using imagery, its hand picking and sorting methods, and its non-interventionist approach to bottling and aging, thereby concurrently characterizing their practices as primarily traditional. The website for the Wine Council of Ontario also gives prominence to the roles of sustainability and innovation in the full expression of terroir, indicating this link between innovation and tradition. Innovation is balanced by tradition when it is used in the narratives of Ontario wineries, and it is largely seen as a necessary part of winemaking in the region.

I found that the historical themes were highly overlapping and concurrently in operation when analyzing the texts. In all, wineries overwhelmingly tap into cultural understandings of wine as a traditional and age-old product in order to characterize themselves as continuous with standards of world class winemaking. Wineries also tap

into local geological and cultural events to provide a sense of uniqueness and distinctiveness to their identities. At the same time, some aspects of local history are largely obscured, primarily those associated with the historically poor reputation Ontario had gained through illegitimate methods of wine production. In this way, wineries seek to distance the region from a history of poor winemaking by not only embracing Old World traditions, but also attempting to suppress aspects of local history. Innovation plays a role in characterizing some wineries as unique, inventive, or modern, but these same wineries also convey their commitment to tradition. In such instances, wineries attempt to preserve the impression that they make wine in ways that are continuous with earthbound traditions while still proudly portraying their innovative practices and techniques. Altogether, the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries work to theorize the industry as world class and in accordance with traditional standards while also working to distance perceptions of an otherwise illegitimate local history of winemaking.

Despite the fact that the Ontario wineries have perhaps not yet developed a completely coherent rationale for the industry as a whole, the development of such rationales relies on the ability of actors to draw upon existing frameworks and repertoires of appropriateness. Such frameworks provide standards of acceptability from which actors can select content and activities that can enhance audience perceptions of legitimacy.

While there are some patterns that are more readily captured, like the uses of Old World traditions, local history, family history, and innovation by Ontario wineries, there are some differences between the types of wineries in terms of the main themes of history that they employ (see Table 2). For example, all of the corporately owned, as well as all

of the large wineries, in this study rely heavily on local versions of geological history. Although they may lack other forms of history, these wineries are still able to tap into the glacial events that took place prehistorically in the region. Young wineries, founded less than five years ago, depend a great deal upon Old World traditions in their narratives, whereas wineries founded between five and ten years ago bring into service versions of local history in their newsletters and websites. It could be the case that because newer wineries lack legitimacy even more than older wineries, they rely upon the already acceptable depictions of traditional winemaking methods and techniques. All of the wineries in this study with reputations of high quality also rely upon notions of Old World history, and most of these wineries demonstrate commitment to balancing innovation and tradition.

Many of the older wineries portray themselves as innovative pioneers who helped establish the Ontario wine industry through alignment with already established and accepted notions of fine winemaking formed centuries ago in Old World wine regions. On the other hand, many of the wineries of moderate reputation rely upon local history, linking the wineries to local historic events, people, and buildings.

In all, the narratives generally indicate changes in the industry that have occurred gradually over a long period of time through a theorization process that is evolutionary. This can be seen in references to trial and error in the region as wineries build on the stock of knowledge from global and Old World winemaking and try to improve techniques and methods as part of a greater learning process. Sometimes, however, these narratives take on a more revolutionary tone, especially as older wineries describe their early pioneering efforts in the region. These narratives involve activity that is contrary to

norms and popular opinion, such as attempts to grow labrusca over vinifera varietals. Further, some of the sustainable methods that are described are portrayed as more radical, innovative methods of winemaking, despite the fact that these methods have been used by farmers and winemakers for centuries. One more way in which this revolutionary portrayal is demonstrated is through the use of innovative technology as part of a balancing of innovation and tradition.

----------Insert Table 2 approximately here----------

DISCUSSION

Contributions

Ontario wineries use rhetorical history extensively to theorize their practices and activities as legitimate. Frameworks that have been globally and traditionally deemed appropriate are used by these wineries to define their practices as acceptable and to re-theorize an industry once of poor repute as a world-class producer of fine wine. By making use of these frameworks discursively through the employment of key vocabulary and mythology, current practices are aligned alongside normalized theorizations and broader social norms in a way that enhances perceptions of legitimacy.

In this thesis, I have argued that theorization necessarily involves some level of engagement with the past to provide rationales for the adoption of particular practices over others and to align with social values and norms. I have attempted to bring together some of the existing literatures on theorization to depict it as a continuous process that occurs through proactive assertions of continuity or discontinuity and also as a retroactive activity that allows interpretation and reflection upon the past to make sense of the present. By linking the work of Zerubavel (2003) with that of various scholars of theorization, I outline dimensions of theorization and narratives of history. Theorization can represent continuity with the past through the proactive assertion of continuity to hide past deviations or the denial of assertions that current practices are abnormal compared to previous practices. Further, theorization can demonstrate discontinuity with the past via the proactive assertion of the inferiority of current or past practices when compared to other practices or by reflecting on what has been done to demonstrate how a new practice is superior.

Theorization can work to frame existing or new practices as acceptable or unacceptable, and to interpret problems and propose or justify solutions (Greenwood et al., 2002). To show failings or propose legitimate alternate solutions to those failings, the past must be relied upon to demonstrate how something was or has been successful or not. For the most part, the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries engage in ex post, or after the event, theorization and demonstrate that current practices and activities are legitimate by linking them strategically to those that have been traditionally held as appropriate and have been institutionalized over centuries of quality wine production. The findings of this study indicate that history plays a vital role in the theorization and re-theorization of the Ontario wine industry as world class. The newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries repeatedly theorize about what has happened in the past and link those events and repertoires causally to events that are presently occurring. Rhetorical and discursive constructions of the past are interpreted in these texts to make sense of the existing practices and activities of wineries.

I have argued that the texts analysed in this study represent, in general, fairly implicit mechanisms of theorization rather than obvious and straightforward assertions of continuity or discontinuity with the past. The websites and newsletters produced and disseminated by Ontario wineries often require the reader to infer conclusions about the winery and industry. Thus, rhetorical and discursive analysis is particularly appropriate in unveiling statements of cause and effect or continuity with global traditions. Arguably, these implicit messages are more powerful than more obvious statements as they are embedded within and constructed from larger repertoires of appropriateness that tap into socially constructed and valued versions of reality (Heracleous & Barrett, 2001; Khaire &

Wadhwani, 2010; Zilber, 2006). The schemas that are evoked by these texts rely upon shared constructions of legitimacy to portray the industry as reputable and world class.

This study contributes to the broader realm of institutional theory by working to understand the mechanisms by which the process of theorization takes place. Institutionalization occurs through the creation, diffusion, adoption, and adaptation of practices across space and over time (Scott, 2004), and theorization facilitates these processes (Greenwood et al., 2002; Hinings et al., 2004; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Strang & Meyer, 1993). The discursive and rhetorical activities of stakeholders work to make sense of, facilitate, and even disrupt these processes (Maguire & Hardy, 2006; Phillips et al., 2004). The findings of this study indicate that history can be used to rhetorically align Ontario wineries with a global repertoire that espouses ideals of winemaking from Old World traditions and the mythologies of winemaking. By utilizing themes of rhetorical history, this industry works to overcome a poor history and relies upon existing frameworks of legitimacy and authenticity to signal commitment to these traditions and values. In this way, the attempts of wineries to theorize the industry as reputable represent a part of the process of institutionalization and allow for the further diffusion, adoption, and adaptation of the time-honoured techniques and traditions of Old World, legitimized wines. Rhetorical alignment to these institutionalized values can work to enhance perceptions of legitimacy among audiences (Foster et al., 2011), and the narratives of this industry indicate that themes of history play an important role in this alignment. This study's findings imply that conceptions of organizational design and history become globally institutionalized, at least rhetorically, and provide enabling

frameworks from which organizations can work to theorize and re-theorize their practices and activities as acceptable and proper.

The findings add to research on rhetorical history by providing insight into some of the themes that may be used prevalently within narratives that use history persuasively. The themes of history that I found to be used most commonly throughout the newsletters and websites of Ontario wineries heavily relied upon global repertoires of Old World winemaking, which were strategically used to characterize these wineries as continuous with these traditions. By outlining and describing in detail how these themes were used to rhetorically construct identities of authenticity and legitimacy and by demonstrating how organizations are attempting to deploy rhetorical history as a theorization mechanism, I add to the literature on rhetorical history (Anteby & Molnar, in press; Foster et al., 2011). A key contribution that my study makes to this literature is expanding the analysis from the individual firm level to the field level. In this particular industry, Old World traditions, local history, family history, and innovation are especially salient themes that are used to carefully construct the industry as world class, and they may represent historical themes that are important in the theorization of other industries. Moreover, I suggest that rhetorical history, and the themes of history previously detailed, play an important role in the theorization process, and in larger processes of institutionalization.

I add to the literature on identity by demonstrating that the construction of a legitimate identity involves rhetorical history and the patterning of narratives according to shared, global meanings that help to bolster organizational and industry reputation and legitimacy. Additionally, as seen in this research context, the identity of an industry can

be reconstructed, and previously poor identities can be overcome and reframed as reputable. Previous research has shown that identity can be legitimized through the gradual development of persuasive narratives that may alter identity referents but do not necessarily delegitimize the past (Goodrick & Reay, 2010). Other research has demonstrated that identity is constructed and reconstructed through narratives of continuity and discontinuity that draw on available cultural repertoires (Chreim, 2005).

My findings suggest that the past can provide a template from which to build these narratives and can help overcome a previous illegitimate identity. Necessarily, communication of identity taps into repertoires of appropriateness that make it more comprehensible to audiences (Hardy et al., 2005; Weicke, 1995). Identity can be strategically created and managed (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003), and existing legitimate identities can be used in efforts to construct and portray particular activities and practices as acceptable. In this study, Old World wine producing values and traditions serve as a globally sanctioned template from which Ontario wineries work to construct and re-construct an identity for the industry as a prestigious winemaking region. Thus, I suggest an interplay between individual level activity and field level activity, whereby the collective activity of individual wineries relies upon more global templates of appropriateness, but also works to theorize the field or the industry as a whole. Bottom up theorization occurs as actors utilize and integrate global repertoires of winemaking through which activity is valued as a meaningful part of a more top down theorization process.

I also add to the existing knowledge of collective memory that connects rhetoric, history, and collective memory (Zerubavel, 2003). The basic premise of this paper is that

history is used rhetorically to construct versions of the past that ascribe value to certain events and activities. As the findings helped to further establish, history is also used in ways that can obscure events that are less favourable and that may threaten organizational success (Anteby & Molnar, in press; MacMillan, 2008; Zerubavel, 2003). Furthermore, organizations can tap into existing collective memories by strategically linking current practices to those of the past. Collective memory can also be reconstructed by rhetorically "forgetting" about particular aspects and events of history (de Holan & Phillips, 2004; Walsh & Ungson, 1991; Zerubavel, 2003), as can be seen in the case of the Ontario wine industry, which was once normatively considered poor and now works to overcome and replace those collective memories with ones of high quality and world class winemaking. This is done by tapping into collective memories of Old World wine and enhancing these experiences while obscuring less favourable memories of the industry as deficient and lacking in quality.

In this thesis, I essentially propose that the value of Ontario wines is being rhetorically and discursively reconstructed within the newsletters and websites created by the wineries of the region. By discursively working to construct a reality of the Ontario wine industry, these texts rely upon themes of rhetorical history to establish themselves historically. Organizational attempts to forget or omit particular events rhetorically can work to define what an organization is and is not (Anteby & Molnar, in press). I add to the literature on rhetoric and discourse by further suggesting that versions of the past can be emphasized to promote perceptions of legitimacy, and alternate versions that undermine these constructions can be suppressed. By employing a variety of rhetorical devices, the past is depicted in various ways that incite the imaginations of readers, create

audience identification, and characterize wineries and their team members in particular ways that evoke traditional values and confer legitimacy. Overall, I suggest that processes of institutionalization, specifically theorization, occur rhetorically and discursively through communications and interactions that frame identity in comprehensible ways.

One last contribution of this research is to literature on organizational forgetting. In this context, some winery narratives go so far as to state that Ontario has no winemaking history, or has a new wine history that arose in the late 1900s. Sometimes it is advantageous to refrain from forgetting in organizational contexts so as to avoid losing resources and knowledge that may be important to organizational success (de Holan & Phillips, 2004). However, it is also beneficial at times to forget things of the past that harm perceptions of identity (de Holan & Phillips, 2004; de Holan et al., 2004). When an existing logic needs to be replaced with a new one, as was the case when the Ontario wine industry was nearly destroyed with the Free Trade Agreement in 1988, forgetting illegitimate practices can be of great benefit in facilitating organizational and institutional change. In this thesis, I put forward the idea that forgetting poor practices and an illegitimate history can be accomplished by using narratives of history and rhetorical devices to obscure or emphasize aspects of history.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

The limitations of this study are fourfold. Firstly, I only study the newsletters and websites of one industry, which indicates that its generalizability may be limited. Of course generalizability is not an appropriate objective of any qualitative study (Pratt, 2009), and the reason I chose this methodology is that it allowed me to study the

dynamics of rhetorical history in a detailed and situated way. In this study, I provide a framework for beginning to research the role of rhetorical history in theorization processes. Future research could be aimed at understanding the role of rhetorical history in the theorization of other industries in an effort to develop a more comprehensive framework for understanding how it operates in various ways as a theorization mechanism. In different industries, it may be the case that different themes of history play more dominant roles than the themes I found to be prevalent in the Ontario wine industry. For example, it may be the case in the electronics industry that organizations might emphasize how their activities are different from those of the past as opposed to the assertions of continuity with the past that were found in this study. Future research could work toward understanding the themes of history that are used across and between various industries.

Secondly, I outline only one mechanism by which theorization occurs. Although I explain engagement with the past as necessary to theorization, this could be indicated and performed in other ways than rhetorically or discursively. For example, implementing practices and routines or partaking in ceremonies that legitimize practices could play important functions in the theorization process. Future research could seek to uncover various other mechanisms by which theorization occurs in an effort to develop a deeper understanding of how this process works.

A third limitation of this study lies within the dataset. Because I sought to analyze newsletters and websites, some complexities may not be readily apparent. Many other narratives, texts, and actors contribute to the theorization, and re-theorization of the Ontario wine industry as world class. For example, the role of critics and the evaluations

that they make of Ontario wines work on a collective level to convey the value of these wines, and of the industry as a whole, to audiences. This indicates that future research should seek to understand theorization activity that occurs through other symbolic artifacts and rhetorical actors in an effort to apprehend the complexities of how the process occurs.

Fourth, this research aims only to understand how the process of theorization works. The outcomes of such theorization are beyond the scope of this study due to the nature of the data used. Thus, the actual responses to the uses of rhetorical history described are unknown and are not in the focus of this thesis. However, future research could be directed toward understanding these effects, both on audience perceptions and in terms of organizational and industry success outcomes.

Practical Implications

The findings of this study have practical applications to organizational stakeholders seeking to theorize organizations as continuous with normative repertoires of appropriateness. History can be used strategically to manage identity and perceptions of legitimacy, and narratives of history can be constructed in such a way that they can persuade audiences of reputability. If managers are attuned to the prevailing discourses and histories that are dominant within an industry, they can tap into them to construct histories that align in various ways with these globally accepted frameworks. Based on the findings of this research, I advise managers of identity to carefully construct narratives of history in ways that connect to broader societal norms and values. Further, it may also at times be beneficial to obscure or omit aspects of the past or historical events that are not conducive to organizational success. While forgetting can

be potentially detrimental if useful knowledge or practices are lost, it can also be beneficial when knowledge or practices are no longer relevant or are unfavourable. If managers understand the aspects of history that are potentially harmful to organizational success, they can understand how to obscure them within narratives. This could perhaps be done, as it was in this industry, by highlighting congruity with larger cultural values while downplaying prior events that threaten success.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I investigated the strategic and persuasive use of history— rhetorical history—as a theorization mechanism. To inform actors in a field about what should or should not be done, theorization must engage to some degree with depictions of the past. While researchers have alluded to this idea, the fact that history and rhetorical uses of history are essential to the process of theorization has not been explicitly examined. Throughout this thesis I aimed to integrate some of the recent research on theorization as a discursive practice involving notions of the past and to describe how this process operates.

Despite the relatively small context in which I study rhetorical history, research of the topic is imperative as histories are increasingly becoming powerful tools that can strategically highlight or obscure events of the past. The effect of rhetoric upon the broader society is largely understudied although it has been known since ancient times that rhetoric can be used to persuade audiences. By using rhetorical acts to communicate history effectively, legitimacy can be garnered for various movements, wars, and practices. For example, in a direct reference to the Boston Tea Party of 1773, the modern Tea Party Movement in the United States attempts to reinterpret that landmark event to legitimize a very narrow anti-tax political agenda. Territory wars and conflict are carefully constructed using versions of history to stake claim to particular pieces of land, as is the case in the Arab-Israeli conflict. By rhetorically maintaining plots of land as historical homeland, different groups have legitimized their right to it, and thus their right to fight for territory that historically belonged to them. Some groups of people, such as Holocaust-deniers, claim that certain historical events did not actually occur. In fact,

these groups prefer the term 'historical revisionists' and work to expose the mass genocide of Jewish peoples during World War II as a conspiracy, despite incontrovertible historic evidence to the contrary.

In all, the use of rhetorical history is heavily related to issues of power and oppression, whereby some accounts of history work to legitimize some groups of people, and other accounts, or even those same accounts, can work to suppress the legitimacy of other groups. By working toward an empirical understanding of rhetorical history and its influences on broader institutional or societal processes, and vice versa, we can begin to understand how the powerful tool of rhetoric can be used as a strategic force to shape the map of the past.

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Table 1: EX POST AND EX ANTE THEORIZATION AND ENGAGEMENT WITH HISTORY

	Ex Ante	Ex Post
Continuous	Proactive assertion of continuity with the past to hide deviation (e.g., Hargadon & Douglas, 2001)	Denial of current activity as abnormal or different from past activity (e.g., Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007)
Discontinuous	Proactive assertion that past practices are inferior to, and different from, current practices (e.g., Greenwood et al., 2002; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005)	Reflection on what has been done to show how a new practice is superior (e.g., Svejenova et al., 2004; Birkenshaw et al., 2008; Hinings et al., 2004)

Table 2: TYPES OF WINERIES AND TYPES OF RHETORICAL HISTORY COMMONLY EMPLOYED

Winery Name	Wine Region Location	Type/Size	Years in Business	Product Price Range	Quality Reputation	Old World Traditions	Local History	Family History	Innovation
Malivoire	Niagara	Family/Medium (28000 cases)	10-15 years	$12-$100	High	X	X		X
Norman Hardie	Prince Edward County	Family/Small (7000 cases)	5-10 years	$21-$70	High	X	X		
Closson Chase	Prince Edward County	Family/Small (2700 cases)	10-15 years	$30-$75	High	X			X
Tawse	Niagara	Family/medium (20000-25000 cases)	5-10 years	$18-$60	High	X	X		X
Creekside	Niagara	Family/Medium (30000 cases)	10-15 years	$15-$55	High	X			X
Le Clos Jordanne	Niagara	Corporate/Boutique (<17000 cases)	10-15 years	$40-$75	High	X	X		X
Flat Rock	Niagara	Family/Small to medium (15000 cases)	5-10 years	$16-$45	High	X	X		X
Stratus	Niagara	Family/Small	10-15	$26-	High	X	X		X

		(<12000 cases)	years	$48					
Foreign Affair	Niagara	Family/small (>5000 cases)	<5 years	$23-$163	High	X	X		
Ancient Coast	Niagara	Corporate	Defunct	$7-$36	Low to moderate		X		
Stoney Ridge	Niagara	Family/Small to medium (15000 cases)	25-30 years	$14-$100	Low to moderate	X	X		
Colio	Lake Erie North Shore	Family/Large (300000 cases)	30-35 years	$7-$60	Low to Moderate	X	X		X
Legends	Niagara	Family/Small to medium (<18000 cases)	15-20 years	$7-$45	Low to moderate	X		X	
Kittling Ridge	Niagara	Family/Large (400000 cases)	15-20 years	$8-$35	Low to moderate	X	X		X
Pillitterri	Niagara	Family/Medium (<60000)	15-20 years	$10-$150	Moderate	X		X	X
Cattail Creek	Niagara	Family/Small (<5000 cases)	5-10 years	$14-$120	Moderate		X	X	
Strewn	Niagara	Family/Medium (25000 cases)	15-20 years	$12-$63	Moderate	X	X		

Reif	Niagara	Family/medium (35000 cases)	25-30 years	$7-$50	Moderate	X		X	X
Sprucewood Shores	Lake Erie North Shore	Family/Small to medium (<20000)	5-10 years	$11-$40	Moderate	X	X	X	
Angels Gate	Niagara	Family/Small to medium (14000 cases)	10-15 years	$13-$35	Moderate	X	X		X
Organized Crime	Niagara	Family/Small (<4000 cases)	5-10 years	$17-$36	Moderate	X	X		
Vignoble Rancourt	Niagara	Family/Small (<2500 cases)	5-10 years	$16-$35	Moderate		X	X	
Viewpointe	Lake Erie North Shore	Family/Small (12000 cases)	10-15 years	$13-$29	Moderate		X		
Between the Lines	Niagara	Family/Small estate (1000 cases)	<5 years	$12-$25	Moderate	X			X
Kacaba	Niagara	Family/Small (7000 cases)	10 to 15 years	$12-$135	Moderate	X	X		
Inniskillin	Niagara	Corporate/Large (150000)	35-40 years	$12-100	Moderate to high	X	X		X
Black Prince	Prince Edward County	Family/Small (>5000)	10-15 years	$13-$98	Moderate to high	X	X		

Vineland Estates	Niagara Escarpment	Family/medium (60000 cases)	30-35 years	$13-$85	Moderate to high		X		
Chateau de Charmes	Niagara	Family/Medium (30000 cases)	35-40 years	$7-$75	Moderate to high	X		X	X
Fielding	Niagara	Family/Small to medium (20000 cases)	5-10 years	$16-75	Moderate to high	X		X	
Henry of Pelham	Niagara	Family/Medium (75000 cases)	25-30 years	$14-$65	Moderate to high	X		X	X
Thirteenth Street	Niagara	Family/Small (<5000 cases)	20-25 years	$15-$60	Moderate to high	X	X	X	
Southbrook	Niagara	Family/small (7000 to 10000 cases)	10-15 years	$15-$50	Moderate to high		X	X	X
Cave Springs	Niagara	Family/Medium (50000 cases)	25-30 years	$15-$50	Moderate to high		X	X	
Featherstone	Niagara	Family/Small (500 cases)	10-15 years	$13-$35	Moderate to high		X	X	
Aure	Niagara	Family/Small (5000 cases)	<5 years	$12-$23	Unknown	X	X	X	