1996

The taste of globalization: The wine industry of Ontario.

Andrea Laura. Della Valle
University of Windsor

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THE TASTE OF GLOBALIZATION: THE WINE INDUSTRY OF ONTARIO

by

ANDREA DELLA VALLE

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1996

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ISBN 0-612-10987-9
ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine the effects of hegemony and globalization on the wine industry of Ontario. The purpose of this thesis is to call attention to the political and economic power system that is controlled by a few key decision makers whose goal is to "naturalize" consumers' taste for wine. Since Prohibition, governmental and industrial agencies have promoted different "tastes" for Ontario's wine in the hopes of gaining a profit. Each change in the promoted "taste" creates a dramatic impact on consumers. Today's goal of the industry is to produce internationally competitive wine and turn Canadians into "natural" wine drinkers. Throughout this thesis I look at the history of the Ontario wine industry and identify the key governmental and industrial agencies whose objectives have changed the course of Ontario's wine production and promotion and have thus invented and reinvented the "taste" and image of Ontario's wine. I argue that these changes in image and "taste" influence people's perceptions in order to benefit the domestic wine industry and government agencies. In order to further understand how and to what extent the power system works, I examine the ideology of a globally objectified taste in wine tasting and competitions as well as interview four South Western Ontario winemasters as examples of "creators" working within the political and economic hegemonic system. In the end, I reveal that the
perception of winemaking as a subjective art persists within
the global objectification of taste and that believed
subjective "taste" for wine is always being limited by
objective political and economic parameters.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my two sisters -
Madelyn for her unending encouragement and
Sarah for her late night phone calls.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank Dr. Hedley and Dr. Phillips whose efforts have given me the encouragement and drive to pursue a seemingly unusual topic. Dr. Hedley must be held responsible for getting me into this mess called a thesis and Dr. Phillips must be acknowledged for her "wonder woman" editorial skills and comments. A special thank you to you both! I would also like to acknowledge the efforts and help of Dr. Paraschak whose comments were always thought provoking and greatly appreciated.

The information and perspectives that are demonstrated in this thesis would not have been possible without the many people who allowed themselves to be interviewed and openly offered their opinions and advice. Thank you! I would also like to extend a special thanks to the four winemasters, Lyse Leblanc, Walter Schmoranz, Carlo Negri and Sal D'Angelo for their help and the extra time and effort they took to cordially explain the Ontario wine system and give me their opinions.

On a personal note, my fellow students, Cathy Yoshisaka, Jazvinder Sanghera, Pamela Cole, Jenn Zubick and Paula Green must be thanked for their friendship, theoretical perspectives and availability to help further my research with the sampling of Ontario's grape and hops products! I would also like to thank Sean Sorensen. My winery tours of Niagara and Essex County would not have been
complete without my conspirator and friend "Chardonnay Sean" whose help in the purchasing and consumption of the research materials cannot go unnoticed. Another friend that must be acknowledged is Branka Malesevic whose sense of humour and efforts to further my research with additional readings was always appreciated. No endeavour of mine is ever accomplished without my three "young" friends, Jennifer Hartley, Annie Charlton and Kristine Gombai, whom I have known for practically all my life and whose friendship I hold very dear.

I would like to extend a special thank you to my mother without whose encouragement and love I would never have been able to believe in myself in order to achieve my goals and most of all be happy with life. I would also like to thank my cousin Bevin whose computer knowledge greatly simplified and aided in the Search and Replace aspect of my thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank Tom for managing to stay with me and support me through my many daily "moods". Your silent encouragement gave me the stamina to forge forward and your constant willingness and availability to "tastings" helped greatly by making the "research" a lot more fun...Cheers!!
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INTRODUCTION
"What Is Wine?"

"Wine is a very universal thing!"
   (LCBO Product Consultant)

"[Wine is] the most healthful, the most hygienic of
beverages...[wine] is the one [beverage] a person prefers
to all others, if only he is given the chance to accustom
himself to it"
   (Pasteur in De Luca, 1979:187)

"Wine is a chemical symphony"
   (Amerine, in De Luca, 1979:187)

"He [the god of wine] can do the impossible; he imbues
impoverished hearts with poetry...He fills emptied vessels
of life with destinies and drives the stranded back into the
swift currents of action. Such is the nature of wine."
   (Camenzind. 1994:79)

"Wine is the most natural of medicines whose benefits to the
heart, digestive and nervous systems have been well
documented by many medical institutions around the world."
   (Aspler, 1994:xv)

"Wine is one of man's oldest, pleasantest, and most
consoling companions. Its myriad nuances add dimension to
our sense of beauty. It also has a magical quality...and this is its inherent sociability, its capacity to change
the most splintered group into a communal whole."
   (Wildman. 1972:vii)

"Wine is essentially just another part of the meal."
   (Murray. 1957:31)

"Did you know that wines can express your personality?"
   (Masson, 1979:cover)

The above opinions demonstrate the diversity in vantage
points when one considers wine. Wine has many reputations
and charms. The above authors indicate wine to be considered
an omniscient being, a medical treatment, a personification
of friendship and even a reflection of the self. In its
classification, some consider wine in the same category as
any grocery item while others place wine as a status symbol
of the upper class. All is dependent on the purchaser and
the reputation that advertising agents have given that
particular product. Therefore, it becomes obvious that the
opinions regarding wine vary far and wide; a person's
background, interests and motivations are reflected in their
perspective on wine.

A Jehovah's Witness or strict Baptist may look at wine
as simply an alcoholic beverage that is sinful and evil
while a chef may look at wine for the characteristics of the
grape variety and its influence on the meal that he/she is
preparing. Wine can be classified scientifically by its
components or referred to lyrically by its colour and its
alcoholic effects. On the same note, the alcoholic effects
can be supported and measured scientifically while the
components can be romanticized in poetry and wine
connoisseurship. Each person's image or understanding of
wine is created and shaped by his or her affiliation with
the product.

If a person's religion pronounces wine to be morally
corrupt then she or he may imagine wine to be a spiritually
destructive product. On the other hand, if a person
commercially produces and sells wine, his or her overall
opinion will parallel the rest of the self-proclaimed wine
world in order to compete in the market. Wine can be viewed
as "sinful" or "heavenly", but for those who do drink wine,
the varying opinions all fall within the barriers of what
has already been branded as the "proper" manufacture and "natural" understanding of wine. As the bottle of time flows and the hands of power change, the reader will soon realize that the varying opinions regarding wine are actually quite limited by the political and economic hegemonic system.

Wine has existed for at least 8000 years (Rowe, 1978:11) and quite possibly 10,000 years if one includes the deliberate selection and harvesting of the grapevines which consequently provided the potential for producing wine (Younger, 1966:28 and Michaels, 1981:xi).

Students of ampelography (the science of vines and their characteristics) generally agree that grapevines existed during the tertiary and beginning of the quaternary ages under tropical conditions... Then came a cold age with the formation of glaciers extending far into Europe and into North America. Plants were killed, except in at least two well-protected areas - one in Europe in Transcaucasia (also called Pontus Euxinus), the other in North America in the southern part of the Appalachian Mountains. In Transcaucasia grapes belonged to the species Vitis vinifera; more than sixty varieties have been identified by Soviet geneticists. In North

---

1 There appears to be a variety of perspectives on the beginnings of wine production. Julian Jeffs (1971) separates the origin of wine by its base fruit. Jeffs claims that date wine was the first fermented fruit juice although he does not give a date. He follows with grape wine, placing its origins in 3,000 BC Mesopotamia and rice wine in 2,000 BC China. Georges Masson (1979:27) agrees with Jeffs’ dates but places wine in Georgia and Armenia in 3,000 BC and dates wine containers to 2,000 BC in the "fertile crescent" of Palestine. But Jeffs like Masson also calls attention to the popular beliefs of the first reference to wine - the Bible - with Noah being the first drunkard: "And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard: and he drank of the wine, and was drunken..." (Genesis: Ch.9, vv. I, 20-21).
America, grapes belonged to many species of *Vitis* but not *Vitis vinifera*. (Masson, 1979:27)

Wine grapes, like any other product manufactured by humans, have been carefully selected and cultivated throughout time to ensure a preferred and controlled result. In other words, the *vinifera* grapes that are used to create the traditional European wines are a result of methodically cultivated vines which probably originated ten thousand years ago in eastern Europe and then spread westward throughout Europe and North Africa (Jeffs, 1971:17). Trade and wars² would have brought the vines and the wine to the Mediterranean region until it had spread all over Europe where the climatic conditions of each region either helped the selected vines to flourish or contributed to the vines' demise. Already "[b]y the fourth century, vines had been planted in nearly every area now known in north European viticulture...The wine trade, which because of ease of water-borne transportation followed the great river valleys, thrived" (Wildman, 1972:2).

With the arrival of the Germans, after the collapse of the Roman empire, the people living in the ancient Gaul territory turned towards Christianity as a haven of peace and familiarity in their new upturned world. With this rise

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² For example, the Romans planted most of the vines in France when their legions swept through Gaul in the first century BC (Wildman, 1972:2).
of Roman Christianity, the cultivation and production of wine centred around the monasteries where it had always played a key role in the celebration of the Eucharist. "The Roman viticultural methods the monks studied were advanced, and as these monks, ideally, had no higher goal than to strive toward perfection for the glory of God, it is not surprising that the Church became the discoverer and developer of many of France's finest vineyards" (Wildman, 1972:3). My purpose is not to give the detailed history of the growth of the European wine industry but simply to demonstrate how the "taste" for wines made from the *Vitis vinifera* grapes has an extended history in the colonized world. Throughout the European continent, trade and wars helped spread the tastes of wine made from the one species of *Vitis vinifera* and thus turned the product from this variety of grape into a common aspect of everyday living.

...only one species [of grapes] is native to Europe. All the wine of Europe - France, Italy, Germany, Spain, even most of North Africa - is based upon this one species. The variations in European wine are due to the fact that there are several thousand varieties of grapes within that one species. The European species is known as *Vitis Vinifera* which is Latin for wine making grape.

(Murray, 1957:9)

It is this wine making grape that is now commonly known as the Noble grape, a title never granted to any North American variety.

In Canada, a known pre-colonization written history of selectivity, trade and control over wine production does not
exist. Before colonization, Native North Americans are said to have made wine of grapes which are native to North America "as an offering to the gods at Niagara Falls" (Rannie, 1978:47). Archaeological evidence proves that the Native Americans did produce wines made from fermented fruits including some of the twenty-three Vitis species of North America. There are also stories that trace Leif Ericson to Newfoundland and his "discovery" of "Vinland". It is said that Ericson named Newfoundland, "Vinland". due to the abundance of grapevines from which the Viking crew is said to have made the first "Canadian" wine (Aspler, 1993:6).

Five hundred years later, in 1535, wine is first mentioned in Canadian written history in the voyages of Jacques Cartier. When Jacques Cartier anchored in present day l'Île d'Orléans, he saw an island covered with the wild North American grapes which gave him reason for naming it - Île de Bacchus (Aspler, 1993; Masson, 1979).

From colonization onward, winemaking in Canada can be traced through missionary accounts and settler activity. It is known that Jesuit missionaries made sacramental wine\(^3\) from native grapes in Ontario in the mid 17th century (Ontario, 1986:1), and a century later, French settlers in

\(^3\) Religion has played a very influential part in the development of the wine industry worldwide. To trace the history of religion, its role in politics and how the alcohol industry (especially wine) became not only religious but socio-political symbols is unfortunately too lengthy and complex to be appropriate for the scope of this paper.
Essex County grew both native and European vines in order to fulfill their European developed demand for wine. "In 1878, a Frenchman named Girardot, living in Essex county, Ontario remarked: 'I was born in France and yet I do not know of any area in France where grapes mature as well or as full of sugar as in Essex county" (Petel, 1973:96). Still, the wine produced from North American grapes only served as a substitute when European wine was not available to those who could afford the comparatively high import prices. The early history of Canada's differing vineyards does not parallel the rise of European civilization and its political control over the vinifera vineyards and the ensuing monopoly over the "taste" of Europe. European colonization brought with it the taste for European wine and the understanding of its superiority.

Throughout Canada's history, European settlers have attempted to bring the taste of the grapes from their homelands to the labrusca grapes of the New World. All attempts to satisfy their national background's criteria resulted in internationally considered 'substandard' quality and therefore were placed in their own distinct category - Canadian. The irony of the situation is that there are definite trends when it comes to the taste of wine. Georges Masson (1979:32) reveals in his book Wine from Ontario Grapes that the taste from the "original" wines did not even resemble today's standards: "Though it might seem that the
taste has prevailed over the centuries, it is more likely that many of the wines sold in antiquity and during the Middle Ages would be considered undrinkable by present standards". Wines of the Middle Ages usually included the addition of raisins, honey, water and/or incense. Wine only gathered a more "standardized" production method upon the discovery of preservatives, bottling and especially the arrival of the railroad.

The construction of the railroad in Europe produced the same effect as in North America - an increased demand. Large quantities of wine were suddenly being demanded all over the world and only the larger, established wineries were able to compete and meet the international increase in consumption with their supplies. "The XIXth century saw the democratization of wine. With the arrival of the railroad, it was possible to ship wines from all regions to a wider market. There was increased consumption, supplied by plantation of high-yield, low quality vines" (Masson 1979:31). All the world was experiencing "the democratization" with what is presently considered "low-quality" wine. I argue that the railway initiated the beginnings of globalization and with it the spread of one

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† At this point in history, a familiar scenario began: Quantity became the demand and thus smaller wineries began to fold under the pressure of competition from the larger, better financed wineries. As we will see in Chapter Three and Four, the same scenario has taken place here in Ontario where quantity and quality have been at odds between small and large wineries.
taste and one image of wine -- Europe's _Vitis vinifera_. European wines became considered as distinguished necessities to be served with special meals in elite households. Canadian wine, still widely consumed, was being advertised for its use at sacramental services as well as for its accessibility in pharmacies (Aspler, 1993:11). Thus, worldwide "the democratization" of European wine became the ideal and a greatly demanded commodity.

Most of the literature that I have read has described the early attempts to produce the _Vitis vinifera_ in North America as mostly futile due to the cold climatic conditions. Still today, the icy image of Canada lead many to believe that Canada is too cold a country to be able to produce wine, and especially the quality standards of European noble wine. David Mishkin, in his Economics doctoral thesis that explores the theory of commodity mercantilism⁵ in the American colonial wine industry, contradicts this belief. Mishkin believes that due to commodity mercantilism the mother countries of Spain, France, and England in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries made a favourable commodity balance at home a priority.

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⁵ Commodity mercantilism with regards to the American wine industry "argues that it was a lack of economic incentives and a dearth of capital and skilled labor which allowed climatic and viticultural factors to influence adversely the success of oenological ventures in the colonies. It interprets socio-political encroachments as attempts by European states to thwart an industry which might compete with one of their principal exports" (Mishkin, 1966:302).
Therefore, the production of wine in the colonies was permitted on the basis of the ready availability of wine at home.

As wine-producing countries, Spain and France restricted colonial production of wine and other commodities which would affect adversely their export trade. The theory of commodity mercantilism suggests that political decisions in France and Spain attempted to "control colonial trade to augment royal revenue by taxing the sale of wine and other commodities" (Mishkin, 1966:300). Such control would discourage colonial viticulture and wine production. On the other hand, England, which does not have a vast production of wine, initially promoted the production of colonial wines in order to create their own supply. Unfortunately, tobacco, silk and gin quickly took the production of North American wine away from the "colonies" due to the greater revenue generated by these other commodities. Therefore, Mishkin (1966:301) argues: "Viticulture was promoted only when it manifested comparative advantages in production. Hence, both in England and in the colonies, individual oenological projects were only intermittently successful".

Although Mishkin's argument about the role of commodity mercantilism in the American colonial wine industry is not commonly followed. I believe it is important to acknowledge the contributions of such a theory for the study of control mechanisms within the wine industry as well as the
development of taste and understanding of wine. Since during the initial settlement of the "colonies" the settlers were discouraged from producing their own wine, it is not surprising that the European wine industry benefitted (as it still does today) from the poor understanding of native North American grapes. Without money to develop an industry, Ontarian wines could not be introduced into the colonial market and thus foster a respectable distinct image and taste. Therefore, Ontario wines obtained and maintained the reputation of being poor quality while European wine continued/continues to flood the market and benefit from Canada's taste for Europe.

To obtain the flavour of European wine it is necessary to use these European noble grapes which have been grafted onto the roots of North American vines. This practice is necessary in order to help prevent the phylloxera disease as well as survive the cold winter climate. This grafting technology ensures Canadian wines the ability to produce internationally competitive wines. What is not common knowledge is that this same grafting technique was used in Europe, beginning in 1868, when first the French and then the rest of the European vineyards became plagued with the fast-spreading, root-eating phylloxera insect carrying disease. Today the use of the Native North American vinifera roots has become a common practice for vines worldwide due to their resistance to the phylloxera yet
Europe certainly does not advertise their connection to the North American Vitis. Viewing this situation through Mishkin's theory of commodity mercantilism, one can surmise that the 19th Century destruction of a staple form of income in Europe - the grapes - forced the "mother countries" to turn to the colonies for help. In order to maintain the Vitis vinifera, the North American rootstocks became a desired commodity, but in order to maintain the desired European taste. Canadians had to remain dependent upon Europe for their wine supply. Therefore, the mother countries still maintained the control over the taste for wine and the colonies remained dependent. It was not until the latter half of the 20th Century that grafting technology was to be reintroduced and used for production of wine in Ontario.

According to one of the winemasters with whom I spoke⁶: "Each vine [in the world], apart from Chile which appears to have been protected by the Andes mountains [from the phylloxera], is in fact part noble and part domestic. I guess you can say that - every wine is created from a global vine". But this global vine, although a saviour in the 19th Century and 20th Century, is not a glorified concept with regards to the image of quality and nobility of Europe's vineyards. At present there is a section in France which is experimenting with the pure vinifera vines in order to

⁶ Please see Appendix A, where I introduce my methodology and let the reader understand how I chose to speak to the people I interviewed and why.
advertise its "purity" and appeal to the country's nationalism⁷. Still, the global vine is turning people's tastes to global wine: a "taste" criteria created in Europe with the Noble grapes and dispersed to Canada with globalization.

And thus, gradually fermented by conquest, religion and politics, the vine became entwined around the entire globe...  
(Petel, 1973:19)

I must now ask what obviously many others have asked before me: What is wine? Is it a "thing" that can be categorized and explained with a simple description? From a physical viewpoint and in non-technical terms, wine is simply fermented grape juice⁸. But why and how has this fermented grape juice evolved to carry so many varying images and perspectives and where does the Ontario wine industry fit into this picture? Personally, I do not believe everyone envisions wine, wine making, wine advertising or wine drinking as having "one" picture or description. Throughout this thesis I hope to unveil the underlying political and economic power system that has

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⁷ Unfortunately, I cannot give any further details on the growth of these new vines since I only acquired this information in France in a discussion with a student of restaurant hospitality.

⁸ There is a debate as to whether a wine needs grapes to be defined as a wine. The Ontario (n.d.) Ministry of Agriculture booklet, Wine Making in small quantities, describes five broad groups of wine: 1) grape wines, 2) fruit wines, 3) honey wines, 4) rhubarb wines, and 5) beet wine. For the purposes of my paper I shall use the term wine only to refer to the wine made from grapes and I shall specify the type if any another wine variety is being discussed.
historically controlled, naturalized and legitimized the varied images and tastes of Ontario's wine. In this introduction, I have begun by exemplifying the various uses and understandings of wine in general and how it has developed and been portrayed throughout its early history. From this general portrayal of the multitude of interpretations of wine, I will continue with Chapter Two by introducing the power behind the multiplicity of understandings and meanings of wine in Ontario and explaining the difficulty in defining power-laden terminology.

Chapter Three proceeds with the historical and ideological development of the wine industry in Ontario and begins to reveal the power behind the mixed messages that have been and are being presented to the Ontario public. This chapter introduces the role of the provincial government and its relationship with some of the major Canadian liquor companies in shaping the image and taste of Ontario's wine. Chapter Three continues by bringing the readers to the present (defined as 1988 onwards) hegemonic system and investigates the various roles of the Ontario government and its agencies as well as their relationship with the provincial wine industry's lobby groups. In this chapter, the role of most of the decision makers involved with the Ontario wine industry are revealed and explained as a means of demonstrating the sometimes indirect path of
control and the power behind what appears to be "natural".

Chapter Five pursues the concept of "naturalized" taste and quality through the political and economic hegemonic system that has globally standardized, legitimized and thus "naturalized" a wine's evaluation. This chapter explores the role of subjectivity and objectivity as well as art and science in the wine industry through its evaluation, production and promotion. Chapter Six follows with interviews with four of South Western Ontario's winemasters. In this chapter, the information from the previous chapters is used to investigate each winemaster's perspective on his/her constraints and freedom within the Ontario wine industry and the subjectivity/objectivity he/she feels when producing wine. Finally, Chapter Seven draws conclusions from my study.
Chapter Two

Understanding the Power of Wine

Wine is a fermented grape juice that has travelled through time and space and has been transformed into a product that hints at mystery due to its variety of interpretations and understandings. Wine was created by humans and thus its manufacture and image has developed through human control, manipulation and ritual. Vinifera wine, as an alcoholic beverage, has grown and matured into a liquid ritual and image that is embedded in the history of European civilization and personified by a code of strict rules and regulations. The rules and regulations\(^9\) of "traditional" wine evaluation all stem from differing perceptions and the need to explain the differences in the products created from the global Vinifera vine.

In the introduction, I quoted Georges Masson (1979) who states that wine can "describe your personality". Often, it is believed that a person's choice and evaluation of a wine will tell others something about him or her as well as make the selector vulnerable to examination and classification. Karen MacNeil (1993:188) explains:

I used to wish wines were more like cocktails. Cocktails are an effortless drink. No one worries about the history of the martini before taking a sip; few fret over the different kinds of Bloody Marys before ordering one with brunch. Wine, on

\(^9\) The rules and regulations of wine evaluation will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter Five.
the other hand, is cerebral. People ask your opinion of it; it has nuances. Entire conversations at dinner parties are given over the topic. Wine has "rules," experts, collectors and - worst of all - the insidious capacity to make one feel unconfident.

What is it about this fermented fruit juice that has come to have such an overwhelming power over a person's confidence? How can wine be "cerebral"? In order to answer some of these questions on the "power" of wine as well as to demonstrate how the drinking of alcoholic beverages tends to be a ritualized activity, I shall begin by referring to the ideas in a book edited by Mary Douglas. Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology. After the reader has been introduced to some of the theoretical approaches social scientists have used in analyzing some of the ritualized activity and meanings of drinking in general, I will bring forth my interpretation of wine in Ontario and explain my use of certain wine and theoretical terminology.

In 1978, at the Tenth Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Delhi, several papers on drink were presented, giving Mary Douglas the idea of collecting the papers and several other articles and compiling a book that presented an anthropological cross-cultural perspective on drink. Douglas introduces the 1987 book with an anthropological perspective by suggesting that Western culture's studies are ethnocentric in their treatment of alcohol since the studies by social scientists
appear mainly to concentrate on its abuse and not any other factor.

Douglas presents the idea that alcohol does not necessarily need to be viewed with its abuse in mind. Alcohol can be studied as a ritualized social act that is normally accepted cross-culturally.

The general tenor of the anthropological perspective is that celebration is normal and that in most cultures alcohol is a normal adjunct to celebration. Drinking is essentially a social act, performed in a recognized social context. (Douglas, 1987:4)

Therefore, according to this anthropological perspective, drinks and thus wine gain meaning through socialization (especially in an atmosphere that calls for celebration). However this rather general view is not always the case unless you consider alcoholics and "consoling drinks" that are drunk alone as a cause for celebration. Douglas acknowledges that the definition is inadequate and thus turns to phenomenology to clarify the reasons for the rituals of the drinking.

Douglas begins with the phenomenologists assumption that views the world as being socially constructed. She then argues that drink can be viewed in three ways: 1) "drinks give the actual structure of social life as surely as if their names were affixed upon expected forms of behaviour", 2) "the manufacture of alcohol is an economic activity of consequence", and 3) "the ceremonials of drinking construct an ideal world" (Douglas, 1987:8). All
the articles in Douglas' book fit into one of the three above sections. I believe that by viewing wine and the rituals of drinking in these three categories, the development of wine's variety of images and perspectives will become a little more clarified and a better basis for understanding the ways in which the image of wine is subject to political and economic control will emerge.

The first section, entitled "Drinks construct the world as it is" (Douglas, 1987:71), is easily demonstrated by asking yourself: What do you think of when you picture someone drinking a bottle or a glass of wine? What is the setting? What is the person wearing? How is the person drinking his/her glass of wine? Is he or she alone? Have you pictured a particular bottle, label, glass? Would your images be the same if you had pictured yourself with beer instead of wine? How you answered these questions is what your understanding is of what is wine and what is its place in the "actual world". Every drink will certainly call a different image to each person depending upon their own personal experiences. I just want to use this idea and demonstrate the particular settings that are imagined with wine. Since there are so many different settings for wine, the big differences would come with those who drink wine. I mean, if you do not drink wine your images would be drawn from that which you have seen in your surroundings (i.e., movies, advertisements, friends and family). If you do drink
wine and partake in wine tastings you may have pictured yourself demonstrating the techniques of wine's sensory evaluation. On the other hand, if you have not reached the level you consider to be wine connoisseurship you may have envisioned a renowned wine judge. The point is that your understanding of wine exemplifies its power to become our "expected form of behaviour".

Our perception of the world shapes our behaviour and our sense of self. As an example of this, Douglas (1987:9) uses the connoisseurship of wine to demonstrate how selective hospitality promotes competitive individualism and thus is a means of influencing our forms of behaviour within a social setting:

Connoisseurship in the matter of wines is in itself a field for competition. We must take note of the exclusionary potential represented by the serried ranks of vintage and lesser wines of Europe. Amazing in itself is the trained palate that can recognize and name the vineyard, the year, even the growth of particular wines. Apparently, the top wine taster needs to keep his palate in form by never relaxing his specialized daily practice, like a violinist and quite unlike a language speaker who can always pick up the nuances of a language once learnt well.

A person who has been exposed to wine connoisseurship may feel inferior and unconfident if he or she has not been educated in the guidelines prescribed to wine tasters and desires to enter such a wine circle. All is dependent upon the social structure of the person's life and what his/her

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10 Wine's sensory evaluation will be discussed in Chapter Five.
socialization dictates as the appropriate form of behaviour with regards to wine. "So, connoisseurship has power for identifying the person as well as the wine" (Douglas, 1987:9). This thus explains why many people perceive wine as an actual tool of power; where a person's understanding presents a powerful image that aims at being "cerebral" and provoking "nuances" with each explanation.

The second section of Douglas' book, Constructive Drinking, "Alcohol entrenches the alternative economy", places the manufacture of alcohol as an economic activity with specific desired results. The articles in this section view "alcohol production and distribution as an industry [that] is peculiarly conducive to monopoly. It provides a uniform product, its manufacture offers large economies of scale, it has low carrying costs and is highly in demand" (Douglas, 1987:12-13). Although the articles only refer to an alternative economy in dealing with 17th and 18th century Poland's closed monetary system, the history of the Chiapas highlands in black market rum dealing and Soviet Georgia's feasting tradition that sustained private networks and allowed a flow of resources in the highly bureaucratized ex-Soviet state, its message can be utilized in the present day economy of Ontario.

From this perspective, wine cannot be viewed only as a construct of Douglas' perspective of the social world since it is also tied to the economy. The Ontario wine industry
educates listeners to the world of wine. This education is marketed through images that present an industrially desired perception of the internationally standardized "taste" for Vinifera-based wine. At present, since the Ontario wine industry desires to make money, it is profitable to market the "taste" for wine made with Vinifera grapes in order to be internationally competitive. Therefore, the provincial market economy is inherently tied to the image and "uniform" international taste criteria that the Ontario wine industry now offers with the objective of creating a competitive commodity of high demand. Eventually, interested listeners will choose to buy the internationally standardized, vinifera-based marketed product with the belief that the constructed perception is their own personal understanding of "quality" wine. Only after an image has been formed, can a person's "personal" understanding be used to "construct" a person's social world. To only consider wine's social power is naive since social structures are based in the national and international economy. Therefore, I believe that both Douglas' first section and this section must be considered together in the study of Ontario's wine industry. The questions we should ask ourselves are: What is the economic power system that lies behind our images, taste and perceptions of wine, and who is benefitting from these images and taste for vinifera-based wines that compete in the market economy?
The third section of Douglas' (1987:147) book, "Drinking constructs an ideal world", deals with the notion of alcohol being drunk as a means of making sense of a world where senselessness and chaos abound. Drinking here does not only refer to our image of the drunkard singing in the streets but it portrays the worlds that are "not false worlds, but fragile ones, momentarily upheld and easily overturned" (Douglas, 1987:12). The idea is to call attention to the rituals that are used with drink when a distinction from a person's regular world is needed. The difference between this section and the first section is that the creators of the ideal world are performing their rituals from a world where they cannot depend on a stable distribution of power - the drinking rituals are geared to create a form of equality. For example, Haim Hazan exemplifies this idea with his chapter, "Holding Time Still with Cups of Tea" where the "left-behind poor" at an old age centre "create a myth and a ceremony [through their daily tea time ritual] that holds grim reality at bay" (1987:205). Cross-culturally, Elizabeth Bott presents the Tongan Kava ceremony where "Tongans transcend emotions and enhance their consciousness of belonging in a larger society...with the pounding of the Kava root and its solution in water and distribution as a soothing drink" (1987:182).

Although I will not be concentrating on wine's construction of an ideal world, I believe it is important to
realize that wine has the ability to represent that which the drinkers desire to create. There is a very fine line between the first section of Douglas' book and this third section; the former deals with all social acts while the third refers specifically to socialization based on structural world inequality and senselessness. Throughout this thesis I will be applying the arguments of the first two sections of Douglas' book as interrelated theories of perception and power.

Another aspect to consider, that Douglas' observations do not include, is the present day debate of wine as a health benefit. During Prohibition times, alcohol was usually considered synonymous with evil, sin and morbidity. Since that time, the alcohol industry has been looking for ways to change its image. Recently it was not the alcohol industry but medical research that uncovered another face for wine: wine is now being recognized as a health benefit (Jones, 1995; Wickens, 1995; Camargo, 1994; Lipton, 1994; Renaud, 1995; Nelson, 1994) and, of course, the wine industry quickly captured and began promoting this new image.

In 1981, Marjorie Michaels wrote a book titled Stay Healthy With Wine where she presents the theories of wine therapy as a useful agent in natural cures, beauty and dieting. She portrays the history of wine as a helpful antibiotic as well as a medication which is not damaging to one's health as long as it is consumed in the recommended
quantities. Most people today have not heard of Marjorie Michaels but they have heard of the "French Paradox". Although arguments calling on the beneficial aspects of wine have been around for a long time (i.e., its use as a purifier of drinking water in Roman times and as a source of iron), it was not until the 1991 CBS television episode of "60 Minutes" that red wine was revealed as the reason behind the "French Paradox" and a possibility for people to live longer lives. Now it is common to see newspaper articles that present the health benefits of red wine, using scientific terminology such as antioxidant and resveratrol. With a medical and scientific dialogue as a backing for the biological benefits of wine, the age old mental health perspective has also made a new appearance.

While no one would claim that wine is a healthy or nutritional panacea, it must not be forgotten that wine was the first water purifier and anti-

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11 Dr. Serge Renaud (Canadian Wine Institute, 1995) from the National Institute of Health and Medical Research explains: "The French Paradox presents the French at a high level of risk for some indicators but a low level of heart disease, mortality or morbidity. A high level risk factor is represented by their high level of cholesterol, a high intake of fat, high amount of smoking and a high level of hypertension. Yet despite the high risk, the mortality rate from coronary heart disease is much lower than in North America and is in fact one of the lowest in the world".

12 Antioxidants refer to "substances [called flavonoids] that destroy the so-called damaging free radicals that cause many illnesses" (Jones, 1995). Resveratrol is produced on the grapevine to defend itself from fungi. Dr. Goldberg (Canadian Wine Institute, 1995) explains: "Resveratrol is a tri-hydroxy stilbene compound that helps prevent or minimize the risk of atherosclerosis and heart disease by: 1) preventing inflammation, 2) stopping blood clotting and 3) producing chemicals which widen the blood vessels and allows much more blood to get to the heart and other tissue".
bacterial agent and for centuries considered to be a preserver of health and a contributing factor for a speedy recovery for many illnesses. When consumed in moderation, wine tranquillises and relaxes the spirit and opens the way to dialogue and humour. Feeling well psychologically is intimately linked to physical health and wine forms that positive connection between mind and body.

(Canadian Wine Institute, 1995)

Dependent upon the speaker, wine, like most aspects of our lives, is forever being seen through the eyes of the beholder. In the context of wine, proclaimed wine authorities\(^\text{13}\) become the teachers and thus are an important link in our understandings and perceptions. Although there are often variations within and between each perspective, typically, wine authorities follow an artistic and/or a scientific perspective when they try to "educate" people about wine. To exemplify the discursive move from subjective to objective presentations and understandings of wine I shall briefly demonstrate a few wine book authors' interpretations of this fermented grape juice.

Pierre Petel (1973: 18) author of Wine: a Practical Guide for Canadians compares wine to friendship by referring to the social situation in which he believes wine is drunk. He gives the fermented juice life by stating:

Wine gives birth to friendship. There is a natural association between wine and a friendly gathering. Wine itself is a happy and tranquil friend, and a

\(^{13}\) Personally, I believe anyone can become a wine authority by studying the standardized method of wine evaluation and researching regional viticulture, oenology (winemaking), grape genealogy and their individual characteristics.
lively companion. Wine is born, it matures, it
dies. It reaches its peak period, then ages and
declines, just as our friends do.

Obviously, Petel follows the more artistic perspective where
he has personified wine with the characteristics of a
friend. This perspective is often used when the alcoholic
effects of wine are emphasized; it relaxes a situation and
promotes conversation. In these types of descriptions, the
actual physiological effects of alcohol are not discussed,
yet it is romanticized as a magical power.

The magic continues with Canadian wine author, Percy
Rowe (1978:8) who brings out the situational understanding
of wine even further by personifying wine as having sexual
characteristics. He names the first chapter, in his book
Red, White & Rose, "Wine is sexy - and much more!" and
hints at a life and personal agenda of wine itself:

It [wine] has the attributes to be sensual: it is
itself the union of happy spirits, sunshine
kissing the grape; it comes from clean lands,
often from hill sides or fields as spruce and
weedless as laundered sheets; it is the result of
good breeding, professionalism, experience. Wine,
in the production and tasting, demands more than
the jerky fumblings of the amateur. It gives
much, but expects to be appreciated in return...It
is suggestive. Even in the bottle it hints at
romance - a touch of mystery that must always
accompany that never totally definable
description.

In marketing it is said that sex sells. Sex is very
personal and thus wine personified as a sexual activity
becomes very saleable. When you put sex and alcohol
together you are left with a very subjective perspective of
wine and its purpose is to leave the wine drinkers to their own devices as they experiment with the "forbidden" fermented grape juice. But, it cannot be forgotten that wine portrayed only subjectively would not attain the credibility that scientific research presents through objective analysis.

Alan Young (1986:9) in his International Wine Academy Textbook, *Making Sense of Wine: A Study in Sensory Perception*, describes the importance of step by step training and teaching in the evaluation of wine:

Wine, like anything else that gives us pleasure, can be enjoyed more fully by those who have taken the trouble to learn something about it, and who have tried to develop their individual sensory systems.

The individual sensory systems refers to a human's four of five senses (touch, taste, sight and smell) which are highly susceptible to subjective understandings. Most wine authorities who follow the sensory system acknowledge the influence of subjective behaviour but attempt to train their audience to decipher wine quality as an objective process of wine evaluation. By following a set of step-by-step guidelines, an amateur wine drinker can tune his or her senses to "feel" a wine but be objective in their descriptions and thus "develop the ability to evaluate the quality of wines consistently and accurately...[as well as] appreciate the differences in qualitative and non-qualitative wine characteristics" (Sharp, 1995:xii).
Whether a person equates wine with friendship, romance or trained experience, wine has come to represent the chameleon of alcoholic beverages. Obviously there is a multitude of varying opinions about wine. Scientifically all the dimensions and elements of the grape and its wine are still partly a mystery. There is room for varying opinions about wine since one must also consider the "actual world" as created by each person's vantage point and his or her role in the provincial economy. Whatever a person's stance, be it subjective or objective, as a social scientist I am interested in the multiple understandings of wine along with the power that wine has come to represent in the international and Ontario market. In order to understand this diverse understanding and the underlying power system, I feel it is necessary for me to explain my perspective, its influences and how I use this vantage point in defining the termininology used throughout this thesis.

Throughout my thesis I review the hegemonic interests that go into the creation of the image of Ontario wine and the criteria of taste. My thesis employs many key words that are used in the wine industry. At first glance, much of this terminology appears to be "natural" commonsense, but I hope to invite the reader to look more carefully at the power behind the understanding of words such as "quality", "taste" and "good" wine. My goal is to uncover the social, economic and political power system that is attempting to
globalize and thus homogenize a wine drinking "culture" to follow the hegemonic ideologies of "taste", "quality" and "good" wine.

To avoid debates over terminology use and definition I shall explain my use of "hegemony" and "ideology" along with how they fit into the concept of moulded "reality". But before going any further, I believe it is important to first explain my use of the word "naturalize". Two of the several definitions in Webster's (1960:560) dictionary can help direct our understanding of the word: 1) "to become native" and 2) to bring into, or treat as in, accord with nature; give a natural aspect to or explanation of". If nature is taken as being that which each individual considers essential, innate and inherent to one's character, the word naturalize implies an instinctive reaction or impression which is deemed proper within the individual's base of constructed knowledge. I assert that ideas, images and concepts are always being naturalized. Throughout my thesis, I use my understanding of "naturalize" as a demonstration of the power certain government agencies and the Ontario wine industry maintain as they create categories of reality about wine. I argue that the naturalization of perceptions and ideas are linked to the political economy and Ontario's desire to enter the global market. Therefore, my thesis presents the power behind the varying perceptions of wine and then traces the creation of the present day
'desired' image of the Ontario wine industry to the competitive international market.

Globalization of the political, economic and social spheres of our world has forced social scientists to re-evaluate the attitudes and understandings of each country's position within the world market. With the development of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the unification of the European Economic Communities and the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), it is impossible to ignore the trend that stresses similarities instead of differences in the global market. There is increased immigration, trade, multinational mergers and highly advanced telecommunication networks which have "unified" our world and have changed our perceptions and images of "other" countries and "other" people. I believe that the social sciences must challenge the Western world to look at itself and realize that culture is not homogeneous, that reality is problematic and representation is inherently conflictual. Today, the Ontario wine industry is attempting to enter the global web of economics and politics. While culture is not homogenous and representation is conflictual, my argument is based on the profit-based hegemonic system that has the ability to create a reality.

Eric Wolf in his book, Europe and the People Without History (1982) stresses the importance of integrating the effects and results of the global political economy on the
diverse groups of people in the world. I believe that many social and political aspects of our daily lives are often dictated by the economic decisions of transnational powers and their relationship with our government. Often, it is this economic dominance that subtly effects the development of our meanings, ideas and perceptions by imposing a naturalized "worldview" on our local and personal understandings. Therefore, I assert that within the world system, processes of hegemony and capitalism subtly effect a person's perception and model of 'reality' and thus each individual's perceived knowledge and understanding of a person, subject or product. I believe that the present day economic and political globalization of our world has helped to foster a standardized criteria for wine evaluation in Canada in order to push Canadian wine into the global market and consequently teach Canadians to drink an image of internationally competitive wine.

The above discussion requires an explanation of my use of the word hegemony. In 1971, Antonio Gramsci wrote Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci which became a benchmark in theorizing the naturalization of power within the social and political system. Gramsci argues that hegemony acts as a factor in stabilizing an existing power structure. Cultural hegemony is crucial to understanding the survival of capitalism, for Gramsci believes that the domination of ideas in the major
institutions of capitalist society promote acceptance and thus the naturalization of ideas and beliefs that benefit the ruling classes. Since my work does not necessarily deal with class relations, I use Gramsci's definition to stress the ways in which specific institutions (governmental/industrial agencies) control the social reproduction of meaning and understanding and thus create socially accepted principles of legitimation. For example, I refer to hegemony when I address the reasons for and influence of certain government agencies and the Ontario wine industry in creating "quality" guidelines and rules which result in specific understandings and images of wine. 

The provincial government, as well as the wine industry, have created a set of rules and regulations that promote their own ideologies of the Ontario wine industry. I use the term ideology to refer to any system of ideas underlying and informing social and political action. As we will see in Chapters Two and Three, these ideologies have changed dramatically throughout the course of Canada's history but with each change it has proven to be a powerful tool in the hegemonic capitalist system. Mannheim (1985)

For example the quality standards set by the Vintners Quality Alliance (VQA) are in the interest of the dominant by creating a system of beliefs that economically benefit the dominant while promoting a general understanding of quality for the masses. The VQA and its belief system will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.
argues that all belief systems represent the interests of particular groups where the doctrines of justification support the ideas of the powerful. Although every individual's experiences and background influence his or her personal ideology and perspective. I argue that our individual perceptions are always being strongly influenced by the politically and economically globalized capitalist system which dictates and penetrates our everyday social lives.

In this thesis, I look at the ideology of the Ontario wine industry whose interests are focused on standardizing taste, controlling perception and attaining economic gain. I also follow the changing ideologies of the provincial government from a promoter of religious morals and values to a manager of a business concerned with capital gain as well as health and safety standards. Therefore my use of the term ideology refers to the objectives within the wine industry and government agencies to justify their actions by attempting to naturalize and legitimize their own desired belief systems. I argue that it is this hegemonic system's ideology of a product that is often associated with the popular perception of Ontario wine. For example, every person who purchases or drinks wine will not hold the same perspective and meaning about every type and variety of wine. But, the wine selection process is still controlled by the manufacturers who choose the image and dictate the
criteria of taste they wish to convey as the "best" or "most refined". Although people may believe that they control their perceptions and tastes for wine, our subjective beliefs are being objectified by being placed in relation to the named "quality" criteria decided by the selected image of the owners of the means of production. By giving meaning to the "names", the manufacturers are allocating themselves power by producing an association with their selected image. The perceptions become a "reality" and this "reality" creates power for its makers, a power that is moulded through the history of winemaking and reconstructed through political, economic and social language.

It is the power that lies in the decisions and interests of a selected few that "construct" and commercialize an image of a product and that thus create a "perceived reality" for their benefit and profit. "The ability to bestow meanings - to 'name' things, acts, and ideas - is a source of power" (Wolf, 1982:388). To create a "reality" by naming it is to give meaning and thus power to those who originate the definition. Thus, there is a false idea that "names" have a common meaning to all that employ the terms. These terms are defined with variations and divergences by every individual who uses them but by controlling the definition of a word, power is in the hands of those who have created its popular, or rather, naturalized understanding.
This is where it becomes difficult to differentiate and define what is meant by "taste" as well as "good" and "quality" wine. Throughout my thesis I discuss winetasting and the objectification of taste. Although taste is only one of the four senses that are used in the appraisal and judgement of wine, it is usually the term used in the literature discussing wine. Confusion comes with the word "taste" since it is classified as one of the senses (the others used in winetasting being sight, smell and touch) but it is also used as the singular word that encompasses all of the senses - i.e., winetasting. I believe it is important for the readers to see the varying understandings and uses of these words and I hope that the context in which I use the word "taste" will help to identify my use of its meanings. In Chapter Five I will give an in-depth description of the subjective and objective criteria used in the production and analysis of wine, with the problem of defining taste as a main focus. In a general sense, the term "taste" in the following chapters is used both as a noun and a verb. The former term means a person's judgement or appreciation and the latter term refers to the act of testing the flavour of something in one's mouth. In sum, the connection between "taste", "good" and "quality" is that all are used in wine literature with reference to the 'expert' winetasters' ideology and thus the hegemonic system's method of evaluating wine. Still, the criteria of
"taste" must be socially reproduced and the individual's differing perspectives must be addressed.

In the 1984 translation of his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* and his most recent 1993 endeavour, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Pierre Bourdieu answers questions regarding individual taste and the criteria of desire by examining the sociology of cultural production and behaviour. Bourdieu asserts that it is necessary to look at the characteristics of symbolic goods as well as the context of their production within the overall power structure of global and internal social relations. Bourdieu believes that each autonomous field of social relations is effected by the overall power structure which often plays a key role in the transformation and/or "adjustment" of belief systems. Bourdieu thus introduces the role of market economy into the field of large-scale cultural production which focuses on economic, political and social dominance.

By contrasting the autonomous field of restricted production with the field of large-scale cultural production, Bourdieu brings into play the dominant function of competition with the construction of social recognition and status perception. Bourdieu (1993:157) states:

> In contrast to the field of large-scale cultural production, which submits to the laws of competition for the conquest of the largest possible market, the field of restricted production tends to develop its own criteria for the evaluation of its products, thus achieving the
truly cultural recognition accorded by the peer groups whose members are both privileged clients and competitors.

According to Bourdieu, "privileged clients" desire symbolic capital as a means of extending their profit margins by not only being more economically sound but also by being associated with a more socially esteemed status. Bourdieu uses the concept of "cultural field\(^{15}\) as the standard or benchmark from which people judge themselves and their tastes. It is in this field of power relations that each individual "position-takes" (Bourdieu, 1993:30) in order to gain popular legitimacy for their personal tastes.

With the objective of gaining popular legitimacy, a person will first attempt to obtain symbolic capital through the popular acceptance of one's choice product or preferred taste. The way in which a person can gain symbolic and thus economic capital is through his or her "position taking" in the field of restricted production. In

\(^{15}\) In a review article of Bourdieu's work, Paul Crowther (1994:156) describes the conditions and development of perceptions (symbolic capital): "The central term in Bourdieu's thought is that of the 'field', i.e., the arena of objective social relations, within which human agency is shaped and enacted. Whilst this field in its global sense is one of power relations, it is internally differentiated into a variety of overlapping fields such as those of economics, politics, culture and education. Each has relative autonomy - its own rules and patterns of thought and production - and has a structure which, at any moment in time, is determined by the specific relations which participants in the field have with one another, with activity in other fields and with the overall power structure."
this thesis I argue that the large-scale field of cultural production is represented by those who are politically and economically situated in the wine industry - governmental and industrial agencies. By creating a support base for symbolic capital, the opinions of an elite few are being justified, legitimized, naturalized and institutionalized with the criteria of "quality" and "taste" that has been introduced by the large-scale field of cultural production. With the naturalization process in place, "popular" legitimacy finally arises with mass approval and a fixed criteria (Bourdieu, 1993:236).

I argue that through hegemony, the ideology of the Ontario wine industry and governmental agencies will promote the "legitimized" concepts of the elite of the large-scale field of cultural production and thus naturalize the politically and economically-based perception of Ontario's wine. At present, it is the choices of the wine manufacturers, combined with the government's desire to compete internationally, that have become the supposed objective criteria of "good", "quality" wine. Within the wine industry and the government sector involved, the public has been categorized into target groups.

Images are created to entice the specific categories of people who have the money to spend on the suggested wine. Different target groups and marketing strategies can be used for the differing price ranges of wine, yet I believe that
at present the Ontario industry is mainly pursuing mass-marketing campaigns. At this point, I believe that the Ontario wine industry is more interested in drawing as much attention as possible to the new internationally competitive global "taste" of Ontario's wine than launching several marketing projects. The political and economic power system's mass marketing campaign is attempting to naturalize specific "tastes" in Bourdieu's large-scale field of cultural production. After this naturalization becomes widely accepted, varying counter hegemonic groups will be recognized, separated and pursued as autonomous fields in the large-scale field of cultural production - target groups.

Throughout the following chapters, I will be discussing and giving examples of how Ontario's production of wine has developed and how the present aim to "globalize taste" is being launched. Throughout history, the Ontario public has been naturalized into pursuing a variety of images and criteria of wine put forth by the Ontario wine industry and the provincial government. At present, the wine industry's goal is to create a profit by creating business in Ontario and developing the local and provincial economies through this naturalization of a competitive international taste. By using the Ontario wine industry as an example, I hope to explain historically and theoretically how the industry and government are capable of creating and recreating
naturalized perceptions of wine's "preferred" taste and image and how today's objective is to compete within the global market.
Chapter Three

Historical Changes in Ontario's Wine Industry

In its development into an industry, wine has come to be imagined and shaped into a "liquid asset" by wine manufacturers. In Ontario, where many opinions exist about the role and purpose of wine, this fermented grape juice has been a major part of the political agenda at least since Prohibition. To explain the wine industry's involvement with the provincial government in inventing and reinventing the image and taste of wine, in this chapter. I shall continue to review the history of wine in Ontario by focusing on: 1) the consolidation of the province's wine industry, 2) the major changes in promotion of the "taste" of Ontario's wine and, 3) the beginnings and introductory role of the Liquor Control Board of Ontario. I shall follow the history of the province's wine industry up until the global changes of 1988 that will be discussed in Chapter Four. Within the history discussed in this chapter, I shall give a brief explanation of the hegemonic system in Ontario that controls the image, quality and taste criteria of this province's understanding of wine. My goal is to contribute to an understanding of how social, economic and political power systems have controlled our perspectives and mould personal tastes of wine.

In the beginning of the 20th Century, the Federal and Provincial governments were more concerned with the
Temperance movement and the control (or removal) of spirits rather than wine production standards and positive image creation. Prohibition in Ontario did not include the legal sale or the manufacture of wine which means that wine had already gained a separate classification in relation to other alcoholic beverages. Although this decision was prompted by the demands of the local grape growers, many believe that the separate classification of wine resulted in a wave of wine-making ventures and promoted a surge of wine drinking Canadians. Tony Aspler (1982:16) writes:

Prohibition more than anything else turned Canadians into a nation of wine-drinkers. During 1920–21 Canada consumed 221,985 gallons of domestic wine. A decade later the figure was 2,208,807 gallons – for Ontario alone! And 80% of it was a red port style wine of maximum alcoholic strength made from the Concord grape.

It is interesting to note that wine in Canada has a short but eclectic history of taste and promotional trends. Present day standards of European table wine have not always been a favoured alcoholic drink of Canadians. From its beginnings, the Canadian wine being made was not the table wine of Europe but, rather a highly fortified, alcoholic wine. Georges Masson (1979:53) explains that even before the Temperance movement there was a lack of demand for dry table wine: "The first [reason] was that Canadian tastes were accustomed to beverages with high alcoholic contents. Whiskies, rum, or in the United States, sweet wines fortified with coarse alcohol, were the drinks preferred by
people living in a cold climate". The idea of cold climate being the reason for the high alcohol content of Canadian wines has been drawn in many Hollywood movies, works of fiction as well as suggested in some wine literature. In my research I have not found any evidence to substantiate or expand on the hypothesis of cold weather as a contributing factor to the preference of high alcohol content. Yet, as mentioned above, statistics do demonstrate that during the first thirty years of the twentieth century, Canadians did consume mostly drinks with a high level of alcohol.

The only reason that I can suggest for the trend of high levels of alcohol would be the availability of raw materials in North America. For example, Tony Aspler (1993:8-27) refers to the creation of labrusca-based North American wines. The raw materials—the labrusca grape and its hybrids (Niagara and Concord)—are native to Canada but produce wines that are harsh and acidic, with a decidedly 'foxy' flavour. Due to their lack of sweetness and high acidity, wines made from the Nor' th American vines are manufactured with the addition of sugar to counter-balance the 'foxy' flavour. The addition of sugar during fermentation creates wines with a very high alcohol level (i.e., fortified wines). I believe that the Ontario Temperance Act encouraged the creation of the North American public's "taste" for labrusca-based fortified wines since they were the only wines available for such an extended
period of time and thus became part of the "actual world" of Ontarians.

Between 1916 and 1927, the duration of Prohibition, Canadian wine was the only alcoholic beverage to be excluded from the Ontario Temperance Act. Quickly, Prohibition became an era of rapid growth for the Ontario wine industry with "the combination of [wine] being the only legal alcoholic beverage in Ontario plus a lucrative market in the U.S. where Prohibition was in effect" (Ontario 1986:1). It was during this period that Ontario’s wine production boomed in comparison to other provinces due to Southern Ontario’s underground connection with their American neighbour traffickers and the province’s existing North American variety vineyards. In addition, only Ontario wines were legally allowed to be sold in the province and thus all importation of wine from other countries and provinces was banned. It is within this eleven year period that 57 wineries were introduced into Ontario.\footnote{Percy Rowe (1970) and Georges Masson (1979) believe that there were only 43 wineries at the end of Prohibition and Tony Aspler first states that there are 57 but later writes about 51 wineries. I have chosen to take the number from the Ontario government Task Force Report (1986); since it is the government that gave out the licences I would hope that they would have the most accurate number.} It is believed that the objective of the majority of these wineries was to fulfil the demand for alcohol and not to compete with world standards of quality and taste. Tony Aspler (1993:18-19)
explains the winemaking craft of the time:

As far as most winemakers were concerned there were no quality controls, no government interference and in many cases, little of the basic knowledge of the craft... They [the new winemakers] squeezed their grapes - literally - till the pips squeaked and with added water they were getting as much as 600 gallons of wine from every ton of grapes. (Today the negotiated limit is 818 litres per tonne.) Sugar was poured into the vats by the sackful during fermentation to bring up the alcohol level. If the colour wasn't right after so much dilution there was always coal tar or vegetable dyes like cochineal to deepen it. Blocks of sulphur were pitched into the vats to kill bacteria and one enterprising vintner even used aspirins to control his fermentation.

It is interesting to note that many of these Prohibitionist winemaking styles reflect the production methods of the Middle Ages where wine began as a 'cure-all' and developed into a low alcohol, naturally-coloured beverage. Although these methods appear odd in comparison to the highly regulated production methods of today, the Ontario public bought and drank these modern Canadian wines for over eleven years.

From a present day perspective, it appears that the opinion of all the Canadian wine historians whose research I have read, is that the allowance of wine production during Prohibition brought forth many winemakers who simply realized the opportunity to make some quick money without

having to succumb to any stringent and costly regulations. Wine was sold out of the outlets where it was being produced (usually someone's basement) or, like alcohol, in pharmacies and grocery stores as a medicine. Advertisement of any alcoholic beverage was strictly banned but alcohol sold as a medicine was allowed to be promoted. Therefore, "[W]ines were not advertised as a pleasant complement to food, but as tonics or medicines for all types of ailments from colic to cholera" (Masson 1979:54). Also, the provincial government passed a law that limited wine sales to a minimum of five gallon quantities or no fewer than 12 bottles to any one customer. Although the provincial government's objective was to deter people from buying any alcohol products, including the locally produced wine, it certainly appears to be a contradictory ideology to place a large quantity minimum amount to be purchased and to allow alcohol to be advertised as a 'cure-all' medicine. When reviewing the Prohibitionist laws, they certainly appear as: "[A]n extraordinary piece of double-think by a government dedicated to the proposition that the people must be denied alcoholic beverages!" (Aspler,1993:16). If the government only desired to limit wine to those who could afford the minimum five gallon purchase, their actions have never been justified and their reasoning is still a mystery. Unfortunately, I was not able to locate any explanations or theories regarding this aspect of government "double-think".
Much of the reasoning behind Prohibition and its laws still remain a matter of great speculation.

So, how is it that the Ontario government obtained control over the provincial wine industry and began paving the path to today's international competitive standards? The end of Prohibition signifies the end of the government's ideology regarding the moral implications of alcohol intake and begins the era of regulation and management over all aspects of alcohol production, manufacture and promotion as a business.

In 1927, when Prohibition ended, the LCBO was created. It was evident that whatever popular appeal "temperance" might have mustered during war years had long since passed. In province after province it was abandoned, but what took the place of Prohibition was government control. A monopoly of the sale of liquor, beer, and wine was given the LCBO, and since the first two commodities had long been subject to regulation and taxation, the transition went reasonably smoothly. With wine it was different.  

(Rannie 1978:89)

Before explaining the impact of the newly formed Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) on the production methods, survival and image of the local Ontario wine industry, I will briefly demonstrate how the provincial government returned all sales of alcohol to their new regulated retail stores. In order to exercise control, regulate sales, as well as collect all alcohol revenues, all alcohol had to be classified as an alcoholic beverage and thus fall under the
LCBO's jurisdiction. Therefore, the first part of the LCBO's agenda involved the removal of cheaply priced alcohol sold at pharmacies and groceries stores under the heading 'tonic or medicinal wines'.

The newly formed LCBO realized that any overt decision to discontinue the sale of the Prohibition 'medicine' would raise many voices of opposition and question their authority before they had a chance to begin. Thus the provincial government allowed the sale of the medicinal wines to continue but imposed a law which forced producers to add a 'certain additive' that would cause a 'patient' to vomit if the 'medicine' were to be taken over the recommended dosage (Aspler, 1993:21). Very quickly, medicinal wines left the shelves and the Provincial government, through the LCBO, began its control over everything dealing with alcohol - importation, exportation, quality, production, licensing, listing, sales, promotion, etc. With monopoly control, a political agenda with the vision of a profitable provincial wine industry was born. The vision included strict production standards of provincial wines as a means of reducing the number of wineries to a consolidated base of power and allowing the formation of a competitive quality criteria with a calculated desired image.

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In Chapter Four I will explain the various Provincial Ministries and Federal Departments that are involved in the production and sale of alcohol and which are directly involved in the LCBO decisions.
At this point, it appears that new Canadians and old
had become accustomed to the distinct flavour of their
labrusca-based fortified wine, but market researchers for
the government knew that this very local "Ontario" taste
could not compete on the world market. Put simply, there
was not a large enough population base to draw the number of
consumers that the government and wine industry required for
a high profit margin. Although North Americans may have
become accustomed to the taste of labrusca-based wines, the
temperance movement had just ended and there were still many
who did not even approve of alcohol much less the idea of it
playing a significant and visible role in the local
industry! The Liquor Boards of each province held the right
to decide and make available whichever wines they chose
along with the price and tax-mark-up of each. As a means of
reintroducing alcohol as a naturalized activity, the post
Prohibitionist government decided that the provincial wine's
alcohol level should be lowered and the European drinking
habits and attitudes should be introduced (Rowe, 1970;
Masson, 1979; Rannie, 1978; Cattell, 1995). Therefore, I
believe, in order to replace the original highly alcoholic
Canadian wine but still take advantage of the increased wine
drinking custom, the Ontario government introduced local
production standards of quality and began to develop its
introduction and creation of the 'traditional refined taste'
of Europe in their local wines.
The Ontario government's legal methods for standardizing taste and "quality" began their continual influx in 1927. With the 1927 Ontario Liquor Control Act, the LCBO began its imposition of wine "quality" standards with stringent regulatory laws. Standardized criteria were introduced to oversee production methods by regularly sampling and analyzing wines before giving a winery a "general listing" at all of the newly established LCBO retail stores. Limits were given with regards to the amount of water that could be added and regulations regarding health standards and sanitary conditions were enforced. In 1934 the Ministry of Agriculture introduced the Ontario Wine Standards Committee along with research facilities and a small winery at the still existing Horticultural Research institute in Vineland Ontario. Also in the 1930s, standardization of grape varieties made its introduction along with a newly-appointed winery superintendent.

One of the duties of the winery superintendent was to set up instructional courses, established by the Provincial Department of Health. on what the LCBO had decided was the proper method of making wine. The course lasted two years, representing a long enough period to disenchant the smaller winemakers who were being refused a general listing and who

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19 A general listing from the LCBO means that a winery's product has been accepted to be purchased on a regular basis and placed in LCBO stores throughout Ontario.
were not making enough money to afford the lengthy course. It is believed that half of Ontario's wineries were put out of business because they could not meet the new imposed standards (Cattell, 1995:5) or afford to learn and follow the imposed regulations. William Rannie (1978:90) explains:

> With many of the small and inefficient wineries, it was simply impossible to operate under such stringencies and one by one they succumbed and sold their assets to the fittest who survived. The consolidation was government policy and it worked.

The stringent laws, along with the end of the U.S. Prohibition in 1933, which had supplied Ontario's wine producers with a host of increased, unregulated sales, left the majority of the smaller wineries with no choice but to shut down. "Encouraged by the [Ontario] government, viable companies such as Brights and Jordan began buying up the licences of these precarious operations lock, stock and barrel at prices as low as $5,000 to $10,000" (Aspler, 1993:21). Thus, the early years of the Ontario wine industry are best described as a fight for survival by the small wineries and a strengthening of the larger, more

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20 The Ontario Wine and Grape Industry Task Force Report (Ontario, 1986:2) explains the history and fate of the smaller wineries: "The combination of a collapsed market and more rigorous quality standards resulted in a rapid rationalization of the industry. Many wineries folded; others were taken over by their more aggressive competitors and, by the early 1940s, only eight of the original wineries were still in operation. No new wineries were licensed to make wine until 1974". Out of the eight original wineries, today's Brights, Barnes, Andres, Cartier and Hillebrand are included.
economically-sound operations since only those who could meet the new "quality" regulations would be allowed to be listed in the LCBO retail stores.\textsuperscript{21} Upon buying the smaller wineries, the larger wineries would acquire the smaller wineries' licence and thus be given the right to maintain an extra retail store. Each licence allowed a winery to have another retail store which gave the now reduced number of wineries more power. "By this expedient the government eventually reduced the number of Ontario wineries from 51 to eight" (Aspler 1993:21).\textsuperscript{22}

From 1930 onward, there were changes of ownership and consolidation of licences and businesses. The most common method of acquisition came in the form of the established wineries consolidating their power by becoming units of integrated large alcohol manufacturing companies (Rannie, 1978:96). In order to demonstrate how this power system became consolidated within the Canadian liquor industry, in

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{22} The most prevalent present day outcome of these licensed retail stores is that only those that were purchased in the 1930's are permitted today. With the advent of CAFTA (Canadian American Free Trade Agreement) of 1989, all old licences were "grandfathered", meaning that no new licences were permitted. The present day reasoning behind such a law was to prohibit the larger foreign wineries from coming and opening retail outlets throughout Ontario. The objective, when this regulation was passed was to consolidate the power system between the government and the wine industry (Rannie 1978:90).
\end{footnote}
the next section I will look at three of the historically largest Ontario wineries as examples of the efforts of the government, the provincial wine industry and the alcohol industry to integrate all production and marketing decisions. John Labatt Limited purchased Chateau-Gai, while The Distiller's Corporation - Seagram's - bought The Jordan Wine Company; Hiram Walker and Sons acquired T.G. Bright & Company. As part of the larger liquor industry, the wineries of Jordan, Chateau-Gai and Brights, along with the LCBO, worked together towards a common goal: to profit on the sale of Ontario wine by controlling the public's perception and taste.

For fifty years after the creation of the LCBO, only ten provincial liquor boards and the liquor licensing commission controlled all facets of wine consumption in Canada. Percy Rowe (1978:68) describes the sentiment of the time: "It is a situation that once appalled many people, including consumers, but especially principals of wine companies in Europe wishing to get listings in Canadian liquor stores". In Ontario, the provincial government and the larger wineries maintained a congenial relationship with the LCBO, marking up the price of foreign wine and keeping Ontario wines at a minimal mark-up.23 In return, the

23 In 1988, before the introduction of CAFTA, foreign wines were being marked up 66% and Ontario wines were left with only a 1% increase (Chung 1995: A3).
wineries would buy Ontario grapes for the production of their wine and would follow the prescribed manufacturing standards. Actually, it was by law that Ontario wineries were required to purchase Ontario grapes and prohibited from the purchase of foreign products for the manufacturing of their wine. This LCBO monopoly over all wine consumption in Ontario enraged foreign wine companies who wished to be listed in the LCBO retail stores and wanted to maintain the exportation of their bulk wine. The LCBO's aim was to have complete control over all wine production as well as the sale of all substances containing alcohol.

Consolidation in the Wine Industry: Marketing the Public

Labatt's, Seagram's and Hiram Walker and Sons are all companies still involved in the Canadian alcohol business. The desire of these large liquor companies to obtain holdings in the wine industry is clearly spelled out in a statement from the John Labatt Ltd. 1973 Annual Report (1973:9): "These acquisitions [of the wineries] ... provide your company with the facilities to participate effectively in the national wine market". None of the liquor companies still own the wineries but their past decisions with regards to their winery holdings clearly exemplifies the drive to expand the Canadian wine industry (with 85% of the wine's production in Ontario) nationwide and even throughout North
America. By explaining the road to consolidation and the final dismissal of the wine business, I hope to demonstrate how the image and taste criteria of the provincial wine industry has been merged and governed by a very few but powerful group of decision makers. I will start with a brief description of the mergers and acquisitions of Seagram's and Hiram Walker & Sons and then continue by precisely reviewing the Annual Reports of John Labatt Limited in order to demonstrate how the ideology of the domestic wine industry is reflected in the decisions made over the last years.

In 1933, Harry Hatch, the owner of Hiram Walker and Sons distillery, purchased the assets to T.G. Bright & Company Limited and by 1956 he held a total of 13 retail stores from other winery purchases as well as a plant in Lachine Quebec. In 1970, Brights was "the largest winery in Canada, using 20,000 tons of grapes a year, storing eight million gallons of wine [and], bottling 12,000 gallons a day" (Rowe, 1970:97). Eventually Harry Hatch's two sons split the wine and the liquor business by buying each other out and then purchasing stock in the other's company. Therefore a majority of control of the Canadian liquor industry still remained in the family but Bright's and Hiram Walker's had become separate powerful businesses with distinct agendas. One of the agendas of Bright's was to grow larger and larger with as many winery acquisitions as
possible. To elaborate on the story of Bright's acquisitions, and of the consolidation of the wine industry within the Canadian alcohol industry, let us continue with a brief review of The Jordan Wine Company.

The Jordan Wine Company began in the mid 1920s under the ownership and supervision of a single person, W.B. Cleland, who wished to maintain a small winery. In 1948, the Distillers Corporation - Seagram's - purchased majority shares in the winery. Throughout the years, Seagram's purchased four more smaller wineries in Ontario while expanding its operations into four other provinces - Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The merger with the last province gave the winery corporation the new name of Jordan and Ste Michelle Cellars Limited. In 1972 the international brewing company, Carling - O'Keefe, purchased a controlling interest in Seagram's and thus all the wineries would be held as a subsidiary to the Corporation until June 24, 1986 when all the national stocks of Jordan and Ste Michelle Cellars Ltd were sold to T.G. Bright and Company (Carling-O'Keefe, 1987:8) in the wake of the Canadian American Free Trade talks. These Free Trade talks also greatly affected Labatt's interest in the Canadian wine industry, but first let us review the impact and changing perceptions each product decision made on the

24 The impact of CAFTA will be discussed in the next chapter.
sale and promotion of domestic wine.

Already, in 1965, John Labatt Limited, as part of the
global market, entered the provincial wine industry with the
purchase of the Toronto-based Parkdale Wines Limited\(^5\) in
association with the two English firms, Grants of St. James
Limited and Showerings Vine Products and Whiteways Limited.
With a national agenda, Labatt began an expansion program
with the construction of a new facility in Moncton, New
Brunswick, along with the purchases of small wineries and
their retail store licences. Already, in the 1960s, the
drive to naturalize the drinking patterns of Canadians with
the European norm was taking shape in the form of vinifera-
based concentrates. "On September 19, 1966, Normandie Wines
Limited, a new subsidiary of the Parkdale Wines Limited,
commenced production. This new winery, located in New
Brunswick, is unique in Canada, producing finished wines
from European grape concentrates" (Labatt, 1967:4).

In 1972, with the realization that marketing techniques
and changes in image help to attract new audiences as well
as redirect the perception of old nonbelievers, Labatt
changed the name, company graphics and promotion of The
Parkdale Wine Limited to Chateau Cartier Wines. According
to the same 1972 Annual Report, the newly conceptualized

\(^5\)

By 1969, Labatt had acquired 60% interest in both the
Parkdale Winery and its subsidiary, Normandie Wines and by
1975 had succeeded in buying out the remaining 40%.
Chateau Cartier successfully produced a European dry white table wine made from the Pinot Chardonnay European vinifera. By 1973, John Labatt Limited had purchased 98.3% of Chateau-Gai Wines Limited²⁶ which had been formed through the mergers and take-overs of seven other smaller wineries. The same year, Labatt purchased shares in Casabello Wines Ltd. of Penticton British Columbia. The end of 1973 also saw the impact of the changing attitudes towards wine and thus the commencement of the long lasting reduced rate of growth in domestic wine sales.

Nineteen seventy-three marks the beginning of the change in taste and attitudes of Canadian wine drinkers. European wine began to flood the market and Ontario's wine drinkers were beginning to look towards Europe for the new trend of dry table wines.²⁷ Labatt quickly began attempting to develop and market even more Ontario equivalents of the "newly found taste" of European dry table wines - the same taste that the industry had helped to create and foster. "Strong efforts to meet the changing tastes of the Canadian consumer and to develop quality table wines continued during

²⁶ Chateau-Gai Wines Limited was a well established and respected winery whose wines were already being distributed throughout the country. By 1976, all of Labatt's winery operation were consolidated under Chateau-Gai Limited.

²⁷ The next section titled Ontario's Taste Trends: An Introduction will discuss the changes in Ontario's "tastes" and marketing trends.
the year" (Labatt, 1974:13).

Government involvement was continuous on the experimental side as research teams attempted to grow the vinifera grapes in Ontario while the trade and marketing side maintained its own agenda. 1975 saw the introduction of interprovincial trade barriers. Thus interprovincial marketing faced new restrictions while at the same time being challenged by escalating competition from foreign wines. Throughout 1976 and 1977 major changes were presented by the government including subsidies giving permission to producers to blend foreign grapes in with domestic wines (The Wine Content Act) and still have bottles bear the production heading of Canada. The 1977 Labatt Annual Report (1977:12-13) explains the government involvement and consequent changes in the production and sale of their Chateau-Gai wines:

In the fourth quarter, Chateau-Gai's Ontario sales improved in response to recent government changes which reduced the retail price of Ontario wines and improved distribution. In addition, the Ontario government has revised legislation which supports the industry's and grape growers' objective of providing continued improvement in product quality. In particular, Ontario wine companies will now be able to blend imported grapes and wine with Ontario grapes.

Yet 1980 saw a change in government policy in the form of an increase in Federal excise taxes. The excise taxes represented an increase in the costs of producing Canadian wine and thus an increase in the consumer price of domestic wine.
In 1981, a common note of discontent came from Canadian companies which were now facing heavy competition from lower priced foreign wines and increased taxation. Labatt, along with the rest of the national wine industry, desperately sought to produce European style dry table wine as a means of competing with the much higher European wine sales. In 1981, the Ontario Government announced its initiatives to improve domestic wine operations by further increasing the subsidies given to the domestic industry in the form of increased price mark-up for foreign wines. Still in 1989, Labatt sold all its remaining assets in the wine industry, which included wineries in Ontario, New Brunswick, British Columbia and California. The decision of divestiture

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As an example, Labatt, through Chateau-Gai, created "Alpenweiss" which quickly became the largest selling Canadian produced wine although its label and name do not indicate its origin.

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In July 1989, Don Triggs, Allan Jackson, Peter Grainger and middle management from John Labatt Limited put together a deal to purchase Labatt’s wine holdings which included Chateau-Gai Wines in Moncton, New Brunswick, and Niagara Falls, Ontario. Stoneycroft Cellars in Calgary, Alberta, and Casabello Wines in Penticton, British Columbia. After the purchase, all of the wineries were retitled - Cartier Wines and Beverages. It is important to note this name for the next chapter will present Cartier Wines as a major player in the largest merger in the Canadian wine industry.

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In 1978, with the increased sales due to the introduced preferential markdowns, Labatt expanded its vision to enter the United States market in California with the purchase of Bear Mountain Winery. As soon as the winery was purchased, Labatt changed its name to LaMont Winery Incorporated. LaMont Winery primarily specialized in the sale of wine sold in bulk
was made directly after the 1989 signing of the Canadian-American Free Trade Agreement.

**Ontario's Taste Trends: An Introduction**

After having reviewed the details of one of the largest liquor companies in Canada and its decisions regarding the development of the domestic wine industry, it will now be easier to understand the role of marketing in the shaping of the images of Canadian wine. When the LCBO was first established, one of the main marketing objectives was to call attention to the "non-traditional" high alcoholic content of Ontario's wine. One of the main reasons for these objectives was to switch Ontario wine drinkers' taste to the dry table wines customary to Europe. Such a change in perception would give the wine industry greater acceptability in all social circles, increase sales and begin paving the path to Ontario wines' worldwide standardization.

and, unfortunately, the unexpected surplus of wine and the increased competition from low priced foreign wines during the next nine years, never permitted the winery to contribute any earnings to the company. Labatt's aspirations to use this U.S. winery as a means of entering the American market as well as serve as a path for Canadian wines in the U.S. did not transpire and in 1987 the U.S. company, Anheuser-Busch Beverage group acquired LaMont Winery.

By saying "non-traditional" they are referring to the European tastes of the time and not to the original taste of the Middle Ages.
At this point, Ontario's fortified wines had gained the reputation of a 'quick drunk' and therefore efforts were being made, through marketing and "quality" control, to bring the Old World's understanding and image of wine to the New World. Tony Aspler (1993:21) describes the attitude of Ontario wine as 'Block-and-Tackle' wines due to the impact of its high alcohol content: "You drank a bottle, walked a block and you could tackle anyone". European wines have never been considered 'Block-and-Tackle' beverages but, rather, a refined wine to be sipped - not drunk. It must be remembered that the Ontario image of drunkenness came in the late 1920s and 1930s right after Prohibition. Alcohol in Ontario (and Canada) was still neither widely accepted nor mentioned in circles where etiquette was required. Spirit and wine bottles, if purchased at a back alley LCBO, were to be kept under the sink, while drunkenness represented social disgrace.

Right after Prohibition, as was mentioned previously, the government regulations were based on the criteria of health and safety in the name of quality. By the early 1950s, the Canadian Wine Institute set up a quality standards committee that conducted formal tastings of the wines of member wineries, and the Liquor Control Board of Ontario set up its own laboratory to analyze wines and hold its own tasting sessions. Wines were now being judged not only on the criterion of health but also on the competitive
level of the established European vision of quality. Still
the Ontario public drank the North American varieties of
wine and enjoyed the province's own signature style. For
example, up until the 1960s, wines produced from 100%
labrusca grapes - ports, sherries and especially sparkling
"pop wines" - suited the needs of the Ontario public. "The
products were good, suited consumer tastes, and
acceptability was high. Ontario produced wines accounted
for 95% of the LCBO wine sales" (Ontario, 1986:33).

Throughout the 1960s younger people began to flood the
market and look for a wine to suit their needs. At this
point the "pop wines" were introduced and skyrocketed the
plummeting sale of Ontario wine. Wine-drinking consumers of
the 1960s were searching for a drink with less alcohol. Yet
the wineries still needed to use their labrusca harvests.
"Pop wines" crushed the labrusca grapes and diluted the
 crush with water and Carbon Dioxide. Therefore the "pop
wines" left out the "foxy" flavour of the labrusca grapes
while maintaining the alcohol level under ten percent.32
Winston Collins', a writer for Saturday Night (June, 1982),
argument is used by Tony Aspler (1993:26) in trying to

32

Tony Aspler (1993:26) describes the enormous impact of "pop
wines" along with the changing taste trend: "Andres created a
range of Chante wines... and one of these evolved as the "wine"
that would create a revolution in Canadian taste - Baby Duck.
At its peak, two years after its launch, one out of every 24
bottles of wine sold in Canada was Andres Baby Duck.
understand the Canadian phenomenon of drinking "pop wines".

Collins argues:

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

Whether Collins' argument is correct or not can easily be debated but it cannot be denied that the "pop wines" enjoyed enormous success. What Collin's argument does reveal is the idea that an industry that markets a decidedly different product must be able to allow the consumers to adapt "in transition". In other words, I believe that Ontarians liked the international image of drinking wine but were not prepared for the quick change in taste from very sweet to dry. Therefore, the "transitional taste" of "pop wines" allowed people to separate themselves from the Prohibition image of the Ontario fortified wines but still permitted a sweet flavour for the drinkers' tastebuds. Eventually, the sweet flavour would become drier until the Ontario consumer had made the transition to the now marketed dry table wines. At present, this idea of "transitional taste" can be identified with the new trend for
varietals. This present day trend will be discussed later so suffice it to say that as Ontarians passed through the bubbly 1960s and decided to search for an in between wine - not Baby Duck and not fortified - the Ontario wines of the 1970s could not provide any European table wine substitutes.

It is the affluent 1970s, with the changing tastes of the baby boomers, that changed the face of the Ontario wine industry. By 1975, 3,315 European imports were listed with the LCBO which had spotted the growing demand and had increased their profits by dropping the Ontario listings to only 1,875 (Aspler 1993:27). Not only did the European wines flood the market but they were also inexpensive. Finally, in 1976, due to the appeals of the grape growers and Ontario wineries, the provincial government introduced the Ontario Wine Industry Assistance Program and the Wine Content Act. The Ontario Wine Industry Assistance Program provided Ontario wines with more LCBO listings through an import wine quota system and preferential shelf space for Ontario wines in stores.

Along with the 1976 Wine Content Act, the government initiated a replanting program for growers to change over from labrusca to the trendy hybrids and vinifera in order to

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33 Varietals are the wines that are listed by grape variety. For example, Chardonnay is a wine that is made from the Chardonnay variety of the Vinifera grape family.
make the Ontario wineries compete with European type wines. At this point, Ontario wineries were only allowed to use Ontario grapes to create their wines. With the Wine Content Act, Ontario grape growers were permitted to use "15% of volume of grapes purchased ... from foreign vinifera juice or wine" (Ontario, 1986:34). Europe became the trend as all the Ontario wineries attempted to emulate the image of taste of France, Italy and Germany. In 1978, Chateau-Gai launched Alpenweiss, the first blended wine containing Californian and the French Hybrid Seyval grapes. The label portrays the European Alps and aims at making the customers believe the wine could be European (all Canadian identifiers were kept to very small letterings). "The age of the packaged wine had arrived. The way the bottle looked was as important as what was in it" (Aspler, 1993:28).

At present, the LCBO, along with the wine manufacturers, are trying to instil the internationally competitive European "taste" into the minds and mouths of the Ontario public. The trend has shifted direction and the manufacturers have entered the economically global world.34 In order to make money, the public must believe that they want to drink Ontario-produced wines. The first step in Ontario's history was to convince Ontario consumers to drink table wine since its consumption was and still is not as

34 The efforts to economically enter the global world will be examined in next chapter.
great as throughout the European nations (Cattell, 1995:9). In Chapter Four, we will look at how the provincial government agencies and the industrial lobby groups drastically changed the existing provincial wine system by legislating and promoting the competitive European taste criteria in Ontario's wine. But first, it is necessary to introduce the reader to the present role of the LCBO. This next section serves only to introduce the responsibilities of the LCBO in order to situate the reader in the present and prepare for the provincial wine industry's upheaval of 1988/89 which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Role of the LCBO

When one begins to look at the wine industry in Ontario, it is impossible not to take a more in-depth view of the role of the LCBO. After researching and interviewing members of the LCBO and the wine industry, it has come to my attention that "the LCBO is all encompassing...it is in charge of anything to do with alcohol in Ontario" (LCBO Product Consultant). From quality control, licensing leisure and production facilities to deciding and controlling all the exportation and importation of alcohol, the LCBO is a monopoly provincial Crown corporation. According to Andrew Brandt (LCBO, 1994:3), CEO and Chair of the LCBO:
The LCBO is now defined as a government enterprise rather than a government agency. Most agencies receive money from the government, in transfer payments or appropriations; the LCBO is quite different because, as a major retailer, we generate net revenues in the range of $600 million a year.

In the June 1995 edition of Canadian Business (p. 106), the LCBO ranked 88th in performance out of 500 in their listing of the top 500 retailers.

The Ontario Liquor Board is divided into two sections: the first being the retail section - liquor control - the second being the liquor licensing sector. In the LCBO 1993-1994 Annual Report (p.1), the Liquor Board presents the holdings and assets of the Ontario Crown Corporation:

The LCBO operates five regional warehouses that supply approximately 600 retail stores across Ontario...The LCBO also operates six Vintages outlets, which offer consumers a wide selection of premium wines, spirits and beers...In partnership with established retailers, the LCBO operates 74 agency stores in communities where the population is insufficient to support a regular LCBO store. For air travellers, the LCBO operates two duty-free stores at Terminals 1 and 2 at Pearson International Airport. The LCBO also regulates the sale of products through 440 Brewers Retail stores, 320 Ontario winery stores, 10 land border-point duty-free stores, and duty-free operations.
at Terminal 3 in Pearson Airport and at Ottawa International Airport.

Therefore, the Liquor Board not only produces revenues but also collects revenues. According to a member of the LCBO, 600 million dollars in tax revenues are presently paid to the provincial government and over a million is paid to the federal government. With the collection of revenues and a high performance rating in retail, the Ontario government (thus far\textsuperscript{35}) has chosen to maintain its control over alcohol production, promotion and consumption.

Part of the LCBO's campaign (with the influence of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Social Services and the Attorney General's Office) is to promote social responsibility while drinking. Therefore, whenever the LCBO is questioned on the necessity of its monopoly, it promotes its societal purpose as protecting the health and welfare of the Ontario public. "But as well as our responsibility to collect revenues for the government, we have a much wider social responsibility mandate, which includes ensuring the safety of our products and doing everything we can to see

\textsuperscript{35} In light of the June 8th, 1995 election of Mike Harris and the Progressive Conservative government and, thus, the overthrow of the presiding New Democratic Party, the status quo regarding the LCBO will quite possibly change. One of the platforms in the election campaign presented the possibility of privatizing the LCBO. If privatization were to occur, the LCBO, as a Crown corporation, would be restructured and dismantled. None of these issues have yet been addressed by the new government and thus I can only describe the function of the LCBO to date.
that they are consumed legally and in moderation...it's a regulator and an important agent of social responsibility". (LCBO, 1994:5). Therefore, the LCBO promotes the idea that central control is necessary in order to maintain the health and welfare of the Ontario public. This control also includes the control of "taste" as well as the decisions as to what should be considered the criteria of quality.

In the interests of consumer protection, the LCBO conducts approximately 150,000 tests on 8000 different alcoholic beverages each calendar year. This 'quality assurance' testing ensures that all products sold by the LCBO, Ontario Winery Stores and Brewers Retail Stores comply with the federal Food and Drug Act, as well as the LCBO's high standards for quality and taste.

(LCBO, 1994:3)

Up until the 1980s, the LCBO made more money each year and thus paid an increase in revenues to the provincial government. But the 1980s began a decline in the industry due to changes in lifestyle, cross border shopping, smuggling and, most importantly, the price of alcohol doubling due to an increase in taxes. This event begins our unravelling of the system of power relations within the alcohol industry which is the focus of the next chapter. According to a member of the LCBO whom I interviewed, it is the politicians who decide on the prices and tax mark-ups but, unfortunately, these politicians in the Ministry of Consumer Affairs are unqualified to make decisions that dictate differences in alcoholic beverages that are not based on logic - only sales.

The sometimes contradictory and perplexing laws of the
Ontario provincial government as well as the varying roles of the differing Provincial and Federal Ministries will be discussed in the next chapter. Each Ministry does not necessarily have the same agenda and like the history of the Ontario wine industry demonstrates, the changing ideologies of the provincial government have not fostered a deeply embedded and naturalized image of Ontario wine. The LCBO sales demonstrate that Ontarians do not seem adverse to drinking alcoholic beverages but with globalization of the international markets, Canadians have become more aware of the rest of the world and the traditions and "tastes" of each country. Since Ontario's political and economic hegemonic system has not been steady and uniform in its portrayal of the provincial industry or alcohol in general, Ontarians are left with mixed memories and uncertainties. These uncertainties and the concept of the created "naturalized" image represent the economic and political power and control that exists and molds an individual's perception.

With the variety of images and products that have been presented to the Ontario public, I believe the Ontario wine industry clearly demonstrates the power of marketing in the naturalization process. People who drink wine in Canada have the right to be somewhat confused. Since Prohibition, wine has been advertised as a medicine, a warming highly alcoholic drink, a fun pop style alcohol and finally
paralleled to European dry table wine. Wine has never been advertised as a medicine in modern Europe nor have Europeans ever gone to a pharmacy to buy their vin du table. I believe that one of the main reasons why Canadians do not drink as much wine as Europe's inhabitants is simply because Canadians have not been consistently "naturalized" to drink European style dry table wines. Today international competition cannot exist without meeting the criteria of the most established international wine "tastes" and thus it is necessary to develop and naturalize the "tastes" of Ontario. I am interested in calling attention to the power behind this naturalization process and hope to reveal how both the governmental and industrial sectors are now working towards the same goal - to produce and teach consumers to appreciate Ontario's European style wine and thus compete on the global market.

Prohibition represents a split between the ideologies of the wine industry and the provincial government. Differences still exist within and between the government and industry, but as profits increase, the multifaceted parts of each side reach more agreement and thus gain more power over naturalizing the public to their goals. To enter the global market and gain recognition as a wine producing country, the domestic wine industry had to consolidate its
power to join and pursue the same general vision as the Provincial and Federal governments. The next chapter begins in 1988 with the birth of what has become today's power system regarding the Ontario wine industry. Chapter Four presents each of the decision makers and each of their agendas. With the role of each player defined, the present state of Ontario's wine industry takes shape. With the varying ideologies and the use of marketing as a tool the naturalization of perceptions and taste for Ontario's wine begins.

The visions of the Provincial and Federal governments become rather complicated. At this point I simply want to demonstrate how the governmental and industrial agencies are now working in the same direction. The varying government Ministries whose agendas are not focused on the sale of wine and thus diversify the government on this topic will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter Four

Defining the Roles of Governmental and Industrial Agencies

In Ontario, politics and wine go hand in hand and to appreciate the dramatic change in the style and quality of its products we have to understand the history involved... It's one thing to produce better products, but quite another to convince jaded consumers with long memories that Ontario wines can now rival some of the best white wines around the world, both in the dry and sweet categories.

(Aspler, 1993:31-33)

Since Prohibition, governmental and industrial agencies have invented and reinvented the image and taste of Canadian wine as a means of strengthening the economy by politically and socially manipulating the perceptions and tastes of their desired consumers. At present, political and economic hegemony have paved the path for the Canadian wine industry to be a staple and "natural" libation throughout the daily lives of the various peoples of our country while creating a high profit margin for the government and industrial agencies in charge of its production and promotion. The reasoning behind the government's maintenance of control over Ontario wine is to create industry in Ontario, raise the provincial economy and, as a bonus, make a profit from its retail sales. The industry, on the other hand, is mostly interested in the production and promotion of their Ontario wines in order to make money. To fulfil the objectives of either side, it is necessary to create a desired image and taste for the wine and to target an
audience. When the wine begins to sell and profits begin to be made, this is a sign that the targeted audience has started to listen to the marketed promotions. But, marketing cannot work alone in the goal of naturalizing a created image and taste, since the political decisions to create laws and regulations must also be used to enforce the propaganda. It is important to note that the industry and government agencies do not always follow the same guidelines and thus the naturalization of concepts does not always occur. I argue that after 1988, the opinions and objectives of both the Ontario wine industry and the profit-oriented government agencies begin to stand on common ground. This chapter demonstrates that all of the government agencies and all of the wineries and lobby groups and associations do not maintain the same ideology, but the goal of making profit links the most powerful in their conception of the taste and image of Ontario wines.

The 1989 Canadian-American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) in combination with the 1988 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) had a major impact on the Ontario wine industry when it first appeared that the government's global ideas contradicted the belief systems of a large majority of the existing provincial wine industry. Up until this point, the government had subsidized Ontario wines by marking up the price of foreign wines by 66% and only taxing Ontario wines 1%. As a result of the 1989 signing of CAFTA, American
wine prices were cut in half in 1990 and phased down for a six year period ending January 1, 1995, putting their prices at par with the Ontario counterparts. CAFTA was signed after the GATT agreement which also called attention to the unequal tax mark-ups on imported table wine. The GATT agreement called for the mark-ups to be phased out over a seven year period for blended wines and a ten year period for a hundred percent Canadian content wines. Therefore, by 1998 all wines, domestic and foreign, will be taxed equally. As you may recall from Chapter Three, the Labatt’s Annual reports constantly called attention to aggressive competition of lower priced foreign wines which inevitably took away the majority of domestic sales. The industry saw no hope for the future. The government’s answer to this problem will come later in the chapter. At this point, it is only important to note that the ideologies of the government and industry were not always similar, but these global agreements began the road to the combined hegemony of today - the drive to attain global tasting wine.

Within Ontario and the rest of Canada, changes and decisions were being made that would force Ontario’s wine industry to take the required shape or crumble. Nineteen eighty-eight also saw the introduction of The Ministry of Agriculture and Food’s revised Wine Content Act of 1976. The revised Act imposed more stringent production and manufacturing laws in order to create a domestic industry
with globally competitive wines of "quality". The new laws:
1) banned the use of labrusca grapes in table wines\textsuperscript{37},
2) lowered the amount of wine allowed to be made from a tonne of grapes\textsuperscript{38}, and, 3) decreased the minimum required amount of Canadian grapes in wine blends. In 1994, the removal of the interprovincial trade barriers forced provinces to lift the mark-ups and limits set for each other's wines.\textsuperscript{39} The introduction of open trade throughout the country and between other nations has set global standards and criteria over the production of internationally competitive quality wine. The effects of CAFTA, GATT, the 1988 Wine Content Act and the 1994 removal of interprovincial trade barriers changed the course of Ontario's wine production by forcing the Ontario wine industry to choose to align themselves with the global vision of the government or be left behind with the memory of their labrusca wines.

\textsuperscript{37} The creation of the new Wine Content Act due largely to the GATT and CAFTA rulings, eventually saw the initial 24,000 acres of vines in the province down to 15,459 in 1994. "In order to compete in the global wine world the Ontario industry had to downsize" (Aspler, 1993:32)...and downsizing meant the replacement of labrusca grapes with vinifera.

\textsuperscript{38} Increasing the wine made from a tonne of grapes creates a diluted flavour. In the past, water would be added for volume and artificial flavouring would replace the higher cost of using more grapes. Thus the producer focused on cost efficiency and not on competitive quality.

\textsuperscript{39} Before the removal of the trade barriers, the British Columbian wines that were sold in Ontario were subject to the same price mark-ups as European or New World wines.
The last chapter dealt with the past and this chapter begins with the present which is defined here as 1988 onwards. I shall identify and explain the role of the today's key players and decision makers in the Ontario wine industry. It is both the Provincial and Federal governments along with the Grape Growers Marketing Board and the Wine Council of Ontario that would the production and promotion of the Ontario wine industry through global trade negotiations and quality control. Government control appears in many guises. A consensus is not easily reached between the different Ministries, yet each is intricately involved in the content, production and promotion of Ontario's wine. Briefly, I will demonstrate how many of the differing governmental sectors actually participate and what their particular (and sometimes differing) interests are in the Ontario wine industry. I will also define the role of the lobby groups and associations who, by virtue of their nature, are entwined with at least one of the government sectors. This chapter will end with an overview of the marketing strategies that reflect the new vision of Ontario's wine.

As was discussed in Chapter Three, the most predominant government agency is the LCBO which is responsible for

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40 See Appendix B for a detailed description of the many channels a winery must traverse in attempting to start a winery and sell wine in the LCBO.
the Wine Content Act, the Liquor Control Act as well as the
management of all the retail stores. The LCBO reports
directly to the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial
Relations but must also contend with several other
Ministries whose interests may not be focused on promoting
the local wine industry. For example, the Ministry of
Treasury and Economics determines the price mark-ups and
excise taxes based on generating Provincial revenue. The
Treasurer must make decisions based on the overall revenue
of the province and not on the needs of each individual
winery. As well, every winery must follow the Food and Drug
Act put forth by the Ministry of Health or the wine cannot
be deemed suitable for sale. It is the LCBO which does
the laboratory testing and decides which wines are suitable
for sale in their retail outlets. Therefore, the LCBO has
the most direct control over each individual winery but
still must abide by the decisions and laws put forth by the
supervising Ministries.

Apart from the LCBO, the Ministry of Agriculture and
Food along with Agriculture Canada create the land use
policies, research stations (Vineland and Harrow) and
monitor the importation and distribution of rootstocks. The

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An interesting irony to consider is the naming of alcohol
revenue as "sin taxes". The name certainly reflects the
period from which the LCBO was created. The negative
religious implications comes from the Prohibition era but the
revenue generated by this 'immoral' liquid does not appear to
be value laden in its use as provincial capital.
Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology is also involved but appears to have a divided interest between the domestic production and export promotion (Ontario 1986:16). In other words, part of the Ministry of Agriculture's agenda is to allocate land for agricultural use, its interest being in testing and "improving" provincial grape growing technology and accessibility. On the same issue, the Ministry of Industry is not against the improvement of the provincial industry but it must also take into consideration consumer demands for imported wine and the ensuing revenue that foreign wine produces. Therefore, interests are divided between and even within the Ministries.

Still within the complex system of government, there are more parties who partake in the Ontario wine industry. Looking at the January 14th, 1995 issue of the Welland Tribune I found a classified ad that advertised a "Vineyard and Winery Training Program" put forth by the department of Human Resources Development Canada. The course offers a 51 week tuition free program for eligible Unemployment Insurance recipients. The advertisement reads: "Participants will gain general skills and knowledge in all aspects of vineyard operations and basic cellar operations through in-school and on-the-job training." The mandate of Human Resources Canada is to create jobs and thus it has taken advantage of the growing Ontario wine industry by attempting to train people in its development. Within the same
provincial government, the Ministry of Community and Social Services and the Attorney General's Office generally consider the mental and physical danger involved with drinking and thus do not promote the wine industry in their mandate. Therefore, there is a contradiction in the mandates of the Ministries. One sector promotes the growth of the wine industry and offers training to people for a future in the wine industry while the other prefers to disassociate itself from any positive promotion of the local, national or international alcohol business. Still, other Ministries are concerned with the over all aspects of the growth of the grapes, while another is interested only in domestic wine's revenue potential. Since the alcohol business is run through government and the government, by its very nature, is extremely complex, the mixed messages are often hard to read.

Indeed, the Government has, in recent years, conveyed a message through its legislation. Advertising an attitude that drinking is all bad; bad for one's health, mental and physical; bad when in combination with automobiles' and bad in its association with many criminal acts...What concerns those in the industry is the tone of the Government's pronouncements. Some view the Government's stance as approaching the hypocritical in that the Government also collects hundreds of dollars in tax revenue from the industry.

(Ontario, 1986:18)

Since there are so many channels to negotiate in the provincial government, the wineries need a separate body pursuing their interests and concerns. Once the rules and
regulations have been put forth by the varying government agencies. Lobby groups take shape and work co-operatively as a voice for their individual concerns. Still, all the Ontario wineries are not all the same size and all do not pursue the same belief system in their wine production. For example, the larger wineries will typically buy some of their grapes from local grape growers or purchase bulk wine from international suppliers. In contrast, a smaller winery will usually depend on growing all of their own grapes and is financially pressured when it may be forced to buy the product due to bad weather conditions. In an interview with a winemaker of a larger winery, he stated his opinion on the organization of the Ontario wine industry:

Canada is not like Europe, in all the other countries the growers and the wine producers are all in one group...[meaning] it should all be under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food...wine is made from grapes and grapes are food...wine should be sold as a grocery.

I believe the separation of wine and food represents more than simply a tax divide between a luxury item and a necessity. The division within the industry instils an image of wine as a specialty and not an everyday food erage. Therefore, grape growers and wine producers cannot fall under the same umbrella because their products have been naturalized as differing in purpose and use throughout the existing Ontario system.

For a wine to be made, it is necessary to have grapes. Yet, in Ontario, the grape growers and the wine producers are
separated into two different lobby groups - the Grape Grower's Marketing Board and the Wine Council of Ontario. As a lobby group, the Grape Grower's Marketing Board is the voice in meeting the government's inquiries and regulations regarding the production and sale of Ontario's grapes. In a discussion with a member of the Board, I discovered that there are approximately 560 Ontario grape growers who belong to the Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board among whom there are 35 to 40 wine grape growers. Each member of the lobby group must pay board fees in order to maintain its operations. Many restrictions exist if a grape grower is not part of the Board. For example, if a grape grower desires to sell his/her product to a licensed processor they are obligated to belong to the Marketing Board in order to receive a grower's identification number and thus legally operate within the system. In 1994, a total of 553 growers (Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board, 1994:6) sold grapes to licensed Ontario processors as members of the Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board - that is practically all its members!

The Grape Grower's Marketing Board is also involved with issues involving agricultural research, land use, the search for new products and, most visibly, the price negotiations each year. It is here that representatives from the wineries and the grape growers come together to decide on the prices that will be paid for the grapes. The
Marketing Board will act as a lobby group with the government in setting quotas from which the wineries must purchase Ontario grapes. With the revamping of the Wine Content Act in 1988 the Marketing Board lobbied with the Ministry of Agriculture to temporarily protect the grape growers against the new regulation allowing 75% imported wine in Canada products. It was agreed that "the wineries were committed to buy a minimum 25,500 tonnes of Ontario grapes each year for 12 years starting with the 1988 harvest" (Aspler, 1993:31). Canada is the only country where the prices are negotiated before the harvest.\(^42\) In years where there is an oversupply, the Ministry of Agriculture will subsidize the growers by purchasing the grapes.

The Ministry of Agriculture's Grape Price Support Program, which came into effect due to the GATT and CAFTA negotiations, proves to be the best example of how sectors of the government are opting for economic and political globalization. As was mentioned previously, it was during these negotiations that the other countries argued against the Ontario government subsidizing their domestic wines at the expense of their exports. Due to the GATT and CAFTA

\(^{42}\) Percy Rowe (1978:72) writes: "The Ontario organization is by far the most active. It starts its negotiations over grape prices as early as March each year once the approximate requirements of the individual wineries are known, and continues these negotiations throughout the growing season".
international trade agreements. Ontario wineries feared they would no longer be able to compete with the cheaply priced Californian wine while still being legislated\textsuperscript{43} to purchase the more expensive Ontario grapes. The Grape Price Support Program answered the winemaker's call by averaging the price per tonne from California and relating it to the same grape (or its equivalent) per tonne grown in Ontario. Tony Aspler (1993:31) explains: "Under the program the wineries paid the landed California price and the government gave the difference to the grower in the form of a transition subsidy that decreases with the years and will be eliminated in the year 2000".

The Grape Price Support Program coupled with the Grape Acreage Reduction Program, which focused on the removal of labrusca and hybrid vines, turned Ontario vineyards into globally accepted vines. The 1994 Ontario Grape Growers Annual Report (Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board, 1994:1) makes note of 8,541 acres of "unwanted" vines that have been torn down and consequently financed by the Provincial and Federal government. It is here that I would argue that the Ontario government and the province's financially surviving wineries began to share the same vision of the future. With the push from the government, the industry was forced to enter the competitive global

\textsuperscript{43} The Wine Content Act of 1988 (Ontario) legislates wineries to buy a minimum of 25% of Ontario's grapes.
market. Those who could financially adjust to the changes are now taking advantage of the global vision by setting international standards to their wine's production and actively competing for a prominent international reputation through their own provincial wine lobby group.

Despite all the various and differing governmental departments that have an interest in the wine industry, the wine industry finds itself with a need to voice the wineries' perspectives that are not in concurrence with the Grape Grower's Marketing Board. Originally, the Canadian Wine Institute carried out the price negotiations with the Grape Growers Marketing Board as a representative of all the wineries in Canada. Between 1940 and 1965, the Canadian Wine Institute represented all of Canada's wineries, its objective being a promotion of national interest for national products. By 1965 provincialism replaced the nationalist character and provincial groups (e.g., the Wine Council of Ontario) along with local lobby groups (e.g., the South Western Ontario Vintners Association) came into being. Today, the Wine Council of Ontario has taken the role as the representative of Ontario's wineries.

The Wine Council of Ontario defines itself as a non-profit trade association with a leadership role in setting standards and establishing policy and future directions for the wine industry in Ontario. It acts as a liaison and co-ordinating body between Ontario wineries, grape growers and government groups.

(Wine Council, 1994:4)
There are 46 wineries in Ontario from which 31 are members of the Wine Council. Membership fees are based on volume (i.e., amount of cases of wine produced). All Ontario resident commercial producers of wine are invited to join the organization that serves each winery publicly and politically.

With regards to any specific item of interest, the Wine Council is divided into many subcommittees. They have not, as yet, created a source book that divides and explains each committee along with the entire make-up of the organization. Therefore, not only I, but many winemakers are still not completely aware of the networking involved under the umbrella of the Wine Council. Through my interviews I discovered that each subcommittee (for example the export committee) has a surcharge fee and thus does not prove to be beneficial to all members. For example, a small winery would not benefit from joining an export committee due to the reduced quantity of wine that he/she produces. It would be beneficial to spread one's name and reputation to the international market but it is not worth the extra fees. While a larger winery can benefit from the networking and information made available through the export committee some

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44 The number 46 comes from an operator of the LCBO infoline. The operator explained that this may not be completely accurate but from all the information available, 46 wineries were counted. The Wine Council believed the number sounded high but had no records to dispute the count.

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of the winemasters still feel that the work can be handled individually. In fact, a manager of a larger winery called to my attention that a small winery that is just beginning can find the Wine Council very helpful for learning the rules, getting information and building a reputation but an already established larger winery might question the actual usefulness of its existence.

During my research, it came to my attention that the majority of the market share is actually owned by one united organization. In 1994 Vincor International was formed through the conglomeration of Brights, Cartier and Inniskillin whose assets form 85% of the market share while ranking as the sixth largest winery in North America (Gamble, 1995:23).\(^4\) The name, Vincor International, certainly demonstrates the company's global aspirations! To demonstrate, let us recall from Chapter Three, the provincial and national consolidations of Bright's and the wineries owned by Labatt's and Seagram's. The sale of Labatt's wineries led to the creation of Cartier wines while Bright's, already a consolidated commercial winery, bought Seagram's national winery shares. Together Brights and Cartier had acquired the majority of the two hundred and

\(^4\) To demonstrate the size of the market share that Vincor actually controls, it is important to realize that Brights wines also introduced the Sawmill Creek line of varietals while Cartier created the Jackson-Triggs line. Inniskillin maintains its own name. All of these wines appear under separate labels but belong to one company.
sixty "grandfathered" provincial retail wine stores. Without exploring all the national assets that Vincor has also acquired with its mergers, it is evident that it maintains a much greater sales arena than its competition who can only make provincial sales in the LCBO or on their production facility.\textsuperscript{46} One of the winemasters I interviewed explains: "In theory each winery is given one vote within the Wine Council but, everyone knows that in the case of misunderstandings the decisions go to the wineries that hold the most shares in the marketplace...the Wine Council is no longer necessary...quality standards were introduced with the Canadian-American Free Trade Agreement and GATT - not the Wine Council".

Yet it is through the Wine Council that the literature promoting Ontario wines is produced and distributed. Throughout the years, especially since 1988, the Wine Council has become increasingly conscious of public relations and the need to promote Ontario wines. A main objective of the Wine Council is to try to educate the public about Ontario wines and about their standards through their literature. Any member winery will also receive all the information regarding public wine tastings and

\textsuperscript{46} Just recently, Andres and Hillebrand, two of the original eight consolidated wineries from the Prohibition era also merged and thus creating another consolidated and powerful corporation in the heart of all the now much smaller wineries (excluding Vincor).
competitions as a means of further promoting the industry as a whole. Politically, the Wine Council finds a voice through its officially recognized status. Since its beginnings, the Wine Council has initiated surveys and compiled statistics that trace the history and cast the future of the Ontario wine industry. These findings were used when the Wine Content Act of 1976 was revamped and the trend towards foreign wine was finally acknowledged by legislation (Rowe, 1978:73). The point I am trying to make is that very few people are actually controlling the perception and taste of Ontario's wines. The Wine Council may be a lobby group that is helpful to the small wineries that are just beginning their business, but the main decisions regarding the rules, regulations and laws are being controlled by the larger wineries with the most money and the most influence on the interested government agencies.

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Every year since 1989-1990, an instructor from Ryerson who is also the marketing director for the Wine Council and an employee of the Grape Growers Marketing Board, conducts a "Usage and Attitude" study which attempts to understand the image of Ontario wine as well as learn from the results. The objective is to change people's perception from studying and creating a marketing agenda that focuses on the results of the empirical study. The study questions people's: 1) understanding of the change in the industry's production processes, 2) general perception and use of Ontario wine, 3) knowledge of grape content and origin within each wine, 4) changes in the industry with regards to company buy outs and individual wineries. Unfortunately, all the results are kept confidential from the general public as a means of using the gained information for the Wine Council's marketing campaign.
In the voice of a "public service", the Wine Council offers and administers the Ontario Wine Test through Ontario colleges in their Hospitality and Tourism departments. The test questions students with information regarding Ontario wine and the grape varieties used within it, as well as the Ontario wine industry itself. The Wine Council administers and marks the tests while the course is instructed by a college instructor or a winery representative using the Wine Council's material. The book *A Toast to Ontario Wines* (1994) teaches students how to "appreciate": 1) the oenology of Ontario's viticultural regions, 2) the history and present production processes of Ontario wines, 3) the objectives of the Vintner's Quality Alliance (VQA) as well as, 4) the role and use of Ontario wine and champagne with hospitality. This last section includes in-depth instruction of the proper wine glass, serving temperatures, corkscrew usage, food matching as well as wine purchasing, storing, terminology, cooking and tasting.

According to a Wine Council employee, the Wine Council's certificate and text have a two-fold objective. The first objective is to educate consumers about the relevance, availability and "quality" of Ontario's wines while rewarding its participants with a certificate of merit signed by the executive director. The second objective is to educate people who will be entering the hospitality market, thus training them to plan menus and promote Ontario wine.
The multiple choice test is designed to pass only those who score 90% or over. The whole certificate appears to promote "elitism" with the certificate and a greater drive to "achieve" the certified category. The Wine Council's education system promotes their standards and criteria to be the "only" means of evaluation and use. These standards are legitimated through its certificate and naturalized through its use.

In 1988, the VQA was established through the Wine Council of Ontario as a voluntary appellation of origin system designed to set formal and rigid "quality" standards for Ontario's wines. The conception of the VQA was formed in 1982 and is generally accredited to Donald Ziraldo the president of Inniskillin and current chairman of the VQA.

Donald had received a 650 case order from a Burgundy shipper for Inniskillin's 1980 Marechal Foch. Before the wine could be delivered, the French government notified him that his shipments had to conform to the EEC's appellation of origin regulations. This meant that the Niagara Peninsula would have to be approved as a recognized viticultural area.

(Cattell. 1995:7)

The VQA thus came into existence as a voluntary alliance of independent wineries. The VQA is a designation indicating that a wine has been recognized as a "quality" product (reaching certain agreed upon standards put forth by the committee) and grown in a particular region of Ontario. Its focus remains on the evaluation of individual wines instead of wineries since its original purpose was to meet
international standard requirements and develop international trade. Ironically, although the VQA has its own board of directors, a winery that is not a member of the Wine Council cannot become a member and submit its wine for VQA approval. The VQA publicly explains its purpose in a brochure available in any Tourism Ontario office:

By designating the appellations of origin on the label, vintners offer wine lovers a guide to their superior products...Only high quality grapes make great wine so Ontario's VQA regulations stipulate which varieties can be used for products that bear the Vintners Quality Alliance medallion (Wine Council of Ontario, 1993:2).

Within the province of Ontario, the VQA's separation of the wine growing regions into designated viticultural areas (Niagara Peninsula, Pelee Island and Lake Erie North Shore) has produced more competition and thus created an even greater drive to rank wine nationally and internationally. The perception of a system of quality ranking, coupled with government standardization methods, has ignited a politically instigated wine industry boom in Ontario. My research has found some differing opinions of the VQA. Although most of the wineries promote its inception, all do not agree with the specific rules and guidelines that differentiate VQA wines from others or its affiliation with the Wine Council. For example, one winemaster I interviewed did not hesitate to give his opinion on how the VQA should be an autonomous body. He believes that wineries should not have to pay two membership
fees to become a part of the VQA since no one can be a participant in the VQA without being a member of the Wine Council. The winemaster also added that he does not always agree with all the labelling regulations that the VQA puts forth. 48

In the hopes of raising awareness and creating a market, competitions are used as advertising agents both abroad and at home. "The Quest for Quality" is the logo of the VQA and it is this political organization's medallions that have made it the most sought after association to have ever entered the Ontario wine industry. By 1990, the VQA black book of "Rules And Regulations" was printed with provincial and geographical designations along with a superior ranked VQA Medallion over the generally accepted VQA Trademark. Therefore, the VQA is not only an appellation system but it has also become a ranking system that promotes competition and internationally recognized standards of "quality".

James Pollock (1993:11) from Marketing Magazine demonstrates the promotional side of the VQA in his article entitled "The marque of success: Donald Ziraldo cultivates a passion for quality into a market opportunity" in recognition of Ziraldo being named Marketer of the Year by the Toronto chapter of the American Marketing Association.

48 These problems will be addressed in Chapter Six in my interviews with the winemasters.
Pollock (1993:11) describes the VQA as a "marketing tool...Since being introduced five years ago, VQA has proven to be a marketing bonanza". Pollock (1993:12) also includes Ziraldo's understanding and the impressions of the rest of the wineries on how they view the benefits of the VQA: "Once resisted by winemakers who dismissed VQA as a 'bit of a gimmick', the program is now embraced by all of Canada's vintners, says Ziraldo. 'They realize the power it has in the marketplace'".

In preparation for international and national competition, the VQA standardized label requirements and initiated further stipulations in production techniques and results. By using the VQA as a marketing tool, buyers and promoters began deeming VQA labels as not only indicators of grape and production origin but wines of "superior quality" and thus hot commodities. Still, the VQA does not act alone in its selection of pronouncements of "quality". The tasting panel for the VQA designated wines, consisting of LCBO employees and its Board of Directors, contains a representative from Agriculture Canada's Horticultural Research Institute along with a grape grower, a member of the academic community and of course the LCBO as well.

In 1994, Jackson-Triggs (part of the Cartier collection) was "awarded the LCBO 'Elsie', as the year's

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The idea of competitions and "quality taste" standards will be discussed in the next chapter.
most successful new product introduction" (Gamble, 1995:23). As in the past, the larger Canadian wineries are again setting (controlling) the trend for the new "tastes" in wine, much like when Andres Baby Duck pop-like sparkling wine appealed in the 1970s to the in-between image of very sweet, high alcohol fortified wines and low alcohol, dry table wines. Today, Vincor is training the public to drink but this time with varietal wines that will not overpower the budding Ontario wine drinker's taste buds.

Vincor Senior Vice President Allan Jackson and President Donald Triggs adopted the concept of producing introductory varietals that would be a natural step for wine consumers who were used to blended wines but who were ready to explore the more distinctive character of varietal wines made from a single grape.

(Gamble, 1995:23)

To become internationally competitive, one must make sure that there is a market in the country of origin. Canadians have not typically been wine drinkers but the promotion of quality standards and awards draws attention - locally, nationally and internationally.

Of course, it is important for a blossoming industry to be acknowledged by the "experts" since these rankings should boost its economic growth through national and international sales. According to the 1994 annual report of the Ontario Grape Grower's Marketing Board (1994:8), "[w]ine consumption [in Canada] has declined by 8% over the last four years". While the sale of Ontario wine sold in Ontario has decreased by 0.9% since last year, the sale of imported wine has only
lowered by 0.1%. Yet the Ontario wine market share remains at 43% in Ontario. Yes Ontario is producing competitive wines but it is still necessary to create an image to convince wine drinkers to venture to taste the standardized product of the land.

Advertising phrases presented on the Wine Council's pamphlets include "A Toast to Ontario Wines": "Ontario Wines. Outstanding on Your Doorstep": "The Quest For Quality": "VQA We Make Our Mark On Wines Of The World" and "Discover the Wines of Canada". Obviously, the wine industry is trying to promote consumer awareness through a sense of pride and nationalism with an appeal of convenience. There is even a television commercial that demonstrates Canada's competitive capabilities by reciting - "Ontario wines: A Distinctive Signature in the World of Wine". According to the Wine Council of Ontario, more money is being spent on advertising as attempts are made to place consumers in a buying position for the provincial and thus national wine industry's products. The Ontario wine industry advertises a competitive global taste but appeals to nationalism with its distinct Ontario signature and thus attempts to economically create an Ontario wine market and wine drinking culture.

At every winery the Wine Council of Ontario's various pamphlets are readily available. The pamphlets serve to: 1) map the wine route, 2) present a calendar of events for any festivals that may be occurring, 3) promote competition
rankings or winery sweepstakes. 4) discuss the history and the advantages of geography for the industry. 5) present the answers to questions about which wine with what food, and of course, 6) to introduce the VQA rating methodology. At some wineries, the yearly edition of the paper "Wine Trails in the Wine Regions of Ontario" is available. This newsletter functions to introduce new wineries, new winemasters, new techniques and general information regarding the existing wineries, wine-centred events for the year and up-to-date information on news within the wine industry (i.e., awards, special interests, recipes and issues of health). The public is being invited to learn about the industry and understand the VQA system of quality and taste.

By creating criteria of quality and therefore judging and promoting preferred taste criteria, the establishment of the VQA is representative of the wine industry's place in objectifying personal taste in order to compete with the global standard. There now exists a competition between wineries to create the taste criteria of the global market (and thus the VQA). Any individual whose personal tastes had become accustomed to labrusca-based "Canadian" wine must now forget subjective opinion and turn to the production agents in order to learn and educate his/her taste buds to the global standard. In this chapter, I have introduced the Ontario Wine Test and the concept of "quality" rankings. In Chapter Five I will explain the different "objective" steps
that are taken to evaluate a wine and to pronounce its quality standards. I will also present the subjective side to wine's production and tasting. In the end, I hope to demonstrate that the evidence from this chapter on the political economic underpinnings of Ontario's wine industry, combined with the evidence from the next chapter on wine evaluation, clearly portrays a hegemonic system that has naturalized the concept of "quality wine".
Chapter Five
"Taste the Quality"

While political and economic globalization has meant the emergence of a 'worldview' model of quality that aims at commodifying Ontario wine and creating a worldwide 'desired' image, it still remains to be seen what the opinion is of the individual creators and judges - the winemasters and winetasters. Has the art of making wine turned into a local, provincial, national and international drive to produce award winning, objectively tested - or scientifically-ranked - wines, or do individual understandings and methods still create the personality of a wine? Thus far, Ontario's wine production has been discussed historically, politically, economically and theoretically. Ontario's wine production and promotion has been presented as a hegemonic force in shaping a 'natural' criteria for wine's image and taste. Yet, the personal level of each wine's evaluation as well as the creation of the differences between each wine has only been suggested and thus needs to be examined in this chapter. Therefore this chapter will look at the extent to which personal opinion and objective standards are considered in explaining what is winetasting and how it is used with wine evaluation, production and promotion. Chapter Six follows with a presentation of the opinions of the South Western Ontario winemasters in creating their products and working within
the Ontario wine industry. Is each wine different and if so, how are they? How distinct is each winemaker and winetaster’s opinion?

At this point, I find it necessary to further question what exactly is "taste"? Can taste be neatly defined and thus categorized as a "thing" or category that gives power to its initiator? "Taste", like "quality", is subjective and objective. Andrew Sharp begins his book Winetaster’s Secrets with an examination of the meaning of taste. He presents the dictionary definitions of "taste" as both the verb and the noun\(^\text{50}\) yet he believes that he narrows down the definition by applying it to wine and the ability to determine wine quality. Sharp (1995:1) believes that "[T]asting wine is a quest for quality". In this "quest for quality" personal beliefs are not the deciding factor.

Moreover, it is the development and acquisition of objective standards (through the training of one’s "taste") which determine wine "quality" (Sharp, 1995:1-3). Therefore "taste", with regards to wine, continues to be both the verb and the noun; education and training in the established objective standards will allow a person "to taste" the quality of a wine as well as develop "a taste" for what is considered to be good wine. "A taste" and "to taste" become forms of conditioning created by the political, economic

\(^{50}\) "It means to ‘eat or to drink; to have or to get experience; a manner or style’"(Sharp, 1995:1).
hegemonic system.

Between May and September, 1995, I was working eighteen hours a week at the Pelee Island winery. My job requirements included greeting the customers, suggesting wines and promoting wine tastings. A large part of my time was spent giving tours of the facility and explaining wine tasting techniques through a selection of wine samples. On the one hand, as a social scientist, I have been attempting to critique the underlying power relations that create and direct a person’s opinion of taste and quality while allowing us to believe that our points of view are a natural result of education. On the other hand, during my employment with Pelee winery, I suddenly discovered that I had become a part of that which I was critiquing.

My training consisted of two full-day workshops and a week of following other tours (where a script from an old slide show was provided to help fill in the gaps). Unfortunately I was unable to attend the second day of training, but I was informed it was at the Kingsville location and that the half-day consisted of the winemaster giving a tour of the production facilities and introducing his wines for tastings and questions. The first day of training involved a day trip to Pelee island and a lecture by a LCBO product consultant. The product consultant educated all the new staff on the expertise of sales, wine evaluation and the importance of asking the consumers what
they want and are willing to pay in order to give them back what you have educated them to want. Marketing techniques such as the notion of the "limited availability" of a wine and the use of medals, awards and tastings were used as examples of promoting sales. This section of the presentation dealing with marketing and sales specifically focused on the "people equation as the most important part of the process": how to teach people to look for what you are selling.

In dealing with sales, the product consultant had to begin teaching the new employees the questions that consumers will commonly ask about wine and how we should answer these questions. It was explained to us how consumers vary in their likings and requirements and how it is vital to recognize the "situation" of each customer and be able to use our own commonsense in appealing to his or her line of argument. For example, we were taught that if a customer claims to "know" nothing about wine, the salesperson is responsible to help in the selection process by questioning: 1) the colour preference -- red or white, 2) the sugar level -- dry to sweet, 3) the drinking situation -- food medley. Price was factored in as a fourth point but was considered to be relative with wine in this situation.

We were taught that since most "uncertain" customers are looking at the wines within the same price range - $7.00 to $15.00 - the salesperson can try to upsell a product by
teaching the customers about the differences (i.e., varietal vs blend or young vs aged) and let the customer decide based on their new found knowledge. "Always take at least two wines and explain why each is different...neither is better although the prices may be different, your job is to explain the differences and begin cultivating a long term customer."

Therefore, from the beginning, we were taught how to build on the hegemonic system's foundation with questions and answers that categorize wines and categorize customers. The sales representatives were being educated about how to naturalize customers to the ideologies of the wine industry through our suggestions as to what is the proper wine selection process and what is not.

At this point we were invited to do a tasting for ourselves and thus were introduced to sensory wine evaluation. Two Pinot Blanc wines, one from a cool climate, with no barrel aging and the other from a warm climate, with oak aging were poured. The objective of the exercise was for us to attempt to differentiate the wines and see, smell, feel and taste the variations. Step by step instructions were given as to how to evaluate a wine as well as the importance of developing one's senses to become more active and aware of the subtleties of each wine. The process of growing and evaluating a grapevine was explained.

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51 Sensory wine evaluation will be explained in detail further on in the chapter.
as well as the grape, clarifying the wine's reliance on weather and agricultural conditions. The three Ontario designated viticultural regions were introduced along with the VQA as methods of differentiation and separations of taste and quality. We then proceeded to try all the wines that Pelee had to offer and began to make our own evaluations. In the end, we were taught that wine is very universal since it will be "familiar all over the world". We were told that our job was to intervene with the whole spectrum of customers, meaning that different people have different tastes. By paying particular attention to each customer's tastes and by accommodating each client with information and answers to his/her questions, the wine would gain credibility and would help cultivate long term customers - as well as mold people's opinions to conform and become naturalized within the political and economic global criteria of taste.

After my training period, throughout every tour I gave, I explained the "qualities" that a person "should" search out while judging a wine. I found myself telling people that certain foods are to be drunk with certain wines and that it is pertinent that a wine be "balanced". I explained the meaning and importance of descriptive wine words such as complex, smooth and depth. The end of my tour consisted of me explaining, in steps, the way to "properly" evaluate a wine by reviewing the manner by which people can look at the
clarity, colour, body, aroma, bouquet, balance and astringency. Along with my lessons, I made sure to indicate what a person should find as the "right" answer to each of the little tests they were conducting on their wine. Usually there were a few people on each one of my tours who would tell me that "they learned something". I realize now that when I drink wine I will look for the qualities that I have taught - exactly that which I am critiquing. Have I become a part of the hegemonic system that attempts to naturalize a person's understanding of "good" wine?

In an attempt to answer my own question regarding my personal involvement in the political and economic hegemonic system of Ontario's wine industry, let us recall Bourdieu's argument regarding cultural production. If the large-scale field of cultural production is represented by the hegemonic system of the Ontario wine industry and government agencies, then the wine industry's created criteria of taste becomes legitimized and naturalized through those wishing to become affiliated with what is considered to be the natural understanding of wine's image and standards. The varying perspectives regarding particular wines or theoretical opinions can be considered as autonomous fields that are still limited by the large-scale field of cultural production. People still believe that their tastes are "natural" but nature gains a partner in cultural dominance which partly shapes their social identity and legitimizes
the political and economic hierarchical power structure. A person may not be attempting to align herself/himself with the elite, but by paying attention to the messages that are being presented by the wine industry, a person becomes drawn into the concept of standardized criteria for wine evaluation. I am now a part of one of the restricted autonomous fields which searches for the pronounced quality but refuses to pay the extra price accredited to wines with established reputations. Therefore, there are many autonomous fields within and between those who drink wine which are all determined by our specific relation to the overall power structure and our individual desire to further "educate" ourselves within the realm of naturalized wine tasting.

Warning. A little learning is a dangerous thing. Employ these words only when attacked by a Wine Snob.\footnote{\label{fn:wine_snob}Prolonged use may make you seem like a Wine Snob too!} (Chatto, 1996:17)

Education is the key to wine evaluation. Every person will choose to learn as much as they feel is necessary in

\footnote{\label{fn:chatto}James Chatto (1996:16-17) in his Food and Drink article entitle "budding connoisseur" gives his understanding of a Wine Snob: "You're having dinner at the home of someone you hardly know, when the chatter swings onto wine. Most of the table falls silent; one voice grows noticeably louder, pontificating, interrupting others, dropping names and vintages, stuffing his endless anecdotes with the esoteric vocabulary of Winespeak. He seems to know lots about wine, but nothing about manners...So. It has finally happened. You are face to face with that creature of legend, The Wine Snob."}
order to gain their desired amount of symbolic capital within their specific autonomous field. Winetasters and wine judges use their "sensory tools" (Amerine, 1983; Young, 1986; Sharp, 1995; Broadbent, 1990, 1993) as evaluation mechanisms in their judgement of wine. These sensory tools are the five senses. Human beings will typically have five senses - sight, smell, touch, taste and hearing (sound)\textsuperscript{53}. All of these senses act as "tools" in the evaluation of wine "quality". "Quality" like "taste" is not static in its definition. "Quality" and "taste" have become entities that can be controlled and "learned" through the training of one's senses and one's belief in the naturalization of wine evaluation. Each sense performs a certain function and with proper guidance and education any amateur can train and teach their senses to become cognizant to the criteria of wine quality. In other words, a person's opinion regarding what is believed to be the preferred "quality" and "taste" of wine is dependent upon his/her interest and education in the rules and regulations of wine evaluation.

Wine "quality" is judged through standards and criteria but every winetasting book and winemaker's approach demonstrates slight differences in opinions. Depending upon

\textsuperscript{53} The sound that a wine makes will typically fall into the sight category since only sparkling wine and champagne have a definite sound. Bubbles can affect evaluation thus cannot be ignored but an in-depth analysis of sound and wine tasting is not necessary since it is not a common criteria for all wines.
how winetasting and winemaking is understood, one either sees the act as an art or a science (or both). Scientifically, objectively, and globally wine evaluation follows a standardized methodology based mostly on technology. Creatively, subjectively, and individually, wine evaluation is understood as a person's belief and attraction to the qualities of a wine's expression which she or he finds pleasing. Today, a winemaker can count on modern equipment to regulate the rate of fermentation as well as a means to extract and alter the colour, tint and depth of a wine to her or his desired quality levels. A winemaker may also consider his or her wine as a creative expression of individuality. As technology has advanced so has the "art" of winemaking. In my opinion, winemakers will usually follow both perspectives by using (for the most part) four of the senses (sight, smell, touch and taste), creativity and technology.

To follow a scientific evaluation, machines and laboratory tests compliment each of the sensory evaluations

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54 For example, Andrew Sharp explains (1995:109-110) "With modern equipment, especially filters, centrifuges and pressure controlled tanks, fermentation can now be halted at almost any point. First you select the desired alcohol/residual sugar ratio and when that point is reached during fermentation, the wine is then centrifuged and/or filtered removing the remaining live yeast cells. You are then left a wine with the exact balance you want".

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while a person's resulting decisions are very personal. Alan Young (1986:15) explains by comparing wine making to painting:

Winemakers, like painters, start with a range of basic materials: soil, grapes, climate. Yet these essential elements can change dramatically in less than a mile, let alone across nations or oceans...Add to this the variables of the winemaker's art - whether to pick grapes earlier or later, use SO2 or not, leave the 'must' on the skins longer or shorter, whether to ferment the wine in barrels.

By considering the human senses as tools (Sharp, 1995; Amerine, 1983; Young, 1986; Broadbent, 1993, 1990), a scientific, objective association of wine evaluation is understood. "Taste" is one of the sensory tools and thus the more scientific terminology of "evaluation" is used for "objective" credibility. On the other side of the coin, winetasting, approached as a subjective, personal art, relies on the human senses and stresses the creation of masterpieces and creative expressions. Subjectively, personal "taste" is believed to be an individual's choice or decision based on his/her gained knowledge and experience. The difference lies in the amount of independence a winemaster uses in his/her personal evaluations. These decision making processes of the winemasters transform the same grapes into different wines. To what extent each winemaster relies on his or her art and technology is completely dependent upon his/her objectives. For example, if a winemaster desired his/her wine to have a fresh and
fruity taste she or he may not choose to barrel age the wine or ferment it at a very cool temperature. Still, at a competition, every wine is judged solely with the human senses and the subjectivity of the judges, although its actual manufacture can be very reliant on the help of a laboratory.

Before considering the process of wine judging we need to consider the agriculture of grapes (as the key element of wine) and the importance of a winemaster's decision regarding grape variety and the resulting wine manufacture. Grapes are the most important part of creating a wine. If the growing conditions (soil, weather) for a grape harvest have not been satisfactory, the grapes can end up with a variety of problems such as having practically no flavour or being extremely acidic. Wines made from such grapes cannot produce what has globally been accepted as the ideal character of each grape variety. First let me explain the difficulty in developing a balanced grape and then in the next chapter we will explore how the winemasters' view their realm of freedom and constraint with regard to the grapes' cultivation.

During my research, I discovered that grapes are a most complex fruit. 55 "A grape is 80% water, 10-12% sugar

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The entire understanding of the complexity of a grape and the multitude of factors that affect and effect a grape harvest can be very complicated. I have chosen to very simply and generally illustrate the concept but I would advise any reader

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(glucose and fructose) depending on the amount of sunlight during its growing period. 5-6% acids, trace minerals, pectins. Skin = 11% in weight. Pips = 2-6% in weight. Pulp = 83% in weight." (Aspler, 1994:3). The stalk contains the tannins that are also in the skins along with the colour. Sugar, fruit acids, pectins and water are in the pulp while the pips contain the bitter oils (Aspler, 1994:1). In my training session at Pelee, the LCBO Product Consultant generally explained the components of the grape and the reasons for each variety's unique flavour: "It is the trace minerals that give the flavour to a grape. Obviously, the flavour comes from a very small percent of the grape in comparison to the volume".

Each variety of grape has its own spectrum of flavour yet there are still many elements within the grape which are still not known. However, it is known that the ground will draw out the same elements but the lineages of each grape shall be different and thus each variety's character will be different as well as each year's harvest. Thus, the soil is also a very important element since its varying regional consistencies play a key role in the distinctiveness of a grape (i.e., VQA's Designated Viticultural Areas). For

who is more interested in the agricultural aspects of harvesting grapes to first read what the following authors introduce on the subject and then proceed with a more in depth investigation: Masson,1979; Wagner,1976; Durkan and Cousins,1995; Sharp:1995; Ziraldo,1995; Aspler:1994.
example, if cherries are grown on the same ground as a
variety of grapes, the grapes and thus the wine is believed
to have a cherry smell/flavour to the trained taster since
the cherries and grapes have the same enzyme. To complicate
matters further, the Product Consultant at Pelee also
exemplified the effect of weather on taste and explained how
"a wine will taste more like apples and pears if the grapes
are grown in a cold climate and like pineapples and bananas
if planted in a hot climate".

The point of explaining the complexity of the grape is
to demonstrate how a winemaster's choice of grapes and
method of agriculture will affect their resulting wine. A
Winemaster is constrained by the scientific knowledge of
grape growing (i.e., the effects of soil and weather) as
well as the naturalized concept of what each variety should
taste like. Meaning, the characteristics of each grape
variety are expected to taste a certain way and reach a
certain level of quality. Since the flavour comes from only
5-6% of the entire make-up of the grapes, the differences
are very subtle and thus - according to the "experts" -
training is a must. As will be discussed later in this
chapter, some competitions will even judge a wine for the
"typicalness" of the grape character. It must also be
acknowledged that the climate is expected to affect the
aroma\textsuperscript{56} of a wine and thus the decision to grow a warm climate variety in a cooler climate will make the harvest not only more difficult but can create a "non-typical" taste. Every judge is different and many are winemasters themselves. Some may be of a personality that likes a little bit of experimentation within the boundaries of the naturalized evaluatory taste system, and others may not. A winemaster has the freedom to experiment with his/her grapes and wines but experimentation that leads too far from the formal criteria will not be taken seriously in local, national and especially international competitions. A winemaster has many choices but each choice must be made within a set of established boundaries if he/she wants to succeed in the competitive wine world. Therefore the concept of winemaking as an art (creating a product from the combination of nature and a winemaker's skills) is still possible but only within the confines of the naturalized concept of acceptable.

Let us now turn to the proclamation and judgement of a wine's superiority and quality. Basically, all wines during their production can be put through various machines in order to identify and evaluate the "quality" of a wine. Andrew Sharp, the wine consultant for the department of

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Aroma is the primary smell of the grape itself. It is considered the "natural" smell of the grape yet when it is explained as "natural" the growing conditions for this typical smell are not explained or identified!
External Affairs and the founder/president of InterVin International, an annual international wine competition, demonstrates the impact of modern technology on the actual production of a desired standard of wine and the scientific manner of objective analysis in his book, *Winetaster's Secrets: a Step-by Step Guide to the Art of Wine Tasting*. Sharp allots a chapter for each of the "tools of the trade" -- sight, smell, touch and taste. I have chosen to use Sharp's (1995, 51-123) points to exemplify and generally demonstrate some of the "objective" criteria observed by each of the "tools" in the production and evaluation of wines.

During the production and evaluation of wine, each tool is used to examine certain elements of the wine. For example, when using the tool of sight, the elements of appearance, colour, body and fluidity will be observed and examined. There are different tests for each of these elements. Each test can be done with the human senses or a technological substitute. For example, the fluidity of a wine can be judged by the human eye or by measuring the rate a wine takes to flow through a tube. Another example of an element often heard in wine competitions is the bouquet. This element of smell can be measured by the help of a gas chromatograph during production. A gas chromatograph is a mechanical nose which has the capability of identifying the individual odorous compounds and thus allow the winemaker to
know the complexity of a wine's bouquet - an element that is required and sought after in competitions.

A winemaster will make the final decision as to how much body, acidity, bouquet, etc. he/she would like the wine to contain and make his/her decisions based on his/her preferences. But it cannot be forgotten that every wine is very dependent on the condition of the grapes each year. Weather conditions will greatly affect the yield and sugar of each variety of grape where the winemaker can only work with whatever nature has given him or her. Sometimes the established general criteria for a wine's quality will not be met due to adverse weather conditions. In Ontario, the provincial government has been known to lower the Wine Content Act's 25% quota of Ontario grapes when there has been a bad harvest due to unforeseen circumstances - usually weather. For example, in his interview with Bill Sawchuk (1995:B2) Tom Greensides, chair of the Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board, explains how the 1993 quota amendments to the Wine Content Act allowed for a higher percentage of imported material in Ontario wines. "We can't try to obscure the fact that 1993 was a very short crop. To protect the wineries, we worked on a special deal allowing them to use up to 90 per cent of imported content if they so needed for their blended wines". This proves to be an example of the invested interest that the provincial government has in maintaining the local industry even if it means that wines
made from imported grapes are advertised as local products! It also shows how the criteria for "quality" are legally malleable under certain conditions!

At this point, wine competitions do not require all wineries to submit wines from the same year. Therefore, it is possible that a winery that has won a competition for their 1991 vintage in 1993 will re-submit the same wine the next year at the same annual competition. Usually a winery will want to submit wines that they still have available for purchase, yet there are no rules that demand a wine's availability to the public. From my experience, many people will not pay much attention to the year marked on an award and will buy a wine if there is simply a reference to an award once won. These are the people who claim they would like to be more educated in the world of wine, thus when they have been taught what to look for they will demonstrate their new found knowledge by choosing a vintage and commenting on the year. Often it is asked which wine won a competition but not as often will the categories or ranking techniques be questioned.

It is the personal, yet still confined, decisions of the winemasters regarding the levels of sight, smell, touch and taste that make a wine distinctive but it is subjected to the supposedly objective judgements of competitions and winetaster quality panels. Wines are being judged by "pronounced experts" who ironically must still rely on their
personal evaluatory senses when it comes to the final proclamation of ranking. Still, there are many disagreements between marking methods in wine's evaluation. Each judge will have a favourite method and each director of a competition will have a reasoning for his/her preference. A director of a competition is a person involved in setting-up a wine competition. At each competition, a marking method is chosen, evaluation sheets are given and the judges are simply asked to taste, evaluate and fill out the form. Judges can be winemasters, wine critics, wine writers, product consultants, restauranteurs, chefs, wine sales representatives or proclaimed connoisseurs whose professions are not associated with the wine industry.

In an interview with a wine writer/judge I asked what a judge looks for when doing a tasting. The following is a brief summary of his explanation. In general, during the judgement and evaluation of wine, a judge will first look at the consistency in order to detect what the established criteria deems as a wine's "faults" - that which would make what is globally considered a "bad" wine. In other words, a judge looks, smells, feels and tastes a wine and makes his/her judgement by first looking for standardized negative aspects (i.e., cloudy colour, vinegary smell - oxidation) and then simply deciding its level of quality. Some competitions will place typicalness as a category, where a judge is expected to take into account the region and
variety of the grape and decide whether or not the "taste" of the wine being tested is typical of that region or grape variety. If a wine passes the "fault" and "typicalness" tests, only then will it be judged through the steps of sensory evaluation such as those I learned during my training at Pelee.

To the public, competitions appear to be judged with very general categories which are all said to have been tested through blind taste tests and/or marking evaluation systems. Although the objectified global taste criteria does not appear on the entry forms or on the awards in competitions, the whole concept of sensory evaluation naturalizes scientific/objective analysis for something that is in fact a very personal human gift. Standardized tastebuds have turned into a sought after "skill" in order to decipher which wines, made from the same grapes, taste 'better'. It is these 'global tastebuds' that the Canadian wineries and government would like all wine drinking Canadians to obtain. Still I do not believe it is possible to completely objectify and parallel individuals' human senses since each judge can only conceptualize a taste or idea (e.g., astringency, colour) through his or her personal experience.

Globalization of the economic and political spheres have thrust Canadian wineries into the competitive world of wine. In an attempt to create an 'as good as European
image' and follow the global taste criteria. Ontario table wine has been entered into local, national and international wine contests. Ironically, there appears to be a contradiction in the prevalence of the advertised wine competition rankings and their availability to the public. Competition rankings are meant to be used as a means of promoting and creating an awareness of Ontarian wines yet the information regarding competitions and their results are not always readily and easily available to a person who does not avidly attempt to follow the wine world. In order to discover the rankings of Ontario wines, it is necessary to ask at the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (which may or may not know depending upon the competition), the Wine Council of Ontario, catch a newspaper article or visit a winery and look for a bottle with a medal or advertisement. In order to gain specific information regarding Ontario's participation and competition rankings, I found it is necessary to contact the Wine Council of Ontario.  

At my request, the Wine Council of Ontario presented me with these names and regions of recent competitions: 1) Vinitaly International Wine Competition, Verona, Italy. 2) 25th International Wine and Spirit Competition, London.

Let us recall that the Wine Council's whose mainly attempt to follow the VQA quality standards and taste criteria, knowing that this marketing tool has been well received by the purchasing public. At present, some members of the VQA are attempting to get the VQA standards legislated in order to be able to sell their wine in European stores.
4) Cuvee 1994 "Winemaker's Selections", Niagara Falls,
Ontario, 5) Intervin International, New York, 6) All Canada
Wine Championships, Windsor, Ontario, 7) International Wine
International Du Vin, Bordeaux, France and, 9) International
Wine and Spirit competition, Surrey, England. Three of
these competitions and rankings (#3, #4, #6) present a brief
description of the tasting techniques employed in
deciphering the winning wines. The latter competitions were
judged by blind taste tests conducted by proclaimed wine
authorities. Only the Toronto Wine and Cheese Show did not
simply rank their wines by gold, silver and bronze
medallions or ordinal ratings. The categorization of the
Toronto Wine and Cheese Show includes value guides as
sub-categories. For example, there are wines that are
ranked for the "Best White Wine Under $10" and "Best White
Wine $10-$20" as well as, "Best White Wine Over $20". Thus
the subjective ideology of taste is globally objectified
through an education of wine evaluation yet, the
pronouncement of superiority in competitions is left to the
subjectivity of the human senses and placed under very
general subjective categories (i.e., "best"). The question
remains: why is the objectification of personal taste
occurring?

The goal of industry is to create and conform opinions
to ensure the pursuit by consumers of a standard manufactured product\textsuperscript{58}. Individual opinion is thus confined by the established criteria which allows subjectivity by permitting individuals to have personal preferences within the rooted boundaries. Therefore, individuals perceive their preferences/judgement of quality as their own subjective wine evaluation but, in reality, each person is seeing through the eyes of the established hegemonic system or at least identifying it in juxtaposition with their own. I have stated my belief that competitions and wine tastings are attempts to objectify personal taste in order to create a global criteria of taste.

Nevertheless, it is important to realize that each individual can learn to objectify their senses\textsuperscript{59} and learn the "skill" of wine tasting. I am calling attention to the fact that these "skills" are being dictated within a political and economic hegemony whose goal is to seep into

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It is important to note that there are many cultures where wine is not made to be sold on the world market or even in the established local and national markets; thus all my statements in this paper are tied to the drive to improve the industrial economy. For example, indigenous peoples in the Andean countries have been locally making a bubbly style of wine named "Chicha" since the Incan period but it has never been marketed and thus it maintains a local reputation and flavour.

\textsuperscript{59}

There are tests a person can do at home in order to learn how to differentiate between a wine’s components and to learn descriptive procedures. See Sharp, 1995; Broadbent, 1993; Simon, 1994; Aspler, 1993; Durkan and Cousins, 1995.
individuals' image of wine. Individuals still have their own opinion but it is always placed in relation to the wine industry's ideology. For example, many times throughout my research, I encountered people who would tell me they knew nothing about wine, they just knew what they liked. Now these ideas varied from a person's homemade wine which was "just as good as the stuff you buy in a store" to a person who opts to buy a sweet blended housewine but makes sure to say: "He knows all about all those different wines. I don't know anything about wine, I always get the same type. I like it...he tells me it's not good".

By linking economic and political decisions, the individual's perception is still tied to industry. When money is to be made, a wine taster and a winemaker must follow the guidelines set out by the industry that pays for his/her livelihood. There are differences between wines but not on the level that would change the entire taste criteria of the global market. The Ontario wine industry's switch to vinifera-based wines instead of undertaking further experimentation for a "new taste" clearly exemplifies political and economic involvement in the social activity of wine drinking. Globally, a taste criteria has been established where, individually, people who wish to be considered part of the "wine world" will learn the required standards and thus attempt to make the legitimized hegemonic system a "natural" part of their lives.
While speaking to a teacher of a winetasting course through the hospitality, food and beverage section of a college, he explained the point of "Wineknow": "You are not supposed to taste a wine and decide whether or not you like it - that's personal - you are supposed to recognize the quality of a wine - does it have it or not?". Through educating oneself in the evaluation of wine, a person can learn to objectively judge a wine and learn to forget the personal gustatory satisfaction while remembering the political importance of global criteria and training to justify and legitimize a personal opinion into a scientific conclusion. Winemasters, who all know the sensory evaluation system, do not receive a "surefire" recipe to meet the approval of all judges and make the "best" wine. Having standardized evaluation techniques has turned into a sought after "skill" in order to decipher which wines, made from the same grapes, taste 'better', but what is deemed superior, in the final analysis, is still personal (within boundaries) and political. Let us now turn to Chapter Six and look at four winemasters' opinions as we attempt to understand the wine industry from the points of view of the people working within it.
Chapter Six
The Winemasters

Globalization of the economic and political spheres have thrust Canadian wineries into the competitive world of wine. Within the province of Ontario, the VQA designates superior quality to three designated viticultural areas - Niagara Peninsula, Pelee Island and Lake Erie North Shore. By following a stringent code of content and production regulations, vintners are driven to achieve the VQA recognition of quality in order to advertise this standard on their labels. The four South Western Ontario wineries which I have decided to examine are examples from two of the designated viticultural areas. Colio, D'Angelo and Leblanc are encompassed in the Lake Erie North Shore designation while the Pelee Island winery holds its own designation on Pelee Island. In an open-ended interview with each of the winemasters, I questioned Lyse Leblanc, Sal D'Angelo, Walter Schmoranz and Carlo Negri about their opinions about making wine and working within the Ontario industry. In order to compete, one must follow the rules - my question is: How does each winemaster feel his/her winemaking skills are constrained by the rules, regulations and traditions of the wine industry and what do they believe is their realm of opportunity and freedom?

Both Lyse Leblanc and Sal D'Angelo own cottage industry wineries or estate wineries which means that they do not
produce a large enough quantity of wine to be classified as large commercial wineries. For example, Leblanc will produce approximately 1000 cases and D'Angelo about 2000 cases while Pelee will produce around 50,000 cases and Colio averages 80,000 cases of wine per year (Aspler, 1993). It is interesting to note that Pelee and Colio still will not classify themselves as large commercial wineries since they compare themselves to wineries such as Cartier (1,000,000 cases) and Andres (750,000 cases). The majority of the wines of the former two are solely purchased on their estates while the products of the latter two are sold throughout Ontario in the Liquor Control Board retail stores. Yet, the four wineries do work together for some of their local advertising. Since wineries in South Western Ontario are not as numerous as in the Niagara Peninsula region, the winemasters work together as representatives of their own association - the South Western Ontario Vintner's Association. 69 Meetings of the South Western Ontario Vintner's Association will focus on local issues and the role of the southern wineries in comparison to Niagara.

The size of the winery makes a difference in a winemaster's attitude towards their wine production because, in the cases of Leblanc and D'Angelo, they are the owners as well as the winemasters. Both D'Angelo and Leblanc began

69 London Winery is also a member of this association but I did not have the opportunity to interview its winemaster.
their wineries by growing grapes. Pelee's Walter Schmoranz and Colio's Carlo Negri were both hired by the wineries to produce the wine but do not have as much pressure about profits when it comes to each year's harvest. In other words, both Schmoranz and Negri are the key components of the wineries they work for but they do not have the added pressure of a short crop affecting their wages. Throughout each interview, the winemasters reveal their personal history as well as their opinions of the Ontario industry, including the VQA, the restrictions/opportunities of competitions and the importance and freedom in choosing and growing particular grapes. The purpose of these interviews is to demonstrate the effect of the political and economic hegemonic system's criteria of global taste and quality by revealing the winemasters' perspectives and viewing their belief systems as art and/or science. I will introduce my conversations with Leblanc and D'Angelo as representatives of the estate wineries and next follow with Schmoranz's and Negri's opinions of their role within the Ontario industry. All the winemasters' that I interviewed belong to the Wine Council and thus each winemaster's section will commence with a personal quote that he/she has chosen to define their

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I do not want to appear as though I feel the winemaster's of Colio and Pelee are not responsible for the quality and allure of their wine creations for I have seen how each step at Pelee is centered around Walter Schmoranz's decisions. Walter must also answer to the shareholders.
winemaking philosophy in the Wine Council's information booklet, The Wine Regions of Ontario (1994). Let us begin...

Lyse Leblanc - Leblanc Estate Winery

Purity and varietal character are the elements I strive for in guiding our quality grapes to their natural conclusion.


Unlike the area's counterparts, Lyse Leblanc entered the wine industry as a grape grower. It is important to realize that vines take four to five years before they reach full production capacity and only after three years does a vine present its first show (30 to 40% of production capacity). When a winemaker decides to make or change a grape variety, he/she must wait for the vines to mature. The choice can be due to new government regulations, disease, consumer demands as well as the winemaster's preference or decision to grow a new variety in order to blend a new wine or create a different line of varietals. For example, when Lyse first planted in 1984, she planted Vidal, Riesling and Pinot Blanc. Originally, she wanted to plant Chardonnay because of their popularity on the market but due to problems acquiring the vines she planted the Pinot Blanc in its place. Today she says that the decision to plant the Pinot in lieu of the Chardonnay was a "happy mistake". At present, she has one of the largest plantings of Pinot Blanc
in Ontario and her Pinot Blanc grapes are greatly sought after by other wineries. Leblanc revealed that before she opened her own winery, Colio became well known for their Pinot Blanc that was largely made from the grapes grown on her estate.

Originally, Lyse decided to grow grapes on her inlaws' land for the purpose of selling the juice to local home winemakers and most of the grapes to Ontario wineries. With this purpose in mind, she found it necessary to buy much of the equipment that is necessary to make wine. With the equipment she decided to make some wine for her personal consumption. "Many people tried my wine and thought it was good.....eventually I thought....why not make A WINERY". Once her decision was made to start a winery, her training as a professional winemaster consisted mainly of reading industry-related magazines as well as seeking help and advice from the other local winemasters. "It was very important to network at the beginning as well as to remain open-minded when learning the various techniques and ideologies of the different winemasters and others in the industry". The point of trying to stay open-minded, she says, "is to try to learn as much as possible from all the varying viewpoints and styles". With this in mind, Leblanc sees her past as a grape grower as an advantage for her winemaking profession. She believes it is easier for her to see "both points of view - the grape growers physical and
price demands as well as the winery's often political position when dealing with the grape growers". Now, she tries to understand both points of view (which vary within themselves as well) when setting-up the dates of harvest and debating quotas.

As a winery, Leblanc's estate opened its doors in 1993. It is clear that Leblanc's grape growing tradition has "guided" her winemaking tradition. As an established grape grower, it appears that Leblanc's priority is based on the cultivation of the "character" of each grape yet I believe that the role of "art" in the actual process of winemaking is still a factor which she considers important to firmly establish. In my interview with Lyse Leblanc, she stated that at present she is still "trying to find herself - to find her own winemaking tradition where her wine represents the character of the grapes". She explained that she is not particularly seeking an ethnic tradition but, rather, her own special signature. Still Leblanc expresses her goal in the making of her wine as striving "to make VQA wines that are made from 100% grapes for the Lake Erie North Shore area". While searching for her special signature, Leblanc does not appear to feel constrained by the rules and regulations of quality. The winemaster believes that the advent of the VQA has been very good to the industry since winemakers and the VQA are working towards a common goal - "to make and sell good Ontario wine".
Still, Leblanc does not believe that a gold medal wine is necessarily the best wine since every competition is dependent upon the tastes of the judges at the time. Leblanc explains: "Every wine of mine that wins at a competition is not always what I consider to be the best". Yet Leblanc does acknowledge, although it may appear contradictory, that she enjoys winning the recognition and symbolic credibility that the victorious seal of approval presents. It is Leblanc's opinion that having the mark of approval from the LCBO, the VQA, as well as national and international wine competitions acts as a means of giving credibility to a wine along with its function as a marketing tool.

Being a judge herself for many competitions, Leblanc acknowledges the differences between judges' tastes and opinions. She may not consider each judgement parallel to her own opinion but she does realize the promotional value of awards plus enjoys the recognition by her peers. Along with the competitions, the VQA also appears to be an important part of her understanding of developing a profitable and competitive wine industry. I believe Leblanc does not question the naturalized criteria of taste but she does acknowledge the arbitrariness (subjectivity) of judgements made within the confines of the formal objectified quality standards.

Leblanc discussed her decisions to make certain wines
as being based on consumer demands as well as personal
taste. For example she is now looking into making a wider
selection of red wines because North Americans are changing
their attitudes towards red wine (as a health preference)
and has lately decided that she too is developing more of a
taste for red wine - "you may as well make what you like to
drink". Therefore, Leblanc acknowledges that her winemaking
is affected by her personal taste preferences but the actual
criteria of quality does not seem to be a constraining
factor in her mind. Leblanc stated that she was searching
for her own special signature, which to me is a very
artistic concept that surrounds the wine world, yet she
appeared to have no qualms with the regulations marking
quality or superiority within the industry. Even when I
asked her about the arbitrariness of wine competitions, she
did not make her statements regarding the subjectivity of
judges on a frustrated or hostile note. What Leblanc does
appear to find difficult is her position as a small winery
and the bureaucracy involved with being an Ontario business.

As a small estate winery, Lyse Leblanc feels that
complying with all the demands of the LCBO is very
difficult. Leblanc separates the LCBO into two working
parts: the quality control section and the bureaucracy
(i.e., paperwork). With regards to the quality control
sector, she believes that its purpose and representation are
important. She admits that political agreements such as
GATT and FTA\textsuperscript{62} may be affecting her wine production by restricting the retailing of wine but she believes that in the end these restrictions have served more as a protection than a punishment.\textsuperscript{63} Still she sees the Wine Council, the VQA and the quality control sector of the LCBO as working together for a common goal - quality wine.

On the other hand, she sees the LCBO as a constraining factor when approached from a business perspective. Since small wineries must do all the same paperwork as the large wineries, Leblanc feels that the bureaucratic needs of the LCBO require an overabundance of bookkeeping. "It is not as easy for me to take the time to prepare for the wine auditors, do the paperwork AND run the winery", exclaims the estate's winemaster. Since she maintains quite a small winery and has only just recently hired one other person as her aide, she is personally involved with each audit and each form to be filled. Because she maintains the entire

\textsuperscript{62}In 1988 and 1989, during the GATT and CAFTA talks Lyse was a grape grower. The decision to ban the use of labrusca grapes and the subsequent subsidies did not effect Leblanc's plantings since she was already growing vinifera and hybrids.

\textsuperscript{63}I believe the idea of protectionism comes from the fact that Ontario's wineries are very small in comparison to the competitive global standards. Thus the government agencies and wine industries' lobby groups have helped the smaller wineries develop without an overwhelming threat of large foreign companies coming in to Canada to flood the market, develop the land and eventually buy-out or bankrupt the small Ontario wineries. Unfortunately, I did not ask Lyse Leblanc to clarify this point.
winery, she does not feel she has enough time to fulfil all
the bureaucratic requirements. She believes it would be
better to separate the smaller and larger wineries when it
comes to the LCBO bureaucratic requirements: "It is not the
same, the larger wineries have someone who is hired to do
all the paperwork. I just hired someone part-time to help me
out but I don't have the time or the resources like the
large wineries!"

In the end, Lyse explains:

Anyone can make wine but the trick to making
commercial wine is to become more consistent and
more accurate. [Meaning] you have to be more
sophisticated when you open a winery - it is less
hit and miss and more doing things because you
have acquired the knowledge and experience to make
wine a certain way and at a certain time because you
know it to be more accurate...more consistent.

A person can only gain the knowledge of Leblanc's concept of
accurate (to use her terminology) winemaking through
experience and formal training. Aside from Leblanc's
regional contacts and wine literature education, she partook
in many seminars put forth by the LCBO that trains
winemakers in the policy and methodologies necessary to work
within the industry. Such courses give the breakdown of the
industry and explain the role and the rules that the Ontario
winemaker must follow. Any winemaker can take these
seminars and eventually learn to make an accurate wine, but
each, in the end makes his or her own decisions for their
personal style - their own tradition and signature.

I am of the opinion that Leblanc does not explain the
need to have her own tradition because this artistic idea is considered "natural" and necessary for her to feel like a "legitimate" member of the wine industry. Obviously, it is not easy placing a winemaster into a category of art or science, subjective or objective since the categories do not have a clear and defined boundary line. Leblanc appears to approach winemaking very objectively but still wishes to find her own tradition. She proves to be an excellent first example of the intangible yet "required" concept of art in the science-bound formal hegemonic system of winemaking.

Let us now turn to Sal D'Angelo of D'Angelo Estate Winery and see how these ideas of constraints and freedoms unravel.

**Sal D'Angelo - D'Angelo Estate Winery**

We believe the quality of the wine is directly related to the vineyards. We make wine the natural way. We grow it.

Sal D'Angelo (Wine Council of Ontario, 1994:15)

Sal D'Angelo has been making wine for over twenty years. According to Mr. D'Angelo, the grapes are the most important part of the wine and therefore he painstakingly ensures that he grows the "right" grapes for his wine and that the grapes are well maintained. He grew up watching and then helping his father make wine. Although born in Italy, the winemaster stresses the fact that he "wants to drink Ontario wine and he wants to drink a wine of quality -
wine with all Canadian grapes". Since he believes that one must have good grapes to make a good wine, D'Angelo has been growing his own grapes for his wine since 1983 and opened D'Angelo Estate Winery in 1990.64

With the desire to make "better" wine (in his opinion) than what he was used to drinking, D'Angelo trained himself by writing away to different agencies and studying as many books and articles as possible regarding the theories and methodologies of wine production. D'Angelo believes that the taste of his wine and the belief system that he holds towards the making of his product can be differentiated from other wines. The winemaster feels that he puts an extra effort into assuring that D'Angelo's "wine is made accurately". The word accurate, refers to D'Angelo's belief that a wine that carries the logo of being Canadian should be 100% Canadian wine and that the estate should be responsible for the care and growth of their grapes in order to ensure the best product. This is exemplified in the fact that "only grapes grown on the estate are used in Sal's wines" (Aspler, 1993:54).

It appears that D'Angelo takes on a much more artistic perspective of "accurate" winemaking than Leblanc; his definition appears to lean towards a nurturing perspective

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D'Angelo's license was pending during the GATT and CAFTA talks and therefore he was never eligible to take advantage of the subsidies provided with the revamping of the Wine Content Act of 1988.
of the winemaster vis-a-vis his/her grapes. For Leblanc, accurate winemaking is equivalent to consistent quality wine. D'Angelo, on the other hand refers to accuracy with regards to the growing of the grapes. The control over the grapes appears to give D'Angelo a sense of power over the resulting wine. His freedom is expressed by his control over the raw materials although he does not appear to reject the Wine Content Act’s nor the VQA’s quality standards. I believe D'Angelo feels his realm of opportunity comes from working within the boundaries of what is considered the proper cultivation of grapes and nurturing his products to become what Ontario's political and economic system has deemed high quality grapes.

"I want to make good wine!" Sal D'Angelo says when asked what his objectives are in making a particular wine. He asserts that the end result is influenced by the "winemaker's discretion" but there is a standard style of winemaking. According to Mr. D'Angelo, a winemaker must do lab tests to know the Brix (percentage of sugar), Acid (amount of acids) and Ph (strength of acids). In his opinion, the wine quality is dependent on the use of the best fruit where there are limitations as to how much discretion winemakers have. "It is important to follow the basic, standardized wine production process or else a person can waste one of the best grapes of the world", explains the winemaster. For example, when I asked him whether or not a
winemaster has the option to make a sweet Cabernet, he appeared quite opposed to the idea and exclaimed: "Cabernet is NEVER sweet!" Therefore, it appears as though D'Angelo believes his winemaking skills are both subjective and objective. He believes he has the ability to make his wines different than others by placing extra care in the cultivation of his grapes but at the same time he agrees with the naturalized and thus legitimized concept of formal wine evaluation.

Although D'Angelo religiously pursues the hegemonic system's concept of "quality" he does reject details within the VQA's system of classification. D'Angelo believes the quality standards are important but he does not hesitate to add that he does not agree with all the regulations that the VQA puts forth. As I mentioned in chapter four, Mr. D'Angelo exemplifies one of his problems with the labelling regulations: "A VQA'a wine label cannot say Estate Bottled if a wine is a hybrid. The wording Estate Bottled should be for quality NOT for location". Therefore, the imposed quality standards do not appear to create a problem for Mr. D'Angelo but the specifics within the labelling does. The imposed criteria of quality is not questioned, just the manner is which it is being presented.

D'Angelo feels monetarily constrained by his position as a small winery working within the rules and regulations put out for the entire provincial wine industry. I asked Sal
D'Angelo his opinion of the imposed standards put forth by the VQA and the government agencies. With this in mind, Sal D'Angelo feels that the VQA should be an autonomous body where members should not have to be members of the Wine Council before being "allowed" to pay the extra fees to become a part of the VQA. D'Angelo notes that a grape growing wine producing estate usually must pay membership fees for at least three institutions: 1) Wine Council, 2) VQA and 3) the Ontario Grape Growers Marketing Board. Membership fees for the Wine Council are based on volume (ie amount of cases of wine). He believes that there are too many fees for a small estate winery, especially when one must pay the fees of one group in order to join the VQA and be a part of system of quality recognition. The same holds true with government involvement since the winemaker does not choose to reject imposed laws of quality but rather explain the situation of small wineries and their place in selling wine through the LCBO.

When asked about government involvement, Sal D'Angelo expressed that he does not believe that taxation has influenced the production process in the making of his wines but he does feel affected by the increase in taxes when he decides to sell his wine through the LCBO. "Because a wine is taxed 62% when it is sold through the LCBO and 22% when it is sold at the estate where it is made", D'Angelo prefers to sell his own wine. He sets his own price and his clients
are not forced to pay as much to the government. D'Angelo wine is sold at a couple of bistros in Windsor and in 1995 was featured for a period of a month at a Windsor restaurant in conjunction with the four other local South Western Ontario wineries. At this point, with the small amount of wine produced, Sal does not desire to have his wine on many restaurant wine lists. When his wines are sold in restaurants he must pay the 62% LCBO tax - "it's no worth it" Sal exclaims. Therefore, it would appear as though D'Angelo feels quite restrained by the taxation laws that severely cut a winemaker's profit margin, although at present he does not appear to feel he is lacking customers due to this constraint.

Considering the opportunity the LCBO gives a winery by selling the product throughout all of Ontario, I asked Mr. D'Angelo if he feels that his choice to not attempt to sell all his wines through the LCBO has limited his sales. The winemaker explains his perspective:

Locally I sell my grape juice every year to a regular clientele who makes their own wine...[As for the wine], I definitely have a regular clientele - if people are looking for a competitively priced, high quality wine they will try my wine and buy it. Seventy-five percent of my sales are from out of town tourists because they hear about my winery, try my wine and they like it.

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Recently, I have noticed a couple of D'Angelo wines in the LCBO but unfortunately, these circumstances were not discussed in our interview.
By basing the majority of his sales from out of his retail store Sal realizes the importance of building a local reputation. "I usually just try to appeal to the local industry because at this point, I just do not have enough wine to meet any more demands than what I already have. I only have 13 acres of land planted out of a possible 50 acres. I already have orders for the wine that I have yet to bottle." At this point Sal is interested in entering and scoring within the top ten of every wine competition (of course, as he says, his preference is to be placed number one) in order to build a name for himself but he still does not produce enough wine to commercially market his wine through a large scale advertising campaign. At the time of this interview, D'Angelo had just won several awards and thus did not choose to discuss any subjectivity, arbitrariness or constraints felt in competitions.

For a small winery, D'Angelo, like Leblanc, must rely on word of mouth and the building of one's reputation. Not to say that these points are not important to the larger wineries but since they also sell most of their wines through the LCBO, their products are brought more easily to the public's eye. The Wine Council is important to the smaller wineries because it acts as a means of presenting each winery's goods provincially and internationally. Larger wineries will also benefit from the Wine Council but their greater volume permits them to more easily acquire a
reputation through their sales and marketing campaigns. The Wine Council will alert the wineries whenever international clients demonstrate an interest in a particular winery's wine as well as keep each winery in touch with the possibility of entering provincial, national and international competitions. D'Angelo reveals: "The Wine Council has an Export Committee but I do not feel I have enough volume to make it a worthwhile venture. I prefer to market locally where people who live nearby will notice the quality and will make the effort to drive to my store to buy my wine."

Basically, D'Angelo, like Leblanc, keeps his marketing on a small scale. They both have attempted to maintain at least one local licensee customer (Windsor Bistro), participate in trade shows (also known as tastings), and attend as many competitions (especially the well known) as

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66 An example of international interest and the Wine Council's involvement would be D'Angelo's Ice Wine being sold to Japanese clients. Some Japanese clients selected D'Angelo's wine and thus the Wine Council arranged for a case to be sent to the Japanese company.

67 In my first conversation with Lyse Leblanc she was selling her wine through a small local Bistro. Unfortunately, the place went out of business and therefore I am not sure where she may presently be selling her wine.

68 Promotional wine tastings or trade shows are a means by which winemasters participate in an event (many times charity fundraisers - eg., Big Brothers) and spread their reputations to the mass public.
possible. D'Angelo also operates a yearly open house and keeps his phone number on his wine bottle labels. D'Angelo winery is part of the South Western Ontario Winery Association which has an advertising budget as well as a tourist magazine that is presented locally. Locally, Leblanc, D'Angelo, Pelee and Colio are advertised through the convention bureau (although one must be a member) as a point of interest in the Essex county region.

When asked what his opinion is of the Ontario wine industry and whether or not he considers it to be a personal challenge, Sal exclaims: "I'm Canadian. Ontario is a wine producing region and I enjoy being part of this growing industry." D'Angelo believes that his estate, with the other small Ontario wineries of the late nineteen eighties, are a struggling new breed in the wine industry in Ontario. D'Angelo concludes: "Every winery is distinct just as Ontario wine is distinct. Today, Ontario wineries are creating that distinction and are setting the precedent for all future Canadian wineries". This idea of "distinct" appeals to the artistic side of any winemaker where the concept of distinct creates a notion of freedom. This realm of freedom that is suggested with the creation of "distinct"

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69 The idea of the smaller wineries setting the precedent of quality, taste and image of Ontario's wines has been argued by many wine critics. See Aspler, 1993; Cattell, 1995; Chung, 1995; Deverell, 1996; Skeffington, 1994. This idea will be examined in the conclusion.
wines is really a freedom within boundaries. The distinctiveness comes from the competitions that judge the wines where the "quality" is examined and the "taste" is evaluated. As I continue to examine the belief systems of the winemasters I become even more aware of the manner in which art in winemaking is considered a necessary ideal. This ideal is limited and set within boundaries but still the legend of creation and distinctiveness lives on.

D'Angelo speaks as though he is an artist who nurtures his vines and creates masterpieces with his wines but he is the first to acknowledge the extreme importance of "quality" standards. He makes sure to say: "My wines are all wines of quality - they are all VQA wines".

All the information and interviews with winemasters seem to indicate the need to suggest individuality and distinctiveness for each of their wines. With smaller wineries, I believe that the notion of distinctiveness and especially "quality" are the most important since this is the only way that these wineries can get started and compete. With smaller wineries, they do not have the quantities to play with the market and produce large quantities of generic wine and thus they must compete with what competitions consider to be "quality" wines.

70 Generic refers to wine that is blended with different varieties or with a lot of imported wine. Generic wines will not usually be submitted to wine competitions.
Let us now proceed with two examples of middle-sized wineries whose winemasters are salaried workers and whose training began outside of Canada. First we will follow the perspectives of German born, Walter Schmoranz of Pelee Island Winery, and then, Italian born, Carlo Negri of Colio Estate Wines.

**Walter Schmoranz - Pelee Island Winery**

I believe that quality wines are made in the vineyard. The experience of over a decade of hands-on growing of quality vinifera vines on Pelee Island is the reason for Pelee island Winery’s consistent quality in production.

Walter Schmoranz (Wine Council, 1994:28)

For a few years Walter Schmoranz had been looking for the opportunity to come to North America from Germany and work at a winery. In Germany, Schmoranz had partaken in a two year trade school apprenticeship program which would later allow him to supervise his own apprentices.\(^7\) After attending trade school, Schmoranz decided to pursue a university degree in oenology and viticulture in order to further understand the intricacies of the grape, its

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\(^7\) At present there is a German apprentice working at Pelee Winery. This also proves to be an example of the global world of wine since Schmoranz’s connections with Germany have allowed European trained winemakers to come to Canada to expand their knowledge in the "New World", a concept that would have been unheard of in the past.
agriculture and the winemaking process. With his career chosen, Walter Schmoranz looked to North America because he believed that the North American wine world was laden with possibilities and opportunities. Therefore, in January 1986, when the position in Ontario at the Pelee Island winery became available he quickly grabbed his chance and moved to Kingsville.

The Ontario winery and alcohol system was not at all what Walter expected it to be: "The whole system, from the way wine is sold to how and with what it is made was completely different. When I arrived I basically was able to start on my own. The grapes were already planted but I was able to decide how I would like to make my wines. [and] what blends I would make". In my interview, Walter expresses the same views that he advertised in the above introductory quote I provided from the Wine Council's literature. Schmoranz explains his goals: "From the beginning, I have tried to make Pelee winery into a Varietal winery, where people will buy the wine not just because of the name but also due to the type of grapes. Every grape

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72 Oenology is basically the study of wines and viticulture examines the cultivation of the vine -- basically the growing of the grapes.

73 All the grapes planted on the Pelee Island vineyard were viniferas and therefore the winery did not partake in the replanting subsidy program of 1988.
variety has its own characteristics and it is nice for people to know what they are drinking and where it comes from...winemaking is very related to where the grapes are grown. I try to make my wine very Canadian". Therefore, it appears Schmoranz enjoys working within the boundaries of Ontario. Like Leblanc and D'Angelo the importance of the vine is considered primary.

It is evident that Schmoranz's attitude regarding the sales factor is also already introduced in his goals. To educate people as to the types of varietals is a method of cultivating long term customers who believe they are being introduced into the wine world and thus must follow the example of their teacher and purchase the wines to study their evaluation and educate themselves on each of the different varieties and their characteristics. As the general manager and winemaster, Walter Schmoranz is constrained by the business side of the winery with the promotion of the most widely known varietals. He reveals "there are so many other varieties of grapes but people here [North America] do not know about them - they do not have a reputation - at this point it would be too difficult and costly to introduce varieties that are not popular". Therefore, although Schmoranz is aware of the different choices available to a winemaster, he is confined by what is already known on the market. He is given power by his ability to market varietals through education yet his
freedom is constrained by what the market dictates as sales worthy. His ability to create and be artistic with what he believes to be good varieties is not permitted in the confines of the Ontario market.

In comparison to the other winemasters I interviewed, Schmoranz was the only one who spoke most openly about his perspectives of a winemaster's constraints in the actual winemaking process. Although he has expressed his goals as being quite practical in the business sense as well as artistic in the same nurturing sense as D'Angelo, his later explanation of the system within the wine industry is very objective and pragmatic. On the one hand he is a winemaster who creates, educates and promotes Ontarians to drink varietal wines. On the other hand, the wine industry is a business and thus wines are made to sell and make a profit. "It would be nice to say that winemaking is an art, where the winemaker can create his own personal piece of work solely on the basis of his choices and desires... I have to pay the hydro bills and pay the employees....the wines I make are dependent upon the tastes and demands of the consumers". At this point let us use Schmoranz's pragmatic perspective to demonstrate the constraints felt by the middle-sized winery's winemaster when creating a housewine in order to see the extent market research 

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The concept and role of taste trends will be discussed in the conclusion.
constrains a business and turns winemasters into objective wine mixers.

The creation of a housewine proves to be a good example of how Mr. Schmoranz feels some of his wines are very much a product of Canadian market research and thus not allowing him a great deal of freedom of creation. In order to create Pelee's housewine, the winemaker did some market research. He bought about ten of the best selling housewines and compared their sugar levels, acidity, balance and grape varieties. Schmoranz reveals the important marketing angles in selecting housewines as the bottle shape, the type of sealing mechanism (i.e., screw top or cork) and especially the label. Therefore, Pelee's housewine is named Vin Villa after the first winery on the island in the 1860s. The choice appeals to the history and uniqueness of the island yet the wine, like every housewine, is made to be very "generic". Mr. Schmoranz notes that he must make wine to meet the needs of the public. Housewines are made to be "generic" in order to assure the customer that each year the housewine will remain constant in its taste. In other words, the harvest and differences each year brings to the grapes is not reflected in a winery's housewine. It appears that there is no art to making a housewine which would leave Schmoranz, as a trained winemaker, quite constrained by the need to mix different grape juices every year in the hopes of getting the same taste as the last year. Still there are
economic benefits to the consistent product and this is the provincial economic objective of the industry.

In theory the LCBO checks only on the Food Safety of a wine when it is submitted but, in Schmoranz's opinion, if a winemaster wants to sell his/her wine through the LCBO he/she must try to appeal to the tastes for which the LCBO retail stores are searching.75 The winemaster admits: "Every wine I make is always affected by the LCBO...there are trends when it comes to wine drinking and we must always keep them in mind as well as the cost that the consumers are willing to pay". For a ten dollar bottle of wine, 50% to 60% of the price will be tax. In the end, a winery will only receive approximately $4.00 on every $10.00 bottle of wine. For Walter, these price differentials make a difference in the creation and pricing of a wine. On the average, consumers do not want to pay more than $10.00 for a bottle of wine. If a winery wants to make a profit, every bottle's production fee must remain below four dollars. An example of how a winemaster can keep prices low is by not aging a wine for too long or using the higher priced grapes only for

75 In an earlier question Walter stated that he did not feel that the LCBO has too much control since every country has a system to work with and this is the system that Ontario works with. I believe that he continues to have two perspectives, the first being the pragmatic business world and the second being as that of a winemaster being creator of his product in which he is quite constrained but he still creates small quantities of his own choice of competition bound wines (eg., Chardonnay Barrique was made in a very small quantity and was only sold in the retail store).
varietals and/or keeping the lower priced or more easily
grown grapes for the housewines or promotional wines.76
Therefore the price will affect the decision as to which and
how a wine is made and thus limit the winemaster's freedom
over his/her production.

A winemaster may have learned how to make wines that
have been deemed to be competitive and of named quality but
when running a business, wines that are globally competitive
will not necessarily be the only wines that are marketable
to sell77. To create a larger market for their sales, the
larger wineries will not only attempt to compete with their
deeded quality wines but also promote quantity with generic
wines, pop style wines and any other marketing tool that may
appeal to differing target groups. Therefore, in many
respects, a winemaster like Schmoranz who is also a general

76 Promotional wines in this context would refer to wines that
are not used in competitions but rather given away or used as
gifts or sold to organizations for receptions or distributed
during private receptions.

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The focus of my thesis has been on the attempts of the
Ontario wine industry to enter the global market and thus I
have not encompassed any detailed marketing agenda or
production ideology for these non-competitive (with reference
to competitions not sales): housewines, other than grape fruit
wines, pop wines, non-alcoholic wines, wine coolers or wine-
based liquors. These wine products are very much a part of the
larger wineries' product line but are not the focus of the
majority of sales or the vision that the political and
economic system holds for the international image of Ontario
wine. Most of these non-competitive wines are purely North
American and thus their indepth study would prove to be very
interesting and certainly revealing!
manager will be constrained by the marketing aspect of creating different lines of wines and at the same time remaining true to his schooling and to his globally naturalized taste criteria - both controlled subjective ideals within the boundaries of objectified "taste".

While still discussing the judgement of a wine’s quality, Schmoranz reveals his opinion of the subjectivity of judges. Pelee Island’s winemaster not only agrees that his choices in creating his wines are affected by the preferences of the LCBO but he explains how a judge will often make a pronouncement of superiority for a wine due to its country of origin. "The judges of competitions reflect the country of origin....naturally in Canada the Canadian judges are used to the Canadian wine [and therefore] I prefer it when Canadian judges are running a competition". Schmoranz continues by explaining how he has seen many people try to make wine for the judges and winetasters. He believes it is possible to predict the tastes of a known judge. Still, he does not feel he makes wines for judges but he does admit that any award certainly looks good and acts as a marketing tool "all my new wines are always sent to competitions....[he makes sure to add] I do not believe that a 1991 wine should be sent into a 1995 competition because there is not enough of that wine left to be sold commercially....it cheats the customers. We make wines for the customers!" Obviously, Schmoranz appears to look at the
competitions of wines as a step in a cycle of the whole industry, where competitions and judges may be subjective but the end goal is to receive recognition and thus one will participate - yet again an example of a very pragmatic approach to the wine industry.

In line with competitions and opinions of quality, Schmoranz feels that the entire VQA appellation system was originally misunderstood. Schmoranz is of the opinion that "VQA wines should not be judged on a basis of superiority ....appellation systems are not competitions. The VQA should only charge a wine for being faulty or not". In other words, Schmoranz is demonstrating his allegiance to the global criteria of sensory evaluation by suggesting a wine's considered faultiness and the importance of appellation systems as judgements of a wine's standardized quality. Yet he is resisting the notion of superiority parallel with quality. He argues that the VQA labelling system and standardized taste criteria are a good idea but he does not agree that the wines should be judged as if they were in a competition. In other words, Pelee Island's winemaster advocates that the VQA should not represent a wine as if it were superior but rather be used as a guarantee to consumers of its contents: "The VQA should be a part of the Ministry of Agriculture's jurisdiction". It is interesting to note that this belief system is similar to the appellation system used in Germany.
Schmoranz believes it is important to be internationally accepted as a wine-producing country and thus expresses his dismay that "Canada has yet to be accepted by the Organization For International Wine (OFIW)...if the VQA became a Federal appellation system, the OFIW would not have a problem accepting Canada". Therefore, it appears as though Pelee's winemaker is not only pragmatic but nationalistic while still being lead by the winemaking trade that objectifies tastes with criteria. He wants Ontario's wines to be nationally recognized through a Federal appellation system, internationally recognized by the OFIW along with being a financially growing business.

So how does Pelee Island winery try to compete as a growing business and winery within the province's industry? At this point, Pelee's transatlantic export of wines is only on a very small scale, to England, Germany and Holland. "You must understand," states Walter, "Australian wine production has been in the market for over fifteen years and is just now gaining recognition...It will take at least ten years to break the international market....the Ontario wine industry is very small". Through state-based agents, Pelee exports to Ohio, Michigan and Maine and has made some restaurant connections within these states. In Ontario, Pelee has hired four marketing agents who sell Pelee's wine to restaurants and functions all over the province.

Pelee's marketing techniques include the availability
of house wines as well as a large selection of varietals that all hold the appeal of the labels representing the local flora and fauna of Pelee Island. The main point is to differentiate the island as its own viticultural designation as well as emphasize local history and the unique flora and fauna of the island. Therefore, Pelee's wines also try to appeal to a regionalist perspective in its marketing scheme, where the island is distinguished by its viticultural designation, history, folklore and natural wonders. In comparison, Pelee Island winery, like Colio as we are soon to see, as a larger winery, does appear to run more as a business than solely as a nurturing environment to its cherished vineyards. Of course the wine is what makes the winery and Pelee's wines, like Colio's, do win many competitions based on the naturalized taste criteria, but in both their cases, it is obvious that the winemaker must also work within the confines of a fast-growing business where wines are not only made for competitions but also to be mass marketed.

Carlo Negri - Colio Estate Wines

Great winemaking is more than just a process, it's a lifetime devotion to a tradition and art that traces the history of civilization. Every bottle of Colio wines reflects my passion for this art through its quality.


In 1977, Colio's first and remaining winemaker, Carlo
Negri, was approached by a group of Italian businessmen with the idea of coming to Harrow and beginning a new winery in Essex County. Udine Italy had suffered a terrible earthquake at this time, and the Italian community of Windsor had come to its aid making Udine its sister city. It was during one of the many visits to Udine that the founders of Colio heard of Carlo Negri’s already established good reputation as a winemaker since 1965 in the Friuli region of northern Italy.

So why did Negri choose to come to Ontario? He explains: "For a long time I had been wondering what was happening in the New World so I decided to take on the challenge out of curiosity and the desire to improve the industry". Negri stresses the challenge that the New World offered a winemaker. "For a winemaker, Canada presented (and still presents) the opportunity to become a part of, and direct, a budding wine industry on the course towards European quality and refinement". Therefore, from the beginning, Negri looked upon Ontario as an opportunity to not only be a pioneer in a new industry but to "improve" the "quality" of its wines; a "quality", he states in the previous Wine Council’s (1994:13) brochure, that reflects the art of winemaking. By viewing winemaking as this art that is bound by "tradition" and which "traces the history of civilization" Negri's pioneer perspective contrasts with that of Schmoranz.
In comparison to Walter Schmoranz's vision of winemaking in Ontario as an opportunity to create Canadian wines, Carlo Negri found Ontario as an opportunity to bring his European winemaking skills to Canada and educate North Americans to appreciate the global taste criteria. Throughout his interview it became evident that Negri is bound by the European tradition of winemaking that views wine evaluation as an art that must be learned in order to be appreciated. This self-imposed boundary does not appear to be a constraint to the winemaster but rather it appears to serve as a means so that he may differentiate himself because of his global standards. Negri views his education as an opportunity to educate Ontarians to "appreciate European-style fine wine".

It must be remembered that Negri began winemaking in Ontario in 1980 and thus has witnessed and helped develop the new turn towards international competitive standards. To become a winemaster in Italy, Negri had partaken in a six-year co-op oenology program. Negri arrived in 1980 when only hybrids were available in Ontario. At this time, Colio found available to them 90% red grapes, 10% white varieties, when in fact, the market demanded more white. For an Italian winemaker, whose tradition follows vinifera red wine making, the North American varieties as well as the region's preference for white wine certainly added the extra challenge that Negri was seeking. It is here that Negri's
vision of opportunity began in the Ontario wine industry. According to Mr Negri: "In the 1980s, the Ontario public welcomed the Bianco Secco. Colio's white house wine which enjoyed the most success with its blend of a few white hybrid and American varieties to form a fresh tasting wine". Negri believes that it was the lack of the foxy flavour that gave Colio wines its mark as an affordable commercial winery.

At this point I asked how Mr. Negri felt about being associated with a commercial winery to see whether or not he felt constrained by this association: "Colio is often considered a highly commercial industry. This image is due to the company's desire to set out competitive prices so that all consumers are able to enjoy the variety of quality wines Colio has to offer as a general listing at the LCBO. Today, the Bianco Secco is made purely from vinifera and French hybrid grapes". It appears as though Negri has simply taken the meaning of a commercial winery and redefined it as an opportunity to Colio's consumers and a means of spreading Negri's perspective of "fine wine". The winemaster made it evident that he believes the legal change

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All of the interviews I had with the winemasters were written-up and returned to them for their approval. Only Colio corrected some of my misunderstandings as well as edited my work through rephrasing certain sentences. The sentence that precedes this footnote is an example of the rephrasing. Most of the other rephrased sentences I have not used but when I do I shall call it to the reader's attention.
to vinifera-based wines was a very important step for Ontario. "especially if the Ontario industry wants to be seriously considered world wide". It is evident that Colio's winemaster is very much bound by the European wine industry where one of his mandates appears to be the naturalization and legitimation of the global objectified evaluation system.

As an example of Negri's European bound belief system, he is the only winemaster that brought up the differentiation between successful North American hybrids that are often used for wines (eg., Vidal Icewine) and the pure vinifera. Colio's winemaster strongly believes that the North American hybrids (mix of North American and vinifera) are not as good as the pure vinifera. He especially sees the red hybrids as having a very "wild flavour". In his opinion, many North American winetasters and winemakers cannot differentiate between the quality of the vinifera and the "lower quality" of the hybrid varieties. "Many North Americans do not have the international experience to differentiate the quality standards" and thus reach what Mr. Negri believes to be "international standards". It is evident that Mr. Negri

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79 The sugar code in Europe is based on a different scale than the Ontario standards, especially for still wines. Internationally, the closest sugar levels are found with the Champagne and Sparkling wines. Carlo. believes that international standards should be in place so that the same sugar levels for the same categories of wine are found in
proves to be a perfect example of naturalized taste since he is confined by the idea of international standards yet he defines his winemaking as an art and a tradition. It is this tradition and art that appears to have become necessary visions to help define and distinguish a winemaster in the global wine world where the objectified taste criteria rule the global market.

When asked about the ability and capability of a winemaker to create different tasting wines with the same variety of grapes, Negri states: "Anyone can make wine, but it is the talent of the winemaker that makes the difference between a drinkable wine and a very good wine - a wine of quality". Yet again, I see this to be a constraint but he views "quality" as being part of tradition and part of art - a subjective, artistic process. On the other hand, Negri does admit that a winemaster is constrained in his choice of products since he will decide on what wines to make based on "a compromise of consumer trends and his own winemaking skill". He exemplifies his perspective by how the Colio Vidal wine is made at a sugar level of 1%". He explains that his decision on the sugar level is due to the Ontario public's preference for sweeter wines as well as to the varietal characteristics of the Vidal grape. Still he

North America and Europe. Presently, categories placing wines as an extra dry, dry, medium or sweet wine are not the same worldwide therefore confusing the consumers and creating difficulty in international competitions.

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stresses his creative personal freedom by arguing that "it is important to educate the consumers about how to appreciate wine. This is clearly demonstrated in the outburst of consumer demands for vinifera wines with VQA labels". Therefore, Colio's winemaster believes that the VQA was a necessary and an important addition to the Ontario wine industry since consumers are beginning to understand the importance of "quality" wines. "Yes consumers are starting to learn how to appreciate fine wines, because they are now looking for vinifera and VQA wines". Therefore, education becomes the key to Negri's belief system, a system rooted by boundaries and limits yet presented as art.

When discussing competitions, Negri continues his naturalized belief system by revealing that he does not agree with competitions in which hybrids and vinifera are placed in the same category and a gold medal is given for best white/red wine to a hybrid. He strongly believes that "the hybrid does not have the quality or refinement of the vinifera" and therefore should not be judged in the same categories. Mr. Negri explained his understanding that every wine competition is dependent on what the judges and coordinators consider to be appropriate. When local, national and international judges and coordinators do not follow the same criteria, winemasters cannot know the categories in which their wines will be placed or follow a set of common standards. For him, the instability of
competition criteria makes it difficult to create wines that will satisfy the consumers as well as win local, national and international recognition.

Therefore, Negri agrees with Schmoran and Leblanc that subjectivity plays an important role with the judges and competitions. While Leblanc sees this subjectivity as a bonus when it is in her favour and Schmoran perceives the system as predictable, Negri appears to find the subjectivity of all competitions as a main source of frustration. What is interesting is that his source of frustration is based on the lack of constancy that he sees within the global criteria of taste. Therefore, although Negri draws from the image of winemaking as an art which is highly subjective, he strongly believes and feels constrained by the fact that wines' evaluation is not completely objective and steadfast. Negri believes that the judgement of wine's quality should be objectified and strictly standardized so that subjectivity does not affect the evaluation of what the hegemonic system dictates as quality wine. Thus there appears to be a contradiction in his understandings of wine or he simply proves to be a prime example of how the hegemonic system has naturalized the concept of quality wine and at the same time has let linger the romanticized notion of "passion", "tradition" and "art" in winemaking.

Negri does not believe that the North American Free
Trade Agreement has been beneficial to the Ontario Wine Industry since the LCBO no longer supports the local wine industry. Colio's winemaster exclaims:

CAFTA affected the local industry by making the local wines compete with the competitive prices of the monstrous American wineries who can now flood the market with mass advertising and quantity buying power (labels, bottles, labour, etc.)... Yes it is important to pay more for quality but the small local wineries do not have the product capability to compete on a fair playing ground.

Negri is not necessarily referring to Colio as a small winery but rather calling the reader's attention to his belief system of Ontario's place within the world market. With the goal of being a pioneer in a budding new industry, Negri is the only winemaster I interviewed who today is still against CAFTA. Although he approves of the change to vinifera-based wines, he does not view CAFTA as the means by which the Ontario wineries were forced to enter the world market with competitive standards but rather as a threat to an unprepared provincial industry. Perhaps this is a constraint for Negri since his working within the Ontario system after the present day influx of foreign wines within the market has limited what he believes to be the "playing ground" of his wines. It now appears as though the objective of Colio wines was to create a customer base for themselves in Ontario by becoming firmly established without the threat of competition from foreign companies since before CAFTA Colio was one of the few Ontario wineries that was doing quite well in the Ontario market. Only after both
feet had been planted on the ground did Colio plan to jump forward and begin to build a reputation outside of Ontario and sell its wine worldwide. CAFTA changed the itinerary and thus has jump started the local winery's marketing plans.

At present, Colio is the only Ontario winery that advertises products from all three viticultural areas. As a marketing method, the use of all three regions' grapes acts as a means of allowing the consumers to try the wines of each of three Designated Viticultural Areas under Colio's label. Colio is the only winery that I have encompassed in my interviews that owns provincially "grandfathered" retail stores from the buy outs after Prohibition. I believe Colio has fourteen retail stores, apart from their winery facilities, that are spread out throughout Southern and Eastern Ontario as well as international subsidiaries in California and Germany. Colio also demonstrates its allegiance to being a commercial winery by being the only winery that I pursued that produces Sherry, cooking wine, non-alcoholic sparkling fruit wines and an Italian style "Vin Cure" which mimics the concept of ice wine but dries the grapes in a greenhouse instead of keeping the grapes on the vine. Colio advertises itself on one of its flyers by stating: "Here innovation embraces tradition to inspire world-class wines". Commercialism and objective analysis are key elements to Colio's place with the other South
Western Ontario wineries yet these advertisements seem to appeal to the individual's ties to tradition and the romantic notion of inspiration in the art of winemaking. In the end, Carlo Negri is very much constrained by the hegemonic system's global taste criteria but he feels that his role is as an artist and thus he does not consider the objectified taste criteria as a constraint but rather a goal which each individual winemaker should strive to attain.

Since the introduction of the Vintner's Quality Alliance in 1988, the power has shifted from the large commercial industries, which have historically focused more on quantity and profit, to the Estate wineries that could only afford to compete with quality. "Their [Estate wineries] voices are the ones that people are listening to and it is their wines that began to turn up on restaurant lists" (Aspler, 1993:32). The histories of each winery varies as does the ideology of every winemaster. Economic and political decisions to compete in the global market have created an influx of "small" wineries that aim to compete through the standardized criteria of taste with VQA quality to support their now non-subsidized prices.

Throughout my research I found that all the winemasters I interviewed believe, to one extent or another, that Ontario wineries of today have the been forced to be a part of and face the challenge of shaping and creating a powerful internationally and more importantly, nationally recognized
competitive market - to make a name for Ontario/Canada in the world of wine. The reason there is a stress on the national market is because historically Canadians have not drunk as much as Europeans and even more importantly, Canadians have also typically favoured imported wines to their own domestic product. Winemaster Donald Ziraldo explains Ontario winemakers' frustration in an article by James Pollock (1993:11):

It's one thing to know you've got a good product and to be told so by people in other countries. But that special prize - assuming a seat of distinction in your own house - was eluding Canada's winemakers for years. Canadians tended to banish all domestic product to that shelf reserved for cloying sweet fizzy drinks with names from a Care Bear movie. On the other hand, they assumed that virtually any imported wine was superior.

Since Ontario produces the majority of Canada's wine, Ontario is believed to be the forerunners in creating and shaping the nation's wine industry. From the perspective of the Leblanc and D'Angelo's estate wineries, their roles are to focus on creating highly specialized quality wines. In other words, since they do not have the volume to outsell other wineries on the market, the only way they can make a name for themselves is to create award winning wines. By strictly following international quality standards, Leblanc and D'Angelo are playing their part in what they believe to be the future of the Canadian wine industry.

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As discussed in Chapter Three.
From the standpoint of the middle-sized (in comparison to Vincor or Andres/Hillebrand) wineries, Pelee and Colio not only have to produce internationally considered quality wine but also have to deal with more quantity and thus the creation of a market outside of Canada. Generally, the smaller wineries will only compete internationally but will mostly try to gather local and provincial clientele due to the fact that they do not make enough wine at this point to be able to internationally provide their products on a large scale. Pelee and Colio sell practically all their wines through the LCBO and thus all throughout Ontario. Internationally, Pelee sells its wines in the U.S. states of Michigan, Ohio, New York, Maine as well as, on a very small scale, to Germany, England and Holland. Recently, I read (Bannon, 1996: B4) that Colio "has shipped 168 cases of its estate Riesling to Taiwan" in addition to their Californian and German subsidiaries. Therefore, the role that the larger wineries are being asked to play in the development of Ontario's wine industry is to provincially, nationally and internationally compete and sell their wines in order to publicly make a name for Canada's wine industry. These sales made by the middle-sized wineries include the goal of changing Canadian attitudes regarding their own wine and convincing possible consumers that Canada is now following the same wine rules as the rest of the world. In order to compete, first taste is objectified, then it is created.
domestically and then it is promoted as a "wine of the World" (Wine Council of Ontario, n.d.).

From the interviews, it is obvious that the winemasters share the same pride of working within the Ontario industry yet each perspective is slightly different. The subjectivity and individuality of the winemasters' opinions are still very much confined by the standardized criteria of taste which they have established. The winemasters are the promoters in the naturalization of objectified taste and thus find their realm of freedom within the quality standards. All the winemasters referred to "quality" as the main criteria for their wines. While Leblanc, D'Angelo and Schmoranz used the vines as explanations of their resulting "quality" wine, only Leblanc and D'Angelo used the word natural in their descriptions. In other words, Leblanc and D'Angelo as growers and owners of the means of productions stress the vineyards and describe their wines as natural results from the "proper" upbringing of the raw products. Schmoranz, as a viticulturalist, understands the importance of the vines but his aim is not only to create a natural conclusion to the grapes but also to mass-market the products - to teach the larger audience how to search out varietal wines or at least appeal to a person's sense of locality and buy his wines because of the Pelee Island labels. Negri also want to teach Canadians how "to appreciate fine wine". By focusing on his Italian training
and recounting the global taste criteria through the romanticized image of art and tradition, Colio’s wines attempt to encompass a greater audience by appealing to the image of Europe.

Not to say that the winemasters are not interested in winning competitions as well as creating a market for the sale of their wines but each has taken a position in the Ontario wine industry and acts according to their role within it in order to present the image they desire. The role that Negri has taken is as a pioneer and artist steeped in tradition and art whose goal is to educate Canadians and create a market for his large variety of wines. The role of Schmoranz is as a viticulturalist, oenologist and businessman who is attempting to appeal to the Canadian market in order to promote and make a name for Pelee Island wines. D’Angelo’s role is also that of a viticulturalist and oenologist but his main goal to produce "quality VQA wines" made from only the grapes grown on his estate. Finally, Leblanc’s role is that of an experienced grape grower and new winemaster whose goal is to work within the existing system of quality standards and attempt to create a niche for her 100% Ontario wines. Although each of their roles vary slightly, all the winemasters consider themselves entrepreneurs in a budding industry that is just beginning to take shape and all are profit driven.

In conclusion, I believe that Sal d’Angelo’s analogy of
winemaking to cooking clearly exemplifies the boundaries and freedoms each winemaster considers when producing a wine. All of the winemasters' explanations regarding the standard style of winemaking demonstrate a very objective, scientific perspective, yet the attitudes when explaining the goals of their wines are often presented as artistic creations.81 From the information that I have gathered I would say that every winemaker, like every chef, is given the basic knowledge to create but it is up to each creator to develop his/her own distinct product and reputation within the boundaries of the field whose aim is to cultivate long-term customers and produce profits for its makers.

What I find interesting is the fact that there persists a belief that subjectivity plays a key role in the production of wine, though as I outline in Chapter Five, there is a clear objectification of taste in wine evaluation. There is no doubt that taste is being objectified through the political and economic hegemonic system but through this research I now realize that to each winemaster it is important to believe they are creating distinctive products - a distinctiveness that is still

81 In his interview Schmoranz stressed the constraints of creating his wines but throughout my work period at Pelee it was obvious that his desire to make the wine that people would drink stemmed from his creative abilities as a winemaker to produce the tastes that were in demand as well as create the wines he thought he would be able to teach Pelee's customers to drink.
within the confines of the naturalized limitations of the criteria of taste and wine production standards. The notion of wine being an artistic creation sells a romanticized, distinct image and it makes each winemaster feel as though his/her products can be differentiated from the rest. Each product can be differentiated but the freedoms are within limits and the pronouncements of quality are subjectively identified only through the constrained boundaries of the "objective quality standards" as well as the bureaucracy that its sale in Ontario entails. The face of the Ontario wine industry has changed, from the control over Native Canadian grape use, to the creation and introduction of the global "quality" criteria that objectifies taste and manipulates "distinctive" images and perceptions of Ontario's wine. Ontario wine has now entered the global market.
CONCLUSION

An Ending and New Beginnings

The history of North America with regards to alcohol has been very erratic due to the Temperance movement and Prohibition of 1916 to 1927. As a result of this unparalleled history, the images and perceptions of the North American, Canadian and thus the Ontarian alcohol business through the course of the last eighty years has been controlled with diverse and sometimes conflicting objectives and images. The late 1980s and the 1990s has been a time of economic mergers and political downsizing. Presently, the Ontario wine industry exemplifies the move towards economic and political globalization through its mandate to sell and be recognized as a wine producer and manufacturer with a globally competitive taste - to follow the global objectified taste criteria.

When I first started the research for this thesis I thought I would be able to separate the economic, the political and the social aspects that have created the many images of wine. I quickly realized that all three parts were interrelated. In order to explain how hegemony is involved in the wine industry, it had become necessary for me to understand political and economic power systems as conjoined forces. In other words, the economic decisions effect and are affected by the political decisions and thus
result in promotion to change the social understanding of whatever the political and economic forces deem as the most beneficial vision. Therefore it is easier to say that the political and economic decisions directly influence the social understanding of wine. One of the main objectives of this thesis has been to unveil the underlying political and economic power system that is controlled by a few key individuals who have invented and reinvented the image and taste of Ontario's wine in order to turn this fermented grape juice into a liquid asset.

Since Prohibition, political and economic decisions have been the driving force behind the taste of wine. Today the economies of individual countries are merging into a global market therefore the more global the taste the more internationally marketable the product. Individual tastes worldwide have become global through political and economic efforts to control the perception of Ontario wine. The Provincial and Federal governments, the Grape Grower's Marketing Board, The Wine Council of Ontario, the VQA and the wineries themselves all have major interests in the hegemonic system that has reproduced a global criteria of taste by institutionalizing its standard and becoming a part of this economic, political and social global market. Throughout this thesis I have revealed how these key governmental and industrial agencies along with the not-so-evident large corporate ownership have the power to control
and naturalize individuals' perception and taste.

Throughout the history of the Ontario wine industry, wineries have continuously changed ownership and amalgamated but have not always changed names. In trying to understand and follow the power system, ownership and thus the position of each winery, the intricate dynamism of the wine industry's web is revealed - but not in its totality. At this very moment, exchanges of ownership and shares are taking place, but it becomes very difficult to identify the changes since many wineries keep their original names. Stockholdings in a company do not appear on the stock market pages unless they are open for public bidding. Even within the wine industry, no single person appears to fully comprehend how the network of power actually functions. Therefore, ownership and control are not always evident yet the changing ideologies of the taste and image of Ontario's wine are politically/legally legitimized and then visibly promoted.

At present the political power system is considering privatization of the LCBO which represents a dramatic change and a switch in power. Like today's global trend of downsizing and economic mergers where the control moves from

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82 A very interesting (though challenging) study would be to research the histories of individual Ontario wineries through the change in ownership and control. With each new hand comes different objectives along with each period in history affecting the objectives and laws.

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the government to industry, the now large corporations within the Ontario wine industry are preparing and anxiously awaiting the privatization of the LCBO which represents the legal "hand-over" of control over all of the province's wine industry. It is these political and economic decisions that have the power to actually control personal taste through the calculated legitimation and "naturalization" of Ontario's wine within the existing power system. Most consumers remain blind to the corporate ownership and the possibility of Ontario's supposed homegrown taste actually being owned by only a handful of large corporations! The Ontario wine industry is now entering the global market and Ontario wine drinkers are being taught how to "appreciate" the apparent paradox of a homegrown global taste.

The erratic history of the taste and image of the wines of Ontario have been put forth through political and economic decisions. These decisions have created major changes in the promotion of "taste" that have had a dramatic impact on consumers' understandings and perceptions of Ontario's wine. Over time, the images and tastes of Ontario's wine have altered quite radically: from absolute banishment to labrusca-based highly alcoholic fortified wines, from pop wines to sweet table wines, from dry table

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The privatization of the LCBO is a direction of study that should be pursued in order to continue to unveil the underlying power system within the Ontario wine industry and discover into whose hands the control continues to be passed.
wines to today's varietals. I argue that the present day taste trend for internationally competitive vinifera-based wines is the result of Ontario's industrial and governmental drive towards globalization. The present aim is to no longer focus on promoting Ontario produced images and taste of wine but to globalize taste and naturalize the concept of internationally considered, competitive quality wine. It is the ideology of the Ontario wine industry that consumers will gradually adapt to. This ideology has been put forth by the political, economic and social hegemonic system whose goal is to naturalize the image and taste of wine in order to maintain control and thus be economically profitable to the owners of the means of production and their political allies.

In this thesis I have demonstrated the history of hegemony in Ontario and the changing "tastes" and mixed messages that have been put forth to this province's public. I have explained how the ideology of the wine industry and government agencies is to create a profit by justifying their actions through the naturalization and legitimation of their own desired belief system. At present this hegemonic system has set quality guidelines and rules that aim at objectifying taste and creating specific understandings and images of Ontario's wine. This system of naturalization, that has changed dramatically throughout the history of Ontario's wine industry, serves as a demonstration of the
power that a few key decision makers maintain as they create and introduce categories of reality about the taste and image of this province's wine.

Education appears to be the key factor in creating realities and changing peoples' minds to believe that they are improving themselves with their new found knowledge. The wine industry in Ontario has followed many ideologies within the last eighty years. Ontario's wine has been perceived and transformed from a "sin" to a health benefit in some circles, while in others it is looked down upon as a health risk and a source of possible addiction. With these varying images, the political economic power base of wine has attempted to mold standard opinions of "quality wine" and the necessary characteristics of a "good" wine while subtly presenting its objectives for wine's consumption. At present the Ontario wine industry has become the newest addition to the world market by globalizing its quality criteria to meet and compete internationally. Today, the wine industry is the teacher and the objectified global criteria of taste is the curriculum.

International education on the technical nature of sensory evaluation promotes scientific analyses of the taste of a wine instead of individual gustatory appreciation. Training to judge a wine with the global system of sensory evaluation involves remembering the political importance of global, science-bound criteria in order to justify and
legitimize the final constrained opinion that is reported and averaged with other equally constrained judgements. This ideology that the wine industry promotes is for consumers to feel that it is necessary to educate themselves in the global evaluation of wine. By standardizing and legitimizing the global objectified taste criteria, consumers are being called to understand the global evaluation system in order to naturalize the new internationally competitive taste and thus create a profit for the manufacturers of this belief system.

Still, within the wine world there are variations between the opinions of wine authorities, where one judge may consider a wine to be an award winning quality wine and another evaluator may not even consider the wine to be a contender. What must be acknowledged is that within this political, economic and social hegemonic system there are not only varying perceptions of "quality" wine but that each of these opinions are all formed with reference to the objectified global criteria of taste. In my thesis I demonstrated how, through education, a winetaster or a winemaster can learn to objectify their taste to scientifically evaluate a wine but each winemaster still strives to make distinct wines. The role of art as pertinent to winemaking is key to the image of distinct wines. Therefore, there is the belief that the subjective/art of winemaking persists within this global
objectification of taste. This belief still proves to be profitable and thus the image of art in winemaking is emphasized with a wine's legitimation, naturalization and globalization.

At present, winemasters who are now training in Ontario have a plethora of international sources that are unique to a budding industry. The winemasters of Ontario's wineries encompass a full-range of country's of origin and thus, as an industry, Ontario is still searching for its own "tradition". Scientific methods of analysis have been encompassed and naturalized globally but the artistic desire to be distinct within these boundaries make winemasters search for "tradition" and create their own signature. As a competitive global industry, Ontario has just begun to search for its "distinction", constrained as it may be, from the rest of the world. Ontario's winemasters today are from Poland, Algeria, Italy, Portugal, France, Austria, Germany, Scotland, Argentina, Holland and England. Each of these winemasters will have brought with them their own perspective of how a wine industry should exist. They all work within the global objectified and naturalized taste standards but the background of each winemaster will also bring into light varying perspectives as to how to reach a globally acceptable quality wine. Perhaps since Ontario has such a diverse group of winemasters, Ontario may actually be one of the few wine producing regions that not only creates
wines that follow the globalized taste criteria but also search for a tradition that is distinctly global.

In this thesis I have argued that in Ontario, it is this governmental and industrial control that helps to form perceptions and "naturalize" the concept of objective wine "taste" while being economically beneficial to the producers, manufacturers and sales representatives. I wanted to demonstrate how a person's tastebuds and thus understanding can be influenced by political and economic decisions. I wanted to know who is making the decisions that have changed the industry and how these changes are understood. I have had many light hearted conversations with friends and as a sales representative at Pelee winery I was introduced to a great variety of consumers. I understand that most of these conversations have led me to believe that many people feel that a person either "knows" wine or doesn't. "I don't really know anything about wine, I just know what I like!" explained a customer. Even if a person's tastebuds prefers a "non-quality" wine, he/she will feel they are not properly educated in the wine world and will drink what they like but will make a point of acknowledging their lack of "taste". That is the power of the Ontario wine industry's production and promotion!

In reading an article entitled "The budding connoisseur: The Wine Snob - A guide to survival" (Chatto, 1996:16), the author reveals my point in demonstrating the
power that lies behind a person's choice in wine:

The true connoisseur has long ago realised certain truths. That there are more wines in the world than you will ever be able to taste. That the more you know about wine, the more there is to learn. That wine appreciation is highly subjective - and anyway, the point of it all is enjoyment, not shallow wine-upmanship.

The entire concept of connoisseurship and especially the language that is used in the descriptions of wines' quality is a research project in itself. Throughout my research, I discovered that many people's views regarding the proper dialogue or even means of evaluation did not always agree. Everyone is looking for the same characteristics but the language and methods that they choose can follow different schools of thought. Even the actual evaluation techniques are disputed such as spitting after a tasting or smelling a cork. Because of all the differences and the hidden power systems that lie behind every school of thought I have chosen just to introduce the subject and allow differences within these naturalizing powers to be studied at a later time.

The final point that I would like to make is that today people are more interconnected through travel, audio-visual communications and the world wide web. What is being

[For example, there is now a new school of thought whose proponents believe that a wine should be described by the previously considered negative sounding smells. By following this vocabulary, a critic would call attention the sawdust smell of a wine and this would not be considered a negative quality.]

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produced and sold throughout the world is being acknowledged here in Ontario by many consumers. Ontario's wine is also beginning to be acknowledged in international wine competitions and on the internet's wine pages. Still, the past images and tastes of Ontario's wine have not been consistent with the forerunners and creators of the objectified taste criteria - the legitimized vinifera-based European wine. I have outlined how there is a political and economic hegemonic system that has created and naturalized an evaluation system of "quality" wine by demonstrating the history of the Ontario wine industry and the recent attempts to become a part of the global wine web. I have brought forth many ideas that can individually be examined and studied in detail. Most important to my research is that I have uncovered a power system that controls a very personal aspect of each individual's life - taste. My objective was to demonstrate how something that appears natural and subjective is actually politically, economically and thus socially controlled. My hope is that future research will continue to explore the power of wine and the global system that has now colonized Ontario.
APPENDIX A

Methodology

Before I had begun my research I became interested in the wineries of the area when I saw them advertised as regional tourist sights. I had already visited several of the Niagara wineries and was interested in the presentations of the South Western Ontario wineries. While visiting the D'Angelo winery, during the summer of 1993, I had registered my name onto the wineries mailing list. In the fall, I received an invitation to an open-house and it was there that I decided to do my thesis on the wine industry. The open house had local artists, tasting booths, a barbecue, the sale of grape juice for local amateur winemakers and tours of the winery by the winemaster himself. It is here that I was given a little insight into the complexity of a winery operation and I began questioning the concept of differing tastes in wine.

Throughout my thesis I have referred to people I have interviewed for information, insights or opinions regarding the Ontario wine industry. As a social scientist, I have found the research process to be quite difficult since I have not encountered any other written academic research material specifically addressing the Ontario wine industry. My research began by collecting the brochures regarding the Ontario wine industry in the Ontario tourism offices in the
Niagara region and Windsor. It was September of 1994 and the
Niagara Grape and Wine festival had begun its two week
celebration. Taking advantage of the opportunity that the
festival provided, I began my research by telephoning the
festival headquarters whose number had been provided in the
flyers I had procured. After explaining to the receptionist
my desire to inform myself on the Ontario wine industry and
not only on the festival. I was quickly given the numbers to
the Grape Growers Marketing Board and the Ontario Wine
Council (whose number is also on most of the brochures
advertising the Ontario wine industry).

It was during my initial conversations with the
receptionists of both the Grape Grower’s Marketing Board and
the Ontario Wine Council that I began to learn about the
various channels that a winery needed to traverse in order
to maintain a business in Ontario. Unfortunately, a concise
description of the exact power structure of each of these
lobby groups does not exist. Throughout the following
months I used both the Wine Council and the Grape Growers
Marketing Board as resources through informational telephone
calls, in-person informal visits and the provision of
written documentation such as pre-packaged information kits,
wine references, yearly reports and photocopies of both the
1976 and the 1988 Wine Content Acts. It is through the Wine
Council and the Grape Growers Marketing Board (I do not
specify in order to maintain some anonymity for the people
with whom I spoke) that I obtained the name and phone number of the person who is in charge of the annual wine habits survey as well as the name and number of some of the instructors of the Ontario Wine Test. I also attended the Ottawa Wine and Food show and spoke with individual winery representatives as well as a representative of the Wine Council that had an information/tasting booth set up.

When studying an alcoholic beverage in Ontario it is commonsense to look to the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO). A winery's operations as well as the sale of its wine is dependent upon the LCBO. Therefore, I questioned retail staff in several LCBO stores in a very general manner about the selection process of choosing wines to be sold in the stores. Almost all of the retail workers suggested I speak to a Product Consultant. After receiving many references to the same Product Consultant I set up an interview with the LCBO employee and held an informal tea-sipping interview where I questioned him about the role of the LCBO and the Ontario laws regarding the promotion, production and sale of wine. This interview proved to be very helpful in uncovering the networking of power within the Ontario wine industry and its affiliations with the LCBO. The LCBO also provides a 1-800 infoline that proved to be very helpful during my research. Occasionally, I used the infoline to verify information I had obtained on wine tastings, provincial taxation and winery/retail store
ownership. During the evening and on weekends, the infoline has an automated line that can be accessed from any touch-tone phone and provides "basic information on store locations and hours, products and services such as home delivery, and about some of the services of Liquor Licence Board of Ontario" (LCBO, 1994:15).

In order to gain a personal perspective of the Ontario wine industry, I decided I would like to interview some winemasters. As a means of narrowing the scope of the possible 46 winemasters, as well as focusing on the smaller designated viticultural areas, I chose to interview four of the winemasters from the South Western Ontario region. I asked each winemaster the same general questions but allowed them to pick and choose that which they further wished to discuss. The interviews were held in a conversational manner but I took notes. Before the interview, each winemaster was asked to sign a letter of consent and thus all of the winemasters excluding Pelee's, Walter Schmoranz, asked to read over a written form of the interview before consenting to its use. All the winemasters (Lyse Leblanc, Sal D'Angelo, Carlo Negri and Walter Schmoranz) were told they would be allowed to withdraw his/her participation at any time. In my thesis I chose to use some of the quotes from certain interviews outside of my interview section. If possible, I opted to maintain the anonymity of the winemaster in order to not call attention to certain
winemasters' opinions outside of the context of the comparative interview section. With permission, I chose to use the names of the wineries throughout my thesis and the winemasters' names in the interview section, since I felt that it was necessary to know the situation of each winery (i.e., size, history) in order to understand each winemaster's perspective.

I conducted informal tastings with friends as well as asked the opinion of as many friends, family and acquaintances as possible, two of whom included members of wine guilds, to tell me what they think of the Ontario wine industry and wine tasting in general. All the gaps were filled and the gathering of the history of the wine industry was formed through library research. I tried to obtain as much information as possible, in the form of pamphlets, brochures and videos, put out by the individual wineries, the wine guilds, the Wine Council, the Canadian Wine Institute, the local and provincial newspapers, magazines, and journals as well as the local, provincial and international wine competitions. I even informally interviewed the organizer of an all-Canadian wine competition and a newspaper columnist, asking his opinion of judging wine as well as the selection process for judges.

At the beginning of each information session, throughout all my formal and informal research, I informed the listener that I was a graduate student doing my thesis and hoped that
he/she would voluntarily be able to help me gather some information. I usually asked if the listener could help me gain a better understanding of the networking of power within the Ontario wine industry as well as share his or her opinions regarding the judgement of wine and Ontario's place within the changing market.

It cannot be forgotten that much of my information was gained through personal experiences. It is important to acknowledge that I formulated many of my opinions and gained much of my experience during my four month work period as a sales representative and winery guide at Pelee Island winery. The details of my Pelee training are explained in Chapter Five. My experiences also included a two months sejour in France. Although the objective of my stay in France was not aimed at researching the wine industry, I found the experience to help me generally see and understand some of the local Northern French attitudes towards their country's wine and their impressions of Canada as a winemaking country. In the end, my aim is to use all the experiences and information I have gathered to exemplify different perspectives regarding the production, reproduction and promotion of Ontario's wine. Also, I hope to use my research to reveal the key decision makers and underlying power system that politically and economically aim to control, "naturalize" and thus legitimize the globally objectified "taste" and image of the Ontario wine
industry.
APPENDIX B

The Difficulty of Making Ontario Wine Flow

If I were to start a winery, the first thing I would have to do would be to send a sample of my wine and apply to the LCBO for a winery license. Already, at this point, I would have to become a member of the Ontario Grape Grower's Marketing Board in order to be considered a licensed processor. Before a person can get a license, he or she must prove that he/she can make wine according to the criteria that the LCBO considers acceptable. By law, every person is allowed to make up to 200 gallons of wine for personal consumption, but this is not enough to begin a winery. Thus, if I planned to begin my winery this year, I would have to apply for a temporary license until the time that I had a sufficient amount of wine to sell commercially. But before any license is given the LCBO follows stringent guidelines in evaluating a product. This leads to the second step that contains many government channels.

Once the wine sample has arrived at the LCBO in Toronto, the wine must be approved by a tasting panel\(^\text{\$}\) as well as undergo laboratory testing. Without both approvals.

\(^\text{\$}\) The tasting panel consists of mostly LCBO product consultants who have been hired to work at LCBO retail stores to select the products to be sold and give advice to customers. Before being hired, each product consultant must undergo a written exam, an oral interview and a blind taste test.
a winery license will not be given. According to the product consultant with whom I spoke, the quality control lab for the LCBO is possibly the largest in the world. With the most modern and "sophisticated" equipment, the laboratory tests search for levels of sulphur, lead, pesticides, as well as acidity, sugar and tint. At this point the decisions regarding the chemicals and levels of acceptance have previously been researched and approved by the federal sector of the government - the Ministry of the Environment which (in this case) is tied to the Ministry of Consumer Affairs. It is at the provincial level that the Wine Content Act (Bill 167) was created through the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations. It is within this Bill that the type of grapes (variety and origin) as well as the method (blending, pressing, percentage) are regulated. The tasting panel is used not to replace the scientific equipment, but rather, acts as a means to fill in the gaps: "tasting must be used since certain things (eg. balance of acidity with sugar, corkage smell, etc...) cannot be replaced by the most sophisticated of equipment" (interview with product consultant). This tasting panel only reviews the bare necessities of a wine in order to give a winery a license to sell at its manufacturing location. If the sample wine passes both the scientific and the taste tests, a winery is given a license in approximately six months. The LCBO continues to maintain a watchful eye on each new
and old winery through its winery auditors that usually will
visit a winery every year to keep an eye on the claims,
debits and credits. The product will only be reevaluated if
a complaint is lodged with the LCBO.

It should be remembered that to receive a license from
the LCBO does not automatically allow a person to sell wine
through the LCBO. To attain this feat, one must venture
through more paper work and more LCBO quality control
regulations. Each bottle of wine that is sold through the
LCBO has a separate listing and CSPC number. After a winery
has received its license, a new group of wine samples are
sent to the head office of the LCBO in Toronto. When
submitting a product, the manufacturer must select one of
three listings - Vintages, Regular or One Shot.

The selection helps determine whether or not they will obtain a
listing. Presently, more One Shot listings are given out and
only the well established older wineries are being able to
maintain their regular listings. The power lies with the
LCBO who not only pursues further lab and taste tests but
also considers the marketability of a product along with the

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Vintages Listings - refers to the LCBO's Vintages
boutiques that offer specialty wines and pride themselves
on a large array of high quality wines.
Regular Listings - refers to a wine being placed in the LCBO
retail stores on a permanent basis.
One Shot Listings - refers to wines being accepted on a trial
basis with an understanding that the number of sales will
determine the likelihood of future LCBO listings.
competition and image the product presents. All factors must reach the desired criteria set out by the LCBO. A preference is given to Canadian products but even these must have a selling capacity or they shall not be listed. Older wineries, who have already created a reputation for themselves and have already networked in the industry, find it easier to obtain a listing due to their known standing within the wine community as well as their understanding of the proper channels to quickly traverse much "red tape". Therefore, the four main channels that affect a winery's production and sales are: 1) the decisions to legislate and price the products by Provincial politicians, 2) the manager of wine sales in Toronto without whom a listing cannot be given, 3) the LCBO quality control personnel whose laboratory and tasting opinions accept or reject a wine and, 4) the winery auditors whose responsibility lies with the Ontario government and the proper collection of revenues from a declared operational winery. If a person manages to fulfil all the requirements, at least one of their wines shall be listed in the LCBO and thus sold provincially. But, a listing does not cover promotion of a product and also cannot give a small winery a voice in provincial and national decisions (i.e., GATT, CAFTA). A lobby group must exist and a promotion campaign must be ventured. With this in mind, a winery owner often finds it necessary to become a member of the Wine Council of Ontario as well the VQA.
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VITA AUCTORIS

Name: Andrea Della Valle
Place of Birth: Windsor, Ontario
Year of Birth: 1969
Education:
Assumption High School, Windsor 1983-1987
Carleton University, Ottawa 1987-1991 B.A.
University of Windsor, Windsor 1992-1993 B.A.
University of Windsor, Windsor 1993-1996 M.A.