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1. Introduction: The Travels and Tendencies of Wine

David Inglis and Anna-Mari Almila

We walk into a shop that sells wine, located in a city somewhere in north-western Europe. We scan the shelves, which contain wines that have travelled to this country from all over the world. They range from well-known regions like Burgundy to emerging (or re-emerging) areas like Georgia. We seek out what we hope will be an interesting white wine to go with dinner that evening. A bottle from the north-east of Italy catches the eye, not just because it is proclaimed to be organic, but also because of a striking label design: a plain white background, with a large image of a hashtag. Next to the image is a line where you can write in your own name, or anything you feel like putting. On the reverse label, at the bottom, there is a small message in English. It says that the wine is the alter ego of the wine-maker, who gives his name, a typically 'Italian'-sounding one. Purchasers of the bottle are politely requested to send photos of them enjoying the wine to a telephone number registered with the

Whatsapp social media app. We go back home and while cooking dinner we send via the app a picture of us drinking the wine in the kitchen, adding in a message that we like the wine a lot. A little later we get a cheerful response from the wine-maker, thanking us for sending the photo and saying that he hopes that we enjoy the wine. We finish it off, and then open another bottle, this time a pinot noir from Chile. It is much more basic in character but goes well with the food. There is no wine-maker to contact this time, which is the usual case with almost any wine we have ever bought. It gets us thinking about why there is not usually some mechanism mentioned on bottle labels for consumers directly to get in touch with wine-makers if they want to...

Wine is today ‘one of the most widespread and complex commodities produced globally’ (Huber 2011: 89). An ‘ordinary’ bottle of wine that middle-class drinkers across the Developed World may open on any given day is in some ways just like other comestibles consumers regularly buy from supermarkets: the green beans in their evening meal may have come from Kenya, the strawberries might have come from Guatemala. This is part of much broader trends in agricultural globalization, involving significant levels of dietary ‘de-localization’, whereby what we eat may have travelled tens of thousands of miles, having negative impacts on the environment while on the way (Murray 2007). What could be more apparently de-localized than enjoying a glass of Chilean wine in, for example, northern Finland? But the label on the bottle wants to assure the consumer that it came from somewhere very ‘local’ indeed. This is a *re-localizing* move upon a de-localized commodity, seeking to assure the buyer that this product has true character and ‘provenance’ (see Smith Maguire in this volume), and is not just any old faceless and characterless globalized entity.

The real-life vignette above captures some of the dynamics and phenomena of the globalization of wine (or *wine globalization*, if you prefer), which this book is concerned with. Some of the factors involved in wine globalization, which are pursued throughout this book, can be

summarised under these headings: **Wine Production** (involving a globalization of ‘wine world(s)’); **Wine Consumption** (involving globalization of ‘wine culture(s)’); and **Wine Discourse** (involving globalization of ‘wine field(s)’).

Wine Production

- The long-distance and trans-national movement of both wines and the containers they come in, moving through complex financial systems and distribution channels.
- The spread in multiple ways, and at various scales and levels, of wines and wine-related entities, practices and ideas, across multiple sorts of borders, including geographical, political and cultural boundaries, and the reworking of those borders themselves.
- The increasing intricacy of trans-oceanic and cross-continental networks, linkages and partnerships.
- Interactions between the so-called ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Worlds, and their increasing complexification and mutual influencing of each other.
- The presence of both massive companies and tiny boutique producers, as well as a range of more medium-sized businesses.
- Wine as both bulk, undifferentiated, mass market commodity, and as hyper-differentiated, singularised, elite object of desire;
- Partnerships between firms located in disparate regions of the planet, and ‘clusters’ of businesses located in certain regions and endowed with diverse forms of knowledge and expertise.
- The appearance of new economic actors, some of which are interested in diverse forms of investment, ploughing money into both established and start-up wineries,
- The integration of wine-making facilities into the global(ized) tourist economy and leisure industries.

- The various roles that scientific knowledges and technological forms of know-how play in how wine is made.
- Globally-recognisable classifications of quality standards and price levels, such as Rabobank's nomenclature that divides wines into *Basic*, *Premium*, *Super Premium*, *Ultra Premium* and *Icon* categories.
- Various counter-blasts to what some regard as the overly technologized orientations of much contemporary wine-making, and the creation of alternative, apparently more 'natural' ways of making wine.
- Controversies about how wine-making impacts both on natural environments and on the workers whose labour, usually in the vineyards, that wine depends on; the effects of climate change on wine-making activities.

Wine Consumption

- The efforts of wine producers, located across ever more diverse parts of the planet, to enchant consumers sufficiently that their wares will be purchased, this being done through multiple mechanisms of promotion and marketing, including how bottles are labelled and how wines are packaged.
- The tastes, purchasing power, impacts on wine production, and socio-political sensibilities of (primarily) middle-class consumers (Koo 2016) – who may be culturally 'omnivorous' or younger, more 'hipster'-style drinkers – located across the Developed World (and increasingly elsewhere too).
- The creation of trans-national, 'cosmopolitan' drinking cultures, which spread similar forms of wine-related thought and practice across the richer parts of the world.

- The apparent democratization of wine drinking, making it less of an elitist pursuit than before in some ways, but at the same time affording opportunities for new forms of social division, elite arrogance and snobbery.
- Buying wines at auctions and other locations for reasons of financial speculation.
- The mutation and trans-nationalization of cultural intermediary roles, such as wine critics and sommeliers, who sell and represent wines to consumers.
- A ubiquitous 'shopping list' of stock words and phrases to describe scents, colours and flavours, which is a kind of global - and globalized - wine talk.
- Retail display mechanisms that can be found practically anywhere where wine is sold to private customers (the cheapest bottles at the bottom of the racks, the most expensive at the top, the bottles the seller wants consumers to trade-up to located at eye level).
- Widely available styles of glassware, including those designed by leading companies like Riedel, to enhance flavours and scents, aimed both at wine professionals and at more discerning amateurs across all countries.
- The apparently inevitable presence of certain brands, such as Champagne marques like *Veuve Clicquot*, in putatively 'upscale' retail outlets the world over, alongside other generic, branded commodities like 'designer' perfumes and sunglasses (Ritzer and Ryan 2002).

Wine Discourse

- The trans-national diffusion of globalized models of how to make and appreciate wine, and multiple indigenizing adaptations of these by people in many different places.
- The operation of a globalized wine cultural industry, involving mass-market books, magazines, courses for non-professionals, tours and vacations, all of which do not just sell wine; but also help to frame and stabilize judgments among consumers as to what

wine 'is', how it should be part of one's lifestyle, which wines and regions are the best or the most trendy, what environmentally-conscious drinkers should be interested in, etc.

- The construction and contestation of regimes of valuing and legitimation, as well as 'good' and 'bad' taste.
- The construction and reconfiguration of what counts in wine terms as 'old' and 'new', 'good' and 'bad', 'virtuous' and 'pernicious', etc.
- Defences and inventions of 'tradition' and 'locality'. The interplay between constructions and defences of what counts as the 'local' and 'locality' in wine-making, and reconfigurations of what is 'local' and of what counts as indigeneity, authenticity and provenance. The perception of threats to locality deriving from senses that wine globalization is a massive force tending towards a global homogenization of wines and wine-making styles.
- Disputes over the highly contentious term *terroir*.
- The influence of often controversial cultural politics of wine on legislation, both national and trans-national, and vice versa, the negotiation and contestation of different legal apparatuses by diverse sorts of actors
- The roles played in constructing the value of wines, and choosing which wines to buy, by such 'judgment devices' (Karpik, 2008) as the reviews and scores offered by influential critics – such as Robert Parker and his globally-transportable, comprehensible and influential 100-point scale (McCoy 2005).
- The influence of publications such as *Decanter* magazine, and the trans-national influence of the quality and other judgments made in them.

Mapping Wine Globalization

The categories above are in some ways artificial classifications. All the factors listed above upon all the others in myriad ways. One task of the social scientist is therefore to map this multi-level and poly-causal complexity. Different schools of thought narrate the history of wine globalization in differing, but overlapping ways, especially as regards the New World coming to challenge the Old World. Institutionalist economists, for example, focus on how New World companies reduced transaction costs by closely aligning grape growing, processing, marketing and distribution in strategies of vertical integration, giving them significant advantages over Old World competitors. Regulationist economists, meanwhile, emphasise how changes in the wine world are often responses to broader structural and demographic changes nationally and trans-nationally, such as changes in consumption habits due to lifestyle shifts among the middle classes across the Developed World. Actor Network Theory-inspired scholars tend to focus on how new marketing strategies connected New World Producers to Old World consumers, taking market share away from European companies (for the different paradigms, see Itçaina et al 2016). In what follows here and in Chapter 2, we will draw selectively on these models. Wine consumers like to imagine – and are very much encouraged by people in the wine business to believe – that a particular person called a ‘wine-maker’ made what they drank, and that they made it in a particular place, and that the wine somehow reflects and expresses the nature of that location. But when one investigates who is ‘responsible’ for the wine, it is almost always never just a single person, even if a singular (meaning rhetorically ‘singularised’) person is the public face of the wine and its winery. Those ‘responsible’ for the wine, in one way or another, include not only those who actually turn the grapes into what is conventionally called ‘wine’, but also the people who grew the grapes, who pick them, who own the fields and the wineries, who invent and disseminate the scientific knowledges and the technologies that inform the wine-making process, and many others too, especially those involved in shipping

and marketing. Wine is a *collective* and *distributed* product, made by different sorts of people, all acting in tandem, and sometimes interacting in conflictual ways too.

Put very schematically, the kinds of actors involved in the physical making, distributing and consuming of wine across borders looks like this (following Simpson 2011):

Growers (of grapes) – Makers/producers (of wine) – Technical specialists (e.g. scientists, advisors, marketers) – Merchants – Importers – Retailers – Consumers.

As changes occur in the various relations connecting the various types of people in the chain, so too may the nature of the participants *themselves* change. For example, when new means of transportation of wine arrive on the scene, they may help to change what existing producers and consumers do, while possibly helping to create new types of producer and consumer.

Different relations between the various groups indicated above have pertained at different times and places. Sometimes a single company can play more than one role in the chain. For example, in the 19th century, in much of the so-called ‘New World’ (primarily North and South America, South Africa, Australasia), growers owned wine-making facilities, and so the grower and maker roles were combined, whereas in much of Europe (the so-called ‘Old World’), growing was often separate from production, which in turn was often separate from marketing. Merchants would blend the grapes of small family producers and sell it to consumers under their names rather than those of the producers. In this way, the consumer learnt to trust and like brands that did not reveal who grew the grapes or made the wine. However, a counter-trend also developed, whereby producers, who were sometimes also growers, sought to market their wine to consumers under their own name, reducing the power of the merchants and importers.

One of the major features of wine globalization today is a tendency towards very large companies being involved in, and thus being able to control, multiple parts of the chain. These outfits may control everything, from what is grown in vineyards and how it is grown, to the placing of the bottles on the shelves of shops. Major actors here include massive drinks conglomerates like Diageo and LVMH, and certain large supermarkets, especially British ones like Tesco and Asda. Both these sorts of companies have the financial clout to control what wine gets made, how it is distributed, and how it is sold. They have great influence upon which wines get to consumers, and which wines consumers find palatable and worth paying for (Veseth 2012).

Globalization processes have complicated the collective and distributed nature of wine production, drawing into the web that makes wine and wine-drinking possible in the first place, ever more variant types of people, who are located, in complex but patterned ways, across large swathes of the planet. Examining the sorts of social relationships that exist between all these different kinds of people involves attending to things that are cultural, economic, political and spatial in nature, or blends and hybrids of these. One might therefore more precisely define the globalization of wine as: *the increasing social, cultural, economic, political and spatial complexification across the planet of how wine is made, how it is distributed, how it is drunk, and what people think it means to them.*

The globalization of wine never involves just one single big process. Instead, wine globalization is made up of multiple processes, all overlapping and affecting each other, but not necessarily cohering or heading in any one unified direction. The globalization of wine is made up of clashing and contradictory processes, and it is precisely that which means things usually becoming more complicated over time. The globalization of wine is also always tied up in all sorts of ways with wider processes of globalization, themselves being social, cultural,

economic, political and spatial in nature. Wine globalization is strongly shaped by these factors and the ways in which they intertwine, as well as to some degree acting upon them in turn too.

There is of course no one accepted definition among scholars as to what ‘globalization’ is and involves, and which theoretical and empirical accounts of it should be deployed. Yet wine globalization is of far too great a complexity for the diverse processes involved in it to be adequately captured by any one theory or paradigm. Nonetheless, students of wine globalization have drawn, and in future can draw, on certain theoretical vocabularies so as to highlight and understand better the particular phenomena, forces and trends that they are particularly concerned with. Theoretical positions that have already been useful in this regard, or could be further utilised, include (in a non-exhaustive list):

- Marxist political-economic and neo-Marxist accounts of the globalization of neo-liberal economic ideas and practices (Harvey 2014), as well as world-systems analysis of core, semi-periphery and periphery of wine worlds (Wallerstein 2004).
- Understandings of, and attempts to model, the nature of global forms of complexity (Urry 2003).
- Geographic analysis of the construction and operation of diverse scales and levels of globalization, and the resulting forms of spatiality and positionality (Sheppard 2004).
- A focus on the interrelated processes of *de-territorialization* – involving a set of processes ‘in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding’ (Waters 1995: 3) – and *re-territorialization* – where locality and place once again become objects of political concern and motivating forces for action.
- A focus on the ‘stretching’ of social relations across vast distances, connecting different sorts of people in novel ways (Giddens 1990).

- Morally-engaged critique of trans-national practices which exploit humans and non-humans alike (Bauman 1998), and the creation of spiralling forms of anxiety and risk (Beck 2000).
- Analyses of trends towards global cultural homogenization (Seabrook 2004) and similarities of thought and practice in diverse locations, and counter-trends towards forms of resistance to perceived homogenization (Castells 2000), as well as dynamics involving increased cultural heterogenization and hybridization (Robertson 1992).
- Understanding the diffusion of globalized models, templates and ideas around the planet (Meyer 2010), as well as forms of adaptation and indigenization of them (Appadurai 1996).
- Culturalist accounts of the complex interplays between more ‘global’ and more ‘local’ phenomena, and how each of these constitutes the other, including through processes of glocalization (Robertson 1992), and ‘the loss of the “natural” relation of culture to geographical and social territories’ (Garcia-Canclini 1995: 107).
- Anthropological analyses of complicated forms of cultural ‘friction’ (Tsing 2005) and ‘imbrication’ (Demossier in this volume)

Returning to the schematic chain of actors pictured above, it is limited in at least two ways. It omits consideration of other sorts of human actors who are involved, as well as ignoring non-human ‘actants’. Wine is, after all, located in complicated ways between ‘nature’, agriculture and human culture(s). How it is made and sent around the world is always part of broader dynamics in the world agriculture industries (Alston and Pardey 2014). At the same time, wine is a *cultural* industry. Just like fashion, pop music and films, the wine world is centrally concerned with selling and marketing products, and with generating enough interest in those products among potential customers to shift them off the shelves. Whether a wine travels or not very strongly depends on whether conditions are right for its portability to generate profits

for different sorts of people. The factors involved here encompass phenomena as diverse as the costs of the wages of the labourers who pick the grapes (part of the global agricultural industry), through to the fees incurred in hiring designers to produce appealing labels on bottles (part of the global cultural industries). All these impact on how far, by what means, and eventually to whom, a wine will travel.

We suggest looking at these sorts of issues through some useful distinctions made by the American sociologist Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson (2004) (while acknowledging that not all scholars would agree with this conceptualisation). When we talk of the *wine world*, we primarily mean the sphere of wine *production*, which is made up of networks of all the different sorts of people who grow grapes and make and sell wines. When we refer to *wine culture*, we mean the sphere of wine *consumption*, encompassing what people do when they buy wine (to drink it, to store it, to have it as an investment in storage that they will never drink, etc.), and the various sorts of ideas and values which drive their buying of it. Finally, when we refer to the *wine field*, we refer to how people talk about, construe, debate, polemicise about and imagine wine, both in general and in terms of specified bottles, grapes, wineries, regions, nations, and suchlike. This is a field of competing and conflicting values and opinions. It mediates between the wine world and wine culture, as it shapes both what consumers consume and what producers produce. It is not only a field populated by people like professional critics and wine instructors, it is also made up of anyone who has an opinion about wine that is expressed publicly in one way or another, such as amateurs who go to wine-tastings, or people who blog about wine for fun.

Globalization processes have had and are having multiple effects on the wine world, the wine culture and the wine field. One could argue that today a wine world, a wine culture and a wine field exist which intersect with each other and are truly 'global' in scope, insofar as people in practically every part of the world are participants in them, and therefore are connected to each

other by virtue of being participants. Each of these domains crosses the globe, traversing and often troubling national and other borders. But they are complicated domains, in large part because nested within them are both *national* and *regional* (and sometimes *sub-regional* and perhaps even very *local*) wine worlds, cultures and fields. For example, the Médoc sub-regional world, culture and field are nested within their Bordeaux regional, French national and global equivalents. The more particular Médoc domains have their own specified logics, dynamics and concerns, which feed into their more regional, national and global counterparts in complex ways. At the same time, the forces and phenomena produced through, and operative within, the latter, come to impact upon the more specific Médoc domains in multiple ways.

We could therefore define wine globalization in this way: the *dialectics of 'local', 'sub-regional', 'regional', 'national' and 'global' wine worlds, cultures and fields*. The geographical terms are in inverted commas because they are not essences, even if much wine parlance presents them that way. Instead we should recognise at least two aspects of the (so-called) *'local', 'sub-regional', 'regional', 'national' and 'global'*: actors rhetorically construct and dispute these terms constantly; and each of these domains should be seen to co-constitute all the others, in multiple ways. One task of the wine-focused social scientist is to map out these multiple and complicated processes of co-constitution.

This is still a human-centred picture of wine-related matters. It omits the fact that in the production of wine there are more than just human actors, there are also - to use the terminology of Actor Network Theory – non-human ‘actants’ involved (Latour 2003). These also ‘make a difference’ to the totality of the processes that wine involves. The non-humans which need to be considered in order to give a more adequate picture of both wine and wine globalization include: the vines (and the scientific and technological labour that went into making them what they are); the grapes in their multiple forms and types; the pests that afflict grape crops; the insects and other animals that live in the vineyards; the weather and climate (including climate

change); the soil and other features of the wine growing terrain; the scientific knowledges and technological apparatuses, such as filtering mechanisms, used to transform grapes into viable juice, and juice into viable wine; the yeasts, ‘natural’ or ‘artificial’, which are necessary for fermentation; the winery buildings, including the scientific laboratories often found inside them today; the fermenting vats; the storage barrels; the additives, preservatives and stabilizers added to the wine, such as sulphites; the containers used for shipping, as well as the vehicles deployed for that purpose; the bottles and bags wine is sold in; the decanters, filters and glasses used to drink it, and various other non-human entities. All of these are just as much players in the ‘co-creation’ of wine-making and drinking, and therefore of wine globalization, as are the human actors involved.

A Note on *Terroir*

So important is the notion of *terroir* in wine-related thought, practice and politics today that a few remarks about the term are in order at this point. The notion that a wine must be the product of a given *terroir* strongly influences how people across the world today think about wine’s provenance (Parker 2015). Notions of *terroir* have spread across the world, especially over the last 40 years. The ubiquity and taken-for-granted nature today of *terroir* ideas across the world is itself a sign and product of globalization. The term was not used much in English language discussions of wine until 1980s, at which point its usage rose hugely (Matthews 2015: 148). There is now an ‘international cult of *terroir*’ (Hannickel 2013: 12).

The idea of *terroir* has a very long history in France, stretching back to the Renaissance period. But the cultural consecration and marketing of it is a 20th century phenomenon. Burgundy in the 1920s and 1930s can be argued to be a pioneering region, where intellectuals and journalists popularised *terroir* notions. They staged a new, media-savvy range of wine festivals, gastronomic fairs and newly-invented brotherhoods of the vine carrying out supposedly arcane

wine rituals at public events, which weaved together ‘natural resources, historical memory, marketing strategies and cultural performance’. These emphasised *terroir*’s ‘eternal, transcendent and metaphysical properties’ (Whalen 2009: 68, 76). The need to present this message on foreign markets was well understood (Whalen 2009: 95). So successful was this strategy, encompassing globally-aimed publicity and encouraging international tourism, that it was widely copied by other French regions, and then in wine-making regions around the world, where interested parties want to present to the world that their wines are expressions of *terroir* and a very particular sense of place (Crenn 2015).

This sort of marketing of wine can help to create a sense of a coherent ‘regional’ food culture, even if that is a fabrication which hides local political tensions as well as the possible presence of exploited minority ethnic labour and of globalized capitalist agribusiness (Peace 2006). Both visitors and the personnel on-site who handle them will in most cases be overwhelmingly of white ethnicity, testament to the highly ethnically-skewed nature of wine worlds and cultures across the world (Howland in this volume). Ideas of *terroir* are widely deployed in touristic wine promotion, and internationally recognisable words like ‘chateau’ and ‘domaine’ operate as reproducible signifiers, connoting that either the humblest or the most mass-market wineries are somehow part of a wider noble tradition (Gade 2004).

For social scientists sceptical of *terroir* claims, ‘reputation and tradition are constructed while helping to disguise the reality of social change’ (Demossier 1997: 56). Critics also allege that *terroir* ideas imply a kind of environmental determinism – somehow the earth ‘speaks’ through the wines. It then becomes potentially awkward for the wine-maker to describe their own role in the process. Are they just ‘mid-wives’, allowing the *terroir* to speak for itself? If so, how does one account for the fact that the wine-maker is actively involved in all sorts of ways in making the wine (Matthews 2015)? Wine marketing often relies on globally-spread *terroir* imagery, disguising the scientific and technical basis of most modern wine-making (Beverland

and Luxton 2005). According to some, *terroir* thinking is in fact mostly or wholly a marketing strategy (Laudan 2004). *Terroir* is a way of constructing the ‘local’ in order to circulate it globally and to accrue profit from it (Heath and Meneley 2007). *Terroir*-based marketing claims that the wine comes from an authentic rural idyll, rather than from the generic, highly industrialized and scientized environments it actually was made in (Beverland and Luxton 2005). As Demossier (2010: 210) trenchantly argues, wine-makers in all parts of the world can play ‘the local, traditional and natural cards even when they are almost entirely detached from their social environment, do not cultivate their land or do not even make the wine themselves’.

One outspoken critic of *terroir* ideas, Mark Matthews (2015), suggests that science and technology can trump *terroir*, such that almost identical wines can be made in radically different environments – which is precisely what advocates of *terroir* would vehemently deny. Conversely, Genevieve Teil (2012) argues that *terroir* is neither simply ‘real’ nor ‘fake’. It is a changing entity widely distributed among many wine-makers, an ongoing collective production provisional every year on collective actions by multiple people. The qualities of the wines are ‘the plural, diverse and relatively unpredictable result of a production process’ involving multiple actors across time (Teil 2012: 490). This may be a way for social scientists to look at *terroir* which avoids buying into one side or the other in the deeply polarised debates that go on across the world.

We can also say that ‘globalization’ and ‘terroir’ are not necessarily diametric opposites, even if highly politicised rhetoric in wine fields often constructs things that way. When people in a particular place worry that the wines made there may lose their special *terroir*-based characteristics, as wine production becomes seemingly ever more ‘globalized’, what they will most likely not be fully aware of is that it was already as a result of globalizing forces that the very notion that wines in that place express a *terroir* will have arrived in that location in the

first place. Paradoxically, at a time when the French branch of the wine world seems to be under threat and in a state of crisis apparently like never before, because of the forces of ‘globalization’, at the same time the globalized wine world is thoroughly underpinned and animated by originally French ideas about what wine is, and how it should be made, sold and enjoyed (Demossier 2010).

Some Trends and Dynamics

As will be noted in Chapter 2, wine globalization in our view should be understood in light of consideration of long-term processes. There are good reasons for claiming that, up until the 18th century CE, wine involved certain *proto*-globalization processes, but it was not until the 18th or 19th centuries that one can really speak of ‘wine globalization’ proper beginning. Regardless of such periodizations, one can certainly say wine and its globalization have clearly become much more complex over the last 40 years or so, mirroring much wider trends towards global complexity (Urry 2003). Since the 1970s and (especially) 1980s, a series of new developments occurred, consideration of which captures much (but not all) of what might reasonably be characterised as ‘wine globalization’ in a strong sense of that phrase.

If we firstly consider changing patterns of wine production, trade and export, we can see that the wine world was still very centred on Europe as recently as the 1960s, with France and Italy predominating, both in terms of production levels and of prestige. As wine production everywhere has since then shifted from a focus on pure volume to higher quality levels, the total amount of production across the world has dropped. In terms of the volume of wine production per million US Dollars of real GDP globally, there has been a downward movement from 3.6 litres in 1950, to 2.1 in 1970, 1.0 in 1990 and 0.4 litres in 2014 (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). In the middle half of the 19th century, France, Italy and Spain produced more than three

quarters of global production. It was not until 2006 that their share fell below 50%, being affected by massively increased production in the New World (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). Most wine made until the 1960s was consumed relatively close to its geographical source. More than half of the total global wine export trade in the period immediately after WWII was comprised of cheap Algerian imports into France (Veseth 2012). The trend share of global wine production that was exported from the country of origin remained flat at about one-eighth across the first six or seven decades of the 20th century (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). Only circa 10% of total wine production by volume was traded internationally in the 1960s. The corresponding figure was still less than 15% by 1990 (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). That figure had risen to 25% by 2001. From the late 1980s through to the early 2000s, the international wine trade nearly doubled in size. The share of wine production that was exported grew more rapidly in the New World than the Old. For the big producing countries of Europe (France, Italy, Spain), the ratio of the volume of exports as a percentage of total production rose from 20% in the late 1980s to 33% in the early 2000s, while the corresponding figure for New World countries went up in the same period from 3% to 20% (Anderson 2003, Anderson et al 2004).

The take-off of New World exports started in the late 1980s, and then accelerated in the 1990s. Having accounted for less than 9% of the value of global wine exports before 1990, the New World's share rose to 37% in the first decade after 2000, before reaching a plateau in the second decade (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). By 2006, Australia exported half of its total wine production, while France exported one quarter (Duncan and Greenaway 2008). By 2012, the annual volume of wine traded internationally was about 24% of total world production. Much of that trade was over relatively short distances (e.g. from Italy to France). The New World countries accounted for 30% of wine exports by volume, while Italy, Spain, France, Germany and Portugal made up most of the remaining 70% (Smith et al 2013). Spain and Chile have the

highest level of exports per capita today, while Argentina and South Africa have dramatically increased export levels over the last few decades (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). There has been a major trend over time towards convergence between Old and New Worlds in terms of both production levels and consumption per capita (Anderson and Pinilla 2018).

Export trends have been very much bound up with changing patterns of drinking among consumers. The top 7 wine consuming countries accounted for 77% of total wine consumption in the period 1959-63, but this dropped to 61% in the period 2009-13, indicating a wider spread of countries consuming ever larger proportions of the global total (Anderson and Pinilla 2018).

Another very general trend since the 1970s, with particularly marked ramifications in the Old World, has been a decline in wine-drinking in producer countries. In Western Europe, the volume of alcohol, including wine, consumed fell steadily after 1990. This has forced Old World producers to seek more value from export markets. Across all countries there was a marked trend away from old-fashioned local and regional *vin ordinaire* table wines, and towards consumption of 'premium' wines, with more of the latter than the former being consumed across the board by the mid-2000s (Smith et al 2013). With higher average income levels, the level of expenditure per bottle increased, as consumers in Europe especially raised the quality level of their purchases (Anderson and Pinilla 2018).

There have been rises in consumption in non-wine-producing countries (or those with very small local wine industries, such as Denmark), but mostly from very low starting points (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). The biggest percentage-rate rises of levels of national wine consumption in Europe between 1970 and 2010 were as follows: Ireland (+960%), Finland (+573%), UK (+566%), and Denmark (+323%). The biggest falls in consumption in the same period were in wine-producing countries: Italy (-61%), France (-53%), Spain (-54%), and Portugal (-30%) (Smith et al 2013). At the same time, the fastest growing market for wine was

China, undergoing an unprecedented economic boom and a concomitant forging of a new conspicuous consumption-driven elite and a broader upper- and middle-middle class (Smart 2004, Smith et al 2013; Capitello et al 2016; for detailed discussion of China, see Ho and Kjellgren, both in this volume).

In all Developed World countries where the mass drinking of wine was a new phenomenon, there was a high correlation between wine consumption and social level, as measured by level of education. In European wine-producing countries, declining consumption was strongly connected to the shrinking of the 'old' working class, through de-industrialisation processes destroying employment in heavy industries, and the decreasing role of agricultural work in the economy. It became less common and less socially approved to drink wine during the working day, while national governments enacted ever stricter rules on drunk-driving, while highlighting health concerns to do with alcohol consumption (Lukacs 2012). Even in France, which both French people and foreigners have imagined as a bastion of everyday wine consumption, consumption levels of all types of alcohol fell from the 1970s onwards, with a marked shift away from wine to mass-market beer and branded spirits, and away from the old-style anonymous table wines towards branded products (Sulkunen 1989).

By contrast, in the UK, Ireland and other parts of north-west Europe including the Nordic countries, the drinking of branded, often New World wines developed greatly in the 1980s and onwards, due a range of factors. This included the rise of aspirational Thatcherite and post-Thatcherite middle classes, and their newly-developed orientation to buy wine in supermarkets and drink it in the booming restaurant market (Anderson et al 2004).

While the UK has for centuries been an important consumer of premium wines, especially from Bordeaux, it accounted for under 1% of global wine sales before the early 1970s (Anderson and Pinilla 2018). There had been a rise in wine consumption in the UK in the later 19th century, but that had fallen before WWI to the same level as at time of the Napoleonic wars. This was

less to do with tariffs on imports blocking consumption, and more to do with the fact that the amount and quality of wine being imported could not keep pace with the consistency of the supply chains for other mass-market branded comestibles, such as chocolate and tea (Simpson 2011). But in the 1980s there became available a steady supply of palatable and cheap mass-market wines from the New World. By the early 2000s, one could say that ‘more of the world’s wines [were] ... available in the UK than any other country’ (Stening et al 2004: 136). By the 2010s, the British consumed 5% of total world wine production by volume, but 17% of all world wine imports, the highest proportion in the world, followed by consumers in Germany and the US. The UK was also responsible for a massive 20% of the total money spent per year in international wine exchanges (Veseth 2012: 53).

In North America, wine became a fashionable interest in the 1980s and 1990s for higher fractions within the broad ‘middle class’ (Pinney 2005). Across the Developed World, there was the rise of what Demossier (2010) calls the ‘wandering drinkers’, who increasingly supplanted in importance the old-style upper bourgeois drinker with unchanging tastes (as in the British case, for example, for styles and regions like claret and Port). These new entrants were middle class people, especially younger ones, with disposable income, often working in service jobs in the neo-liberal economy, with interests in trying out new alcoholic drinks, and having no strong affiliations to any particular wine style or region. Capturing their attention, as well as supplying a mass market of less adventurous consumers who would buy basic table wines from supermarkets, became an important part of wine marketing in the 1990s and after. That in turn had important effects on which wines were made, in which styles, and where they were made. Many of these newer consumers were female, in white-collar work, and equipped with disposable income, and wine marketing increasingly targeted the growing female market (Stening et al 2004; for wine and gender, see Almila in this volume).

In a strongly neo-liberal economic situation, massive disparities in wealth are created, with a small group of super-rich at the top, who vastly surpass in buying power more ordinary middle-class drinkers. Particularly since the 1980s, the use of wines from prestigious regions – pre-eminently Bordeaux but also areas such as Burgundy, Tuscany and parts of Northern California – as investments by the very wealthy have grown apace, a trend magnified by the entrance of Chinese buyers into the game from the early 2000s. As prices in both classic regions of the Old World and prestigious parts of the New World have gone up, in some cases astronomically, more demand has arisen for the development of ‘new’ regions that will produce wine that large numbers of more modestly-endowed middle-class drinkers can access. For example, the rapid renaissance of regions in northern Spain and southern Italy, now producing mid-market wines aimed at international audiences rather than the *vin ordinaire* of the past, which only would have been consumed locally, is a consequence of, and further contributing factor to, these global market dynamics (Lukacs 2012). An indicator of the degree to which people all across the world now drink the same sorts of wines is that 12 to 14 percent alcohol volume is today standard pretty much everywhere across the wine-producing regions of the world – although some areas, such as Germany and Alsace, specialise in lower alcohol white wines, reaching certain niche markets of consumers, including the apparently ‘health-conscious’ (Nossiter 2009: 22).

The Rest of the Book...

The various chapters in this book unpick and go into more detail on all the issues mentioned above. The complexity of wine globalization issues means that it is not enough to approach them from the viewpoint of any one theoretical perspective or academic discipline – which is why the definitions of wine globalization offered above are deliberately general and open to varying forms of operationalisation. Throughout this book, chapter authors draw on a range of

disciplinary sources, such as sociology, anthropology, geography, and history, among others, seeking to develop more comprehensive accounts of how wine globalization works in practice. Each chapter seeks to do more than just report on particular conditions in some part of the world where wine is made, sold or drunk, although that is obviously fascinating and worthwhile in itself. They also seek to show how broader globalization processes are at work in such locations, as well as suggesting how consideration of particularities may refine or change our understandings of those wider dynamics. Moreover, chapters have been designed to represent a variety of interconnected locations – physical and symbolic – across wine worlds, cultures and fields. These include both Old and New Worlds, both ‘classic’ (e.g. Bordeaux, Burgundy) and ‘emerging’ (e.g. Peru, Republic of Macedonia, North Carolina) regions, both well-established (e.g. European capital cities) and novel (e.g. Hong Kong, China) places and spaces of intermediation and consumption. Authors draw out wider implications, and draw upon and sometimes modify existing models, while their empirical data provide the reader with the opportunity to compare the reported contexts with other locations they may know about.

Chapter 2, by David Inglis, provides background and contextualisation for the later chapters, by concentrating on some of the major and general dynamics of wine globalization, as these have occurred both historically and more recently. In Chapter 3, echoing Inglis’ approach, Marion Demossier discusses the interrelatedness of more local and more global narratives in Burgundy, arguing that there is a global hierarchy of values that each wine-making location must define itself through, and analysing the struggles in and through which different groups of wine professionals redefine themselves and their region in the world wine market.

The next two chapters raise broader issues to do with emerging (or re-emerging) wine-producing regions. In Chapter 4, Ian Taplin discusses the case of wine-making in North Carolina. During recent decades actors in the region have managed to (re)establish it using thoroughly transnational means, such as deploying knowledges taken from more established

regions, planting globally-known grape varieties and hybrids, starting wine education programmes, establishing a local *appellation*, and promoting wine tourism, in so doing creating a new and viable form of local 'authenticity'. In Chapter 5, Justin Otten discusses the Republic of Macedonia, a location with a long history of wine-making through the times of the Roman and Ottoman empires, the Communist era, the period of the post-Communist privatisation of market, and now candidacy for EU membership. The Macedonian case illustrates certain trends typical of the former Communist Bloc as a whole, while it also displays some dynamics particular to that country itself. Partly despite politics and partly because of them, the country has begun to be established as a producer of more than just cheap bulk wines. A range of globalized strategies have also been involved here, as in North Carolina, such as planting internationally-known varieties, and realising the potential value of indigenous grapes for discerning foreign consumers. Yet the country's wine world still struggles for various more localised and more globalized reasons.

Other chapters consider the forms of global connectivity that stretch across and into geographically disparate parts of the globe. In Chapter 6, Pierre-Marie Chauvin sets out how a reputation system for wines operates in one of the most prestigious regions in the world, namely Bordeaux, arguing that globalization processes have been involved in the creation of that system for a considerable time. Already the famous 1855 classification of elite producers was a production of both French and international actors, created in large part for international marketing purposes. All elements of the reputation system, such as classifications, grades, prices and wine-maker signatures, are globalized, and trans-national factors are crucial in the system's operations. With current changes in the region, such as new owners with no previous wine-making skills, new actors have emerged, notably trans-nationally operative wine consultants, whose signature has emerged as an alternative currency instead of the reputation of traditional wine-making families. Chinese money has radically changed aspects of Bordeaux

recently, and in Chapter 7 Björn Kjellgren describes how China has become a major global wine actor, not only in terms of consumption, but also in terms of actual grape-growing and wine-making. He recognises the long history of these in China (Li et al 2018), as well as more recent developments in importing wine and the great influence that French wine-making has had on China's wine culture today. Local wine-makers often struggle to find a coherent identity for selling their products, but nonetheless can tap into various globalized imageries, involving symbolism of urban cosmopolitanism, Chinese heritage and Bordeaux-style heritage. This is a combination of perceived tradition and aspirational modernity that can be found in different ways across the globe today. One of major ways that finer wines, including those from Bordeaux, reach Chinese buyers and consumers, is through wine auctions in the intermediary location of Hong Kong. This is Hang Kei Ho's focus in Chapter 8, who reflects on the focus of the globalized fine wine trade over the last two decades increasingly moving towards Asia. There have been elaborate governmental efforts to support the development of wine retailing in Hong Kong, focused on investment, trade and tourism. Hong Kong wine events today are globalized in multiple ways. While running a wine business in Hong Kong can be challenging, involving all sorts of intermediaries and complicating factors, the distinctive wine world and culture there is attracting many new kinds of entrant, at the same time as cultural transformations are at work that legitimise wine drinking and wine knowledge as valued forms of cultural capital. One should also note here the apparently very high levels of wine fraud in Hong Kong, with rich buyers being sold fake versions of grand wines from Bordeaux and other classic regions (Chan 2017).

Issues of cultural capital, cultural legitimisation, cultural intermediaries, and old and new middle-class consumers are all crucial aspects of wine worlds, cultures and fields today, and they are elaborated upon by Peter J. Howland, Jennifer Smith Maguire and Anna-Mari Almila

in Chapters 9, 10 and 11 respectively. Howland discusses globalized middle-class tastes in wine, and how they operate in and through the burgeoning area of wine tourism. He argues that such tastes are not in any simple sense universal, but rather are simultaneously hybridized and globalized. While there is a certain sense of adventure involved when exploring new wine-making regions, there is also a sense of trans-national recognisability: vineyards opened for visitors seem to be similar everywhere, and run along similar lines, which creates a sense of familiarity and safety for the affluent wine tourist. Howland argues that a globalized system of influences – encompassing multiple media, commentators, websites, and events – has created a complexly globalized wine culture that traverses the whole of the Developed World. Smith Maguire raises similar sorts of issues, but this time with reference to how the socio-cultural legitimacy and prestige of ‘natural’ wines has been created by the evoking of symbols of purity, heritage, genuineness and *terroir*. She argues that the rise of more ‘omnivorous’ cultural dispositions among middle-class consumers in multiple locations have helped the spread and legitimization of ‘natural’ wines. She recognises the important role of influencers in the globalized wine field, such as wine critics and journalists writing for wine magazines, in promoting this new category of wines. She discerns a certain level of democratization of both wine production (enabling production in new or hitherto less prestigious areas, often by novel sorts of wine-makers) and wine consumption (opening-up access to complex wines to consumers who were previously scared off by more traditional ways of appreciating wine). ‘Natural’ wines are particularly appealing for those have more cultural than economic resources, especially younger, hipper drinkers in big city locations around the Developed World. These new consumers are helping to develop broader definitions of wines’ provenance, possibly in the direction of ‘post-terroir’ sensibilities. The influence of cultural intermediaries on patterns of wine consumption is also taken up by Anna-Mari Almila. While the globalized idea of the sommelier today is still primarily ‘male and pale’, by focusing on the entry of more

women into the traditionally male-dominated profession of sommelier, Almila both considers the mutating nature of this influential wine profession, and points to more general issues about the highly gendered nature of wine in national and trans-national contexts. Wine globalization processes have created opportunities for women to participate, often for the first time, in all sorts of wine-related work, and has also allowed for different types of mobilities, both social and geographic. While research has been carried out on female wine-makers (Matasar 2006), women in other wine related professions remain under-explored, a gap which Almila's chapter starts to fill.

Each of the chapters that follow has, as it were, its own distinctive nose, bouquet and body, while resonating with and illuminating each other. None are, we believe, 'dry' in the academic sense of the word. All reveal themselves beautifully, in so doing illustrating and interrogating many fascinating aspects of the globalization of wine. We trust that the reader will enjoy what each has to offer, perhaps accompanied by a good glass of something or other, drawn from the multiple and manifold wine options that the world offers at the present time.

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