BACCHUS ON TOUR

TASTING WINE AND SENSING PLACE

JOHN CLARIDGE

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the

Discipline of Anthropology

Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences

University of Adelaide

November 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES (APPENDIX)

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF MAPS

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the meaning of tourism in relation to the globalisation of the wine industry and the significance of places, in particular, wine tours and tasting in South Australia. Tourism and travel are market sectors worth approximately 10% of world GNP in 2007/8 and from an economic and marketing perspective, tourism and wine tasting can prima facie be conceptualised as a form of consumption. However, as I argue in this thesis the leisure and appeal of a holiday, or a day out visiting wineries are more than simply an enjoyable form of relaxed socio-economic consumption. I argue that wine tasting and tourism are sensually based leisure practices and learning experiences. The analysis of wine tourism, festive events and wine tasting in South Australia is structured in relation to the tourist's experience of a wine place, the cultural invention of standards surrounding taste, and the tourist's movement through time and space during a wine tour. This methodological and theoretical approach acknowledges the significance of place in creating tourist experiences, as Casey observes: "The world comes bedecked in places; it is a place-world to begin with" (1996:43). Fieldwork included tasting events and coach and private tours to wine regions in the Barossa Valley, Adelaide Hills, McLaren Vale, and wineries, such as Banrock Wine and Wetlands Centre, 200 kilometres north of Adelaide, South Australia's capital. Fieldwork also included a period in New Zealand, studying the learning experiences of international tourists when working as cellar hands at a major wine processing plant.

I examine how tourist sites in South Australian wine regions are place-worlds, and draw upon Stoller (1989, 1997), and Feld and Basso's (1996) emphasis on a sensuous anthropology in analysing how wine tourism is an experiential form of encultured sensual practice. Central to the problematic of unravelling why and how tourists value and desire (Graeber 2001, Kluckhohn 1951) their leisure experiences in South Australia is the signification and media promotion of wineries and their products as naturalised environments, independent of their physical and symbolic creation by tourists, tour guides and the wine industry. I argue that marketing, brand building, tourism and wine tasting events are neo-totemic. From a marketing perspective totemic branding denotes and classifies what is valuable and thus desirable in relation to the corresponding cultural construction of social difference and similarity (Lien 1997: 240; Moeran 1996; Barthes 1967; 2000: 58). The problem is to conceptualise the pleasure of wine tasting and the creation of wine and leisure places as not only market driven economic activities, but as well, emplaced sensual experiences for tourists and culinary consumers.

DECLARATION

NAME: ***John Claridge*** ***PROGRAM: PhD (Anthropology)***

This work contains no material for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

I also give consent for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library catalogue, the Australian Digital Thesis Program (ADTP) and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

SIGNED: _____ ***DATE:*** _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Possessed, ecstatic, he leads their happy cries;
The earth flows with milk, flows with wine,
Flows with nectar of bees;
The air is thick with a scent of Syrian myrrh.
Euripides, *The Bacchae* (1974: lines 144-147)

I acknowledge those people who shared a convivial glass of wine, or exchanged ideas with me, for their participation, however subtly into my research to understand the anthropology of wine, learning, food, place, tourism, and the sensate body. Adelaide University provided a scholarship to cover its fees and the Anthropology Department provided an initial postgraduate grant for fieldwork. I would like to thank Professor John Gray and Sharon Lewis for their administrative help; and Dr Alison Dundon, and co-supervisor Dr Michael Wilmore for their academic advice and editing, while my principal supervisor Ade Peace, was on leave of absence. Of course, without Ade's faith in my research, editing skills and decisive candor, my thesis might still be on the ~~l~~ees", fermenting.

I am in debt to Helen, my sister, for her kindness in helping with transport; my brother, Lee for coming up with a computer; and Andrew for his technical wizardry when the old ones expired. My Mother's generous financial help and companionship on several wine tours and festive dinners helped enliven and ensure the success of my research. Imelda Awine helped with childcare, and my children Shane, Sean and Sheena put up with my extended sojourns into the country to earn an income and carry out fieldwork. Lastly, I must thank my dear friend and partner Susann, for her financial help, encouragement, and dialogues about phenomenology, wine and workplace learning. While this thesis is dedicated to my children, I would advise them to think twice before writing a thesis, or at least to have a good wine cellar and a Cuban cigar, to help inspire when writing at 2am!

CHAPTER ONE

SOUTH AUSTRALIA – THE WINE STATE

Whether it's a fresh, citrussy Riesling from the
Clare Valley or a full-bodied Shiraz from the Barossa,
South Australian wines are renowned throughout the world.
(*South Australian Secrets*, 2002: 10)[1]

Tourism is either on its way to becoming the world's largest
industry, or it has arrived, depending on who you read.
(Lippard, 1999: x)

1.1 INTRODUCTION: TASTING WINE, SENSING PLACES

This thesis aims to elucidate how wine tourism and wine consumption are not only major economic activities for the state of South Australia but how they also provide a sensual and social journey that expands a tourist's perception and understanding of a wine place. In combination, the wine and tourism industries dominate South Australia's economy. At the end of the financial year (June 2009), expenditure on travel and tourism was $4.9 billion and South Australia attracted 347,000 international visitors (Tourism Research Fact Sheet, 2009). In 2006/7, there were an estimated 565,000 domestic day trips to a wine region and 116,000 international travelers made an overnight stay in relation to wine tourism in South Australia (Wine Tourism Fact Sheet: 2007). As the "wine state" or more recently, "South Australia: a brilliant blend", titles that the government promotes[2], Mitchell's observation is still pertinent for ethnographic research in this area: "Despite the proliferation within popular literature, wine magazines, tour guides, wine travel books, web sites, etc, little academic work has been done to describe or conceptualise the essence of wine tourism experience" (1999: 96).[3] For eighteen months from late 2003 to 2005, and for three months in 2008, I carried out fieldwork in this economic sector studying the socio-economic and symbolic significance of wine tourism and tasting. A major source of ethnographic data

[1] This quote is from a 180-page Tourism Commission booklet that details the states wine areas and free for tourists and local residents.
[2] In 2008-9 South Australia produced 519 million litres of wine, or 44% of Australia's total with a Gross Wine Revenue of $2.2 billion, exporting $1.4 billion in wine or 60% of Australia's total, and 17% of State goods (South Australia: A brilliant blend, 2010).
[3] Some recent publications from associated academic disciplines include, Poitras (2006), Charters et al (2009).

comprised coach and private tours of wineries in South Australia. This thesis concentrates on analysing the socio-economic and sensual meanings of wine consumption in South Australia in relation to the rituals of tourism in wine regions, including the Barossa Valley, and the McLaren Vale. This also includes a study of the enculturation of wine places with meaning and the relationships and roles between wine visitor-consumer, cellar door staff and tour guides.

The analysis of wine tourism and wine coach tours is structured in relation to the tourist's experience of a wine place, the cultural invention of standards surrounding taste, and the tourist's movement through time and space during a wine tour. In studying the experiences of wine tourists and the related rituals of wine appreciation and consumption, I refer to the pleasure of wine tourism, deriving from its reality as a spatiotemporal activity. Rojek and Urry argue that:

> Issues of time and space are central to contemporary social analysis. But such a claim about the timed and spaced character of social phenomena forces us to confront how and in what ways we sense such phenomena. What senses are involved in the perception, interpretation, appreciation and denigration of other spaces? How do we sense what other places are like? How do senses work across space? How are other times remembered (1997: 5).

Wine tourism is therefore structured in relation to the space of a given wine region, the roads travelled by coach tours, the design of wineries, tourist displays and their vineyards, the temporal routines of the day, and the sensual experiences of eating and drinking. In this thesis I focus on the daily tour around a wine region and the discourses about winemaking tradition and regional culture that this involves.

In investigating what a wine place is, how it is given meaning, talked about and remembered by the tourist, this thesis examines wine tourism in South Australia in terms of three interrelated themes. Firstly, the meanings of a wine tour, tasting session and participation in tourist activities such as lunch in a wine place, as an enjoyable leisure pursuit and sensual experience. This includes narrative practices such as wine tour discourses, and social interactions amongst tour participants and commentary about the wine tasted. Furthermore, wine tours and tasting sessions draw upon previous discursive exchanges, sensual memories and invoke synesthesia. Sutton says:

> I argue that food's memory power derives in part from synesthesia, which I take to mean the synthesis or crossing of experiences from different sensory registers (i.e., taste, smell, and hearing) (2001:17).

Secondly, the role that wine tours and tasting play in helping create and market ideas about ~~"n~~atural" wine landscapes and places, and traditions of winemaking in South Australia. Thirdly, the existence of wine tours and wine tourism as a global commodity that utilises performative rituals, learning practices, marketing discourses and economic relationships between wine and food consumers and producers.[4]

Hall and Macionis define wine tourism as:

> … a visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals, and wine shows for which grape wine tasting and/ or experiencing the attributes of a grape wine region are the motivating factors for visitors (1997:197).

I argue that a definition of wine tourism should also address the global nature of the wine tourism market, the transitory nature of wine tours, and a tourist's sensual apprehension of a wine place. Regional wine areas are distinguished not just by their wineries, but by a sense of rural heritage, the presence of local people and the aesthetic qualities of its landscape and buildings. Hall and Macionis use marketing ideas, ~~"m~~otivating factors" (ibid) to explain the significance of wine tourism. Wine tourism is therefore understood as a form of commodity, ~~"a~~ process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a contest of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services)" (Cohen 1988:380, cf. Appadurai 1986).

The point is that wine tourism can be interpreted at one level as a form of economic exchange, but on another level it is a social phenomenon in its own right because it delineates the significance of cultural activity, of touring wine regions and tasting wine in specific places at a given time. Sahlins says that, ~~"C~~ultures are meaningful orders of persons and things" (1976: viii). In this thesis I analyse tourism and tours of wine regions as meaningful activities in their own right and expand the discussion so that it is inclusive of a

[4] For the most part, wine consumption may also refer to food consumption, as tasting wine at a winery may also involve eating lunch there or eating cheese or crackers or bread, or if traveling privately stopping to eat a packed lunch.

phenomenological viewpoint. This approach acknowledges that culture is embodied and that, "There is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it" (Casey, 1996:18).

Craik says:

> The tourism industry, itself, after some initial hesitation, has pounced on the cultivation of tourism as a cultural commodity and phenomenon with considerable enthusiasm, prompted by new opportunities to package and market its product and to entice new markets (1997:135).

At the beginning of this research, I attended a six-week course entitled "Understanding Wine" held by The Wine and Brandy Corporation, representing the wine industry and the South Australian government and an intensive seminar presented by two wine makers from Hardy's wine company at the National Wine Centre, providing a tasting overview of premium sparkling and French champagne. The National wine centre is centrally located near Adelaide's Central Business district and a short walk from several places of cultural significance, including the Botanic gardens, Adelaide University and Rundle Mall, a major shopping area (see Map 4.6). The champagne evening attracted many pre-Christmas, and enthusiastic middle class participants who portrayed themselves as wine savants, willing to pay premium prices for sparkling wine.

As a novice to the world of wine appreciation, the courses were revelatory, not only because it explained the basics of red, white and fortified wine evaluation but that the discourses used were noticeably structured and formalised. A look at a glass of wine, smell of its bouquet and a sip of its beverage became a ritual act, discursively guided by, acknowledged, and approved by the wine teacher. The question during my subsequent wine touring and tasting fieldwork was to relate the discourse, tasting experience and ritual involved to the enchantment present at such occasions - why is a sip of Grange produced by Penfolds in South Australia, arguably one of Australia's most prestigious wine brands, or visit to a winery, special? For me, this question is approached not only as a reflection of what it means to have an enjoyable day out touring or having lunch at a winery, but also the way in which other people, family, friends, cellar door hosts and tour guides, enliven and give meaning to the experience.

The opinions and discursive exchanges between tour guides and tourists, or the discourse between local cellar door hosts and tourists, or the talk between global travelers and consumers, are central to the conceptualisation of this study. Giddens says:

> In other words, one of the most distinctive features of the contemporary period is the burgeoning of complex ties between the global and the local, where the ‗local' includes not just the regional locality but intimate aspects of our personal lives (1994: xii).

Such ties are actively pursued by the wine industry. Wineries, industries and government bodies market not only their wine but also the uniqueness and tradition of their winemaking, cellar door, surrounding landscape, artistic and promotional objects for sale and regional identity. In this dissertation, I therefore discuss how a winery creates both a sensuous atmosphere and semiotic vision. I am concerned with the signs and the markers that define and give meaning to physical objects and ideas encountered, by manipulating representations about its wine and the winery as a place, to the tourist. Baudrillard states this succinctly: ―Any analysis of the system of objects must ultimately imply an analysis of discourse about objects – that is to say, an analysis of promotional ‗messages' (comprising image and discourse)" (1996: 164). In relation to ―the local", I therefore examine how different wineries, wine products and wine regions in South Australia were demarcated, represented and promoted to a global audience.

The Barossa Valley and McLaren Vale wine regions, respectively 40 and 60 kilometres north and south of Adelaide, South Australia's capital, are delineated both sensuously and metaphorically in space and through time. By ―sensuous" I refer to the discursive apprehension and visceral experience - the taste, smell, view, touch and talk (such as a tour guides commentary) - of a wine tour or tasting session. The significance I attach to the sense related aspects of wine tourism parallels Stoller's emphasis on the value of a sensually based ethnography, and his criticism that, ―anthropology has become more and more scientistic. Vivid descriptions of the sensoria of ethnographic situations have been largely overshadowed by a dry, analytical prose" (1989:8).

Tourism and foodways events are transformative (Turner, 1969:25). Visiting a winery is ―moving" as wine tourists not only move from the ―known to the unknown" (Nisbett ibid), from their house or hotel to another place, but also vary their lived experience of a wine place during the period of a wine tour. Britton argues that: ―Tourism is one of the most

important elements in the shaping of popular consciousness of places and in determining the creation of social images of those places" (1991:476). The ideas and images that a tourist or wine consumer have about a particular wine or winery are therefore "transformed" during the consumption and accumulation of new wine and food tasting experiences, wineries visited, and the knowledge gained about a winery and wine region.

Casey argues that: "The world comes bedecked in places; it is a place-world to begin with" (1996:43). In regard to the world of wine places in South Australia, the questions that continually presented themselves during my fieldwork and which I address in this dissertation are: (1) In what way are these wine places sensed and culturally created? (2) How are the tastes, smells and discourses about wine and food marketed? (3) Finally, to what extent are the pleasures and social interactions of wine tourism a business as well as a sensual reality? The questions give rise to the crux of the problem: how, or in what way, are wine places and tour experiences a socio-economic phenomena, and a bio-sensual experience? How and in what ways stimulating leisure experiences that are involved with tourism and travel, such as eating breakfast at Adelaide's bustling central market behind Adelaide/s Hilton hotel, listening to jazz at Penny's Hill cellar door, relaxing in a spa at a Bed and Breakfast accommodation in the Barossa Valley, be conceptualised as both sensual and socio-economic experiences of place?

On the one hand, tourism and wine consumption are sectors of the market economy; on the other hand, the smells and tastes of wine and food, or views and discourses about wine landscapes, and art for sale in a winery, are also embodied experiences. Tourism and wine tasting are meaningful as they are emplaced socioeconomic practices. In relation to global manufacturing Lien says: "During fieldwork it soon became clear that the construction of food products in the making is more than an elaboration of meaning. It involves a construction of materiality as well" (1997:13).

In this thesis I argue that South Australian wine tours, the marketing of winery and region, and a tourist's experience of wine places are distinguished and have specific discourses in relation to the imputed tastes, or peculiarities of a particular brand, and wine making practice. Specific discourses relating to South Australian wine regions are expressed during conducted tours and tasting sessions, and in secondary literature such as tasting notes and books about South Australian wine. Discussing my fieldwork sites also indicates the tasting regimes, promotional images, objects (Baudrillard 1996:164), and discourses that quantify

the cultural values, and economic status that encase and define different tourist sites, wineries, and their wine brands in South Australia. Crang says:

> The production and consumption of tourism are fundamentally ‗geographical' processes'. At their heart are constructions of and relationships with places and spaces. These places include destinations, which are differentiated through processes of social and spatial distinction and symbolically and materially restructured through their incorporation within economies of taste (1997:143).

The spatial distribution of tourist sites and wine places in South Australia are reflective of their incorporation within "economies of taste". Wine and tourist sites, such as Banrock and Penfolds can be compared to the reconstructed town of colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, USA. Parmentier points out that Williamsburg embodies a phenomenological and semiotic hierarchy of access corresponding to the social class and hierarchy of 18th century society. Likewise, in the physical layout of wine places, there are variable admission costs and graded access to their displays. A differential access helps order the historical understanding and meaning that visitors make of tourist sites:

> Colonial Williamsburg does not put forth a decontextualized ideology about "history" in general. Its interlocking signs work to structure possible interpretations of the site for visitors at the site itself; its semiotic regimentation is, in other words, indexically anchored (1997:142).

Wine sites too are "indexically anchored", such that signs, including brochures, and information boards transmit messages as to what visitors should make of wine cellars and wine regions. As I detail in this thesis, billboards, advertising pamphlets, tour routes and guides' discourses structure possible interpretations of the meaning and history of a wine place. As Trubek says in relation to the invention and social aura surrounding French Champagne: "This was done with the creation of aristocratic genealogies and myths of patrimony, linking the drink, the place and the producers to a storied past" (2008:25).

The consumption of wine tourism in South Australia is a spatial activity, with several different wine regions located in the state (Maps 1.1, 1.2). Wine regions and wineries are distinguished by various means, including regional food, art, music and annual wine festivals, and local identities such as Maggie Beer, famous for her Barossa Valley based culinary skills and use of local wine and food. Wine regions range from the cool Adelaide

Hills region, twenty kilometres east of the City of Adelaide to the southern sunlit coastal regions of the McLaren Vale, Southern Fleurieu, Currency Creek, and Langhorne Creek. Approximately 400 kilometres south-east, the wine tourist encounters the Limestone Coast and Coonawarra wine regions, famous for the underlying limestone which influences the taste and quality of their wines such as Cabernet Sauvignon. Approximately 60 kilometres north of Adelaide is the comparatively warm and moderate climate of the Barossa Valley. The Clare Valley is an hour and half drive north of Adelaide while further northeast is the warmer Riverland region on the Murray River.

MAP 1.1 Field Site, South Australia.

Source: (Google, Australia 2011). Fieldwork was carried out in South Australia (SA) and in the Marlborough wine region of New Zealand-across the Tasman Sea (see Map 4.7). Red dot is the City of Adelaide-base of field operations.

NOTE:
This map is included on page 8 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

MAP 1.2 South Australian Wine Regions

Source: (Wineweb 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 9 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WINE TOURISM

1.2.1 Global Trade and Local Places

In South Australia wine production and wine tourism have become the major arteries along with other industries for South Australia's political economy, connecting a geographically isolated First World economy with both Old World and New World markets. But, on December 31, 2005, the front page of *The Advertiser,* the only daily newspaper in South Australia, carried the headline:

> Vine pull move in crisis: CRUSHED (sic). Desperate grape growers in the state's biggest wine producing region are now seriously considering a mass vine pull of less popular varieties - the state's first since the mid-1980s. Riverland growers have held an emergency meeting with their banks as new figures show a quarter of them face ruin.

The Advertiser's attempt to alarm the reader and present a "doom and gloom" story on the last day of 2005 underscores several issues, the first being that many South Australians are dependent for a living on the wine industry, and the tourists who consume the state's wine products and visit wine places. Secondly, the article highlights the growth of this economic sector and increased vine plantings in South Australia over the past twenty to thirty years. As Table 7.1 indicates the number of wine producers in South Australia, many of whom have a cellar door that tourists can visit, has substantially increased since 1985 from 147 to 620 in 2009, while the total number of Australian wine producers has risen from 506 to 2,320 at the same time.[5] This reflects global developments in trade, travel and tourism. The World Travel and Tourism Council states in its annual report:

> Since 2004, the annual increase in travel and tourism economy GDP has averaged 4% in real terms – faster than that of the global economy overall and in the same period, travel and tourism has created more than 34 million jobs (2009:2).

The political economy of the wine industry and wine tour consumption in South Australia can be conceptualised as three overlapping domains. (1) The existence of wine tourism as an embodied and sensually based form of social practice, learning and discursive exchange between wine tourists and hosts. (2) The closely controlled forms of state sanctioned

[5] See Appendix for tables.

exchanges between localised tourist operators and wine producers, and mostly middle class wine-tourism consumers. (3) As a form of global trade between tourists, wine companies and nation-states. A discussion of the political economy of wine tourism and tasting is more meaningful when defined in relation to the full gamut of economic activity associated with wine tourist activity. Many wine tourists I interviewed also stayed overnight at a motel or country cottage, attended a jazz concert at a winery, or a conference, bought artwork, ate in a restaurant, or if from interstate, visited their relatives. Furthermore, wine and associated tourism products gain value as they are consumed during leisure activities and connected with niche markets such as regional foodways products and culinary festivals.

Wine places are visualised, marketed, and embodied. I argue that it is the body‘s sensuality and corporeal emplacement that structures the tourist‘s experience of a place. As I explain in the following chapters, it is the experience of a wine tour, or visit to a wine region, that structures the consciousness of a wine place, helping ensure subsequent social interaction and socio-economic exchange. As a socioeconomic transaction between visitors and locals, wine tourism is ultimately a corporeal action that is given meaning because it reflects and embodies what it means to experience leisure. Leisure is defined in relation to physical activity, such as travel to a winery and associated discursive and symbolic messages that tourists encounter, including tour spiels and advertisements about idyllic Bed and Breakfast stays in the Barossa Valley. Furthermore, tourists are not at work. In other words, the economics of wine tourism reflects the symbols and experiences of consumption, tourism and leisure activities that gave it meaning. The political economy of wine tourism therefore includes value added products, and associated cultural activities, services and infrastructures, such as regional festivals, food and roads. Sahlins says:

> An economic basis is a symbolic scheme of practical activity-not just the practical scheme in symbolic activity. It is the realization of a given meaningful order in the relations and finalities of production, in valuations of goods and determinations of resources (1976:37).

Leisure activities in wine places are meaningful in relation to the material production of wine in South Australia. From a national perspective it is instructive that the increase of wine production is not restricted to South Australia, with Victorian wine producers increasing from 109 in 1985, to 698 producers in 2009 (Table 7.1).

The increase of wine production marks a change in cultural practices surrounding alcohol consumption for Australians and tourists. In the 1960s, Australians drank more fortified wine, such as port, whereas in 2010 locals now consume more wine and even visit wineries. In *Strategy 2025,* a national marketing plan, The Winemakers Federation of Australia states that:

> In 1966 Australian domestic wine consumption amounted to a little more than two bottles per head of population per annum. 78% of wine consumption consisted of fortified ports and sherries while premium varietal table wines barely ranked in the statistics (just 700 tonnes of Cabernet Sauvignon was processed in Australia in 1966 and Chardonnay did not exist), (1996: 2).
>
> These statistics underscore the enormous change which has occurred in the wine industry in just 30 years. Since 1966 wine production has tripled (from 156 million litres to 572 million litres), Australians now consume 24 bottles of wine per head of population per annum, 80% of which is now table wine.

In 2004/5 when I was carrying out fieldwork, out of a total population of 1.2 million, the tourism sector had 36,800 full-time equivalent jobs in South Australia.

In 2006/7, 1,097,000 people visited a South Australian winery including 116,000 international visitors, and 406,000 intrastate and interstate visitors who stayed overnight and 565,000 domestic day trips, (Tourism Research Fact Sheet 2006/7: 1). A majority of international tourists came from European countries such as England and Germany. I also encountered tourists from Asian countries, particularly during tours marketed for Asians, such as Susie‘s Wine Tours, and the cheaper or _backpacker‘ wine tours. Of the international visitors to South Australia in 2004, 23% came from the United Kingdom, 30% came from other European countries, 10% came from the United States and 5% came from Canada (South Australia Fact Sheet, Tourism Industry 2005: 1).

1.2.2 Wine Exports and Branding Australia

During 2007-2008 Australian wine exports fell by 11% to $2.66 billion for the first time in 13 years to 702 million litres. But, as Tables 7.2 and 7.3 indicate Australia is the 6th largest wine producer in the world, generating 5% of wine production and exporting 9% of the world‘s wine exports in 2006. In 2005 the domination of larger companies was apparent

with the top 22 selling 89% of total branded wine, and 1,877 other wine producers vying with each other for the remaining 11% of branded wine sales. The success of the wine industry over the last twenty years carries with it socio-economic and political implications. Industry bodies, including the Wine and Brandy Corporation, the Wine Makers Association of Australia, the Wine Export Council (established in 2004), and both Federal and States governments, are involved in the regulation of infrastructures such as water rights, and the promotion of the wine industry. The South Australian government has developed tourist marketing plans, established key performance indicators, and productive objectives.

This includes plans to treble export income to $25 billion by 2025, including $7.5 billion in food exports, and $3 billion in exports nationally by the wine industry. The South Australian government planned to: "Increase visitor expenditure in South Australia's tourism industry from $3.4 billion in 2001 to $5.0 billion by 2008 by increasing visitor numbers and length of stay and, more importantly, by increasing tourist spending" (Tourism Policy 2009). Craik points out that: "Governments increasingly direct their energies – at least at the level of rhetoric – towards creating an environment which facilitates private sector investment and activity" (1997:134). The South Australian government has moved beyond rhetoric with its strategic directives, cooperation with interested parties and media promotion of tourism and exports of wine and its culinary consumption. At the same time, wine production and tourism have become associated with the values and rhetoric of a corporate State, responsibly serving its citizens by competing in a global market and meeting identified economic outcomes.

Released by the Winemakers Federation of Australia, *Strategy 2025* (1996) is an influential marketing plan that sets out the major objectives of the wine industry in Australia. *Strategy 2025* was updated in 2007 as *Wine Australia: Directions to 2025*.[6] The update promotes the value and price brackets of Australian wine in relation to four classes, Brand Champions, Regional Heroes, Generation Next and Landmark Australia. Carter says:

> The initiative [the updated plan] builds on the 1996 landmark document, *Strategy 2025*, whose adoption propelled the wine industry to new heights. It was so successful that the

[6] Both the Australian Winemakers Federation and the Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation developed the updated plan. Carter says that, "The development process was overseen by a 17-member task force drawn from all sectors of the wine industry and chaired by McLintock, deputy chairman of McWilliams Wines" (Carter 2007).

> wine industry achieved many of its sales and infrastructure goals by 2005, two decades early (2007).

The nexus between wine consumption, tourism and wine places is succinctly identified as a marketing opportunity in *Strategy 2025*. The plan also delineates sales targets and encourages wine branding in relation to lifestyle preferences, and suggests that smaller wineries should capitalise on the tourist market by promoting their wineries as distinct places:

> The vision is that by the Year 2025 the Australian wine industry will achieve $4.5 billion in annual sales by being the world's most influential and profitable supplier of branded wines, pioneering wine as a universal first choice lifestyle beverage.
>
> WINE TOURISM - AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENHANCE WINERY VIABILITY
>
> The wine industry and tourism industry have a common objective of capturing and presenting a unique sense of place to consumers, whether they be wine drinkers or tourists.
> …
> For many small wineries, especially those with strong lifestyle business motivation, wine tourism can be the core business.

While the space within which a tourist moves is physical, it is also symbolic in that messages are present, including marketing refrains that wine is a preferable ‚lifestyle beverage". What is being made available for consumption apart from material objects such as wine and food, are ideas, images and projections of what it means to taste wine, be on holiday, experience leisure with friends, and view ‚rural" vistas and vineyard landscapes. The industry and government‘s emphasis on wine as a lifestyle preference highlights a central themes of this thesis: The winescapes and regional sights that tourists encounter are not just routes on a map, but also symbolic paths, branded and marketed as such.

The economic domination of several wine producers in relation to the plethora of small wine producers has motivated smaller wineries and statutory authorities, such as the Winemakers Federation of Australia and regional town councils, to develop and market wine tourism and foodways events. This includes the production of different varietals of wine, such as organic wine, or participation in cultural events such as the Slow Food movement‘s 2004 and 2006 convivia in the Barossa Valley. With *The Marketing Decade: Setting the Australian Wine Marketing Agenda 2000*-2010 (2000), the Winemakers‘

Federation of Australia builds on the themes in *Strategy 2025*. *The Marketing Decade* outlines the economic value of marketing a wine place, for smaller or boutique wineries. It details the cultural capital that South Australia's government and wine industry bodies in the first decade of the 21st century place on increasing the levels of economic production in relation to wine, exports of alcoholic grape products and wine tourism. The consumption of Australian wine is given emphasis and associated with the consumption of Australian wine as a brand. Australian wine becomes allied to wine drinkers' participation in wider socio-cultural pursuits:

> The proposition, wine brand "Australia", has changed the way the world perceives wine. The beverage which 20 years ago was the preserve of the connoisseur is now a river which links the world in an appreciation of food, travel, art, music and heritage.
>
> (Winemakers Federation of Australia, 2000:7)

1.3 METHODOLOGY

1.3.1 Defining Wine Tourism

There is a variety of socio-cultural ways of conceptualising tourists and tourism as several authors observe, (Nash 1981:2, Crick 1989, Nash 1996, and Burns 1999:82). Three decades ago Crick (1989:312) asserted: "... a fundamental uncertainty remains - namely, about what a tourist is? There exists an array of definitions and taxonomies", as evident in the works of Britton 1978:80, Leiper 1979, Cohen 1988, and Burns 1999. Abram says: "Is it possible to divide tourist from non tourist, tourist-season from out–of-season, performance from 'reality'?" (1997:3). Defining who the subjects of my study are is consistent with my fieldwork methodology, travel and the coach tours I joined, and the tourists, wine tour guides and winery hosts that I encountered. I adopted a method of fieldwork that accounted for the movement of people in and around wine places. "Wine tourists" are defined as travellers, involved in leisure activities, who visit a winery or wine related place, such as a restaurant, or a scenic lookout in a wine region. In this context a "wine place" also refers to the gamut of socio-cultural activities and environments that tourists visit in South Australia, such as an art gallery, or a physical activity like a bicycle ride.

In defining who tourists are and what activities constitute wine and food tourism, I also examine how capital, infrastructure and resources in the state of South Australia are utilised and organised such that tourism and wine tours are meaningful for the people involved. Tour and cellar door hosts are therefore significant for this study as they help constitute social interactions, and marketing spaces that support wine tour activities. The understanding that a wine tourist is prima facie a traveller acknowledges that the tourists I encountered are transient. Wine tourists consume not only the wine they taste but also the wine places they visit and the associated cultural and leisure experiences. Rojek says: "Leisure behaviour is part of the complex system of representation and signification which organises life with others" (2000:3). This means that a local South Australian who travels to a winery or attends a wine event is classified in this study as a wine tourist. Wine tourism therefore reflects, as Rojek and Urry (1997:1) argue, the hybrid nature of tourism as a post modern cultural practice: "We will begin by interrogating the very category of 'tourism'…Where does tourism end and leisure or culture or hobbying and strolling begin?" For Rojek and Urry, tourism *is* culture: "They cannot be kept apart. First, this is because there is a 'culturalisation of society', a de-differentiation between all sorts of social and cultural spheres which were previously distinct (1997:3). I agree with this and argue that wine tourism is a distinct form of cultural practice, notable by the movement of tourists through wine places and the transient character of their visits to South Australia's wineries.

1.3.2 Fieldwork

Fieldwork primarily involved taking wine coach tours and noting the tour guide and winery host's discourse and the conversations, activities and experiences of their customers. In this I followed Feld's advice during fieldwork: "… where meaning and experience are concerned, careful ethnography – and with it careful attention to language and language use - is basic and essential" (1996:7). This involved the examination of bottle labels, descriptions of a winery landscape, and associated media articles. Noting the various discourses involved with tourism was particularly important during fieldwork as a primary ethnographic objective was to note the way in which wine regions, and the taste of wines are classified and historicised at a cellar door, and during a tour guide's and cellar door host's stories and accounts of a particular wine place. I paid particular attention to taken for granted language games. This included such measures as, "Giving orders, and obeying them" (Wittgenstein, 1995: Para 23), such as getting on, or off a wine tour bus; and

–Making a joke; telling it" (ibid). Tour guides regularly told jokes during wine tours which helped create an image of Australian identity and culture. The evaluation of wine during wine tasting is another example of a language game (as detailed in Chapter 5). Wine tours, and tasting utilised a set of related terms and expressions, language games that were enacted in semi bounded social interactions. The meaning of a wine tasting session is therefore related to the wider sense of cultural activity that a tourist engaged in, such as a leisurely tour of a wine area.

Wine coach tours, excursions to wineries by car, wine lunches and the exploration of a wine region occur over a brief span of time, usually five to ten hours. Additionally, wine tours followed clearly demarcated routes. The geography of wine tour excursions are therefore limited to the tour itinerary, roads, trails and winery places traversed. As such, my fieldwork is designed to gather data in relation to the movement of tourists in and around a wine region by coach, car, bike or foot. I did not live in a wine region, apart from a three-month stay at Clare. The city of Adelaide was my base as most coach tours begin from Adelaide, and most of the wineries I visited are a twenty, forty or sixty minute drive from Adelaide. My field sites were the places where wine is tasted at cellar doors and the routes and places that tourists travelled to, and stopped at, during a day's tour of wineries and regional wine areas.[7] The data that I gathered and the observations carried out were established by the movement of people between tourist and wine tasting sites.

Whether they are locals who live in South Australia or international visitors, the exploration of a wine region and the associated pleasure of wine tasting is a social pursuit. Rojek and Urry point out that: –Tourism and culture now plainly overlap and there is now no clear frontier between the two" (1997:3). I argue that my fieldwork is delineated by the routes of daily wine tours and subject to the ephemeral nature of wine tourist activity. While the coach tours I join usually span a day, my experience of this was expanded by the spatial parameters of sightseeing and wine tour trails that structured my ethnographic encounters. The interpretation and construal of a tourist's experience of a wine tour, and tasting experience is therefore bounded by my perception of a wine place, in that, –the horizons which form the perceptual basis of boundaries are themselves spatiotemporal in status" (Casey, 1996:43).

[7] My fieldwork methodology was not designed around the traditional anthropological notion, as with Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), of an extended stay in a village and locally bounded field site.

Bakhtin and Medvedev (1928) point out that language is inherently dialogic, not primarily objective or subjective but concrete – dependent upon the statements and vocalisations of individuals in social contexts. My experience of wine tasting is prime-facie a social occasion wherein groups of tourists exchange views about the qualities of the wine tasted with the cellar door host, tour guide and their companions. As well as recording such dialogues that I listened to during wine tours and wine tasting sessions, I also collected data about the performances, actions and roles of wine tour participants, winery staff and other winery visitors that define the social contexts of wine tours and tasting. Fieldwork was not limited to wine coach tours: it also includes private car tours with friends, acquaintances and members of my family and visits to various fieldwork sites, such as wineries, regional wine information centres, wine trails or festivals. I also attended numerous events involving wine consumption or appreciation in Adelaide, such as the "Tasting Australia" festival held in the City of Adelaide in October 2004, and wine tasting "master classes" where the winemaker, or significant wine industry luminaries instruct their pupils in the appropriate techniques of wine appreciation. During fieldwork, I recorded the relevant discourses, conversations, events and characteristics of people and place with notebooks or camera, composed my thoughts and wrote up observations about the coach tour or wine event later.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THESIS

1.4.1 Chapter 2 Mapping the Market

This chapter outlines the methodology used to carry out fieldwork and gather data about tourist activity in wine places. Chapter Two also details the theoretical approaches that are used to comprehend and analyse what it means to taste wine, go on wine tours and engage in related tourist activities. A major point is the dialectic between tourism as a sector of the market economy and the experiential nature of wine tourism as an embodied form of social practice. I discuss how South Australian tourist and wine tour places are mapped out and conceptualised as leisure environments that signify and give meaning to landscapes, wine and products for sale and visitors' movements through a winescape. Culinary traditions and identities also help quantify food and wine regions, as with Maggie Beer's (2005a; b) promotion of the taste and food of the Barossa Valley.

The significance of Geographical Indicators (GI)[8] is outlined as they define, market, and give meaning to distinct wine regions such as the Coonawarra. Markers such as cellar door information boards and advertising fliers also portray and demarcate wine places and tour experiences. In a case study detailing a stay at a Bed and Breakfast in the Barossa Valley, the ~~–~~distinctive pitch" (Coleman and Crang 2002:3) used to market and characterise a wine place is analysed. The rich taste or style of wines from the Coonawarra, for example, were promoted during a tasting session for Penely Estate and in marketing literature as distinctive in relation to the regions soil structure.

1.4.2 Chapter 3 "Come to Your Senses"

This chapter concentrates on analysing the interrelationship between the sensual apprehension and the symbolic and cultural construction of wine places that tourists visit. Using a case study, Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands centre in the Riverland, I argue that messages about the connection of Banrock Station with nature, and Penfolds winery with high value branded wine, and traditions of wine making, help shape the meaning of a visit by tourists. What does it mean for tourists to see, taste, smell, hear, touch and consume foodways products and the surrounding environment at a wine place? Chapter Three analyses how wine trails, local produce and information boards at Banrock engage different senses while symbolically implying that visitor–tourists experience a return to nature and eco-friendly practices of making wine. In this case notions about taken for granted vistas in relation to the experience of wine tourism are intertwined with marketing messages and codes. Such codes signified how to appreciate the taste of wine and how to match wine with local food and understand wine places.

1.4.3 Chapter 4 Wine Places

This chapter examines how wine tourism can be understood as a socio-economic practice that embodies and gives voice to a system of cultural values. That is to say, wine and

[8] ~~–~~Geographical Indication (GI) is a word or expression used in the description and presentation of a wine to indicate the country, region or locality in which it originated or to suggest that a particular quality, reputation or characteristic of the wine is attributable to the wine having originated in the country, region or locality indicated by the word or expression" (Wine Australia website accessed 19/4/09).

associated experiences are valued not just as consumer items or evidence of class distinction but as sometimes prestigious symbols of what it means to experience leisure, nature, or taste organic wine, and visit wine places. I use several case studies to analyse the relationship between the construction of meaning involved in discourses surrounding heritage and nature, including a visit to Gemtree winery and a study of wine tasting and tours at Penfolds. Bourdieu's notion of "cultural capital" (1984), and the conflation of the development of taste distinction with higher degrees of class distinction, is not appropriate when analyzing the interrelationship between wine tourism in Australia. I argue that taste is inherently a sensual reality and not just an embodiment of class distinction. In general tourists do not aim to feel more "classy" by buying more expensive wines. Certainly, in some cases I did encounter this, such as the privately educated coin dealer and his wife who worked in fashion retail that I met at Penfolds. This couple stated that one should strive to buy $30, preferably $50 dollar bottles of wine to drink with dinner rather than $20 bottles.

1.4.4 Chapter 5 Talking About Wine

Wine tasting and tourist participation in festive events usually follows set procedures and service expectations. In this chapter I discuss the aesthetic sensibility of taste and appreciation that this involves. The problem is to understand wine tasting activities and tours in relation to the social contexts and in which they occur. I analyse several wine tasting events, including a formal wine tasting course held by the Wine and Brandy Corporation, and a structured wine making event at Ashton Hills' winery. Peter Lehmann, a renowned Australian oenologist points out that wine regions also reflect qualities about the divine: "The Barossa is having so much success and so it should. It's God's own country and has established itself as one of the great wine regions of the world (2009:1). Wine can be a neo-totemic symbol for marketing and festive events and a case study is used demonstrating how Barossa Valley Estate's wine dinner is emblematic of a discourse celebrating wine appreciation and values about nature. On the other hand, wine production is also a global capitalist enterprise in the 21st century. In a fieldwork excursion to New Zealand, Australia's closest trading partner, I ask how the movement of transient winemaking-tourists reflect not only particular learning experiences and workplace practices in the wine industry, but also the merging of leisure and work. I emphasise the tacit levels of learning and experiences of tourist-cellar hands from across the globe.

1.4.5 Chapter 6 Conclusion

In the Conclusion I summarise several interrelated issues addressed in *Bacchus on Tour* that centre on the conceptualisation of wine tourism as a sensual practice, mediated by the material production, media promotion and ascription of values surrounding wine consumption and appreciation. Commentary by wine critics such as Robert Parker influence the rise or fall of the price of wine, including Grange Hermitage and other premium bottles of wine, reflecting the global creation of standards surrounding taste and quality. Despite this, wine is still celebrated as a neo-totemic reflection of human culture during festive events and its association with nature, ecotourism, and organic agriculture. I argue that wine tours and tasting events are communities of practice that use language games and learning activities providing distinctive messages about the wine, brand, heritage and places visited. Finally, while marketing and brand promotions influence consumer behaviour, tasting wine and walking a wine trail are ultimately corporeal acts and reflect sense driven social practices that orientate a tourist in a particular place.

CHAPTER TWO

MAPPING THE MARKET

Though all our knowledge begins with experience,
it does not follow that it all arises out of experience.
(Kant 1950 [1787]: B1)

2.1 INTRODUCTION: WINE TOURISM AS A SPEECH COMMUNITY

In this chapter I map out the locations of wine regions and what it means to taste wine and visit a wine place in South Australia. The term, ~~"t~~aste" is used, firstly in reference to the literal and gustatory qualities of wine and food, and secondly the assessment of value, such as the aesthetic or symbolic merits of an environment or wine tasting experience (Korsmeyer 1999:38). The chapter opens with a discussion of discursive exchanges between tourists and cellar door hosts that help construct the history, experience and ambience of wine tasting and the experience of place in the McLaren Vale. Social interaction and communication between hosts and tourists define the reality of wine tourism, reflecting Wittgenstein's notion that:

> For a large class of cases—though not for all—in which we employ the word ~~"m~~eaning" it can be defined thus: the meaning of a word is its use in language (1995:20, Para. 43).

Furthermore, marketing information about leisure and wine tasting is communicated through various media, such as news articles and on the web, including the advertisements for a holiday in the Barossa Valley at a Bed and Breakfast that I analyse in this chapter. I argue that interpretations of landscapes, wineries and foodways experiences by tourists are contingent on historical reconstructions of South Australia's history, overt marketing of places and regional identities, and invention of standards surrounding wine appreciation (Wagner 1975, Banks 2001, Bloustein 2003:1, Barthes 1977:49).

Tourists thus encounter messages about naturalised landscapes and even organic wine, untouched by political and business objectives, and the management of the environment. I discuss how the definition of the physical boundaries of a wine region, such as the Coonawarra is a politicised process that also defines how wines from this area should taste and the type of soil appropriate for growing grapes**.** During a coach tour of wineries in the Adelaide Hills I interviewed Wayne, a teacher from New Zealand:

> New Zealand wines taste so different to those in the Hills and Barossa, as their flavours are so ‗in your face' and huge, while yours are fresh and vegetative, like mown grass.

The problem is to conceptualise and relate the experience of a day's excursion with friends or family, the vista of a vineyard and taste of a glass of wine, to the business of making wine and the marketing of South Australian wine and tourist places by the wine industry, the State and media. This approach acknowledges that while wine tourism and tasting is a embodied experience, knowledge about wine places and the taste of wine is also a culturally constructed discursive and learning experience (Kant 1950 [1787] B1). During wine tours, discourses and behaviours between tourists and hosts are structured by rules of social interaction reflective of a distinctive speech community. Morgan says,

> In linguistic anthropology, speech community refers to speakers who participate in interactions based on social and cultural norms and values that are regulated, represented, and re-created through discursive practices. Because they are constructed around culturally and socially constituted interaction, speech communities cannot be defined by static physical location and can be experienced as part of a nation-state, neighbourhood, village, club, compound, on-line chat room, religious institution, and so on. Though speech communities may take any and all of theses forms and more, it is not an infinitely malleable concept, changing shape, form and meaning according to scholarly need or any new gathering of people. Rather, a speech community reflects what people do and know when they interact with one another (2001:31).

In my case, speech communities are established during wine tours and tasting sessions when tourists and hosts interact, creating discursive exchanges about the region and how wine did or did not taste.

2.1.1 Language Games and the Senses

To illustrate the corporeal and discursive nature of wine tourism I make use of several perspectives. This includes Wittgenstein's (1995) concept of "language games" and the associated "forms of life", to theorise the verbal exchanges and expected behaviours between tourists and hosts. Goffman's (1975a, 1975b) ideas surrounding performance theory and frame analysis are used to analyse such features as front and back stages, including cellar door and coach tour environments, and rules of social interaction between wine hosts and tourists. I also draw upon phenomenological approaches about the social nature of being, as developed by such authors as Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1963, 1964), and Casey (1996). In this chapter I analyse how speech acts (Austin 1962), are used during wine tours. I disagree with authors like Urry (1990), who overemphasise the centrality of the visual, of the gaze in tourism. Wine tourism also involves the use of other senses, such as taste and smell (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Stoller 1989, 1997). But what is tasty enough to be classy for one consumer can be irrelevant for another in the 21st century. An informant I interviewed on a wine tour of the Barossa Valley, a professional with several degrees, who likes to imbibe $300 bottles of premium whisky, was sceptical about the quality of taste and value of storing wines from Penfolds, one of Australia's premium brands. Feld and Basso (1996) point out that the phenomenology of the life world, the preferences of alcohol consumers undertaking wine tours and tasting in my case, entails an ethnographic analysis of a range of sensual experiences and consumption practices.

I conceptualise both the enjoyment and consumption of wine, wine places, and foodways, and the symbolic and marketing activities surrounding this as a form of social practice evident in specific speech acts (Austin 1962), and forms of life (Wittgenstein 1995), or social behaviour: "I shall also call the whole, consisting of language and the actions into which it is woven, the 'language game'" (Wittgenstein 1995: Para.7). Speech acts and language games are not interchangeable. Speech acts are discrete units of expression, while the notion of language games refers to larger units of social intercourse with defined vocabularies or terms of expression. Speech acts are performative in that to say something about the taste of wine is also to do something. Thus, when tourists are told a Shiraz should have hints of chocolate, plum and tannin when tasted, a winemaker is performing the speech act of telling customers how that wine should taste.

During wine tours, cellar door and coach staff use speech acts to initially educate tourists, or state a selling angle about the taste of wine, helping create an informative and friendly atmosphere. The following conversation at Pertaringa cellar door (Map 2.1) in the eastern foothills of the Mclaren Vale wine region highlights the language games that hosts and tourists engage in, including the jocular repartee amongst participants. Pertaringa is an Aboriginal Kaurna name and means ~~b~~belonging to the Hills. The family owned winery has been operating since the 1980s.

As a language game, the following conversation is bound by verbal exchanges that are structured by speech acts including questions, confirmatory comments and responses between tourists and the cellar host. For instance, the host suggested that wines should be tasted in sequence, from lighter to heavier tasting wines. Participants also compared the wine they tasted to the taste of food they know, such as steak:

Wine Tasting Conversation at Pertaringa Cellar Door (2009)

Cellar Host: This is the suggested order from weight for tasting [lighter white wine to heavier red wine as listed on tasting guide on bench]. If you like Cabernet why don‘t you try this? It‘s a blended wine, a good food wine. What did you think of that?
Tourist 1: Great, it‘s a bit more tannic than I am used to.
Cellar Host: This one we‘ve just bottled - the 2008 vintage and we haven‘t gone onto the 2007 yet. We find the tannins start to divide so we keep it in the bottle for almost two years, then release it to help it mellow a bit.
Tourist 1: Yes it is strong, a good wine.
Tourist 3: That‘s quite peachy, fruity really, a 2006? Can I try the Semillon please?
Tourist 1: There you go, it reminds me of steak.
Cellar Host: [Laughing] Savoury, it reminds you of steak. Right it‘s a savoury not a sweeter style - not the berry fruits - that real more earthy more savoury characters.
Tourist 1: Yeah, yeah right.
Cellar Host: Yeah, Look wine taste and smells of bizarre things I know exactly what you mean.
Tourist 2: I found that really tannic.

Cellar Host: Yes that‘s a very tannic wine-that one. So try this one-Undercover Shiraz.

Tourist 2: That‘s smooth, nice.

Tourist 3: It‘s meaty, very steak like.

Tourist 2: I‘m not a _steaky‘ person – laughter.

Tourist 3: No you‘re a duck [private joke].

Tourist 1: You‘re not a vegetarian?

Tourist 2: I was a vegetarian for many years.

Tourist 1: Oh yeah, I like that one; I really like it.

Tourist 3: The 2006 Shiraz? I actually like the Cab Petit Verdot as I like a bigger wine.

Tourist 2: A deeper tasting wine.

Cellar Host: How is that one?

Tourist 2: That‘s much better; we‘ve just had a big lunch at Salopian Inn.

Tourist 3: What are you having- the Shiraz‘? Can I try that?

Tourist 2: I quite like that.

Tourist 1: We‘ll take a bottle of the Grenache please.

As a form of socio-economic exchange, wine tourists tasted and consumed commodities for sale (Tourist 1 bought a bottle of Grenache, while Tourists 2 and 3 bought a bottle of fortified wine), and were the targets for the marketing of wine and related foodways products. Tourists 2 and 3, a local couple from Adelaide, had just visited View Cellars (a pseudonym), a well known cellar door with a picturesque and panoramic view of the vineyards and the McLaren Vale Hills. They derisively explained to me that they had a quick taste of the wines at View Cellars, weren‘t impressed and drove off as a coach load of tourists pulled up. They were dismissive of the cornucopia of irrelevant branded products for sale at View Cellars, such as T-shirts, thongs, soap, paper, jackets, spoons, as well as local food items. On the other hand I observed many international tourists buying such products at View Cellars, happily taking in the panoramic view and chatting to the cellar host. While the culture of wine tourism is embedded in the material culture of consumption and branding, like a photograph, buying tertiary products from a winery are also mementoes and signs of one‘s visit.

MAP 2.1 Pertaringa Wines, near McLaren Vale.
(45 Kilometres from the City of Adelaide). Source: (Explorers 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 27 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

I also use the concept of language games to conceptualise associated forms of behaviours and discourses that I encountered during fieldwork. Language games, such as discursive exchanges by tourists and hosts during a wine tasting, and their associated forms of life, including the action and behaviours expected of tourists, are both a methodology and theoretical platform to conceptualise an understanding of tourism and wine consumption. Tourists' participation in festivals in regional wine areas are a form of life, while the communication tourists and hosts engage in are language games helping delineate what it means to engage in tourist activity. However, language games are not discrete units of social or cultural activity. As Finch points out,

> When we note a language game…or a form a life, we are *not* noting a fact, something like _social or cultural fact'. We are noting an *agreed-upon activity* which thereby establishes a *possibility of sense* (sic) (1977:75).

Eating lunch at a winery is a ‗form of life" (Wittgenstein 1995: Para 23), while the associated discourses expressed during lunch are language games. Wittgenstein says, ‗The term ‗language-*game*' is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or a form of life" (ibid). By language, I refer not only to verbal interaction, such as social communication, or talk about the glass of Merlot enjoyed with lunch at a winery, but also to the complete range of discursive exchanges, and bodily actions encompassing a visit to a tourist, or winery place. Weiner says: ‗All of our postures, attitudes, orientations, movements, and actions, as intentionally constituted, mark out the world in the same way as does our lexical labelling." (1991:31). Verbal exchanges or written descriptions about the winery and its products are aspects of a language game. During wine tours, tourists became involved in several different language games, which were expressed in a variety of ways. This included such discourses as a tour guide's description of a place, or reading advertisements about a winery on the web. Coach tours, and buying and selling wine (trade and commerce), were the associated forms of life (Finch 1995:51).

As a form of life, and performative social activity, eating lunch at a winery is visceral and symbolic, inclusive of the socio-economic meanings associated with foodways consumption and tourist activities. This includes such activities as evaluating the taste of wine, or stories about a wine region as expressed by a tour guide. I argue that language games are not static; they constantly vary, in relation to changes in the social environment. Conversing at length with friends or even a cellar host is different from the short and bounded comments and exchanges about the taste of wine at a cellar door. A language game such as questioning is relevant to several forms of life, including cellar door and coach tours. Tourists ask questions in a variety of settings, including conducted wine tasting sessions and tours, and at tourist information bureaus, in Adelaide and at regional sites, including the Barossa Valley, Clare and McLaren Vale wine regions.

Other language games include ‗Making a joke; telling it" (Wittgenstein, 1995: Para 23). Tour guides regularly entertain their audience. During a tour of the Barossa Valley the tour guide-bus driver, who was catering mainly for backpackers told the following joke:

> Two guys are driving from Perth to Alice Springs in the middle of summer. They pull over, in the middle of a desert 500 hundred kilometres from the nearest town. One guy goes for a ‗piss', is bitten on the ‗willy' by a snake, and drops the car keys

> down a spider hole. He says to his mate, _Hoy, ring the flying doctor, I can't move'. Over the radio the flying doctor, a fourth year medical student doing compulsory work experience and minding the microphone while the real Doctor gets a coffee, gives the patient some advice: _You have to get rid of the poison before it spreads and have three options. The first, your mate can wash it off'. Says the mate, _NO NO'. _Second, your mate can chop it off'. Both guys, who are now sweating, loudly say _NO'. Says the doctor, _Ok one of you will have to walk 500 kilometres to the nearest town.

Following Anderson's (1983) notion of the imagined community I argue that such jokes embody ideas about nature, a vast and hostile desert, and the naivety of Australian working class males. While such jokes have little to do with the act of tasting wine, their ribald nature enlivens the tour guides' commentary about the Barossa Valley while constructing a relaxed atmosphere in the coach drive from Adelaide. The guide's humour became a form of leisurely entertainment and experience of touring.

Wine tourists constantly move between wineries and venues, while the products they enjoy are marketed to a transient client base. What became apparent are the constructed and arbitrary nature of wine tours and the history of wine places. This includes the invention of images, marketing of foodways' products, and discourses surrounding wine consumption. Learning how to appreciate wine is a creative act, reflecting the development of marketing campaigns since the 1990s, and infrastructures that support wine business in South Australia. Sahlins says:

> If, in other words we admit to the anthropologist's creativity in building his [or her] comprehension of a culture, we can scarcely deny the same sort of creativity to the culture itself and its members (1976:35).

The socioeconomic promotion of wine tourism places is highlighted by the increase in wine producers, up 400% since 1984 (Table 7.1), and the South Australian government's campaign to promote South Australia as the "wine state", media articles, and web sites encouraging tourists to visit, have a holiday, or attend a wine festival.

Furthermore, tourists are subject to and part of a profusion of language games, helping establish their identity, discursive exchanges and roles before, during and after their holiday

and wine tasting excursion. I argue that wine tourists engage in the following generic language games and associated forms of life or socio-cultural activities. First, before the holiday: ―Speculating about an event" (Wittgenstein 1995: Para 23). Tourists' research and plan travel itineraries, what wine places to visit and speculate about future leisure experiences. This includes reading winery advertising pamphlets and web holiday guides (Plate 2.1)

Second, during a tour or wine tasting session tourists are: ―Asking, thanking, cursing, greeting, [and] praying" (Wittgenstein ibid). I did not see any tourists pray, but regularly noticed that greeting other tourists, asking questions and being civil to the cellar door host and other tourists are normal activities during a wine tour. Conversations at cellar doors also involve educational language games about the history and techniques of wine making, and where one wine region, place, or style of wine making is compared to another. Sam, touring South Australia from Ireland enquired about the use of sulphur in the Riesling and Chenin Blanc 2008, organic wines at Temple Bruer:

> **Cellar host**: Our organic wines do not have any Sulphur in them.
> **Sam:** So what is the sulphur used for in other wines?
> **Cellar host**: It's a preservative. In fact the Portuguese were the first to use it as they burnt Sulphur candles in the wine barrels.

Sam said he thought the organic wines tasted like water. However others seemed to like what was being offered.

Third, after a day out touring, or after they had returned home tourists recount their experience, as Wittgenstein says: ―Making up a story and telling it" (1995: Para 23). I interviewed Sam's partner Annie at a winery in the McLaren Vale, who was a little peeked that the ability of customers to discern taste is conflated with gender:

> We then visited Angove's [winery] where a mature female offered me their 2009 Organic Chardonnay. I commented that I had not liked other Organic wine in South Australia. She said: ―You'll like this it has 13% alcohol and only 2 grams of sugar and it tastes buttery". It did taste like buttery popcorn, it was lovely. Another woman standing close to me also commented on the wine's buttery taste saying that she also could taste popcorn. Another man commented on the dry flavoursome taste

of the Tempranillo and said smiling at me that it _…was more a man‘s wine perhaps?‘

PLATE 2.1 South Australia Tourism, Wine and Food website, 2010. Person with wine glass is James Linder, –wine connoisseur", Langmeil Winery.

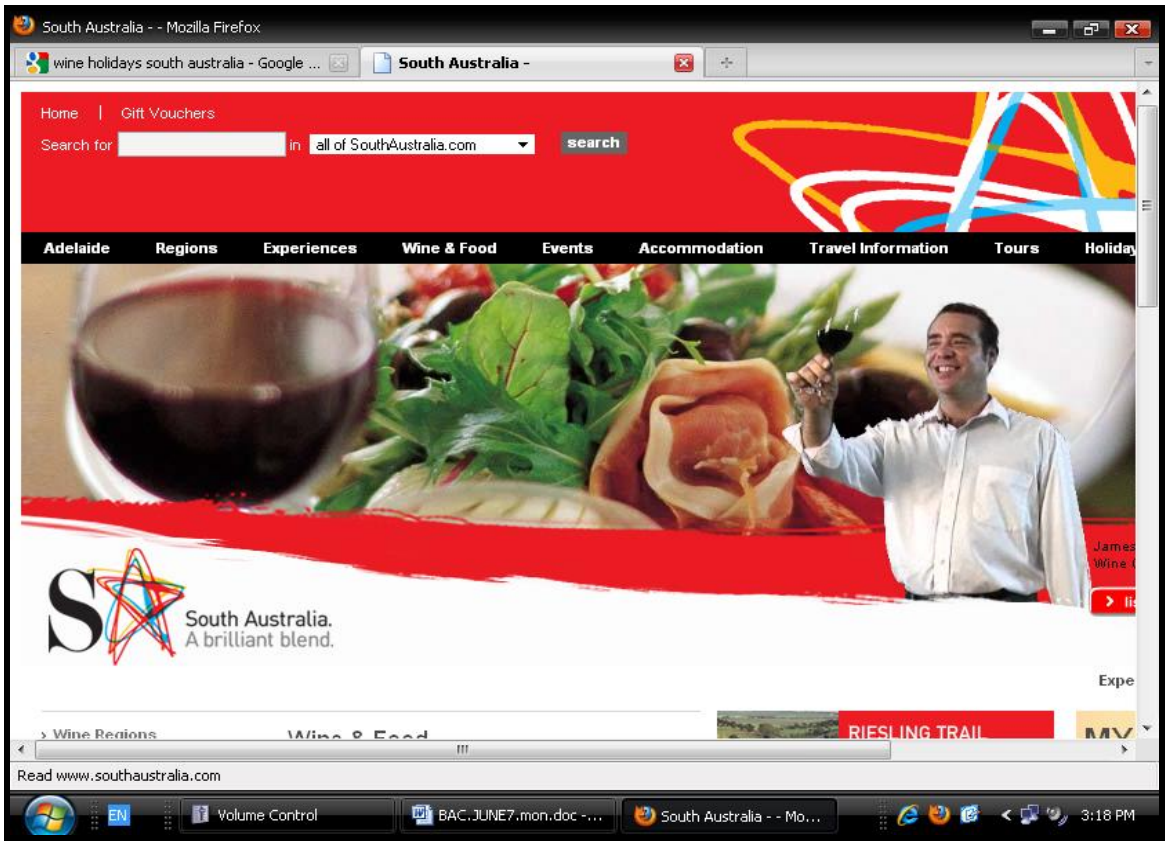


PLATE 2.2 McLaren Vale Visitors Centre Pamphlets (Source: Author 2010).

2.2 MARKETING AND THE ROLE OF TOURISTS

Tourism in South Australia, wine tasting and the experience of a wine place can be conceptualised on several levels as experiential, performative, and economic practices. But what Lien argues about food marketing and product decision-making by a Norwegian manufacturer, is equally applicable to the marketing of wine tourism in South Australia:

> While each single judgement is locally grounded, it is still informed by an expert system that reaches far beyond the local context. Marketing thus represents an empirical arena in which the local and global interact (1997:11).

The interaction of the national and global economies is evident in the role that wine tours and wine making tourism in general play in supporting the local economies of wine places such as the McLaren Vale or Clare wine regions**.** During the moments of tasting wine, and the appreciation of the environment, tourists carry out sensual acts that are embedded in customary forms of communication between service staff and consumers in a post modern capitalist economy. Salzmann says: ―Communicative activity is guided by rules of

interaction: Under normal circumstances, members of a speech community know what is and what is not appropriate" (1993:200). Tourists do not run, shout or ignore the host. Limits pertaining to the time, space and expected behaviours of both tourists and hosts frame and delineate the play or social engagements at a winery (Goffman, 1975a:49). As an aesthetic experience, tourists estimate the qualities of taste and smell of wine, which they like, are ambivalent about, or do not like at all.

Following Goffman's notion of performance theory (1975b:28-82), tourists, tour operators, cellar door hosts and my friends and family who joined me on wine tours conformed to, and enacted their respective roles in a public arena. This was demonstrated by such acts as taking photographs, getting on or off a bus, eating lunch, tasting wine and viewing the landscape or art for sale at such places as Driden's art gallery or Penney Hill's cellar door in the McLaren Vale. Late in the afternoon at a cellar door in the Barossa Valley I listened to the following joke while chatting to a friendly host:

> Two guys who are giving up smoking were drinking VB [Victorian Bitter] and working out how to get home. The passenger says to the driver _hoi you're drunk'. The driver says _it's OK, I've got a VB patch which I will put on my head'. While driving home a police car pulls them up. Reaching for the breathalyser the cop says _you look a bit drunk'. The driver says _its ok we're patched'.

A bottle of VB beer has a distinctive label or _patch' which can be peeled off. The joke plays on the analogy of giving up smoking by wearing a nicotine patch on the body, but instead they wear a VB beer patch. The role of being a host at this winery is centred not only on subtly encouraging tourists to buy the product, but also creating a friendly, if not entertaining environment.

2.2.1 DiFabio Estate

On a tour of DiFabio winery in May 2009, visitors and the winemaker confirmed and defined expectations about their identity as social actors by engaging in language games about the marketing and technical abilities of the winery. Goffman says:

> It will be convenient to label as ‗front' (sic) that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance (1975b:32).

Goe DiFabio (the owner and winemaker) pointed out the large volume of grapes that are processed, the wineries use of the latest wine manufacturing machinery, and office areas where wines are displayed (Plates 2.3; 2.4). DiFabio Estate processed approximately 22,000 litres of wine as one of largest wineries in the area and Goe stressed the innovative and entrepreneurial objectives of the winery as a business. Goe talked about the cellar primarily as a stand alone business that made wine rather than one which had the potential to attract tourists. When asked why he does not have a cellar door Goe explained that it would cost $30,000 to hire a ―cellarman", who would also work on Saturday and Sunday, and the winery would have to clear about $100,000 to break even. DiFabio sold the bulk of its wines overseas and to Qantas airlines with its products being marketed and branded in relation to the target consumer. Dan Murphy's (national discount company) labelled DiFabio wines as McLaren Vale Shiraz, while Woolworths sold wine from DiFabio as their own generic blend. Goe also explained that wines are marketed under various labels using a marketing firm to sell to Victoria, New South Wales and Cellar Masters.

In comparison to other tours of the backstage of a winery, such as Penfolds (see Chapter Four), that have been designed with the tourist in mind, DiFabio Estate (Map 2.2) didn't smell of wine, was very clean and looked like any other factory with huge stainless steel vats, gauges and other paraphernalia (Plate 2.3). The tour was noticeable in that Goe's discourse revolved around the innovations made to make the winery a successful South Australian business. An example of innovative technology is Goe's experiments with ceramic paint to keep the tops of the vats cool. Goe based the layout of the winery on Tyrell winery, having worked there for 14 years. Goe said that DiFabio Estate has both vertical and horizontal crushers, a good occupational health and safety practice which also helps keep employment down. However, he pointed out the fist crusher was now below ground as they are known as ―death pits" being hard to clean, maintain and accidents can occur. Goe said that the Chardonnay grapes go straight into the crusher and are syphoned into tanks. If the grapes are too warm they are pumped through a cooling system, which he designed, and are then pumped into the crusher.

In the office Goe had a display of current brands and wines that had won awards, including the wines made for highly regarded brand names Grant de Burge and Geoff Merrill. The first vintage (1995) won a wine award but Goe downplayed this achievement, saying that he thinks of the food that the wine is to accompany. The premium reserve wines are designed to go with a Duck Risotto. However, the lower priced,

> … quaffing wines I call my Piss and Pasta wines. I originally blended by personal taste so that I would have a good honest quaffing wine I could drink at home and give to my mates. In fact I was going to call it P2P. But I decided to call it G2G after the texting done by the young (sic).

Goe explained how he sent samples of wine to tasting panels which help him decide whether to market it or not,

> … the Rosé came back, they wanted more sugar so I sent a range to them. The new [brand] of White Shiraz has finished my Rose market and this did me a favour as it used up all my Rose grapes as I could not make it at a sellable price.

As with other tours, humour was a part of the discursive account, language games defining the business: In relation to tasting wine Goe‘s son Jonathan made a joke, saying that during harvest one shouldn‘t be ~~d~~own wind” as his father is grumpy, and keeps his palate uncontaminated by not cleaning his teeth or eating spicy foods for a week. This helped keep the palate clear of unwanted tastes while Goe went about making wine.

MAP 2.2 **DiFabio Estate, McLaren Flat** (red dot)

Source: (Google, DiFabio, Maps 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 36 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

MAP 2.3 McLaren Vale Wineries
Wineries (purple colour), Accommodation (red), Restaurants (green)
Source: (Onkaparinga City 2011, produced by Carto Graphics 2010)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 37 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

PLATE 2.3: DiFabio Fermenting Tanks (Source: Author 2009).

PLATE 2.4: DiFabio Wines Displayed in the Office Area. Source: Author 2009

2.2.2 Good to Think

Wine is good to think as well as drink, and the nexus between place, tourism, wine and our senses essentially entails the comprehension of the discursive construction and symbolic invention of wine places, and the sensual and dialogic apprehension of this. As a phenomenal experience, language defines, delineates and structures a tourist's perception of the world of wine tours and wine places in South Australia. Wine tourism in South Australia involves, "...the collection of signs" (Urry, 1990:3). Wine tourists did spend time gazing on vineyards and photographing landscapes. But contrary to Crawshaw and Urry's emphasis on the visual and the significance of photographic practices in their essay about the English Lake District (1997), gazing on 'rural' landscapes was only one part of the sensoria of experiences that delineated the nature of tourist activity surrounding a wine tour. Crawshaw and Urry state: "We have so far presumed that tourism does predominately involve the visual appropriation of place", and further, "But it is the visual images of places that give shape and meaning to the anticipation, experience and memories of travelling" (1997:179).

I argue that tourists' engendered places, and memories of wine previously tasted, or visual pre conceptualisations of a wine region, or travel experiences, were embellished and made concrete by visiting a wine place. I stress the tourist's bodily emplacement in the experience and act of moving between wine places. This is not to deny the economic basis of wine production, the memory of a holiday, or those visual and semiotic conceptualisations, that play a role in the symbolic and socio-economic construction of wine places. Rather, it is to emphasise that human consciousness and its corporeal emplacement are paramount in the creation of a wine place. Tilley says:

> What links together language use and the use of things is that both arise as products of an embodied mind, i.e. a mind that makes sense of and intervenes in the world through the sensuousness and carnal capacities of the human body. Our flesh is a connective fabric of carnal tissue binding us to the world linking together words and things in the creation of meaning and the performative sphere of action (2002:240).

Writers such as Urry (1990, 1992), and Foucault (1979) tend to overstate the significance of the visual in the experience of a place. Just as tourists taste local produce, eat lunch, smell the environment, photograph landscapes and savour twine in South Australia, tourists in the

English Lakes district may well have carry out other sensual, social and economic acts, apart from gazing at, and photographing landscapes during their tour or holiday.[9] In signalling out one or two objects for analysis such as the semiotics of photography or representations of landscapes, authors like Urry (1990, 1991) run the risk of discounting other social-cultural relationships, events and factors that give meaning to a person's experience of visiting a specific place.

Wine tourism and travel in the 21st century also reflect the socioeconomic bases of their production, such as business policies to open a cellar door or restaurant and government marketing campaigns about a wine region. Bennett, Emmison and Frow (1999) point out that the model of a strongly structured hierarchy of French culture in the 1960s is not a practicably applicable model in reference to Australian culture and mass media communication. They devise their own methodology to account for the cultural creation of taste: "*Distinction* pays little attention to popular culture, and particularly not to mass-mediated culture: television, for example, is barely discussed" (1999:12). More particularly, while vineyards, cultivated landscapes and their visual appreciation help orientate the perception of a wine region, Feld's observation is still applicable to my analysis of wine places: "The overwhelmingly multisensory character of perceptual experience should lead to some expectation for a multisensory conceptualisation of place" (1996:94).

Thus, wine tourism and tasting can be conceptualised as a personal and sensual relationship with the body and nature; and a cultural pursuit, as it is meaningful for the people involved. Trubek writes that:

> In the act of tasting, when a bite of food of a sip of wine moves through the mouth and into the body, culture and nature become one. Universally, eating and drinking are processes of bringing the natural world into the human domain (2008: 6).

Nevertheless, I stress that wine tourism is also as a form of consumption and intra-state and global trade, whether the people be locals and tourists, producers and consumers. The

[9] I argue further that English landscape artists such as Constable, while providing a visual perspective of a place, also represented other sensory impressions, such as the sound of running water. Constable says, "The sound of water escaping from mill dams, willows, old rotten banks, slimy posts and brickwork – I shall never cease to paint such places" (Cavendish, 1987: 294).

differentiation of wine industry products, including associated leisure activities and wine tours occurs in several ways. This ranges from visits to wineries with international brand recognition, such as Jacob‘s Creek; the establishment of niche markets as with organic wines, or wineries that cater for weddings and corporate functions, and the marketing of local attractions, and annual cultural celebrations in relation to winemaking harvests and regional identity.

The signification of wine places as tourist products begins before tourists join a wine tour, with stories and images of wine places and romantic weddings and getaways amongst the vines in the brochures, magazines, web sites, and with the spin that travel agents use to sell the benefits of visiting South Australian wine regions. Picard says:

> Tourism is first and foremost an extension of the monetary economy, the marketing of the landscapes and cultural expressions of the people of the world, the conversion or regions and societies into tourist products. But beyond the commoditization of the world, another process is at work that affects the identity and the new stakes and meanings of culture (1996:8).

While corporate and festive events reflect the marketing and commoditization of wine as a product, visiting a winery is still an embodied and personal experience. I argue that views such as Picard‘s (1996), that tourism is prima facie a form of economic conversion of places into products, involving the market manipulation of culture and identity, should be tempered in that tourists‘ places are actively constructed, and meaningful to the people involved. Writers, including Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004:xi), Sutton (2001), Crawshaw and Urry (1997:179), Bergson (1988) and Bachelard (1994), emphasise that places are lived and help engender memories of social occasions and personal experiences. This was poignantly reflected when a friend who was married at Longview Vineyard several years ago and is now divorced, showed me the photographs of her wedding and reminisced about that period in her life.

An advertising web blurb for Longview Vineyard claims that:

> The Adelaide Hills are home to some of Australia‘s finest and most exciting vineyards. LONGVIEW VINEYARD is no exception. LONGVIEW VINEYARD offers you the most pristine venues for your wedding. Surrounded by beautiful

> vineyards, waterways, and historic buildings, Longview invites you to experience the serenity and privacy of its function venue. Savour premium multiple award winning wines perfected by Longview Vineyard whilst enjoying sumptuous food created by Louise Naughton and Stephanie Heaven. Longview offers a range of spaces to cater for small, intimate parties, through to large dinners, weddings and corporate events for up to 150 guests. (Longview Vineyard, 2008. Wedding)

On the one hand, places are actively constructed and imagined, such that Longview discursively conceptualises corporate events and weddings as an exciting gustatory experience surrounded by a historic buildings, and the peace of privacy and rural attractions. On the other hand, wine places such as Longview would not exist without the physical presence of tourist-customers whose embodiment and memory of their experiences helps create their identity, and Longview as a place.

2.3 WINE REGIONS AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATIONS

Since 1993 South Australia‘s wine regions have been divided into approximately 20 regions and subregions, by Geographical Indications (Figure 2.1). Geographical Indications were developed in response to Australia's increasing wine exports to European countries during the late 1980s and early 1990s and complaints that New World winemakers were using traditional brand names of wine regions in France. ‗Champagne‘ for instance is a wine region and style of wine in France:

> The use of Geographical Indications in Australia commenced in 1993 when the Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation Act (1980) was updated to enable Australia to fulfil its Agreements with the European Community on Trade in Wine and the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). …
>
> It takes the form of a textual description (i.e. a list of grid references, map coordinates, roads and natural landmarks which can be traced to outline the regional boundary) along with a map. Its main purpose is to protect the use of the regional name under international law, limiting its use to describe wines

> produced from wine grape fruit grown within that GI. (Australian Wine Online, 2006. Australian Wine Indications Overview).

In Australia a Geographical Indication (GI) helps protect ~~th~~e use of regional names under international law, limiting its use to describe wines produced from wine grape fruit grown within that GI" (ibid). A Geographical Indicator is similar to the Appellation naming system used in France in wine regions such as Bordeaux and Burgundy, but it is much less restrictive in terms of viticultural and winemaking practices. Wines whose labels state that they are from a distinct wine region must have at least 85% of their grapes from that region in Australia. The determination of Geographical Indications was overtly socio-political and commercial in that it was related to human settlement and viticultural production. Inclusion in a region meant that wine producers could detail and market their wine as made from grapes from a specific wine region.

Wine tourism is geographically delineated not only because of the distance involved in travelling to different wine regions and cellar doors in South Australia, but also because of differentiation in the climate and landscape in each wine region, and the marketing of different wine brands in relation to their Geographical Indicators. Wine tour dialogues and tasting explanations by the coach driver and cellar host therefore reflect specific characteristics relating to climate, rainfall, type of soil, grapes grown, viticultural practices, and the history and oenological vision of particular wine makers and brands. Mayo points out that:

> Geography and geology have shaped Australia's wine industry as much as recent history. Lying from latitude 20'S TO 43'N, with cold currents sweeping from the great southern ocean, Australia could be covered with vines, most of them producing fruit fit merely for eating. Small areas only have the right combination of rainfall, seasonal change and soil to grow good fruit for wine. Winemaking has had to be adapted to the fruit from this hot old continent with its extremes of temperature and eroded, impoverished soils: Europe's soils are more recently formed and richer (1991:26). [10]

[10] Oliver Mayo was formerly Dean of Agricultural Science at the Waite Agricultural Research Institute at the University of Adelaide, and a grape grower at Clare in South Australia.

FIGURE 2.1: South Eastern Australia Geographical Indications

Source: *The Australian & New Zealand Wine Industry Directory*, 2009

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 44 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

A good example of the discursive use of geography to spatially distinguish (Connell, 1993) and market regional wine areas occurs when coach drivers comment that South Australian wine regions and vineyards are well known for having some of the oldest vines in Australia. These vineyards are protected by their isolation, distance from other wine growing regions in other states, and border protection from the phylloxera plagues that destroyed European, North American and Australia's eastern vineyards in the late 19th century. Such descriptions helped differentiate and market South Australian wines in relation to other regions in Australia.

Tourism discourses in South Australian are therefore noticeable by the way they quantify regional areas, tourist attractions and the taste of wine by the discursive interpretation and socioeconomic construction of wine places. But this is more than Crang's (1997: 143) concept of the socio-geographical "... constructions of and relationships with places and spaces". Distinctive wine tasting qualities and wine styles are associated not only with grape varietals, but also the reputation of wine companies and their brands, renowned vineyards and winemakers. In similar vein, I heard several generalisations about wine quality and style expressed by tourists and cellar door hosts that typify specific values about wine in relation to a region, for instance, that the McLaren Vale is known for the quality of its reds, with Shingleback's „Black Bubbles' Sparkling Shiraz a favourite with several female tourists I spoke to. Gerry, a teacher from Sydney on a private holiday in 2009 said:

> I came here to taste some of the wines from the McLaren Vale. Some of my friends have been talking about this place. And yes, love the Black fizz. It's refreshing and has a jammy sort of ting in the mouth, and I can still taste it now.

The Clare Valley is characterised by its refined white wines, the taste of red wine from the Coonawarra is associated with terra rossa or sandy soil, and wineries in the Adelaide Hills make premium Pinot Noir. The association between specific wine regions and the taste or type of wine produced is also evident in relevant literature, such as government tourist guides, cellar door pamphlets and books about wine in a specific region in South Australia. The South Australian Tourism website says:

> The Clare Valley is considered one of the most picturesque wine regions in South Australia, and with ample vineyards and cosy cellar doors, it's easy to see why.
>
> Less than two hours from Adelaide, the region boasts more than 40 cellar doors, most within 20 kilometres of the main town of Clare. Several are accessible from the Riesling Trail, a 25km walking and cycling track linking Clare and Auburn. The old railway line winds through some of South Australia's most stunning wine country and natural bushland.
>
> While the Clare Valley is known globally for its Rieslings, the quality of both the red and white grapes now grown in the region is a tribute to the age-old winemaking traditions adopted and perfected in this small pocket of temperate mid-north South Australia (South Australia Tourism, Wine and Food, 2010).

2.3.1 Adelaide and the Adelaide Hills

In 1845 Walter Duffield, a local winemaker in the nine year old colony of South Australia, was awarded a medal by Prince Albert for the case of wine he had sent to Queen Victoria. South Australia was making 18 million litres of wine by the outbreak of The Great War, over half the nation‘s output. South Australian wine is now acknowledged internationally for its quality despite its small population in comparison to other states.[11] Adelaide is largely sandwiched between the hills to the east, and the coast, eleven kilometres to the west of the city. The city‘s growth since the late 1800s has pushed most vineyards northwards and south to the Fleurieu Peninsula. Nevertheless, several major wine related institutes are located in Adelaide and its urban outskirts. This includes The University of Adelaide‘s oenology, wine marketing, management, and viticultural courses, and The University of South Australia‘s international wine marketing degrees. In the private sector Le Cordon Bleu ran a restaurant and hotel where you could obtain a degree in gastronomy. Other institutes included The National Wine Centre, The Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation, a national regulatory body, and Penfolds winery, established in 1844 at Magill in Adelaide‘s foothills. At Penfolds winery, the original building and cottage where its founder, Dr Christopher Rawson Penfold lived, have been carefully preserved, and the winery has been restored enhancing the connection been the historical founder, local wine making tradition, and the current marketing of Grange, its iconic red, at the top end of the consumer market. As discussed in Chapter 4 tours of this winery were highly structured and symbolic. As a tourist destination Penfolds‘ winery at Magill was notable by its self-promotion as a historically significant working winery.

2.3.2 McLaren Vale and the Fleurieu Peninsula

The Fleurieu Peninsula refers to the extension of land south of Adelaide towards Kangaroo Island and Victor Harbour, a popular summer holiday resort. The area contained approximately 70 wineries in 2004 and fieldwork was concentrated within or around the McLaren Vale, a forty-minute drive south of Adelaide. The McLaren Vale bordered

[11] In December 2009, Adelaide had a population of 1,633,000 and Australia‘s total population was 22,154,000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics August 2010).

Adelaide's southern suburbs and is one of Australia's oldest wine regions[12]. Approximately five years after the colony of South Australia was established, John Reynell planted cuttings in 1841 in the town that bears his name, Reynella, at the northern edge of the McLaren Vale. By 1889 seventy winemakers were working in the colony and over 7300 acres were planted with vines. Another pioneering figure was Thomas Hardy, who is regarded as the father of South Australia's wine industry who helped expand and consolidate the industry from 1850 to 1912. In 1880 Hardy had 200,000 gallons of wine in stock, the largest in Australia. In 1992 the company that Hardy established became Australia's second largest producer of wine when it merged with Berri Remano to become BRL Hardy Wine Company.

During my fieldwork a significant amount of wines were produced from 100 year old vines. The region had a long dry summer with a mean annual temperature of 21.7ºC, and the main varieties grown included Shiraz, Cabernet Sauvignon, Grenache and Merlot. The landscape of the district was rolling and although the soils were generally considered poor, the region contained a variety of soil types or ~~"t~~erroirs". It was bordered to the west by the coast and to the east by hills up to 320 metres, whereas the flats mostly rose between 50–100 metres elevation. In some places drip irrigation had been installed and approximately 20% of the grapes from this region were described as ~~"d~~ry-grown", which promoted intense flavours in the grape and the wine produced.

The McLaren Vale is generally marketed in tourist brochures and coach tour dialogues as an idyllic holiday region. Hardy echoes this in *The Australian Wine Pictorial Atlas*:

> McLaren Vale is one is one of the worlds best-placed wine regions, being only 4 minutes drive south of Adelaide city centre. This, combined with its physical beauty has led to a boom in tourism through which, fortunately, has lost none of its charm or individual character of its winemakers (1997: 155).

The promotion of the McLaren Vale and the Fleurieu Peninsula in relation to its landscapes and associated leisure activities are characteristic of ~~"t~~he tourist ~~"g~~aze" (Urry, 1990) upon scenery and vistas, or in this case, vineyards and wineries. More particularly the experience of visiting the McLaren Vale had been identified with a mild climate, rolling hills, olives,

[12] The McLaren Vale was named after the Colonial Manager of the South Australia Company, David McLaren, who arrived in the colony in 1837 and left in 1840.

relaxed atmosphere, and its adjoining coastline. Barbara Santich, a well-known local food-ways writer and academic, makes similar observations in *McLaren Vale: Sea and Vines*:

> Perhaps it is the coastline and beaches and clear, turquoise water that attract me to this area, that teasing flash of blue as I turn a corner or crest a hill. But I also love its Mediterranean qualities, the impossibly high summer sky, the parched brown summer landscape, the olives and vines and almond blossoms (1998:vii).

Both Santich and the official *Guide* present the tourist with images of natural landscapes, which are not realistic since the first settlers cleared the land in the late 18th century and olives and grapevines were introduced to Australia from Europe. More pointedly, tourists travel along roads that help structure the landscapes and delineate which wine places are viewed. The landscapes of the McLaren Vale, and I would argue most wine regions I visited, are a product in the sense that agricultural and other enterprises, such as eating at a restaurant, transform and contour the environments that tourists travel through. Bell and Lyall argue, "The commodification of natural attractions and experiences in nature is a fundamental process within travel capitalism" (2002:23**).**

The discursive commoditisation and marketing of nature is demonstrated by Dowie Dooles' pamphlet (2009), which details claims about its wine brand Second Nature:

> The French call it 'terroir' we call it Second Nature.
> Certain grape varieties are naturally suited to particular wine regions and create superior wine; it's simply second nature.
> Winemaking is undertaken by two-time McLaren Vale winemaker-of-the-year, Brian Light – a winemaker by nature.

Such advertising spiels are examples of the discursive objectification of nature in comparison to what is apparently not natural and subject to culture. In this case "nature" or "certain grape varieties", the land and even the winemaker stand, as emblems in comparison to what purportedly produced by culture.

The McLaren Vale is a popular holiday destination and offers the complete tourist 'experience'. On Saturday mornings, the Farmers Market at Willunga was popular amongst locals, residents of Adelaide and those interstate and international tourists who were aware of it. The Sea & Vines Festival during the Queen's Birthday long weekend in June is notable in that over fifty cellar doors provide festive food and music, helping create a party

atmosphere which attracts over 30,000 revellers. Sixty wineries dot the McLaren Vale landscape along with sixteen restaurants, hotels and cafes. The relationship between local produce and economic activity is increasingly apparent. Locally supplied organic almonds, olives, venison, cheeses, vegetables, berries, beef, lamb, rainbow trout and marron were renowned products from this region. For $55 tourists can buy a cheese hamper for two and then match various cheeses with the recommended wine. The advertising pamphlet which depicts happy couples drinking wine near vines says:

> Experience the best of Australia‘s wine country with your Cheese and Wine Trail smartcard. Receive a picnic hamper of local, handcrafted cheese and produce, to enjoy with beautifully matched premium wines available for tasting at selected cellar doors.

Italian and Greek immigrants farmed olives in the late 1800s, and many grape-growers still line their vineyards with olive trees. There were approximately forty places for accommodation spread around the Valley, along with fourteen cultural attractions such as Driden‘s Fine Arts Centre next to Hardy‘s Tintara winery.

2.3.3 The Coonawarra: Politics of Taste

I move southeast now to the ~~"t~~erra rossa" soils and underlying limestone that enriches the grapes and ultimately the distinctive wines and grape varieties from the Coonawarra[13] or ~~"L~~imestone Coast" wine region near the Southern Ocean. This region was dominated by red wine grapes, with Cabernet Sauvignon and Shiraz making up 58%, and 20% of the wine production in 2005, other grape varieties grown included Chardonnay and Merlot. The Coonawarra wine region and the town of Penola, was a popular wine tourism destination, employed over 1600 people, and regularly came up in conversations with tourists. The first vintage was in 1895. In 1951 Wynns bought Riddoch's original estate, and by 2004 the Coonawarra had approximately 23 cellar doors, with 5500 acres growing wine grapes, which is 7% of the production in South Australia.

In 2004 I attended a Coonawarra wine blending session that was held at a specialist wine making laboratory at Adelaide University, where students studying oenology degrees usually undertake wine tasting exercises. Tasting and blending wine from the Coonawarra wine region involved the winemaker from Penely Estate instructing participants about what qualities and style of wine should be present in the final blend. As a technical and oenological ~~"e~~xpert" Mr Penely used his authority to guide participants about how the final blend should look and taste. While my team did not take the exercise that seriously, there were six other teams that did, vying to win a Penely reserve bottle of wine. Penely Estate was located approximately 400 kilometres south east of Adelaide in the Coonawarra wine region, so it was a marketing advantage for Penely Estate to promote its wines in the city of Adelaide (Map 2.4). Blending exercises for both Ashton Hills and Penely Estate were qualified by the winemakers' didactic style of discourse. Such discourses helped substantiate winemakers assertions regarding the correct blend, winemaking methodology and taste of their wines.

[13] Coonawarra is an Aboriginal name and means ~~"h~~oneysuckle".

MAP 2.4 Coonawarra Wineries

Source: (Coonwarrra Org 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 51 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

PLATE 2.5 Coonawarra Soil Structure

Source: (Wattlerange 2009)

NOTE:
This plate is included on page 52 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

The Coonawarra is regarded as one of Australia's most distinctive wine producing because of the red loam terra rossa soil under which is a limestone ridge approximately 16 kilometres long, extending from Penola in the south, to the town of Coonawarra. The region was geologically created 650,000 years ago.

The association between place and tourism, agriculture and the taste and aesthetics of wine, was also evident in advertising material about the Coonawarra wine region. Tourist brochures and websites readily asserted that the Coonawarra wine region is renowned because of its underlying soil and limestone structure, ideal drainage conditions and permanent underground water supply for growing wine grapes as Plate 2..5 demonstrates.

Thomas Hardy in *The Australian Wine Pictorial Atlas* says, "Internationally, Coonawarra is the first region in Australia to have a reputation for its wines and their style as distinct from just being an Australian wine" (1997:132). As a place the Coonawarra was distinguished in the conversations I had with tourists, tour guides and winemakers, in relation to the region's cool climate style of wine, terra rossa soils, reputation of the winemaker and regional branding.

The terra rossa soils in the Coonawarra region covered approximately 4,800 hectares of land in a strip of land some fifteen kilometres long by two kilometres wide. The association between wine region, climate and wine style was succinctly expressed in a Penfolds' wine tasting pamphlet, *Tasting Notes: Penfolds Bin 128 Coonawarra Shiraz 2001,* which I came across during a tasting session at Magill cellars in 2004: "Launched in 1962, Penfolds Bin 128 is a regional wine that reflects the unique climate and growing conditions of South Australia's Coonawarra district and the elegant style of cool-climate Shiraz". James Halliday, a famous Australian wine show judge, oenologist and writer says about the same wine in *Penfolds: The Rewards of Patience*[14], "It shows the character of a cool vintage, but the wine is intensely concentrated" (2004:129). The Coonawarra wine region had been given specific descriptive terms "cool vintage" and "intensely concentrated" (ibid) identifying it as a cool climate region capable of growing grapes of appropriate standards to meet Penfolds style of wine and quality for Bin 128.

The boundaries of what constitutes the Coonawarra wine region are a product of local politics and therefore arbitary. The following news item details the negative reactions of a Penola grape grower who lives just outside the newly established Coonawarra Geographical Indicator:

> On August 22, the corporation's Geographical Indications Committee decided it would not allow a separate Penola wine region to exist. This followed objections from the Coonawarra Vignerons Association, the Coonawarra Grape Growers Association and the subsequent inclusion of the township of Penola into the Coonawarra wine region. It might also yet prove to be its greatest failure because its decision now splits an entire community, affecting not only the livelihoods of people living in Penola, but rendering a wider social dislocation.
>
> One "Penola" grape grower lives nine kilometres out of Penola, about 400 metres away from a well-known Coonawarra winemaker who can use Penola on his wines but the "Penola" grower can be accused of "passing off"[15] should he describe Penola as his grape source. The Coonawarra winegrower can earn $2000-$2500 a tonne for his grapes; the

[14] This book is a tasting guide to all of Penfolds brands and vintages and is freely available on the web. It is a marketing standard for the relevant brand style, and their respective maturation and consumption dates, in particular Penfolds Grange. It was recommended that Bin 128 Coonawarra Shiraz 2001, be consumed between the years 2007 to 2025.

[15] "Passing off" is a legal term of tort (civil, not criminal law) referring to the proposition that a person or business may not pass off, represent or market their goods as those of another, where such acts may cause loss or damage to a business, or its goodwill. The grape grower could be accused of passing off, if the grapes were said to be from Penola, and not from the Limestone Coast appellation ((Duhaime, 2009).

> "Penola" grower (who must use the generic Limestone Coast appellation for his grapes' origin) gets $1500. However, the Coonawarra maker is free to buy his neighbour's grapes at the lesser price, blend them and (under the 15 per cent blending rule) sell them as Coonawarra fruit. … Mulligan, the unofficial leader of the Penola winegrowers, says he is ostracised - politically, socially and even physically (Port, 2007).

Debate about where the boundary of the Coonawarra Geographical Indicator should be situated started 17 years ago. Mulligan's concerns related the socio-economics of growing and selling grapes from vineyards in relation to the name of the geographical Indicator. Premiums were paid to wines that were labelled as being from the Coonawarra or Penola, in comparison to wines whose labels said they were made with grapes from the Limestone Coast.

2.3.4 Barossa Valley, Clare and the Riverland

The Barossa Valley is touted as –The Home of Australian Wine" by its regional marketing organization, and is one of the oldest, most famous and visited wine regions in Australia[16]. It includes the towns of Lyndoch, Angaston, Tanunda and Nuriootpa. Each town is known for its distinctive characteristics and early settlement by different cultures. The Barossa Valley had approximately sixty cellar doors and 500 grape growing families (many who are of sixth generation), and some renowned winemaking dynasties and labels, including Penfolds, Wolf Blass, Yalumba, Peter Lehmann, Henschke, Seppelt, Yaldara, Chateau Tanunda and Seppeltsfield (Map 2.5). A greater proportion of the tourist dollar was spent there, and more wine coach tours traversed its wineries and roads, than in other wine regions I visited in South Australia.

In 1838 the first settlers arrived in the Barossa Valley and 2,500 had settled by 1847. Non-conformist Silesian Lutherans escaping religious prosecution in Prussia initially settled the area in the 1840's, building an early town called Bethany. The history of this area was normally pointed out during coach tours and in brochures. Major events were usually held over the Easter break, long weekends or school holidays; and the biannual Barossa Festival had events that were held all over the Valley and priced at all levels of the market, ranging from free of charge wine tastings, through to ten dollar guided tastings, and $150 black tie

[16] South Australia's Surveyor General, Colonel William Light named the Barossa Valley after the area of one of Wellington's peninsular campaign battles.

dinner events. The following excerpt from the Barossa Valley Tourist Association website (2005) summarises the tour sites and festival attractions available:

> Take a winery tour in a limousine or vintage car, or float above the valley in a hot-air balloon. Wake up in the Barossa after spending the night in a restored settler's cottage, a resort suite, a luxurious country house or a shady caravan park. Sample German wursts and cakes in heritage bakeries and butcher stores as you follow the Barossa's Butcher, Baker, Winemaker's Trail. And get right into the swing of things at one of the 100 events making up the biennial Barossa Vintage Festival. … The biennial vintage festival celebrates the harvest in every town.

What was noticeable in my fieldwork was the celebration of both local tradition, as with a ~~"r~~estored settlers cottage", or ~~"G~~erman wursts", and present day globalised marketing. Tourists could celebrate a traditional harvest festival and then listen to an international musician or pop star.

MAP 2.5 **Selection of Cellars Doors around the three major towns of the Barossa Valley**: **Nuriootpa, Tanunda, Angaston.**
Source: (Planetware, Barossa Valley 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 56 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Attending a concert, celebratory dinner or festival in the Barossa Valley or McLaren Vale wine regions were just as ~~"~~memorable", as tasting the actual wine that was produced. On Australia Day (January 26, 2009), a national holiday, I attended along with thousands of other people the ~~"~~Day on the Green" concert at Leconfield Winery, McLaren Vale starring Leonard Cohen and Paul Kelly. We drank wines from Shingleback, Scarpontoni and Boar's Rock. It was a hot day, and by 8pm I was very tired, so I left early, after four hours of listening to music, chatting to people, such as the pastor from the local Lutheran college, and drinking wine. Subsequently the social memory and images about this event were recounted and inscribed not only on the web, as professional photographers wandered around taking pictures of us, and hundreds of happy friends and couples that were published on the web; but also at Tatachilla Lutheran College where an enlarged picture of a friend, who also attended the concert and the school pastor appeared on the staff notice board. My friend was a relatively new member of the staff and was therefore the centre of gossip for a while. Memories of this winery concert are still circulating on web pages, and discourses about the concert gave form not only to mine, but also Susann's identity as a member of the concert and local community.

Memories were also inscribed in the Clare Valley wine region, to the mid north of South Australia, including the small towns of Auburn, Leasingham, Watervale, Mintaro, Penwortham, Sevenhill and Clare (Maps 2.6; 2.7). The Clare Valley, as many writers comment is picturesque, cooler than the surrounding plains, generates its own microclimates and is about one and half hours drive from Adelaide. The Clare Valley was popular amongst local and visiting wine enthusiasts, and well known for its art, which was exhibited in such local wineries, as Stringy Brae, Pikes and Neagles Rock Vineyards. When I carried out fieldwork in the Clare Valley I was always aware of the change in climate between different wineries. As a cool climate region, Clare is famous for the quality of its Riesling and warmer regions that produced richer red varietals, including Shiraz and Cabernet wines. During The Clare Gourmet Weekend in May local food and wine are paired at restaurants and wineries around the Valley. To accommodate the influx of visitors, the region had six conference centres, such as Skilly Hills Function and Scenic Tours, approximately 30 cellar doors, 64 places for accommodation and 20 Hotels/Restaurants.

There are many other tourist attractions in the surrounding area, such as the historic mining town of Burra, the Flinders Ranges, Heysen and Mawson Trails, and many tourists I met

used Clare as a base for excursions. The Lower Murray or Riverland wine region, approximately a two and a half hours drive north east of Adelaide, includes the towns of Barmera, Loxton, Waikerie, and Renmark. Berri and has some of the largest vineyards and wineries in Australia, including, Angoves, Remano Wines, Normans and Berri Estates. The Riverland wine region is significant for this study as I visited Banrock Station winery and eco reserve, situated on the banks of the River Murray several times.

The inscription of memories, of relaxed holidays and sensual experiences is particularly noticeable during regular wine festivals, such as the Clare Valley Gourmet Weekend. Despite the sometimes claustrophobic venues and busy narrow roads, several participants I interviewed form both overseas and Adelaide have been coming back for several years. Paul and Andrea commented that they liked how wines are pared with local produce, and that Clare was ―just an hour and a bit [drive] from Adelaide". As a form of life (Wittgenstein 1995), the Gourmet Weekend involves the association of similar activities, language games and sensual experiences. At Stone Bridge Wines, visitors can enjoy a ―Dukkah Platter with local olives and … one of our famous wood oven pizzas". Descriptions about attractions at other wineries follow a similar script, highlighting the apparent freshness of local food, aesthetic sensibility of the occasion, and genuine sensual, if not friendly ―indulgence" in local food, wine, music, and social activities. Special events, including the Gala opening night of the Clare festival, including the Rotary Art Show and the Annual Vintage Tasting of over one hundred twenty wines signify the festival as a special form of life, celebrating local foodways and heritage:

Examples of events at Clare Valley Gourmet Weekend 2010
Source (Clare Gourmet Weekend Pamphlet May 2010)

Stone Bridge Wines – Food, Wine & Music
Gillentown Road, Clare T 08 8843 4143
11.00am – 4.00pm
Relax and enjoy a Dukkah Platter with local olives and fresh continental bread or one of our famous wood oven pizzas.
Dessert – baked Swiss apricot cheesecake. Children's/gluten free options available. Mareeba coffee and assorted teas.
Safe children's area.
Music: The Waxed Catz - acoustic duo. Songs from the 70's to today

Kirrihill Wines with Artisan's Table Wine Bar & Bistro
Wendouree Road, Clare T 08 8842 4087
12noon – 10.30pm
Lunch: Artisan's Plate – A fine selection of Clare Valley homemade

produce served with chutney and crusty bread.
Dinner: Moroccan Feast – Enjoy our Chicken Curry or Lamb Tagine served with cous cous and fresh salads.
Coach parking. Children's activities on the lawn.
Music: Colonial Mustard 12.30pm – 4.30pm
Danny Hooper 6.30pm – 10.30pm

OTHER SPECIAL EVENTS
Rotary Art Show - Gala Opening Night
Friday 14 May at 7.00pm
Entry $15.00 at the Clare Town Hall
Tickets from Clare Valley Visitor Centre
T 08 8842 2131
Serving Clare Valley Wines
Open from 15 – 20 May from 10.00am – 5.00pm
–Come and visit the Biggest and Best Exhibition in the Mid North".

Clare Valley Winemakers Annual Vintage Tasting
The Brick Pavilion, Clare Showgrounds T 08 8843 0122
Saturday 15 May 9.30am – 12noon
A unique chance to taste over 120 Clare Valley wines at various stages of development during the winemaking process. Join winemakers and taste from juice to ferments, barrel samples and finished wines. Be the first to taste the 2009 reds and 2010 whites with our local winemakers.
$20 entry includes tasting glass.

Sevenhill Cellars is an especial attraction with its own church, religious community, and premium brands, continuing a spiritual tradition that has infused their production of sacramental wine since being established by the Jesuits in 1851 (Plate2.6). While the 2009 Mary Mackillop Sainthood Shiraz, celebrating South Australia's newly ordained saint, sold out quickly, visitors can still undertake a free guided tour of the winery with winemakers Liz Heidenreich and Jesuit emeritus Brother John May SJ. During the 2011 Clare Festival tourists can even listen to Gypsy-style market music (Sevenhill events 2011).

As a form of embodied material culture, I argue that visitors to the Clare festival are attracted to, and apperceive of festivities in relation to varied sensual experiences of wine places. Vicki and Margie, a couple from Adelaide said that after travelling from Adelaide in the morning, they stopped for coffee and looked at the Rotary art show, tasted wine at a couple of cellar doors, and listened to music. They had lunch at the local hotel, saying that many wineries were too crowded. As previously argued, it is tourist's sensuality, the engagement of taste, sound, touch, smell and sight, and corporeal emplacement that not only helps structure a tourist's experience, but also helps creates the Clare Valley as a place.

PLATE 2.6 Church at Sevenhill winery, Clare

Source: (Sevenhill, flickr 2011).

MAP 2.6: Clare Valley and Surrounding Towns

Source: (cvtours 2010)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 61 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

MAP 2.7 Clare Valley Wineries

Source: (Clare Valley Winemakers Inc Copyright 2010)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 62 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

2.3.5 Landscapes and Markers

Tours of a wine region take various routes, and associated discourses about wine places' highlighted features about such places in different ways. Such routes include wine coach tours, family trips to a wine region, and guided, and unguided tours of a winery and its associated landscapes. What distinguishes such social settings are the variety of ways in which places and landscapes are conceptualised and gazed upon, and the different communicative activities between tourist-travellers and local stakeholders. Hirsch observes that, "Landscape thus emerges as a cultural process" (1995:6).

Wine tourism is not an inert practice, as it involves the continuous cultural invention of meaning and socio-economic values with which places and landscapes are signified. When tourists visit a winery in South Australia the culture of the place is promoted in advertising brochures, communicated in cellar talk, and celebrated at leisure with friends, and participants of a tour group. As such, archetypal descriptions about wineries are inappropriate when describing a visit to a particular wine region. Abram and Waldren argue that:

> Picking at the details of typologies in this way might seem small-minded, but it indicates something that we take for granted: that 'tourism' is a word only loosely associated with a phenomenon, and this phenomenon is not one, but many sets of practices, with few clear boundaries but some central ideas (1997: 2).

Nevertheless, definitive language games, as with the dialogue between cellar door visitor and host, specific forms of material cultural, social activity and signs are present during visits to wineries, which help frame (Goffman 1975a) the experience of wine tasting and tour activity. Distinctive markers or signs and practices are evident during wine tours that help order and provide meaning about a wine tour.

This includes such features as access to the winery owner or winemaker, admission costs to festive events and tours, and language games, such as a coach driver's commentary, or a web site and wine pamphlet's description, about a winery and the wine region. In discussing travel books, Travlou says:

> As a marker, the guidebook has the functional role of the informant since it provides important information. In this context, the travel book – as with all the other markers – is

> responsible for the construction of the image about the place that the tourists form in their minds (2002: 108-9).

Apart from glossy South Australian government and Internet booking sites, tourist guides and wine travel books, other markers defining tourist activity include the behaviour, presentation, and level of explanation about the winery by cellar door workers, visitors and tour guides[17]. At a cellar door the social ambience and architecture of winery buildings and surrounding landscapes also play a part in defining and ordering the experience of wine tourism.

The marketing of the Barossa Valley and its wines, through media and guides' discourses, play a role in the signification of the region as a place and the social construction of a local community. The consumption of wine and food at a particular winery such as Jacobs Creek in the Barossa Valley, Banrock Station in the Riverland or Penfolds at Magill, Adelaide, are also a reflection of the *umwelt* at each winery – the world as it stands in relationship to a particular historical community. Mimica says: ~~–th~~e world as *Umwelt* is a concept which stresses fine-grained differences and distinctiveness between cultures rather than universal features (1981:6)". Tours guides emphasise the distinctive heritage of small towns, and settlement of migrants in the 19th century from different ethnic backgrounds, including Germans, Poles, and English in the Barossa Valley. In comparison cellar door hosts tour guides concentrate on describing the distinctive taste of varietals, such as Shiraz from the McLaren Vale wine region and the characteristics or vision of recently established wineries.

The website for Peter Lehmann wines (2007) provides a detailed account of the early history and traditions of the Barossa Valley and reflects what guides generally said during wine coach tours:

> History: In 1840, George Fife Angas, a British merchant banker, landowner, and philanthropist, bought 24,000 acres (10,900 hectares) in the Barossa Valley and he sold 2,000 of these acres to 25 Prussian Lutheran families. Led by Pastor Kavel, these families had come to Australia seeking freedom to worship in the Lutheran Church, a right denied them by King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia.

[17] Books about wine regions and specific South Australian wineries are numerous, some notable examples include: *The Australian Wine Pictorial Atlas* (Hardy 1997), *Coonawarra: the history, the vignerons and the wines* (Halliday 1983), *Bleasdale* (Bleasdale Vineyards 1986), *McLaren Vale: Sea and Vines* (Santich 1998).

> These early Lutheran settlers were devout, thrifty, hard working, and frugal, characteristics that are still reflected in the Barossa culture today. Today, Lutheran churches are still in evidence, and use, throughout the region.
> Early English settlers in the same period tended to take up land in the Barossa Ranges which was predominantly pastoral. The German-speaking Lutherans dominated the Valley floor with their smaller holdings of the more fertile land.
> …
> Today, the Barossa is the beating heart of Australia's wine industry. But the Barossa is so much more than wine. The Barossa's beautiful landscapes, its strong sense of community, its distinctive architecture, its strong culinary traditions and its vibrant cultural life all combine to make it one of the great cultural tourism destinations of the world.

The emphasis by Peter Lehmann's winery on ethnic history and the heritage of particular regions can be contrasted to the socio-economics of the 21st century, where small wine producers and vineyards are dominated in the Barossa Valley by the largest corporate wine companies in Australia, such as Constellation (Hardy's), Foster's Group and Pernod Piccard (Table 7.4).

2.4 THE HOLIDAY EXPERIENCE

In this section, I analyse how leisure and the personal lives of tourists intersected with wine tourism and the valorisation or commoditisation of wine places and tour experiences. I begin with a case study, delineating a couple's holiday in the Barossa Valley and their stay in a Bed and Breakfast accommodation. After viewing approximately six websites advertising accommodation in the Barossa Valley, Julie and David decided to stay at Stonewall Cottages. Julie and David were from England, visiting Adelaide for a few weeks and enthusiastic about South Australia's wine regions and attractions. When booking the accommodation over the Internet they also booked a small coach tour of the Valley.

The images and textual descriptions they encountered on the web played a decisive role regarding the Bed and Breakfast accommodation eventually booked. Several tourists that I interviewed also researched and booked their South Australian accommodation over the Internet. What distinguished a Bed and Breakfast stay from alternate accommodation such as motel rooms was the emphasis on privacy and romance, the personalised touches in the provisions provided, such as complimentary port, and the provision of a cold or cooked

breakfast. Internet portals listed several different types of Bed and Breakfast accommodation, ranging from renovated or rustic houses in Barossa Valley townships, purpose built rooms in a larger motels or resorts and corporate style retreats. Stonewall Cottages emphasised a relaxed and carefree holiday amongst the vineyards, ducks, birds and nearby lake that guests could gaze upon from the cottage porch. Stonewall consisted of four cottages amongst the vineyards, five kilometres from Tanunda, the main town in the Barossa Valley. The following below is characteristic of the web and brochure advertisements that tourists see when booking their stay:

> **Stonewall Cottages – unique accommodation in The Barossa Valley**
>
> Stonewall Cottages are distinctive and unique in the special way it has combined Barossa history and heritage - "The Heart of the Barossa" with the on going workings of the vineyards that produce the wine, "The Soul of the Barossa" and in a small way its food, "The Taste of the Barossa".
>
> Visiting a wine region it would be great to stay where every good wine has its beginning - right in the vineyard. This is the experience waiting to be enjoyed at Bell Cottages. Not only is Stonewall Cottages set amongst the vines, they nestle on the edge of a private lake, a unique experience in the Barossa. Friendly ducks gather for a feed. Even the sheep can be hand fed. There's a boat to go rowing in, fish and yabbies to catch in the lake and creek or a gazebo on the island to sit and relax.
>
> With the peaceful country ambience but still close to town, wineries, restaurants, and shop facilities, the cottages provide a haven for those looking for a relaxing or romantic stay. The three cottages, each with their own unique character, decorated in the country style with Barossa antiques … all private facilities, cosy wood fires with a continual supply of wood, luxury two person spas, country kitchens, lounge area, queen size beds, air conditioning, television and CD player. All cottages are set in amongst the vineyards, overlooking the lake. Wake up to a long, lazy breakfast amongst the vines, beside the lake, to the serenade of the birds (Horizons, 2008).

The web site emphasises a distinctive or ~~"u~~nique" holiday accommodation with country facilities, and key images: ~~"c~~osy wood fires", and ~~"l~~azy breakfasts" that objectify what tourists can experience. Furthermore the advertisement implied a connection with the

heritage, wine, food, and ambience of the Barossa Valley, such as the Stonewall Cottages complimentary port and bottle of wine that was included in the tariff.

Coleman and Crang argue that:

> In a global market, where tourists have a wide choice of similar destinations, it has become vital to make a distinctive pitch. Rather as cities compete to attract footloose capital, so places have to market their specificity (Harvey 1989). Destination regions do not simply exist or naturally happen, and one can chart the creation of regions as linked and themed areas, excluding some places and highlighting others (2002:3).

As a –distinctive pitch", cottage guests could experience _nature' by rowing to an island in the middle of a lake, which had been excavated by the locals. Included in a stay were the friendly ducks, that jumped the fence surrounding the cottages, such that visitors had to provide them with a feed of grains that the owners had conveniently supplied. As with Stonewall Cottages, most South Australian Bed and Breakfast advertisements emphasised privacy as a key part of a stay. As such, the Cottages were signified as a romantic getaway, as well as a home away form home, with little interference from other guests in adjoining accommodation or staff. On their first night there Julie and David, described how they took a stroll around the lake and shared a glass of wine on the grass, while the inquisitive ducks said hello. At Stonewall Cottages I also observed couples rowing, or going for walks arm in arm around in the morning or evening around the lake.

Advertising images for Stonewall Cottages including the company's website depicted rustic rural scenes-a lake, rowboats, ducks and sheep. Crick says, –Image, of course, is of the essence of the international tourism industry" (1994:4), and a stay at Stonewall Cottages was promoted in relation to the marketing practices of global tourism. This was readily apparent when I viewed several international holiday websites where Stonewall Cottages was listed[18]. The guest book also demonstrated this; as it included hundreds of positive comments from South Australians, guests from other Australian states and several industrialised countries, including England, America, Canada, and Singapore. Next to the cottage where I stayed were a middle class couple in their mid 50s from America, touring selected wine regions in Australia. Many of the guests made comments appreciating the

[18] Websites included: www.takeabreak.com.au; www.totaltravel.com.au.

privacy, the sensual experiences of the spa, bed, and romance they experienced as a couple in the guest book.:

> Thankyou for hosting us during our recent trip to Adelaide. The provision was well catered and generous, beautiful setting, such comfortable living, and thoughtful hospitality. It made our trip a lot more memorable. Warm regards. (ER Family, Singapore June 2007).
>
> The cottage was beautiful - it had everything we needed for a lovely relaxing stay (our honeymoon). Our breakfasts were delicious, as were the chocolates and wine. The bed and spa were fantastic also. Everything was clean and fresh. We appreciated the attention to detail - we wanted for nothing. We could quite easily move in for good! It was the best place we have ever stayed in - truly sorry we had to leave! Thankyou! (Mr and Mrs S., New South Wales, June 2007)
>
> The cottage was perfect - immaculate! All the little touches were much appreciated. Spa was fab! (Christine, United Kingdom November, 2007)
>
> Thankyou so much, such a high level on attention to detail is so welcoming. We were so impressed with the breakfast provisions left for us - we mentioned we were vegos [vegetarians] so the extra spinach and mushrooms were fantastic. (David, South Australia, September 2007).

2.4.1 Conclusion

In South Australia, and I would argue in most Western economies, wine is a market commodity that also tastes good; it acquires significance for the part it plays in business success as with Difabio Estate, and in wine tasting speech communities, as with Pertaringa Cellar Door. Another feature is the symbolic significance of wine when used in relation to communion with the divine during Christian rituals. Sevenhill winery, a tourist attraction in the Clare Valley, was established by the Jesuits in the 19th century and still makes communion wine today. While tasting and drinking wine is a sensual act that feels good, it is also symbolic. Mintz says,

> The substances and acts to which meanings attach—insides kinds of meaning—serve to validate social events. Social learning and practice relate them to one another, and to what they stand for. Rice and rings have meanings in weddings

> much as lilies and lighted candles do in funerals. These are historically acquired—they arise grow, change and die—they are culture specific as well as arbitrary, for all are symbols (1985:153).

Thus, in mapping out or conceptualising the physical boundaries and symbolic significance of wine tourism in South Australia I argue that wine tasting and tours are not only forms of capitalist enterprise but also meaningful as communities of practice. Such communities are transient forms of life with specific language games and sensual experiences that help establish the boundaries of a wine place. Tourists can be defined not because they do or don‘t buy wine products as consumers, but because they engage in specific behaviours and discursive expressions relating to the activity they engage in, such as tasting wine or eating a picnic lunch in a wine region.

CHAPTER THREE

"COME TO YOUR SENSES"

We should therefore have to say how we inhabit our vital space,
in accord with all the dialectics of life, how we take root,
day after day, in a „œrner of the world.
(Bachelard 1994: 4).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I analyse three case studies, Banrock Wine and Wetlands Centre in the Riverland wine region, Gemtree vineyards in the McLaren Vale and Penfolds winery in Adelaide. I discuss how these places are culturally constructed both physically and metaphorically as _winescapes', and how tourist-travellers discern and sense the places where grapes are grown, and wine made and tasted. In conjunction with this, I analyse how wine places, such as vineyards, cellar doors, scenic views, picnic lunch spots, restaurants, and information centres, are marketed and imaged as sensual and symbolic environments. This includes Banrock Station's concern for native ecology and Penfolds' creation of prestigious brands and reconstructions of its early history. Banrock Station winery is environmentally orientated; developing wetlands 200 kilometres north east of Adelaide, on the River Murray. Penfolds has a winery at Magill, 10 kilometres east of the city, with another cellar door and a larger processing complex in the Barossa Valley. I detail how visits to these wine places involve different sensory experiences and marketing messages.

I argue that wine tours, wineries and wine places are framed and made meaningful by distinct messages about the quality of the food and wine that tourists consume, and the association of wine places with nature. Such messages in turn help frame the meaning and experience of tourism in wine places. I thus argue that dominant messages and language games are evident during my fieldwork helping frame (Wittgenstein 1995: Para. 7, 24, Goffman 1975a, Bateson 1972) and qualify what is perceived and sensed when tourists visit wine places.

In Chapter Two I argued that tourism, and more specifically wine tourism, can be understood as a form of life (Wittgenstein 1995: Para. 19, 23). A central frame that anchors the meaning of this form of life is the context within which tourists enact and carry out their role as tourists. Chenail (1995) points out that a frame is synonymous with context. The contexts within which tourists visit a wine place helps fix the meaning of this activity. Carey argues that:

> But what is called the study of culture also can be called the study of communications for what we are studying in this context are the ways in which experience is worked into understandings and then disseminated and celebrated (the distinctions, as in dialogue, are not sharp (2009:34).

Bateson says: ―The context (or metamessage) *classifies* the message, but can never meet it on equal terms" (1972:247). In studying the contexts of environmental and social interactions within which wine tourism takes place I therefore detail how wineries and cellar doors are organised such that they help sensuously and symbolically frame the tourist's experience.

The skills and behaviour expected of a wine tour guide, or the role of being a wine tourist, are highlighted and made significant during his or her experience of a wine place and interaction with other people during the relevant wine tasting session or tour. Goffman says:

> While in the presence of others, the individual typically infuses his activity with signs, which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure. For if the individual's activity is to become significant to others, he [or she] must mobilize his activity so that it will express *during the interaction* (sic) what he wishes to convey (1975b:40).

At most cellar doors, a large serving bench separates the customer-tourists from the cellar staff and wine stock area. At other more formalised wine tasting events, the wine maker or lecturer stands behind a podium at one end of the room and lectures us as to the qualities of the wine we taste. The physical layout of the room and appropriate placement of such things as tables, chairs, benches and service areas symbolise and spatially structure a division between wine consumer and producer. Abercrombie states that: ―The spatial relationships of objects convey information about the roles of the people who use them" (1971:399). This is reflected at cellar doors, with a host and sometimes an oenologist standing behind a

counter or serving area, surrounded by an array of wine bottles and the tourist-consumer standing on the other side of the counter. This spatial arrangement reinforces the symbolism between those who make and sell wine and the tourist-consumers who buy it. Wine appreciation embodies a hierarchy between those who are knowledgeable about the wine tasted and who uphold its imputed worth, and the unapprised consumer-tourists who taste the product. To the extent that wine tasting takes place in a physically controlled area, it is also a closely monitored space conducive with the cellar host usually having a complete view of the tasting area. A winery's control of how space is utilised and retail service performed at a cellar door helps frame and establish the environment and conventions of behaviour expected during a wine tasting ritual.

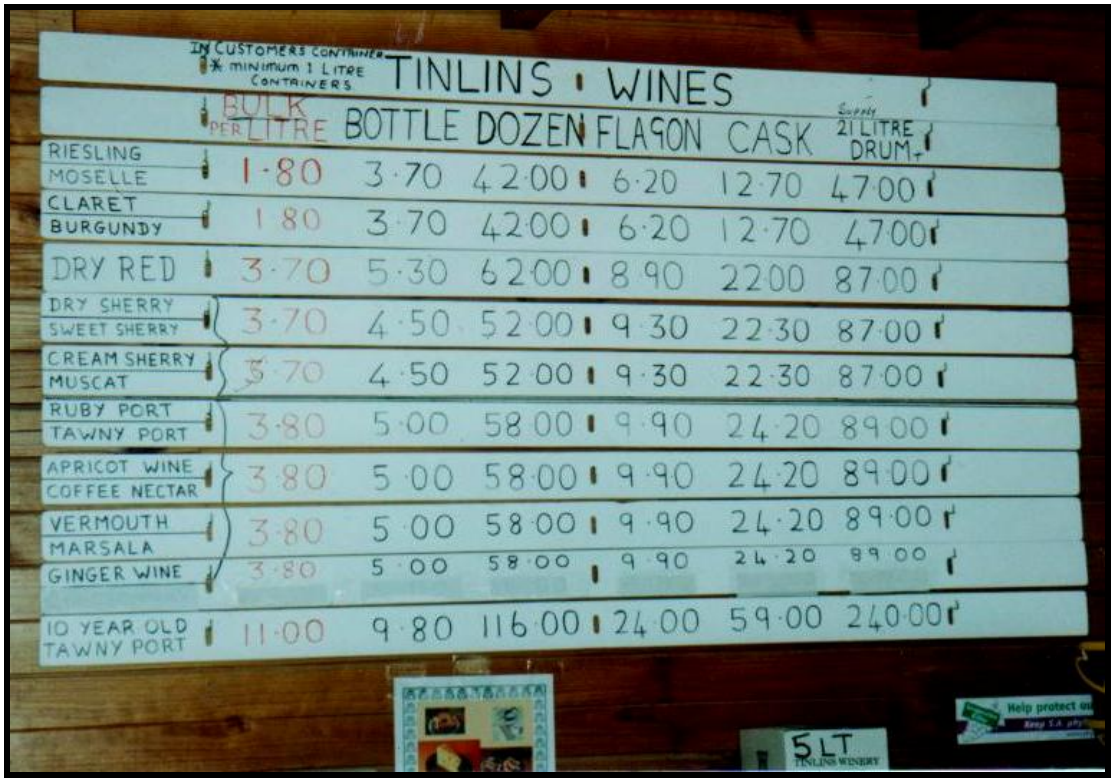
In general, younger boutique wineries emphasised their closeness to nature or uniqueness of their wine, with older and usually larger wineries stressing the traditions of their founders and association with a region's culture and history. Wineries tend to point out the quality of their wine, a guarantee of the authenticity of the tourist's experience. Of course, there are exceptions, such as Tinlins in the McLaren Vale that sells cheap, dependable, bulk flagon wine at a guaranteed price and quality at its _shed door' (Plate 3.1). Tinlins, with its functionalist cellar door service and no frills presentation, appeals to its own market segment, such as locals who regularly came back to get refills of their five litre containers. Keith and his wife Judith, with whom I went on a picnic in the McLaren Vale, make a point of calling into Tinlins, citing both the quality of the wine and its value for money.[19] More significant is the respect and genuineness with which friends express their opinions about Tinlins' products.

Boutique wineries and cellar doors, such as Ashton Hills Vineyard and Tinlins, tend to emphasize rustic informality, the quality of their products, and uniqueness of their wine making tradition in relation to their identity as a place. Larger or more successful wineries cement their success in new cellar doors restaurants, renovated buildings, and landscapes, such as Jacobs Creek winery in the Barossa Valley. Associating the wine area with local arts and crafts, and food or art exhibitions, as with the McLaren Vale Wine and Visitors Centre helps aestheticise marketing ambitions, and retell the traditions of the winery and the area.

[19] I did buy a five litre plastic container of port, thinking that another friend of mine would like half of it. He had a few glasses and gave the rest away; while I, after having a few sips of the same port every now and again over the next six months, tipped the remainder out-too sweet -and undeveloped for my taste.

PLATE 3.1 Tinlins „rustic" Price List

Source: (author 2004)



3.1.1 Smelling Wine

Several social analysts such as Foucault (1979), Derrida (1986), Clifford, (1997), Stoller (1989, 1997), Gell (1995) and Casey (1996) have observed, as Borthwick puts it, that ―western philosophy privileges the sense of sight and hearing" (2000:128). While the level of knowledge about wine tasting terminology and practices varied among tourists, wine tours are a sensually based pursuit and it is empirically important to pay attention to the use of sensory modalities other than sight by tourists. What became apparent during my research and fieldwork is the embodied nature of wine tasting. First, wine tasting and tours are experienced as a sensually based form of material consumption and knowledge. Tour guides and winemakers emphasise the taste, smell, colour and feel on the tongue of wine. As Farnell argues: ―Human beings everywhere engage in complex structured systems of bodily action that are laden with social and cultural significance" (1999:3).

Wine consumers that I encountered engage in definitive gustatory actions, such as smelling wine, that constructs their identity as tourists and connoisseurs during wine tours or tasting sessions. Stoller stresses that:

> The fusion of the intelligible and the sensible can be applied to scholarly practices and representations. In anthropology, for example, it is especially important to incorporate into ethnographic works the sensuous body – its smells, tastes, textures and sensations (1997: xv).

While Stoller (1989:101–124) applies this to the Songhay, who are phenomenologically orientated around smells, it is just as analytically significant to acknowledge that wine tours are smelt, felt and heard as well as visually interpreted.

Apart from business conferences, a market segment in itself, or a day‘s revelry with work colleagues, the majority of tourists on coach tours or at cellar doors travel with family and friends. Because I travelled alone I tended to stand out. While many of the tourists I met on coach tours travel from interstate or overseas, if they were locals (residents of South Australia), they generally undertook a tour of a wine region to mark an important occasion, such as a public holiday, marriage, or annual holiday. More particularly, the experience of wine tours and tasting engaged a different sensory existence and cultural practice to the everyday, taken for granted engagement in labour and domestic life.

I ask how the pleasures of wine tasting and drinking, encourages tourists to come to their senses. The problem is to describe and understand how a person‘s being and acting, structures and enlivens a wine and food tasting session, or wine tour experience, and the phenomena they encounter; and in this, constructs their sense of being-in-place. In this, I follow Feld and Basso (1996:4) in seeking to —.move beyond facile generalizations about places being culturally constructed by describing specific ways in which places naturalize different worlds of sense.” Going on a wine coach tour is a kinaesthetic experience. As a tourist, I physically feel the weight of my body being moved between wineries on a coach. When I walk the wine trails in the town of Clare and at Banrock Station winery, I feel the movement of muscles and tendons. My experience of being an ethnographer and tourist begins with my body‘s movement and kinaesthetic perception of the environment. Other coach tour participants use their sense of taste and smell when they taste wine, or attend a festival and eat local food. We also use sight in gazing at the environment, architecture and

tourist paraphernalia around us, hearing when we talk to friends and listen to commentaries by tour guides, and feeling when touching such things as wine glasses or the hands of a partner.

Wine tasting is therefore comprehensible not only as a marketing practice but also as the art of familiarising and educating a wine consumer about the tastes of relevant wines and products for sale at a winery. From a phenomenological viewpoint, tasting wine embodies the intentionality of consciousness. That is to say, the experience of tasting wine, or for that matter a new brand of cheese at a cellar door, involves the perception, and expectation that tasting a wine will either be familiar, different, tasteful or tasty, or completely new to a person's previous gustatory knowledge. Bourdieu says: "Taste is an acquired disposition to 'differentiate' and 'appreciate'" (1984: 466). I argue that the basic ability to gain an insight, and appreciate taste differences in wine is acquired through previous language games and social practices involving food and drink consumption, such as the distinction between bitter and sweet. Formal instruction and informal pointers at wineries, and discussion amongst friends about the techniques of discerning taste and smell in wine, draw upon a knowledge base of everyday experience of foodways. The apperception of local produce and wines is therefore related to a tourist's expectations about flavour, taste, texture and smell, food presentation, and memories of previous foodways ingestion (Sutton 2001).

I frequently overheard and interpreted basic wine tasting language games in one form or another, such as: "Do you like or dislike this wine?" and the more subtle, but omnipresent, "please buy this wine!". Borthwick argues: "Odour and olfaction, unlike speech and or utterances, do not function on the premise of intention or intentional communication" (2000:130). I argue that wine tasting and wine tourism can be understood as an odour and olfactory based social practice, which intentionally invites the participant-consumer to reflect upon and ascertain the qualities of the wine they taste. Tourists are encouraged to communicate verbally, non-verbally or through actions such as buying or not buying the brand of wine they taste, to their friends, tour group or winery staff, their disposition and appreciation of the wines they savour. Apart from the obvious fact that there are commercial relationships between wine producers and consumers, the act of perceiving or ascertaining the taste of wine is a social form of behaviour. Merleau-Ponty says:

> Vision and mobile, my body is a thing among things; it is caught in the fabric of the world, and its cohesion is that of a thing. But because it moves itself and sees, it holds things in a circle around itself (1972:59).

Likewise, when discussing Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, Spurling notes that:

> The social is, rather, a fundamental structure of experience, it is a permanent field and ever-present horizon to all subjectivity and all social action, in the same way as the world is the permanent horizon to all perception (1977: 85).

A coach tour of a south Australian wine region or the experience of tasting wine at a cellar door are perceived and made meaningful through the corporeal action of tourist-travellers. Casey says:

> But perception remains as *constitutive* as it is constituted. This is especially evident when we perceive places: our immersion in them is not subjection to them, since we may modify their influence even as we submit to it. This influence is as meaningful as it is sensuous. Not only is the sensuous senseful, it is also placeful (1996: 19).

The experience and sensuality of being in a wine place mediates the images encountered on a wine tour, and the apprehension of a wine tasting session. In this, I follow Feld and Basso (1996:4), arguing that places are made meaningful because they are actively sensed.

Kant (1928 [1768]: 21-22) points out that the body exists in relationship to the three dimensions, up/down, front/back, and right/left. I would also include other perceptual and sensate dyads that organise a tourist's experience of a place and the wine tasted, such as near/far, hot/cold, dry/wet, open/shut, hard/soft, sweet/sour, inside/outside and the presence/absence of other people. Husserl says, "The body (Leib) then has, for its particular ego, the unique distinction of bearing in itself the *zero point* of all these orientations" (1989:166). Such basic contrasts as between near or far immediately orient a tourist in a place, including heat, as cellars are usually warmer in winter or cooler in summer, than the vineyards which are viewed from a distance. From this perspective wine tourism as a market is not "out there'" in the world of marketing campaigns (Lien 1997: 90), but felt, a body is the end point for consumption and perception of a marketing environment. Furthermore, tourist activities are a performance, denoted by expected forms of behaviour, speech interactions and decorum. Goffman says:

> The impression and understanding fostered by the performance will tend to saturate the region and time span, so that any individual located in this space-time manifold will be in a position to observe the performance and be guided by the definition of the situation which the performance fosters (1975b: 109).

The meaning of tourist activities, such as a visitor reading information boards at a winery is related to their presence, or body in that place, and the „performance" that he or she is enacting.

3.1.2 Wine Tourism: A Corner of the „Natural" World

Wine is an economic and socio-political artefact despite the discourses and images of wine as a product of nature and apolitical rural enterprise. Furthermore, being-in-place at a winery involves the sensual and symbolic apprehension of a particular world and its history in space and time. Samuel's Gorge winery and cellar door in McLaren Vale both images an historical past and obscures its establishment as a business. Samuel's Gorge is located in an historic olive oil making building that overlooks a valley. While the area from which we were served gave us a dramatic view of the valley, the adjoining mini museum, olive pressing machinery and floor were noticeably dusty. With photographs of the 19th century owners lining the tasting arena, an historic ambience and architecture helps convey a rich past. I made a point of asking how long the winery had been operating: and the answer was a mere six years. Samuel's Gorge has created an interpretative facade associating the taste of their wine with an historical architecture and working past. Justin McNamee, the winemaker says in Samuel's Gorge's website:

> At Samuel's Gorge I am looking to collate the tools and experience that I have gathered over the years to craft wines with focus, specialising in three key varietals that I think excel in McLaren Vale; Grenache, Shiraz and Tempranillo. The barn from which I work was built in 1853 and is positioned on a ridge top that runs east/west on the southern lip of the Onkaparinga River National Park. Dramatic Australian wilderness greets me every morning on the way to the barn (McNamee 2010).

Many cellar doors and associated environments are architecturally designed and renovated such that their signification and commoditisation are especially meaningful. Barth's observation is applicable here: „Myth is constituted by the loss of the historical quality of

things: in it, things lose the memory that they once were made" (1972: 142). The recent establishment of Samuel's Gorge winery is conflated with the mythology and ancestral figures of McLaren Vale's past. Particularly with Banrock and restored wineries such as Penfolds Wine and associated rural environments rhetorically promoted such that they are aesthetically pleasing, sensually stimulating, and conducive to different forms of social interactions. Marketing discourses reflect this, with a wine tour advertisement for the Barossa vintage celebration saying:

> Explore the Barossa Valley with a tour for the senses; taste, touch, smell, hear and tour the sights that make the Barossa the ultimate wine experience. Taste icon wines, touch their famous vineyards, smell the fresh country air, see the wineries theses wine were created in and listen to the growers discuss their Barossa heritage and the winemakers passion behind theses famous wines (*Barossa Valley Vintage Festival* pamphlet, 2009: 10).

Visitors to specific wine regions are encouraged to take notice of a specific ~~"~~corner of the world" (Bachelard, 1994: 4). While the media generally associates wine tourism with leisure activities and sensual indulgence the spaces used to make, imagine, and ingest wine, food and associated cultural pursuits in South Australia are businesses, though their wine cellars are as varied as the history and geography of wine making. The discursive and tangible world of wine tourism is marked out, symbolised and localised in multiple ways.

The association between wine and cultural practice is as meaningful today as it was for Euripides, author of *The Bacchae,* and for those who made wine 10,000 years ago in areas of present day Turkey[20]. I argue that a subtle, but coercive image of nature as independent of culture, morally neutral (Peace 1996: 11) or separate, and more pure, is generally present when tourists visit wineries or wine regions. Being associated with ~~'~~nature', wine places are signified and promoted to tourists as more wholesome than the urban society and cities of origin that they come from.

[20] Making wine is as old as the written and archaeological records. Wine grape pips are different from grapes grown for other uses and archaeologists accept them as potential evidence of wine making. There is archaeological evidence of wine grape cultivation of approximately 8000 BC at Catel Huyuk in Turkey, Damascus in Syria, and carbon dating of pips and wine clay jars in Georgia to around 7000-5000BC (Johnson 1992: 10-12).

Ideas and discourses about nature have come to exist independently of their cultural invention and visualisation, and Ulin argues that the invention of French wine making tradition and tasting standards reflects this:

> However, the idea that culture is a social construction and that nature exists independent of the concepts through which it is grasped has moved well beyond our intellectual history to occupy a significant place in our practical consciousness and language (1995: 522).

In reference to my ethnography, nature can be defined as quite distinct from culture, in that it is seen to be independent of the cultural constructs through which regional wine areas are conceived. It is not only nature but rural enterprises, such as winemaking or the production of goat‘s cheese, that are imputed to be more naturally authentic in comparison to the consumption of urban goods and services, such as cheese from a supermarket.

In South Australia many marketing images of wine places are associated with a narrative holiday from work, a nourishing and idyllic journey to a rural hinterland or untarnished coastal vista, and a stimulating sensual experience of ‗real‘ wine, local food and ‗natural‘ landscapes. While the official government tourist brochure about the Barossa Valley readily acknowledges the cultural history and human activity that developed the region, there are language games evident in marketing descriptions, detailing not only travel routes, but also mythologised ‗secrets‘ from the past, relating the establishment of wineries in the Barossa Valley, such as Seppeltsfield in 1851 by Joseph Seppelt to an unsullied heritage, if not neo-totemic atmosphere:

> Leaving Tanunda after making a careful left hand turn at the railway crossing you will find the tiny Siegesdorf cemetery. Towards Seppeltsfield, you will travel through the quaint settlement of Marananga, another secret treasure, with its very own rock band. … Restored homes and cottages gather together to provide a whole range of experiences.
>
> …
>
> The huge palms lining the road whispering ‗Seppelts‘, were planted to provide during the great depression (Barossa Secrets 2003: 38).

Marketing discourses about secret ‗treasures” and ‗whispering‘ ghosts give atmosphere. I interviewed several people who undertook Seppeltsfields various tours and asked them

if they noticed something different, in comparison to the atmosphere of other wineries. They agreed that the Seppelts‘ mausoleum where three generations of the Seppelts family are buried, the palm tree lined roads and the hundred year old fortified wines that can be tasted during a wine tour give Seppeltsfield a unique atmosphere. Seppeltsfield currently offers the tourist-consumer six different tours, where the visitor can gain insights into past and present production activities, heritage buildings, wine storage areas and taste both over the counter as well as premium fortified wine, and finish with an Australian -‗aussie‘ style barbeque.

Seppeltsfield had its heyday in the early 20th century by which time it had developed into a small village, with a butchers, vinegar factory, laboratory, cooperage, distillery, smokehouse, a garden with over two hundred varieties of roses, a piggery and accommodation for seasonal wine workers. But as with the decline in consumption of fortified wine since the 1960‘s and the various changes in ownership of Seppeltsfield since the 1980s, from the South Australian Brewing company to Fosters and now to a private Australian consortium, the winery has only recently regained its previous fame. The new owners are making the most of old techniques, restoring the gravity flow crushing operation and concentrating production on fortified wine such that the release of one hundred year old ports are receiving 20/20 scores from critics such as Robert Parker and Jancis Robinson. In relation to Seppeltsfield‘s fortified wine Peace‘s observation is apt: ―The association of particular foods with specific places has become a feature of the cultural landscape of many contemporary societies‖ (2011: 23).

A visit to a wine region in South Australia is equated with a reunion with tradition, its original inhabitants, and the taste of ‗real food in a changing world‖ (*South Australian Food and Wine*, 2005: 77). In relation to local food products in the Barossa Valley, Maggie Beer, Senior Australian of the year 2010, a self styled ―cook‖ and host of a gastronomic television series along with the chef from Adelaide‘s Hilton says:

> It‘s the butchers and bakers who to me keep alive the ideals for those early men and women. Lachsschinken, mettwurst, streusel-kuchen and bienenstich are everyday items to the people in the Barossa, yet they epitomise what is different about this very special valley to anyone visiting (2005b: 77).

In this respect the Valley is different because it is local people that uphold traditional lifestyles and use food ingredients that are distinguished from urban food. If a trip to a regional wine area is equated with the taste of "real food", it is also equated with a sensually different, if not "special" gastronomic experience in comparison to the places from which tourists come.

This is evident in the symbolism of two wine advertising refrains. First, a brochure advertising tours and places to stay in South Australia states; "Come to Your Senses, Come to South Australia" (I Call Holidays, 1994: 1): second, a large banner at the 2001 Royal Adelaide Show says, "Come in & See, Taste and Feel Regional South Australia". In this and the following chapter I therefore analyse how visitors to South Australia's wine regions engage their senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch when tasting wine. Further, what does this say about the wine places and landscapes tourists visit.

3.2 ECOLOGY AND WINE

3.2.1 Banrock Station Wine and Wetland Centre

The marketing of its ecological wine making practices and restoration of a wetland on the Murray River frames and helps shape the images and experiences that tourists encounter when visiting Banrock Station Wine and Wetland Centre. Banrock promotes its products in relationship to the ecology and the landscapes of the Riverland and the wetland it is helping manage and restore. To reach Banrock tourists have to travel for approximately two and half hours from Adelaide, or alternately join a coach tour from Sydney or Melbourne (Map 3.1). Banrock is out the way and visitors have to develop an awareness of its existence and become motivated to travel much further than when visiting the Barossa Valley or the McLaren Vale wine regions. Marketing brochures and images of the winery are readily noticeable at numerous locations, including the South Australian Tourism Commission in the centre of Adelaide, local travel agents, motels, and backpacker hostels. Banrock Station's web site also offers the wine tourist a virtual tour where the viewer can control a web camera in real time and observe the wetlands from cyberspace. The guide at the Tourist Commission was effusive about the benefits of visiting Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands Centre as one can observe the native bird life, see the Riverland wine region, as well as taste the wine.

A common theme in the advertisements for Banrock is its existence as a place where visitors can experience a revelatory and exciting return to nature. A prominent heading on Banrock's advertising literature and website says:

HELP US *help the* EARTH

SUPPORTING GLOBAL CONSERVATION

Banrock has a by-line on its wine bottles saying that a portion of profits is used to support environmental programs. This winery has reversed the image of a capitalist enterprise polluting the environment, reassuring consumers that when buying its wines they are also helping "global conservation". Banrock has manipulated signs such that tourists and consumers are being morally responsible by buying its products and volunteering to help resurrect the "Earth" through the wetland volunteer preservations program. Rob Sands, President and Chief Executive Officer of Constellation, the largest wine producer in the world, and owner of Banrock says that:

> Since Constellation's founding more than 60 years ago, preserving and protecting the land and environment from which our products originate has been very important and central to our ongoing success (Sands 2008).

It is a strategic initiative to buy Banrock, as the brand not only reflects Constellation's business philosophy but also attracts visitors interested in eco-tourism. Nevertheless, Mühlhäusler and Peace's observation is pertinent: "Corporate discourses about the environment are capable of manipulating even the ecoliterate" (2006: 463).

MAP 3.1 Banrock Wine and Wetlands Centre (yellow star)

Source: (Google map, Banrock 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 83 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Ecotourism Australia, a national organisation which lists Banrock as a certified operator on its website says: "Ecotourism is ecologically sustainable tourism with a primary focus on experiencing natural areas that fosters environmental and cultural understanding, appreciation and conservation" (Ecotourism Australia 2009). A brochure listing eighteen wetland centres around Australia says: ‘Wetlands, Discover, Explore and Be Amazed!’ (Australian Wetlands Information Network 2000: 1). Banrock Station winery and its wetlands are signified as ecologically friendly places before tourists leave their hotel or coach tour. The ‘otherness’ of Banrock as a winery, its depiction as a different, more natural, eco-friendly place in comparison to the cities, urban spaces and buildings from which tourists journey, embodies a trope, a turn or conversion in the figurative language conceptualising what it means to visit Banrock and its wetlands. A pamphlet that compares the experience of nature to the taste of Banrock‘s wines says: ‘Experience the good earth and enjoy the fine wine’ (Plate 3.1). A printer said that harvest is a busy period as wine companies would request new designs for bottle labels. It is not unusual to have contracts worth $30,000. The creation and thematic labelling of Banrock‘s products as a neo-totemic embodiment and discovery of nature is a corporate strategy and marketing campaign. The discursive and symbolic depiction of visiting Banrock as a re-discovery of nature and wine is matched by the physical and metaphorical framing of a tour and tasting as the experience of returning to the ‘good earth’.

After winding their way through Adelaide‘s urban traffic, tour coaches drive for another hour on mostly long stretches of flat road. Leaving the highway, visitors then traverse a one-kilometre dirt and gravel driveway before glimpsing the cellar door, which resembles a large tent (Plate 3.2). The signification of Banrock Station winery as natural ― its emplacement in the bush is immediately discerned because of its location on top of a rise alongside the River Murray in the Riverland. After parking, the visitor walks through a reconstruction of native Australian bushland, as it had originally been cleared by earlier settlers. From the award winning, architecturally designed, power saving winery and sundeck, tourists take in a 270-degree vista of the vineyards that descend toward the Wetlands, and in the distance, the far bank of the Murray River (Plate 3.5). Banrock Station is strategically located and marketed to maximise its connection to the flora and fauna surrounding it.

To appreciate the political significance and commercial advantages of associating a winery with restoration of wetlands, it is instructive to examine the background to Banrock Station's establishment and what the River Murray means for South Australia. Banrock Station Wine and Wetland Centre was designated in October 2002 as a Wetland of International Importance under the terms of the Ramsar Convention.[21] The *Banrock Station Plan of Management*, (2004: 1.3) says that under the Ramsar convention the "ecological character of the site be retained. Ecological character is the biological, physical and chemical attributes of the site and their interactions". Included in this definition is the monitoring of changes that affect the ecological character and sustainable use of the wetlands, such as tourist visits to the area. The flora and fauna that were introduced at the time of European settlement of the Murray River in the 18th and 19th centuries is defined as alien to the natural state of the environment. The *Banrock Station Plan of Management* (2004: 3.12-3.13), lists rabbits, plague minnow, foxes, feral cats, weeds, European carp as well as human visitors, as medium to high risk factors than may impact on the wetlands. This reflects Mühlhäusler and Peace's analysis (2001) about the tendency of ecotourism to "portray nature as a battlefield where the non human combatants are in a permanent struggle for survival" (2006: 470).

3.2.2 A National Issue

Banrock is cast as a heroic business helping save a degraded environment, as evident in a 2005 press release detailing the partnership between the Government and Banrock:

> Minister Maywald said the State Government had a strong commitment to the environment, as well as providing increased environmental flows for the River Murray [and Banrock]. "The 650ML in extra environmental flows we are creating as a result of this partnership is a start, but there is still much work to be done," she said. "This partnership highlights the importance and benefits of the private and public sectors working together to achieve an environmental outcome that is for the benefit of future generations, and for the wildlife that is reliant on that environment. Ecological sustainability and economic viability are central to this commitment, a commitment we

[21] "The Convention on Wetlands, signed in Ramsar, Iran, in 1971, is an intergovernmental treaty which provides the framework for national action and international cooperation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources. There are presently 158 Contracting Parties to the Convention, with 1831 wetland sites, totaling 170 million hectares, designated for inclusion in the Ramsar List of Wetlands of International Importance" (Ramsar, 2009).

> are striving to achieve with other public-private sector partnerships to help save the River Murray.

Water conservation and restoration of the Murray is a national issue for the State and Federal government‘s, and also a symbolic standard of ecological sustainability for Australia. During research for this thesis I saw media releases by authorities and discussions on various media by journalists and concerned citizens on a weekly basis. Who controls and uses water form the Murray River is related to the survival of the livelihoods and communities that grow grapes and agricultural produce along its hinterland. In a letter to the Prime Minister of Australia relevant Minsters the Premier of South Australia says:

> I urge the Commonwealth to urgently enter into discussions with the New South Wales Government to ensure a significant proportion of this water passes downstream into the River Murray to support the survival of ... [South Australian] icon sites, in particular the Lower Lakes, Coorong, and the Murray Mouth …
> Without the Commonwealth's urgent intervention, the distribution of this water will be governed by existing historical arrangements, which are outdated and do not meet the current environmental needs in the context of climate change and a severe long-term drought (Rann, 2010).

Banrock‘ emphasis on rejuvenating a section of the River Murray‘s ecology is a public issue as well as a marketing strategy. The larger Murray-Darling Basin covers an area of 1.05 million square miles or approximately one-seventh the size of Australia (Portway 1999: 1). The former Australian Federal Minister for Environment and Heritage, Robert Hill says: –The importance of the River Murray to South Australia – the driest State in the driest inhabited continent in the world-is incalculable” (Portway, 1999: ii).

On its website the South Australian Department for Environment and Heritage (2009) claims that it is,

> working to help guide landowners and others wanting to conserve biodiversity by planning or undertaking habitat management or restoration. The aim is to assist people to establish goals for restoration that are specific to the areas where their properties are located.

Apart from other agricultural pursuits, the Murray River is a major source of water supply for irrigation, industry in Adelaide, and many towns in South Australia.

Moreover, the region grew approximately 40 percent of South Australia‘s wine grapes during the late 1990s (Portway, 1999: 57).[22] Many wineries from other regions used grapes from this area to make less expensive but quality wines, and fortified products like port. The rhetoric of a dry state and a politically correct wine business confronting Australia‘s water shortage is exemplified by the online survey of Australian water use that visitors to Banrock‘s website can fill in. The survey estimates that household savings in water usage that can be made by following a water saving plan. In August 2009 of 457 households surveyed 72,896 litres of water have been saved already! (Banrock Station 2009). Banrock‘s business concern to create an ecologically sustainable winery reflects what the former Australian Federal Minister for Environment and Heritage, Robert Hill says: ―The importance of the River Murray to South Australia – the driest State in the driest inhabited continent in the world, is incalculable” (Portway, 1999: ii).

In comparison to Penfolds winery at Magill, there are no daily conducted tours of Banrock Station. Instead, there are two clearly marked out self-guided walking trails. The first walking trail takes approximately two hours to complete and leads into a second, seven kilometres long wetlands board walk. Markers on the ground and information panels, or ―storyboards”, mark out the trails. The first storyboard, which overlooks the River and the wetlands, is located at the start of the shorter trail in front of the cellar door-restaurant, thus drawing the attention of visitors as they start their walk. Other storyboards are located at rest stops on the trails. The storyboards and trail markers which outline such things as the history and ecology of the area (Plate 3.3) sequentially line and map out the walking trails, shaping both the physical layout and the discursive space, such as messages about Banrock‘s rejuvenation of the wetlands.

To see and walk around Banrock Station Vineyard is to picture the environment and wetlands, and apprehend the taste and smell, that defines its style of wine.[23] Following Heidegger‘s idea that names depict the nature of things, Weiner says: ―In other words, a society‘s place names schematically image a people‘s intentional transformation of their habitat from a sheer physical terrain into a pattern of historically experienced and constituted space and time” (1991: 32). The cellar door, storyboards, trail paths, and hides are markers that intentionally clarify what particular trail landmarks mean, and explain what

[22] Because of the drought on 15 July 2008 the South Australian government announced that water allocations for River Murray irrigators, such as grape growers, would remain at 2%.
[23] In oenology, ―wine style” is a technical term and refers to the variation and differences in taste and smell of various wines.

the winery and the wetlands are, as historically constituted places (Map 3.2). Such mapping is more than the narrative framing of Banrock and its environment as a place. By planting vineyards, building a cellar door, and reconstituting the wetlands, Banrock Station has framed the physical and metaphorical context, rearranged the contours of the River landscape, and the symbolic space within which tourists move. Visitors encounter several messages helping frame their role and experiences as tourists in relation to the wetlands and the taste of Banrock‘s wines. In this, Banrock Station as a place, and the characteristics and identity of being a tourist are culturally construed and defined.

MAP 3.2 Banrock Station WalkingTrails
Source: (Banrock Station Walking Trail pamphlet 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 89 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

PLATE 3.2 Good Earth, Fine Wine Source: (Banrock 2005)

NOTE:
This plate is included on page 90 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

PLATE 3.3 Banrock Cellar Door-Tent

PLATE 3.4 Banrock Trail Information Board

Source (author 2004)

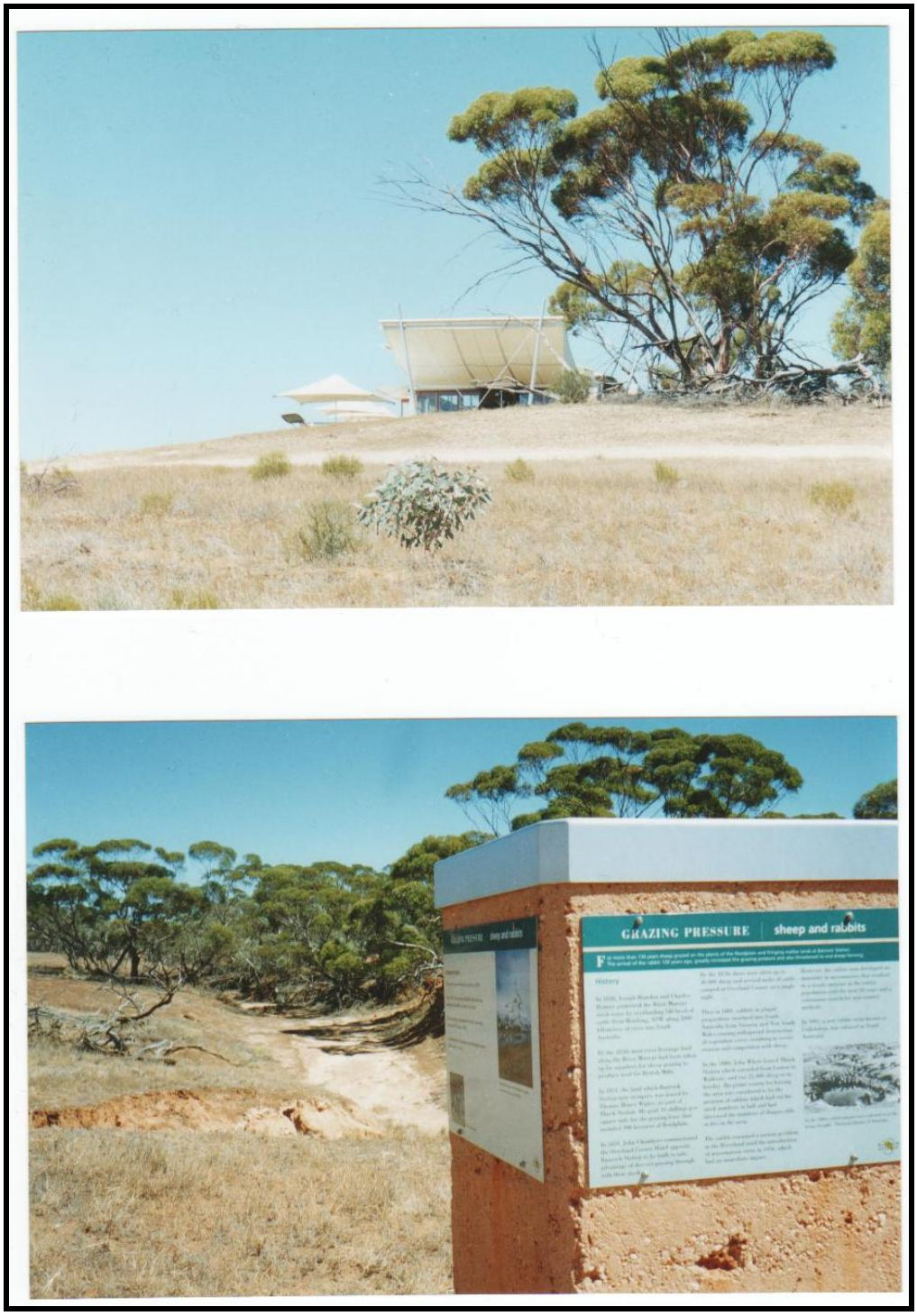


PLATE 3.5: Banrock Cellar Door Information Boards

Source (author 2004)

PLATE 3.6: Banrock Ecosystem and Vineyard

Source (author 2004)

The storyboards (Plates 3.4 and 3..5) act as objectified accounts of Banrock and its wetlands. Storyboards inscribe Banrock as a place as they help define, signify, and order its reality. Berger and Luckmann say that:

> As a sign system, language has the quality of objectivity. I encounter language as a facticity external to myself and it is coercive in its effect on me. Language forces me into patterns. I cannot use the rules of German syntax when I speak English (1972: 53).

Storyboards tell the geographical and Aboriginal settlement of the area. They explain farming degradation of the environment in the 19th and 20th centuries by Europeans, and the moral and ecological vision of Banrock Station winery in resuscitating the wetlands and resident flora and fauna:

> The Wine and Wetland centre is your starting point for environmental walking trails that include a magnificent boardwalk over the wetlands and a number of bird hides from which you can secretly observe the prolific bird life. These self-guided walks give you the opportunity to immerse yourself in the unique Banrock Station environment at your own pace.

However, the bird life is not secret; from the cellar door above the wetlands, the tourist has better views of their flights. The suggestion that the activity of ~~"re~~al" bird life is secret, and that the visitor has to closely observe them, allegorically delineates Banrock Station as an adventure, a return to nature, and the resuscitation of the local flora, wildlife and wetlands. But the apparent experience of ~~"im~~mersing" oneself in the wetlands, or having the freedom to pursue a self-guided walk at one's own pace, is a also closely monitored and controlled. The visitor is reminded not to step away from the designated pathways. The Banrock Station Plan of Management says:

> Along the walking trails there are also four bird hides which allow visitors to observe the wetland and wildlife at closer quarters. This, combined with the set-back distance for the walking trails, ensures that visitor use of the site is closely regulated, and that foot traffic is restricted to those areas of least sensitivity. Walking times are closely regulated to minimise impact and maximise the experience (2004:3.8).

Visiting nature at Banrock requires disciplinary practices. The design of the trails helps frame the experience of walking the tour paths, restricting the movement of tourists to the

designated trail and hides', thus delineating and ordering what is observed[24]. While the storyboards imply that tourists can have a revelatory experience-of being close to "secret" and natural flora and fauna, the actual tours pass though cultural reconstructions of its topography.

In the hides, a worksheet was supplied containing outlines of each type of bird that can be observed in the wetlands. The emphasis on the visual, on "spying" on birds in the wetlands, reflects the cultural and philosophical observation that sight is the dominant sense in Western ontology and cultural practice (see Tyler 1984, Korsmeyer 1999, Helliwell 1996, Fabian 1983, Kant 1987: 55, and Foucault 1979).[25] Urry argues that:

> Such gazes cannot be left to chance. People have to learn how, when and where to 'gaze'. Clear markers have to be provided and in some cases the object of the gaze is merely the marker that indicates some event or experience, which previously happened at that spot (1990: 9).

Seeing the environment and its bird life is only one facet of a larger multi-sensory experience of Banrock Station. Tourists are also hot and sweaty after walking the trails and the wine and food that they consume afterwards provides a gustatory experience of taste and smell to match the visual appreciation of Banrock Station as a place. By walking the trails and eating Banrock's food tourists connect with the ecosystem and its native Australian wild life ─ with nature. More particularly, an association is made between the earth and the consumption of wine and food as an integral part of the sensual experience of Banrock's environment. Furthermore, most of the visitors to Banrock Station arrive with other people and the social discourse and interaction between friends or family members at lunch, or when walking the trail, help define the occasion as an affirmation of social ties in relation to the experience of nature ─ such as the extensive views from Banrock's cellar door while eating lunch.

---

[24] In a similar fashion, Waitpinga camping grounds in the Fleurieu Peninsula (south of the McLaren Vale wine region) are carefully designed and controlled such that visitors have to camp within designated areas that are bordered with pine poles, use gas stoves and camp only with a permit. Social controls are further reinforced with a prominent sign declaring that a ranger was on patrol.

[25] Descartes says: "The conduct of our life depends entirely on the senses, and sight is the noblest and most comprehensive of the senses" (1988: 57).

Discourses and visual representations of wine tours now also take place in a variety of forms, such as television documentaries, travel books and electronically over the web. They reflect Baudrillard's (1983) argument that,

> … different types of media and mediation – simulations – which have permeated many aspects of contemporary society have dissolved the dichotomy between the real and the simulacrum, between the authentic and the inauthentic (Landsberg 1995:178).

From this perspective, to view Banrock Station winery and wetlands in cyber space is visually comparable to seeing it in person, as both activities involve the use of sight, discourse and signification, specifying a message detailing how Banrock Station winery is rejuvenating its wetlands. Nevertheless, while tourists do not need to leave home to understand the marketing messages that are communicated in the media and over the web, tourists do need to travel to experience the sensual reality of tasting wine or walking a trail at Banrock Station. Rojek (1997: 60) also argues that being at a tourist site no longer involves an actual visit. Ritzer and Liska say that the,

> … tourist finds it less and less necessary to leave home; the technologies discussed previously – television, videos, CD-ROM, the Internet and virtual reality – allow people to _gaze' on tourists sites without leaving home (1997: 102).

I disagree with such claims as the tourists I encountered do visit wine places, and tourists' sites are constructed in relation to actual visits. I argue that the distance from a tourist site frames the experience of tourism and wine tasting, and the apprehension of a place in reference to the different senses engaged, and the messages about wine places that are communicated.

Language games are usually evident in the various forms of media and documentaries that Ritzer and Liska refer to (ibid), detailing imagined and future visits to wine places and the expected use of other senses, such as taste, smell, and touch when consuming foodways products in a wine place, and the visceral or embodied nature of physically being there. Charters says,

> One wine producer has explicitly linked wine to the natural world by tying its wine production to the environment…. Banrock Station has made their geographic location in the

> Murray wetlands and its commitment to environmental conversation, part of their unique selling proposition (2006: 201).

Banrock Station's marketing discourse express' this by repeatedly associating nature, or the earth with the environment, work practices, quality and style of wines sold, as detailed in readily available pamphlets:

> At Banrock Station, respect for our good earth governs everything we do. The precious red-brown soil of our vineyards nurtures premium grape varieties which create easy drinking wines of great character.
>
> Chardonnay, Semillon, Verdelho, Merlot, Cabernet Sauvignon, Petit Verdot, and Shiraz all thrive in our good earth, each developing vast arrays of flavour. Our winemakers capture these qualities in every Banrock Station table and sparkling wine.

Phugh and Fletcher (2002), and Charters (2006: 201), point out that there are branding advantages for companies in marketing wine as an environmentally positive and rural product. The association between Banrock Station as a place, and the moralistic or 'new age' message about its "respect for our good earth", helps establish a discourse about the standards of taste for "easy drinking wines of great character" (Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands Centre pamphlet 2005), with which the tourist-consumers are encouraged to evaluate wines, such as Merlot and Petit Verdot. This is also reflected in several interviews I had with tourists at Banrock, such as Jamie from New South Wales in March 2005. Jamie said he loved observing the birds and the sense of space at Banrock. He said that the Merlot "looked fresh, with red cherry and smells of spice … The taste fills the mouth with a sort of jam fruit", and that wines from Banrock seem fresher or lighter than the ones from the Coonawarra.

Banrock Station is integral to the ecosystem it is restoring, as with the phrase 'good earth, fine wine' which is evident on most Banrock products and associated marketing literature (Plate 3.1). Mühlhäusler and Peace (2006: 470) sum up the meaning of such practices: "Characteristically, such advertisements visually locate products or trademarks in unspoiled nature". One member of staff explains that the Reserve range of wines has been exclusively made from grapes grown on the slopes we were looking at, and that the Reserve range captured the "taste" of the area.

Visitors can also ‗taste" the results of the work that produce the wine, as a storyboard in the winery claims:

> You can then taste for yourself the result of the hard work that has been invested in caring for the good earth and producing fine wine. Sample the Banrock Station range of wines or enjoy your favourite with a light meal while taking in the panoramic views across the wetlands.

So how did the culinary tourist, feel and conceptualise the winescapes and the ‗good earth"? When I visited, most tourists did take in the ‗panoramic views", and gaze at the recently planted vineyards on the slopes leading towards the wetlands. Several tourists, who walked the trail, ate lunch, and tasted Banrock wine, indicated that they felt rejuvenated. On the trail I interviewed David, who was studying to be teacher, and Lucy, backpackers from England. David said:

> Well, as we‘re passing through- thought we‘d have a look. We heard the River‘s in trouble. Back home we‘d drink Banrock. Good for a quaff after Uni, cheap - like Jacobs Creek. It can be off the next day [any wine left in the bottle]. But I like what they‘re doing here … different sounds and birds from London!

Lucy said she liked the walk and was ‗fascinated" by the Australian flora and fauna. Peter and Wendy, a couple from Adelaide who had travelled with their seven-year-old daughter, explained that that they were on a camping holiday in the Riverland. While they liked the wine, they appreciated walking the trail more and the relaxed environment at Banrock. Other families made similar observations. Approximately half of the 30 tourists I spoke to during three field trips indicated they liked the ‗healthy food", particularly the use of local ingredients, as much as the chance to observe local flora and fauna.

To conceptualise the Riverland is to visualise the wetlands that helps define Banrock as a place and its style of wine. Labels on Banrock‘s 2009 Shiraz defines its style of wine as, ‗A fresh well balanced wine exhibiting sweet strawberry and citrus flavours combined with soft creaminess". In oenology, ‗wine style" refers to the variations and differences in taste and smell of the same type of wine.[26] Wines from Banrock Station have a ‗style‘ that is

[26] For instance, Dry White Table, containing 7.5 grams of sugar per litre is a different type of wine in comparison to Sweet White Table Wine with 20 to 150 grams of sugar per litre. Equally so, ‗wine type" refers to the Australian classification of wines in relation to ‗large differences in their

metaphorically compared to the ecology of the area, and the moral vision of the company to associate conservation with good wine: "respect for our good earth governs everything we do" (Banrock advertising pamphlet 2005).

Banrock's wine labels, the sheet to record bird life in the wetlands, and cardboard wine boxes are brown, emphasising the colours of the 'good earth'. The label on the 2001 Reserve Shiraz reads: "The reserve is a magnificently restored wetland where wildlife is returning once again to flourish and find sanctuary". The signification of the wetlands as a refuge, a "sanctuary" from deterioration and human activity, implies that Banrock assumes a role as an ecological and pastoral guardian of the area. The wetlands are reinvented to represent a timeless past, before European settlement of the area; a sanctuary for wildlife and fauna apparently protected, from the pollution and influence of Australian socio-economic life. Peace says:

> Nature is also associated with a specific temporality: if rurality represents the past, then nature is out of time altogether. They are often linked however, in a kind of timeless past, opposed to what seem like the incredibly rapid pace of change in modern society (1996: 10).

In the 19th century, Banrock Station was a working cattle station and before that Aboriginals lived in the area. Storey boards communicated what a particular flora or landscape meant to the original Aboriginal inhabitants. BRL Hardy and Constellation, the company that now owns Banrock Station, has "reinvented" the environment by carefully manipulating what is communicated about the place and restoring the contours of the landscape and reserve. Images and ideas that Banrock's wines are an ecologically acceptable product are therefore reinforced every time a customer sips their wine or views the surrounding landscape below the cellar door.

---

chemical makeup: whether they are red or white, taste dry or sweet, contain bubbles or carbon dioxide, or have low or high alcohol content" (Iland and Gago 1997: 5). Variations in the wine types reflect different wine making techniques, climate and the different varieties of grapes used. For instance Dry Red Table Wine can be made from several grape varieties, including Pinot Noir, Cabernet Sauvignon or Shiraz.

3.2.3 Conclusion: Bush Views and Flavours

A visit to Banrock Station involves the sensuous identification with a moral and metaphorical vision, enacted through the association of the River Murray with the wine, food, and associated paraphernalia for sale. Such messages are juxtaposed with the experience of nature and the consumption of ~~"a~~uthentic" bush food and local wine. The visitor can translate this message into the landscape that opens before them as they sip a glass of cheap but 'honest' Semillon from the restaurant-tasting area (fine, earthy wine for $7.50 a bottle), or read it on the wordy signposts as they walk the trails and spy on native wildlife from the hides. In February and March 2005, the place was reasonably crowded, up to 40 people of all ages, including several family groups – a mixture of Australians, and overseas visitors consuming the ~~"t~~asty gourmet Australian" produce that was served up as ~~"L~~unch, Sweet Treats, Grazing Food", or as ~~"M~~orning and Afternoon Tea". I ate the ~~"C~~oorong Mullet with Wild Basil pesto in filo" and some friends had ~~"B~~anrock Pizza", which included ~~"R~~oo salami and spiced bush tomato salsa". Other meals included Damper loaf with olive oil and Balsamic and Wattle Seed Scone, and Quandong and Ginger jam with Cream.

At Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands Centre customers come to their senses in different ways, whether eating lunch, tasting wine, gazing at the landscape, or walking the trails. Helping create a ~~"s~~ense-scape" for visitors is the Australian restaurant menu, the sharp smell of bush herb ingredients, and wine. The restaurant-cellar door is bound in front by the expansive horizon of sky, the banks of the river Murray, and the wetlands. Enclosing the space behind this view, and the restaurant and tasting bar, are numerous information boards, well-organised tourist paraphernalia for sale and the walls and entrance to the cellar door. The walls at Banrock Station are permeable. They can open and retract, letting the surrounding environment and the wetland draw close.

An information board indicates that Banrock is:

> A Building for the Environment: The design and construction of the Banrock Station Wine & Wetlands Centre reflects a deep and passionate concern for the environment. The building has been designed so that it captures cooling breezes flowing up from the lagoon and is orientated to minimise the impact of the sun in winter.

Climate change, carbon emissions and ecology are global concerns, with Australian politicians debating the introduction of a carbon trading scheme for business and the community. Banrock's ~~"~~deep and passionate concern for the environment" (ibid) reflects Constellation's business philosophy of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)[27]. I argue that Banrock therefore has marketing synergies with Constellation's other ecological projects such as installing solar panels on a winery. Apart from the ideology of being a morally responsible company, the symbolism of an ecologically friendly winery is also reflected with the staff outfits - khaki trousers, and orange shirts are designed with Banrock in mind. Such colours reflect some of the colours of the earth, wetlands, flora, and the sunset at Banrock.[28] An association between local ecology and Banrock's marketing is evident with similar thematic colouring (brown, khaki, orange, green) of wine labels, staff uniforms the winery and the wetlands.

Banrock Station promotes a worldview, a marketing discourse signifying that the company is ecologically aware. Charles, a cellar host emphasises that Banrock has donated $1.7 million to 21 wetlands during the year in nine countries, and that ~~"~~best practice" involves the return of something to the environment. I carried out a short survey of ten trail walkers, asking them what they thought of Banrock's eco-generosity, and most thought it was a positive practice, though a couple were a bit cynical, wondering how much Constellation also has negative impact on the environment. Sue, a sixty year old retired accountant from Sydney on tour with a small coach load of tourists with similar backgrounds said:

> I have been getting back into bush walking …. It's positive what they are doing-smart marketing too, Sydney is crowded, and it's relaxing, tasty lunch too. Yes I agree with the business of donating some profit back, I knew some companies that did that in Sydney, I mean what have they got to lose?

To reinforce this, the stage, or cellar door and surrounding environment is designed and contoured, such that the plan of the cellar door and billboards along the trails symbolically and discursively guide tourists' interpretation of their experience of an

---

[27] ~~"~~In 2007, Constellation Brands implemented a global CSR platform that is based upon three pillars: sustainable business practices and environmental efforts, philanthropy (corporate giving) and social responsibility (addressing the societal impact of beverage alcohol)"(Sands, 2008).

[28] As with the orange tinged sunset I observed. Also, in relation to the season and life cycle, Australian flora can look orange. While the colours may not be reproduced correctly, Plate 3.1 has an orange band between the land and the flora.

ecologically managed winery. A much larger, dramatic setting, nature, or as the advertising on Banrock‘s products proclaim, ~~th~~e good earth” of the wetlands and the river, along with the distant horizon, structures the tasting and dining space, thus expanding visitors‘ sensory experiences of Banrock‘s cellar door, local fauna and landscape views.

CHAPTER FOUR

WINE PLACES

Now it has long been recognized that communities are important repositories of symbols, whether in the forms of totems, football teams or war memorials. All of these are like categories of a kinship system: they are symbolic markers of the community which distinguish it from other communities (Cohen 1985:19).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Tourists, like football teams or university students, encompass a symbolic meaning that defines and bounds their identity in relation to others they encounter, such as locals, winemakers and hosts. In this chapter I discuss specific messages about the wine, the place where it is made and the ambience of the environment that are communicated to tourists at cellar doors. I analyse the language games and forms of life, such as a tour of a winery that helps mark wine tourists' membership of a transient but discursively distinct community in relation to the places they visit. I outline how the Barossa Valley, the Fleurieu Peninsula and the McLaren Vale wine regions are promoted as wine places in reference to foodways, the landscapes tourists travel through and different ideas about ~~"n~~atures". Macnaghten and Urry argue that, ~~"t~~here is not single _nature' as such, only a diversity of contested natures; and that each such nature is constituted through a variety of socio-cultural processes from which such natures cannot be plausibly separated" (1998: 1).

I argue that wine tourism, its marketing, and tasting experiences relate not only to different constructions of nature, ranging from wine as organic produce and economic product, to the idea that wine appreciation is a neo-totemic celebration of nature. Neo-totemic is defined as the use of symbols, helping classify and give identity to

membership of a group, such as a wine tour group. I analyse how images of drinking wine amongst lush vineyards is a sign that is meaningful for the tourists, marketeers and hosts involved.

The issue is to conceptualise how wine tasting and wine tours are meaningful and even desirable in distinct and valuable ways for the communities involved. At Gemtree winery in the McLaren Vale (Section Two), tourists and hosts exchanged views about the sensual qualities and organic values of the wine they tasted. Communicative exchanges as to the taste of wine at Gemtree Vineyards reflected not only ~~–e~~onceptions of the desirable" (Kluckhohn 1951:395), but also the moral vision of Gemtree's owners in apparently caring for the environment, while making biodynamic wine. In Section Three I discuss Penfolds winery, arguing that the winery tour and promotion of what is valuable for tourists' and the company embody messages about prestige and heritage. In Section Four I ask how specific brands, services and potential leisure experiences are distinguished and promoted such that tourists are willing to spend money on holidays or wine tours in South Australia. Rather than categorise tourists' behaviour in relation to objectivist notions that they are primarily consumers, subject to the whims of what is marketed, I analyse how language games are used (Cohen 1985:12), to help create meaningful wine tours and tasting sessions.

Section Five is a case study of New World leisure practices at Indevin, a contract wine making complex in Marlborough, New Zealand. While this is a different fieldwork location, Australia has extensive bilateral trading agreements with New Zealand and New World wine production methods, and tourist practices are similar in both countries. I argue that work practices involve both structured and tacit levels of learning about cellar crew tasks. Like Boar's Rock in the McLaren Vale, Indevin has captured a niche market in contract winemaking operations. Boar's Rock says:

> We can now provide every step of the process from crush and ferment through to wine ready for bottling, including pre-vintage grape analysis, laboratory services, oak maturation, wine management, barrel finance and bulk wine sales.

> In fact, everything you need, not just to turn grapes into wine but wine into profit as well (Boar's Rock website 2010).

The problem is to conceptualise how the harvest crew at Indevin are both international tourists and participants in the production of wine – visitors to a particular place, and employees in the New World and global economy of wine making.

4.1.1 Setting the Scene: Neo-Totemic Values

I argue that marketing, brand building, tourism and wine tasting events are neo-totemic. Totemic branding denotes and classifies what is valuable and thus desirable in relation to the corresponding cultural construction of social characteristics. Graeber points out that,

> … Sahlins [1976] is of course right when he says that in a consumer society, marketing is often a matter of creating symbolic distinctions between products that are otherwise virtually identical, like two different brands of corn flakes or detergent-but this in itself does not explain why people are willing to spend money on them. People do not buy things simply because they recognize them as being different than other things in some way (2001:16).

There are immediate marketing advantages in publicising on a wine bottle or during a tasting session that one's wines or food are different and made from grapes grown in a specific region, such as the Barossa Valley, rather than an adjoining wine region. Whereas fauna and flora, such as yams (Firth 2005) are enduring totems in the Pacific, relatively transitory brands, wine events and the objectification of nature can be made neo-totemic in modern secular society. Barthes for instance argues that wine and cheese are totems in French culture: "Wine is felt by the French nation to be a possession which is its very own, just like its three hundred and sixty types of cheese and its culture. It is a totem drink" (1967; 2000: 58).

From a structuralist perspective, leaving work and an urban environment, going on a holiday and tasting wines is equivalent with a return to nature and the renewal of its experience. Durkheim and Mauss posit that,

> … if totemism is, in one aspect, the grouping of men into clans according to natural objects (the associated totemic species), it is also, inversely, a grouping of natural objects in accordance with social groups (1963:17-18).

Thus, tourists are a distinct social, albeit ephemeral assembly of people in reference to the leisure and sensual activities they experience, and language games about environmentally friendly wine products and engagement with rural life.

An engagement with rural life is evident when motorists pass advertising signs from local wineries that line the major road into Mclaren Vale (Plate 4:1), providing a colourful, if not symbolic welcome. The Government's guidebook about the area says:

> Fleurieu Peninsula's cinematic beauty has inspired generations of artists and photographers. It's a living landscape of coastal bluffs, sheltered beaches and foothills farmland. Generations of South Australians have migrated here for their annual holidays, armed with beach towels, surfboards and sneakers …
> Southern Right Whales are often sighted near Victor Harbour and Middleton Beach. Year round the region attracts wine lovers keen to stock their cellars with McLaren Vale and Langhorne creek labels. The booming wine industry has contributed to the regions civilised yet friendly sense of style (*South Australian Shorts* 2001: 152)

Yes, several tourists I interviewed said they liked the McLaren Vale's geographical variety, and the proximity of the vines and Bed and Breakfast accommodation to the coast. When I stayed at the Wine and Roses Bed and Breakfast I drove to Maslin's (nudist) Beach at 10am in approximately seven minutes, where I interviewed Stephen and Anna from Germany. Stephen said: ~~I~~s fresh … we come and swim … [then] take time, look at, drink several wines. We like Tatachillia … big reds!"

The attributed joys and heightened sensuality of a picnic amongst rolling vineyards, or a walk along the white sands of the Fleurieu Peninsula coastline are images heavily marketed by the South Australian Government, the Tourism Commission and regional tourism bodies (Plates 4.1, 4.2, 4.3). The caption on Plate 4.2 reads "From the Sea to the Vine". The heads of the models in the original picture have been cut off and the human body symbolises a vine taking nourishment from nature, as they stand in the sand with a glass of wine. Plate 4.3 is noteworthy, symbolising a mystical mist laden vision of vineyards.

Peace (2010) observes that for some Australians the whale is a totem whose life they take responsibility for as they identify with it as a revered mammal. For some Australians the whale is not food to be processed, and the annual harvesting of whales by the Japanese and other countries is a global issue. I suggest that the relationship between tourists and the flora, holiday sites and wine they consume and take pleasure in, is "reproduced in multiple contexts" (Peace 2010:7). The many locations and ways in which tourists appreciate and sip wine, enjoy a holiday, or view a landscape are neo-totemic, symbolic of what tourists are supposed to experience during their South Australian holidays. Furthermore, both Banrock Wine and Wetlands Centre and Gemtree Vineyards market not only their wine but their ecological view about rejuvenating their wetlands. This message resonates with former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's agenda for a global agreement at the 2010 Copenhagen conference on the Emissions Trading Scheme.

PLATE 4.1: McLaren Vale Winery Signs

Source (author 2008)

PLATE 4.2: Fleurieu Peninsula Pamphlet

Source (South Australian Government, Fleurieu Peninsula Wine and Food 2007)

PLATE 4.3: Totemic Tourists

Source (McLaren Vale Grape, Wine and Tourism Association, McLaren Vale, Wine Food and Coastal Experience, 2007)

NOTE:
This plate is included on page 110 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

PLATE 4.4: Mystique of the Vineyards

Source (Must See, Must Do in South Australia 2005)

BEHOLD, A PERFECT MIXED DOZEN

The Barossa, Clare Valley, McLaren Vale, Coonawarra, Adelaide Hills and the Riverland – six South Australian wine regions that are famous the world over. But our great wine experiences aren't limited to famous wine regions. They begin right in the heart of Adelaide, and continue in every region in the state – there's at least one cellar door in each of the 12 regions.

That's why we're known as the Home of Australian Wine, and the source of some of the world's finest labels. There are more than 270 cellar doors welcoming visitors to taste, learn and enjoy.

The vintages are dazzling. But it's the scenery that makes your head spin.

Further information contact the visitor information centres in these regions.

South Australian Company Store

Seek out the best of the state in this lovely space, from sun-ripened dried fruit to lovingly hand-carved rocking horses. Sun yourself on the wide verandah of the Company Kitchen.

Where: 27 Valley Rd, Angaston, Barossa
Phone: (08) 8564 3788
Cost: free
Hours: 10am-4pm weekdays, 10am-5pm weekends
Company Kitchen: open daily, lunch served 12-3pm.

FREE

The Barossa's Chateaux

Chateau Barrosa's parklands feature over 20,000 roses of more than 2,000 varieties; Chateau Yaldara's new café and larder complement its wine range; and as well as a gorgeous cricket oval, Chateau Tanunda is home to the Barossa Small Winemakers Centre.

Where: Lyndoch and Tanunda
Cost: free, charges for tours
Further information: Barossa Wine and Visitor Information Centre

FREE

It is even educational to go on holiday and visit Banrock, Gemtree (Maps 4.1, 4.2) and Penfolds wineries: the discourses by staff, tourists and information billboards emphasise the rejuvenation of the wetlands in relation to current debates about global warming and environmental conservation. Implicit comparisons are made between rural conservation and urban living. Another market segment values prestigious wines and the oenological skills involved in producing such wines, like Penfolds. Lien succinctly expresses the connection between brand creations in relation to concepts about totemism:

> The resemblance between brand building inherent in modern marketing and totemism in traditional societies is quite apparent. Sameness serves as a key principal for establishing a link between product and consumer in marketing practice, parallel to the way in which sameness (of origin or characteristics) connects a totemic animal to a significant local group. Simultaneously, in both instances, these linkages are based upon notions of difference between products, between natural species, or between social groups. Thus, in both instances, the peculiar alliance is founded upon a simultaneous recognition of sameness and difference (1997: 240).

One good example of regional food and wine marketing in relation to totemic branding is the advertising spiel for Maggie Beer‘s Chardonnay & Verjuice Paste:

> Everywhere you look there‘s new growth on vines and trees, in greens so bright you can‘t imagine they‘re real, and my absolute favourite - Spring blossom - covering the fruit trees and then falling to blanket the grass below. It‘s amazing what a little warmth and sunshine can awaken. Nature‘s renewal process always gets under my skin at this time of year too. So many fresh ideas have been sparked by the change of season, and if we‘re to stick with the green theme, my new Chardonnay & Verjuice Paste would be a perfect example of Spring inspiration! (Beer 2010, Products).

The association between spring and the imputed freshness of Beer's paste markets and classifies Beer's food as natural ─ unsullied local produce. There is an imputation that tourists can join the ranks of gustatory savants- true connoisseurs'- by consuming Chardonnay & Verjuice Paste. Graeber argues that:

> The desirable refers not simply to what people actually want ─ in practice people want all sorts of things. Values are ideas about what they ought to want. They are the criteria by which people judge which desires they consider legitimate and worth while and which they do not (2001: 3).

It is valuable and therefore legitimate to desire traditional, home made gustatory delights from the Barossa Valley. During fieldwork I met several tourists who praised Beer's cooking; Margaret, from England said that Beer's pate was spicy, intense and reminded her of the upmarket pate she had bought from Marks and Spencer's in London. Sandra, Margaret's travelling companion said, "I like the attention to detail. I have travelled in Spain … a similar thing, where Beer is matching local food and wines." Cooks such as Beer are therefore: "Playing on a general nostalgia for gemeinschaft [genuine food], all sorts of products claim to be small-scale, traditional, and "authentic" even if produced by huge multinationals" (Sutton 2001: 66).

Many wineries provide a definitive atmosphere, including discourses indicating how tourists should taste wine, particular ways of wine making, (biodynamic verses conventional), and prestigious brand quality. What is regarded as a superior tasting wine is reflective of subtle marketing rhetoric, regarding alcoholic consumption and changing cultural standards about taste. Undoubtedly, wine brands, tasting fashions and wine styles change in relation to market demand. Despite this, I agree with Becker's observation of social reality: "People do not experience their aesthetic beliefs as merely arbitrary and conventional; they feel that they are natural, proper and moral" (2001:75). In the next sections I discuss how messages about wine places are constructed to help portray the experiences of tourists' and the tastes of the relative wines as natural and even moral.

4.2 THE ECO CELLAR DOOR: GEMTREE VINEYARDS

Gemtree Vineyards continuously proclaims in its pamphlets, labels and website (Plate 4.5), and during discursive exchanges with the cellar door host, that the wines it makes are not only different, but superior in taste and quality. The opening blurb on the company's website says:

> Gemtree Vineyards is owned and run by third generation grape growers, the Buttery family. The family is dedicated to producing iconic wines of the highest quality from their McLaren Vale vineyards which since 2008 have been farmed 100% biodynamically. They are passionate about sound environmental practice, sustainable agriculture and innovation, both in the vineyards and in the winery, where winemaker Mike Brown pushes the boundaries of experimentation with biodynamic wines and alternative winemaking practices. (Gemtree Vineyards, 2010)

PLATE 4.5: Gemtree Vineyards

MAP 4.1 Fleurieu Peninsula and McLaren Vale

Source: (Gemtree vineyards, Fleurieu, location 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 115 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

MAP 4.2 McLaren Vale: Salopian Inn, (Gemtree and Dowie Doole cellar door formerly located next door till early 2011)

Source: (Salopian Inn Google maps.2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 115 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

If we are to believe the Buttery family vision, Gemtree's wines are palpably ~~i~~conic" because their taste is a result of the wine making method of producing 100% biodynamic wines. The following conversation between myself (JC), another tourist (SM) and the host at Gemtree and Dowie Doole's cellar door (McLaren Vale, Maps 4.1; 4.2), demonstrates not only a moral and aesthetic vision about the world of wines and their tastes, but also how organic and bioorganic wine making methods are discursively naturalised:

Conversation at Gemtree & Dowie Doole Cellar Door 2008

SM: The Wetlands?
JC: Your website says you've had some volunteers go and work there?
CELLAR HOST: Yeah, I think its _Greening Australia', putting quite a lot of time in.
JC: Sounds quite similar to Banrock.
CELLAR HOST: Ah, Banrock is a little bit different [dismissive tone of voice]; from what we are doing [seems to lose interest in talking to JC and SM].
SM: What do you think of the 2004 Cabernet? It's quite rich, like to try the Citrine Cabernet?
JC: Yeah, quite rich.
SM: Biodynamic! [SM looks at wine list]
JC: What does biodynamic mean?
CELLAR HOST: With Gemtree all vineyards are completely biodynamic. But basically only two wines are certified biodynamic which is the Semillon and Tempranillo. You farm by the moon, you take the lunar cycle, and are actually taking farming back to what it was thousands, thousands of years ago.
SM: Oh?
CELLAR HOST: It's what you do in the soil that produces the fruit; the better the soil is prepared the better the fruit is. You work out what the soil needs by burying a cowhorn and put all different things in and then dig it up after a year and see what's happening and adjust. The two biodynamic wines are slightly tweaked by the wine maker at the end, but they are pretty much what we call _vine to wine' – not intervening too much with the natural process, the most important part is the lunar cycle. So, everything is done by the lunar cycle. So, you can have biodynamic vineyards and not biodynamic wines so, yeah I mean, Dowie Doole has some biodynamic vineyards as well. I think the Tin Toopies is completely biodynamic as well. So, some people do a biodynamic process in the vineyard but don't necessarily produce the wine that way.
JC: And who certifies it?
CELLAR HOST: You have to go through a huge process for it and that's why you wouldn't do your whole vineyard and wines that way – you just wouldn't have the time. You produce to small amounts of these wines, such as about 1000 cases of Tempranillo- it's much more time consuming.
JC: I thought it would be much more expensive for the time you must put in making it?
CELLAR HOST: That's why you wouldn't do your whole vineyard. Some people could I guess. We produced 38,000 cases for Gemtree, but couldn't produce 38,000 cases of biodynamic wine.
SM: It's very intense [making organic wine].

CELLAR HOST: Yeah you've got to be very passionate about it; it's a really interesting process.
SM: Some people get confused between organic and biodynamic.
What's the difference?
CELLAR HOST: I guess you know an organic wine has no shelf life, 3-6 months. A completely organic wine doesn't have any preservatives, so shelf life is very limited. With biodynamic you get shelf life. It's still tweaked at the end - you've got to have sulphur in it to keep it going.
SM: So, it doesn't have the organic novelty?
CELLAR HOST: No it has more shelf life. With organic wines you make small minimal amounts, because you need to sell it faster.
SM: I assume it's called Moonstone from the lunar month.
CELLAR HOST: Gemtree call their wines after gemstones: ‗Bloodstone', ‗Citrine', ‗Uncut Shiraz', ‗Tigers Eye Shiraz' and ‗Obsidian Shiraz'.
JC: Can we try some?
SM: Tastes like water [Tasting an organic white wine].
JC: No, I'm getting something [taste of the wine]; maybe the red [wine] has affected your tastebuds [cellar host smiles knowingly at me].
CELLAR HOST: That's exactly what biodynamic farming is: taking farming back, look up at the sky, the next moon, look at the cycle. It's a really amazing process. It means the ground preparation is important and still goes by the lunar cycle, so far as being put in the ground, being taken out and the ground is done by that cycle….You can still have biodynamic practices in the vineyard but the wine is not a biodynamic wine… so when the vine starts growing you can take it to another level… so not doing it by the lunar cycle. We only have two [wines] that we do that way and very minimal intervention by the winemaker at the end.
JC: Do you like this wine?
SM: Yes nice.
JC: Very smooth.
CELLAR HOST: You have to check it every year as it changes every year. You are really ahead of yourself to have to look at what the soil is doing.

While Gemtree, like Banrock, associates the making of wine with the establishment of a wetlands, Gemtree's cellar host is subtly dismissive of Banrock (first section of conversation), in that Gemtree's wines are biodynamic. Gemtree claims to follow an organic or biodynamic winemaking practice thousands of years old, watching how the soil reacts to a cow horn, and farming by the moon or the lunar cycle. Even with the minimal use of sulphur as a preservative in wine, growing grapes and making wine is not only an economic pursuit for the managers, cellar hosts and vineyard workers of Gemtree, but also the cultural invention of standards concerning how their wines should taste and be marketed. Nevertheless, ―nature" or biodynamic wine making methods are more prestigious, in comparison to the apparent ―intervention" by humans in the production of wine by companies that use modern oenological methods.

For $5, visitors could undertake a guided tasting of Gemtree and Dowie Doole‘s wines. I interviewed a couple from Melbourne, Australia:

> It‘s a convenient way to taste their wine and get some more detailed information, though we would have liked to spend more time doing it. I have not come across biodynamic wines before, but we have heard of organic wine. … Really, we came here because we are going to lunch at the Salopian Inn [next door] which we heard about from some friends. … Not sure if you can make a wine 100% natural and by a lunar cycle, as they claim. The Moonstone was good though, lots of fruit taste. She said [wine host] we should try that with some seafood at Salopian as it‘s a good taste match.

Gemtree‘s cellar stands out from run of the mill wineries, in that it makes bioorganic wine, provides a readily available conducted tasting, and adjoins a famous local restaurant in the McLaren Vale. What is noticeable is that Gemtree makes an effort to not only educate the visitor about its product, but also encourages the tourist to visit other sites, as with Salopian Inn. Gemtree is also noticeable as it claims to have a natural wine making methodology in relation to the lunar cycle and its responsibility to the surrounding environment, including the establishment of wetlands:

> Having created 6 dams and planted 20,000 native trees, they are now working in partnership with Greening Australia creating a biodiversity which is a major have for native plants, frogs, birds and other animals, as well as being a great teaching resource for the community (Gemtree website –Our Background” 2010).

Wine is more than wine, and Gemtree presents the visitor with a neo-totemic vision of its proactive concern for the environment, including frogs, iconic markers of a healthy environment, and its stance towards wine quality (100% natural).

4.3 THE PRESTIGE OF PENFOLDS

In this section I analyse how tours not only validate a prestigious discourse about Penfolds winery, associated buildings, and products, but also does this through the construction of a particular sensual, marketing and symbolic environment. Penfolds is mythologised as an historic site in marketing literature, discourses by tour guides, and the preservation and display of original wine making equipment and buildings. This includes the house where Dr Christopher Rawson Penfold, the founder of Penfolds, lived in the 19th century. Tourists who signed up duly toured the restored cottage where the founder lived and were surprised at his small marital bed and Dr Penfold's use of rum as a regular medical remedy for his patients. Conceptualising and viewing artefacts form the past helps re-create the reality of a wine tourist place. Schouten argues that,

> Visitors to historic sites are looking for an experience, a new reality based on the tangible remains of the past. For them, this is the very essence of the heritage experience. Heritage is not the same as history. Heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity (1995:21).

Penfolds prides itself on being "Australia's most famous winery" as the advertising on its pamphlets proclaims (Plate 4.5). The company is marketed as an iconic emblem of South Australia, while Penfolds Grange Bin 95 is known world wide as a premium wine. The story of Penfolds development since the late 19th century is presented on wine tours as a part of the mythology of South Australia's early settlement and subsequent economic development in the 20th century. The chief winemaker for Penfolds asserts in the *Rewards of Patience* that, "The story of Penfolds is inextricably linked to South Australia's colonial settlement and Australia's subsequent journey to nationhood and the modern era" (Calliard 2004:7). Certainly, Penfolds makes premium wines brands, but it is in the best interests of chief winemakers and the company share price to weave stories about its history in relation to an encompassing narrative of national identity, discovery and oenological development.

Every year since 1991 Penfolds has held assessment and re-corking clinics where customers can take their Penfolds wine and have it topped up with a current product such as Grange, and checked out for as corking or oxidation. Connoisseurs could validate both the quality

and authenticity of the wine such that, –Bottles in acceptable condition receive a special numbered clinic back label certifying the soundness of the wine" (Calliard 2004: 274). The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines authentic as –reliable, trustworthy, of undisputed origin, genuine" (Sykes, 1982:58). While re-corking clinics appealed to the upper end of the consumer market, such words as ‗reliable' and ‗genuine' sprang to mind when thinking about the atmosphere of the tours I joined at Penfolds winery. In discussing the sociology of wine and food in North America Paschel says:

> By considering authenticity as the end result of an organizational process – rather than an inherent, objective property, thing event or tradition – new insights emerge which reflect the distinctively social nature of this dimension (1999:4).

Paschel details how connoisseurs, food writers, chefs, and restaurateurs have reinvented Copper River salmon since the 1980s, from a fish that used to end up as pet food, or in cans in North America, to being heralded as –the most perfect expression of salmon in the world" (1999:47). In similar fashion, Penfolds Grange Bin 95 is rhetorically presented as an example of winemaking tradition and excellence as exemplified by its creator, Max Schubert. Penfolds Grange is marketed during wine tasting sessions as one of the premier examples of authentic winemaking practices in the southern hemisphere. Penfolds pursued a symbolic promotion of its wines, detailing their authenticity, taste and market value in relation to their consumption as a lifestyle decision by tourists and consumers.

Furthermore, as the corking clinics imply Grange is traded as a commodity, being regarded as a sound monetary investment. Ironically, Penfolds Grange was originally regarded as an inferior tasting wine by Penfolds management and Max Schubert was asked to stop production. Max re-invented Grange in the 1960s, and his fame relates back to his foresight in continuing to discretely make Grange. It also took a change in the alcohol consumption habits of Australians, who previously preferred fortified wine in the 1960s, for Grange to be regarded as a superior tasting wine.

4.3.1 Guided Tours: A Place World

During fieldwork, in 2004 at Penfolds winery, it was possible to undertake two different tours, the first at 11 am, 1pm or 3pm daily for $15; the second Great Grange Tour cost $150 and was held on Sunday afternoons. In comparison, walking tours at Banrock Station were priced at a nominal charge of $2, though you had to be willing to drive for two and half hours from Adelaide to the Riverland. While admission prices to most cellar doors are negligible, the actual cost of visiting a winery is incorporated into the overall cost of touring and wine tasting. Tourists have many expenses including accommodation, coach tours, meals, petrol and cellar door wine purchases. Admission costs to wine tasting and festive events are also a symbolic and monetary indicator of prestige that differentiates products and services at each winery. I argue that tourists make choices about what they consume and taste. The use and consumption of different services and events at a winery are more about cultural choice (Bennett, Emmison and Frow 1999:8). Tourists make choices in relation to their knowledge of a wine region, their budgets, and what they want to experience.

The pamphlet for the Grange tour said that it was a ―unique and prestigious wine experience". I took the cheaper tour twice and the Grange tour once, the most significant differences being the wines tasted, topics discussed, buildings visited and the expertise of the winery hosts. On the Great Grange tour, visitors were offered conducted tastings of the company's top shelf wines including Grange Bin 95, and provided with commentary by an assistant wine maker. Along with four other people, a couple from Sydney in their twenties, an older Caucasian and a younger Japanese male tourist I toured the cellars and enclosed spaces at Magill winery and its award-winning restaurant.[29] In an hour-long tour, our articulate guide showed us around the original cellars explaining their history and meaning. Afterwards we tasted the wine at the cellar door. The guide's discourse presented the cellar and the winery as authentically restored and maintained working spaces, fragrant with the scent of old barrels and newly crushed grapes. The cellar was built into the hill at Magill creating a claustrophobic atmosphere while the cellar rooms were vaults; protected by lockable steel bars (Maps 4.3, 4.4). Upon entering this space, there was a drop in

[29] Some of the awards include, ―Best Restaurant in a Winery" – 2001, winner and Catering Association Awards – Finalist. In 1999 the Magill Estate restaurant was inducted into the American Express Hall of Fame" (Penfolds Magill Estate winery pamphlet 2004).

temperature, the guide explaining that the cellars are kept at a constant 16 degrees. The darkness, cooler air, and enclosure of the walls and roof helped heighten the sensual experience of touring the cellars, which were built –Circa 1890", as proclaimed in large white letters on bricks above a doorway. The paraphernalia of winemaking and historical inscriptions images a past that tourists could see and smell.

Touring Penfolds was a tactile experience, and movement in space and time through the cellars situated the tourist's body and perceptions of the tour. While the guide's discourse expanded tourists' conceptual understanding of Penfolds, being-in-place ultimately structured the experience. As a place the cellar at Penfolds became a bodily enactment in Casey's sense:

> Apart from foreshadowings in myths, where better to look for renewed appreciation of place than in our own bodily enactments? *Where else* can we look for it, given that human experience emerges from the facticity of being a body-in-the-world? Just as we can say with Kant, –there can be no doubt that all knowing begins with experience," so we can say that knowledge of place begins with the bodily experience of being-in-a-place (1993: 46).

Tourists' comprehension of the spaces they pass through developed to include the history of winemaking at Penfolds and the rich traditions and oenological practices surrounding the racked bottles of Grange and St Henri. Tours began with our guide letting us look down through a steel door, where our faces were assailed by the reek of recently crushed Magill Estate Shiraz grapes.

After passing through a cellar room lined with pictures of past winemakers, we were invited to feel with our hands the girth of a two massive wooden barrels used in the 19th century and referred to as the –Helen Keller Brandy Vat". Despite being blind and deaf, Helen Keller, who graduated *magna cum laude* from Radcliff College, particularly liked drinking Penfolds' wines. She visited Penfolds in 1948 and asked if she could use her hands to estimate the capacity of the vat, which she did within 10 litres. Tours of Penfolds and Banrock wineries can be understood in relation to Goffman's (1975a; b: 124) notion of a theatrical frame. Tourists participated in a dramatic performance that framed and recreated both the history of Penfolds and its wine making practices in an entertaining and sensuously engaging manner. The actors at Penfolds included the cellar door staff; and ancestral wine

makers Dr Christopher Rawson Penfold, who founded Penfolds; a central star, Max Schubert; and other secondary figures such as Helen Keller. Max Schubert, who invented Grange in the 1960s, was undoubtedly the star in this production. The tour of the cellars culminated with Shubert, as principal winemaker, lit up at the back of an inner chamber in a life-sized photo that pictured him conducting cellar laboratory tests. As the tour guide pointed out before we „met' Max, thousands of bottles of one of Australia's most expensive and famous wines, Grange Bin 95, are stored in adjoining tunnels.

Displayed around Max's portrait were bottles of Grange from every season since 1962. Locked cabinets and glass cases lined the walls to left and right (Plate 4.2). While scientific-oenological artefacts add atmosphere, and Max Schubert was idealised as the inventor of Grange, the guide also highlighted his earthy personality (Schouten 1995: 21). When the tour group left the display detailing Max's achievements, the guide said that he was the „most important man in Australian wine history". The mythology of the heroic winemaker-creator of Grange, was somewhat tempered with the fact that he was also an ordinary mortal, heavily addicted to cigarettes, would also go and have a few beers after work at the local pub, and hold spitting contests. He would trick people who didn't know he was a winemaker who regularly tasted wine and had to spit out what he tasted. Max would first miss a few spits in the pub and then up the bet till pocketing the win.

MAP 4.3 Penfolds, Magill
Source: (Penfolds, Magill, Google Maps)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 124 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

MAP 4.4 Houses surrounding Penfolds‟ Magill Vineyard
Source: (Penfolds, Magill, Google Maps)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 124 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

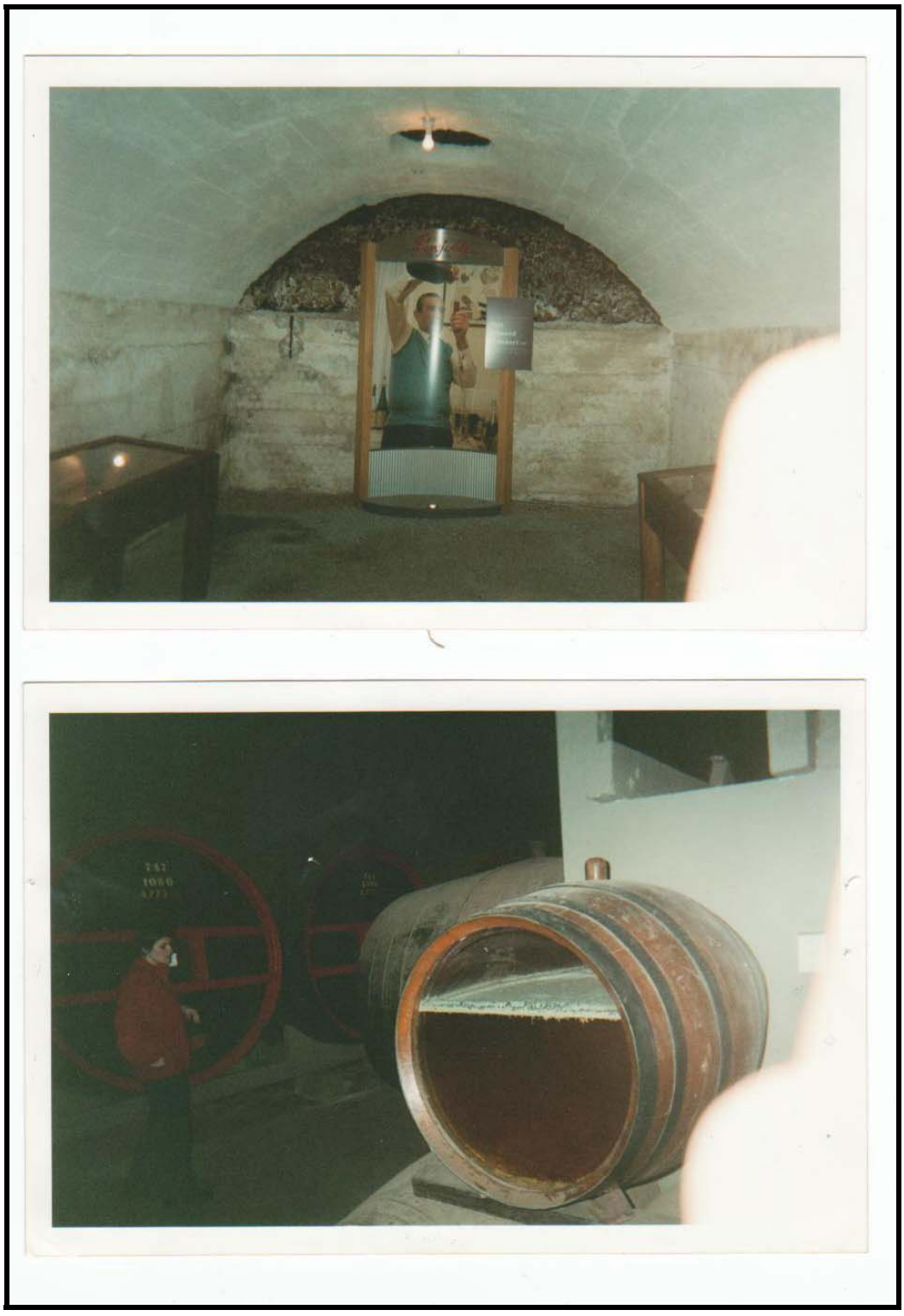
PLATE 4.6: Penfolds Pamphlet, „Australia"s Most Famous Wine"
Source (Penfolds winery 2004)

NOTE:
This plate is included on page 125 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

PLATE 4.7: Max Schubert

PLATE 4.8: Barrel Fermentation

Source (author 2005)



The use of oak in seasoning the wines at Penfolds was highlighted in the Magill Estate tour. Both Magill Estate Shiraz and Grange Bin 95, the former at the lower end of the price scale at $120, and the latter at the top at $500 a bottle, are matured in oak. In *The Rewards of Patience,* the 2002 Magill Estate Shiraz is described as having "plenty of underlying malty oak and persistent chocolaty tannins" (Callard 2004: 178). During the tour, comparisons about wine and the taste or smell of oak, chocolate and fruit were made, such that flora and food became the bench marks to sensuously evaluate the wine we tasted. Our guide explained that the primary character of Magill Estate Shiraz comes from the grapes and their blackcurrant taste, as the grapes used are all from Magill Estate and picked at just the "right time". The tour guide explained that the juices from these grapes were matured with one third American and two third French oak, emphasising further, why St Henri Shiraz tasted different from Magill Estate Shiraz and Grange.

By detailing how Penfolds wines were made and matured, the tour guide defined the world in which tourists move. Stoller notes that:

> As the anthropological record suggests, the peoples whom anthropologists study often invite us to learn how to see, how to think, and even how to hear. Many of us accept these invitations genuinely (1989: 120).

The tour guide invited participants how to think about the artefacts observed, and conceptualise ideas about the heritage, winemaking practices and genealogy at Penfolds. The guide was careful to tell stories about the history and distinctive tastes of Grange during the tour. In saying that the oak barrels in which the wine is aged can be charred inside, the guide outlines the way in which tourists can think about oenological practices (Plate 4.7).

Moreover, as potential buyers of Magill Estate Shiraz, tourists could be confident that "proper wine making techniques" were followed when the wine was left from 14 to 16 months in hogs head barrels. In comparison, Grange Bin 95 was aged for five years before release, with a recommendation for consumption after 15 years in the bottle. While the claims that the tour guide made about the quality, heritage and difference in wine making practices at Penfolds between Grange and Magill Estate, are open to speculation, the

guide's enthusiasm and use of colloquial language, reinforced the quality of the presentations. The guide said that the current vintage of Magill Estate Shiraz was –fantastic tasting". The guide switched between technical descriptions of winemaking processes and general accounts of Magill Estate and Penfolds' history. Discourses and associated displays, detailing wine making techniques and practices also framed tourists use of space, how visitors' should think about Penfolds' heritage, and how winemaking practices at Penfolds were distinct from other wineries and countries. The tour guide explained that Penfolds differentiates itself from French wine making practices by leaving the bung in the barrel at a 12 o'clock position whereas the French leave it at 2 o'clock. Every two weeks the winemaker toped up the barrel because of evaporation. Exposure of the wine in barrels to air, further affected the maturation process. The members of our group made a couple of quips about the amount of money evaporating from the Grange barrels. The point being, that each barrel held approximately $130,000 in Grange, and evaporation and maturation in oak concentrated the flavours.

4.4 CREATING TOURIST PLACES

Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands Centre, Gemtree Vineyards and Penfolds winery at Magill are all defined as places by language games regarding the taste of their products and winemaking vision. At each site tourists encounter messages and discourses about nature, eco-tourism and wetlands conservation, prestige and heritage, helping market and culturally create winery as distinct places to visit. Furthermore, visits by tourists to the wine sites and regions are temporally and socially structured, taking place over two hours, a day or even a week during a festival, in the company, of ad hoc groups, friends or family.

As places, wineries are framed and delineated as physical structures in space and time, such that, as Bruner says, –different sensory codes are brought into play" (2005: 25). However, visits to Banrock Station or Gemtree Vineyards winery are more than social occasions; they are embodied experiences as different sensory codes are evident during wine tours. During a conducted tasting at Penfolds winery in the Barossa Valley, the host instructs visitors to associate different food tastes with the wine they taste. Participants are invited to deeply inhale the aroma and feel the texture of different oak barrels and shavings that are used to

help make and flavour wine (Plate 4.8). Wine tastes are also compared to the memory of tasting such foods as strawberries, chocolate, and capsicums (Plate 4.9).

The act of smelling wine for the hint of oak presence when tasting Penfolds wines is an olfactory experience. At Banrock by contrast, remembering the sharp tastes and smells of Australian bush ingredients or the physical effort involved in walking the trails at Banrock help frame the experience. Tourists are encouraged to associate such sensual experiences of the environment with the consumption of locally produced wine and bush ingredients in the meals served. Wine tours and tasting sessions are meaningful and emplaced because they have a definite structure relating to the movement of tourists through a sensuous experience over a given span of time and space. Furthermore, tours are made meaningful because the visitor-tourist defines the wine place by actually being there. As Bruner argues:

> Thus a site may be generative and may construct meaning not as a silent text, but in action, in social practice, by the responses of the visitors to its physicality. The site itself has agency (2005: 25).

This is aptly signified with the refrain –Good Earth, Fine Wine". Messages about ecology and Banrock Station's vision in restoring the Wetlands are therefore grounded in the associated gustatory and olfactory experience of foodways. The consumption of food and wine and the physical experience of walking around the wetlands are therefore integral to being-in-place at Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands Centre.

As well as moving through a varied sensual environment on wine tours, walking trails, visits to cellar doors, and during wine tasting sessions, tourists also experience an environment that is bounded and constructed through language games and their associated activities. Such language games included –Describing the appearance of an object, or giving its measurement" (Wittgenstein 1995: 11), as with the tours of Penfolds that involved measuring the diameter of the Helen Keller Vat, and recording the birds that visited the wetlands from –secret" hides at Banrock. Other language games included, –Play-acting" and, –Making up a story; and reading it".

PLATES 4.9; 4.10: Comparing the Smell of Food, Oak and Wine

Source: (author 2005)

As I have previously argued, and following (1975b), tours at Penfolds are a dramatic performance, where both the tour guide and the audience conform to behavioural roles, and engage in the appropriate discourses and language games whilst either telling or listening to stories about Penfolds wines. Fine says:

> I argue that sensory judgements are grounded in social relationships, face-to-face negotiations, social structures, and organizations, and are found through out society. These judgements, while they purport to present empirical statements for belief, present ‗feelings'. By feelings I refer to the cross-pollination of bodily feedback and emotion talk … (1995: 246)

During the great Grange Tour, the guide plays a lead role, dominating the stage and the physical space of the tour, directing participants where to move and what scenery and props to especially note. This included Dr Rawson Penfolds' partly restored 19th century cottage and ―small" marital bed, the feel and size of the original oak barrels, the rich smell of the fermenting tanks, and the priceless collection of Grange vintages in the cellar.

Goffman says: ―The performance of an individual in a front region may be seen as an effort to give the appearance that his [or her] activity in the region maintains and embodies certain standards" (1975b:110). During a wine tour, tourists and tour guides enact a performance that frame a discourse about Penfolds' heritage, and visitors' sensory and social situation through their respective roles in a bounded space or region, over a given time span. Goffman points out that:

> A region may be defined as any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception. … In our Anglo-American society – a relatively indoor one – when a performance is given it is usually given in a highly bounded region, to which boundaries with respect to time are often added. The impression and understanding fostered by the performance will tend to saturate the region and time span, so that any individual located in this space-time manifold will be in a position to observe the performance and be guided by the definition of the situation which the performance fosters (1975b: 109).

At Penfolds, wine tours are bound by locked tunnels full of wine, the tour guides' performance, pictures and engaging stories of archetypal founders and visitors. The winery as a region is perceived in relation to the ―boundaries of perception" during a wine tour. The

life-world that tourists engage in at Penfolds is significantly different to one they engage in at Banrock, where expansive views of vines and a wetland, the sound of bird calls, the taste of _bush' food, and the visceral experience of walking a trail, identify the region as a place. Storyboards inscribe and define the space that tourists move through. Furthermore, the storyboards, both on the trails and in the winery present a narrative about the history of the wine region and the associated wetlands, and vision, and more subtly, the marketing of Banrock Station's wines.

Penfolds winery, Gemtree Vineyard and Banrock Station are semiotically indexed, structuring the interpretation and experience of wine tasting, and tour experiences. The distance travelled by tourists to the winery, cost of different tours, access to winemakers, and educational discourses about the taste and appreciation of wine vary for each winery. An immediate contrast is evident though in the ideologies that underpin the practice of wine tours and tasting, and marketing of goods for sale at each winery. Banrock Station and Gemtree Vineyard relate the consumption and taste of wine to the marketing of their ecological practices. However, Penfolds relates a customer's desire for its wines and wine tours to the authenticity and prestige of its products. This is reflected in a scale of cultural value where the prestige of Penfolds' wine is linked to a higher monetary worth for a given bottle of wine and wine tour. Penfolds Grange Bin 95 is at the top end of the price scale and can only be tasted on the most expensive tour. Wine products at Penfolds and dinner prices at its attached restaurant are aimed at the middle to top end of the consumer market. This contrasts with Banrock Station's tours and wines, which are much less expensive. More significantly, this is reflected in the nominal charge to undertake a walking tour at Banrock Station.

Visiting a wine place though, is more than the experience of consumers making choices about what products to buy and what tours to go on. Cellar doors can be welcoming social spaces, where tourists and visitors can engage in celebratory cultural practices, such as a wedding. On a hen's wine tour of the McLaren Vale I was the token male, the recipient of several jokes and was asked to join the happy bride, her female friends, and relatives for lunch at a McLaren's on the Lake. As a stranger, the festive nature of the occasion also helped stimulate conversation and social engagement. When I asked "What do you like about this winery?" of forty tourists, notable responses included that they felt welcome, the winery was not crowded, it was relaxing and the staff are friendly. Of course, many

wineries are also crowded with tourists, particularly Jacobs Creek in the Barossa Valley when coaches pull up. One way of making tourists feel welcome is the creation of a familiar ambience, as with an old house and the presence of cats and dogs. Cathy and Jenny, from Sydney, said that they loved meeting the sheep dog Shadow at Fox Creek winery, as did most visitors I observed.

At Penney's Hill and Mr Riggs Vineyard I interviewed Rosemary from Adelaide, who was soon to retire as a High School teacher. Rosemary asked _why is this wine called The Black Chook?' The Cellar hand explained that it refers to the old chook house that is attached to the homestead and that hens lay fresh eggs on a daily basis that are sold at the Cellar door. Penny's Hill also had a black and white cat asleep in a half wine barrel filled with straw. Rosemary said whimsically: _Oh look at that, my cat Mai, who is a Siamese would love that space'. Bachelard says:

> All really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home... the sheltered being gives perceptible limits to his shelter. He experiences the house in its reality and in its virtuality, by means of thought and dreams (1994: 5).

Nevertheless, cellar doors can imply in their design that while they are modern buildings they are also connected to the past as places. At Penny's Hill in the McLaren Vale Rosemary said:

> When you go inside [Penny's Hill], it is designed to give the impression that the winery is an old building that has some history. But from the outside it has a very modern design. It looks like it has just been built. The inside in comparison to the outside is bit weird, so different.

Apart from wine tasting, Penny's Hill Vineyard and Mr Rigg's Cellars, named after the sloping hill where it sits at the base, offers an extensive range of associated hospitality and tourist services. Upon entering the wine tasting area customers can view the local art for sale, and as individuals or as a group enjoy an a la carte, as well as a four course tasting menu at The Kitchen Door, inclusive of matched wines for $79pp. Dishes include Gravalax of Ocean Trout with NV The Black Chook sparkling cuvee; and Tempura Zucchini Flowers with 2010 Mr Riggs Adelaide Hills –Ein Riese Riesling"

(Penny's Hill, Autumn Tasting Menu 2011). Afterwards customers can celebrate their wedding in a general function area; and stay overnight at a restored 1850s building where up to eight people can sleep in Bed and Breakfast accommodation (Plate 4.11).

Penny's Hill was established in 1988 when Tony and Susie Parkinson purchased 80 acres of land. The company now cultivates 108 acres of vineyards. While viticulturists David Paxton and Toby Bekkers and chief winemaker Ben Riggs have been with Penny's Hill from its beginning, the winery now employs approximately twenty two full time staff and casuals (Penny's Hill Winery, Our People 2011). Embellishing visits to Penny's Hill are language games, sensory experiences and images relating the consumption of Penny's Hill wine to tasty food and leisure activities. I interviewed several people who visited Penny's Hill while listening to relaxed music-jazz. Trevor and his partner, a middle class couple from Adelaide said they loved the rural ambience and the short drive from the City to Penny's Hill (Map 4.5). The wineries proximity to the city, the appetizing food and the relaxed atmosphere was a common observation. More significantly visits by tourists and locals to Penny's Hill reflect Jameson's (1998) ~~o~~bservation that an economic system also expands the _culture' or _everyday life' it thrives on and articulates" (Austin-Broos 2009: 307). As a place where interrelated forms of life occur from tasting wine, celebrating a wedding, or listening to jazz and buying art, _everyday' activities at Penny Hill embody economic transactions between locals and tourists.

Some wine buildings in South Australia also look stylish. Jacobs Creek cellar door in the Barossa Valley looks like a modern bar, while the entrance to The National Wine Centre, which holds jazz and wine sessions for local business executives on Friday afternoons in the city of Adelaide, has a design similar to a wine barrel (Map 4.6; Plates 4.10, 4.11). When tourists taste wine, eat lunch, view and buy art or a jar of organic jam, they also encounter a plethora of advertising images, information and tailored discourses about the products they consume. While wine tours in the Barossa Valley or McLaren Vale are limited to set routes traversing a wine region, a visit also involves the consumption of local wine and food products by interstate and international visitors. Images of regional wine areas also highlight rolling vineyards and vistas, happy holidaymakers and healthy, attractive couples tasting wine. Glamorous and happy couples savouring a glass of wine were generally

depicted in the media promoting South Australian wine and wine areas, as with the back cover of the South Australian based *Winestate* magazine (Simic, May/June 2003).[30] The romantic couple were depicted as an idealisation and a projection of what it can mean to taste wine with a friend.

PLATE 4.11 Bed and Breakfast Building at Penny's Hill
Source: (Penny's Hill, Accommodation 2011, website)

NOTE:
This plate is included on page 135 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

[30] This magazine was produced in South Australia and had regular articles and wine reviews in regard to the wineries I visited. The photograph on the back cover is marketing Tyrrell's wines from South Australia and is in black and white, as though to empahsise the authenticity and tradition of Tyrrell's wine making. A smaller picture in color depicts "John, Chris and Jane Tyrrell: 5th generation wine family".

MAP 4.5 **Penny‟s Hill cellar door** (between McLaren Vale and Willunga)
Source: (Penny;s Hill Google map).

NOTE:
This map is included on page 136 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

MAP 4.6 **National Wine Centre** (red dot). Source: (Penny;s Hill Google map).

NOTE:
This map is included on page 136 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

PLATES 4.12; 4.13: Jacobs Creek Cellar Door, National Wine Centre

Source: Author 2005

4.5 TOURISTS MAKE WINE

In 2008 I worked at Indevin winery at Blenheim in the Marlborough wine region of New Zealand during the wine making harvest. This experience is a pertinent example of the blurring of the traditional division between work and leisure as a majority of the cellar crew combined working at the winery with wine tasting and tourism in New Zealand. Kohn says: ―To conclude, contemporary leisure may be as much a site of production as it is of consumption. It is a place where selves as well as social relations are discovered and reformulated …" (2007: 185). Indevin's continued expansion in the amount of wine it processes since starting operations in 2004 occurred at the same time as Australia increased imports of New Zealand wine (Table 7.5). In 2008-9 by value and volume, close to 60% of wine imported to Australia was from New Zealand.

Blenheim has a population of 29,000 servicing the surrounding wineries of Marlborough (Map 4.7). This region is famous for the quality of its white wines, particularly Sauvignon Blanc. In comparison to boutique wineries, Indevin makes a large amount of wine in a short period (March to May). The company's website says:

> Indevin is New Zealand's largest independent contract winemaking company providing tailored wine making services to clients of all sizes ranging from a few tonnes to a few thousand tonnes. Indevin's state of the art winery in Marlborough provides clients with the infrastructure & systems required to create high quality wines without the need to establish their own winery. The winery was established for the 2004 vintage and has been progressively expanded to have a capacity today of in excess of 20,000 tonnes (Indevin winery, 2008).

To put this in perspective, in 2009 Australia had 35 wine producers who crushed more than 10,000 tonnes of grapes (Table 7.6).

MAP 4.7 Indevin winery at Blenheim, Marlborough Wine Region, New Zealand
Source (New Zealand, destinations 2010)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 139 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Indevin winery offers a number of services, in relation to client wishes about the crushing of grapes and red and white wine making. A computer system tracks the various batches of grapes delivered and processed, and printed work orders are issued by winemakers to cellar hands, that describe in specific details the filtration of crushed grape juice, what chemicals to add or actions to take regarding particular batches of fermenting wine. The notions of the artisan winemaker (Ulin 1995, 2002), or that wine is natural produce, less sullied by human intervention, and evocative of place (Trubek 2008: 55), must be qualified as the wine-

grower, customer pass on their grapes and the production process to someone else at Indevin. Services offered by Indevin for white wine making include:

- Pre harvest maturity analysis.
- Hand sorting.
- Must chilling.
- Crushed or whole bunch pressing.
- A variety of press cycle options.
- Computer operated tank cooling/heating.
- A choice of fermentation options including inoculated, wild, tank and barrel.
- Laboratory trial work.
- A choice of final filtration methods including cross flow.

The complexity and range of grape processing and fermentation processes offered by Indevin reflects its specialisation as a contract wine making facility. Customers can readily specify how they want their wine made while not investing in expensive wine making infrastructure. I argue that the role of 21st century manufacturing management and technology in shaping the taste and quality of wine is just as significant as the quality of grapes. Trubek (2008: 55) argues that because wine is intimately connected with the *terrior* it is somehow more different ─ more ‗natural' than other manufactured foods and beverages:

> Of all agricultural products, wine has retained a uniquely *natural* genealogy (sic). From our contemporary vantage point, automation dominates the production of most food and beverages, which we understand primarily as packaged commodities (a six-pack of beer, a box of Cheerios) lining the shelves of retail stores. But when we approach the wine aisle, we know the terrain is somehow different. Even when we go to our corner grocery store to buy wine, we know the wine is about more than a brand and the bar code pasted on the bottle. The labels always tell us about either the variety of grape used or the place where the grapes were grown. Can we say the same about beer or cereal?

Certainly wine is ‗natural' just as beer: they are agricultural produce; but wine production at Indevin and larger wineries in South Australia, such as DiFabio, is highly automated. Wine

is made and grapes processed with the help of various chemicals, with detailed instructions for cellar staff that contribute to the fermentation processes and taste of the end product.

I worked the night shift as a cellar hand in the main grape receiving area, operating two 25 tonne grape crushers which took four truck loads of white grapes to fill (Plate 6.1). There was a short window of time to process the grapes at the concentration of sugar of picking. A mistake when operating the destemming crushers could cost the winery thousands of dollars. Cellar hands working in this area and on the second air press were especially chosen for the job (and the gossip amongst harvest crew reflected this). The first and second press crews were under intense pressure to perform their job in an accurate manner. Sometimes there were no grapes to crush and ancillary jobs such as cleaning vats or adding chemicals to wine tanks were carried out. At other times when the harvest was in full swing trucks would line up four or five deep waiting to have their grapes crushed.

In comparison to the leisure of visiting a winery as a tourist in South Australia, turning grapes into wine at Indevin involved 12 hour day and night shifts, over six or seven days a week. It was tough, labour intensive work for a Fordist food processing company that standardised wine production. While a large part of my job involved operating grape crushing and destemming machines, directing trucks as they poured grapes into receivable bins, in tandem to the secondary processing of grapes in the air press by other cellar staff, the machinery I was operating broke down several times. Fixing, or cleaning grape crushers, and shovelling grape skins into trucks, when conveyor belts broke at 2am was exhausting. Despite the stress and hectic pace of harvest, and New Zealand‘s distance from other wine making centres in the world, Indevin managed to recruit a harvest crew of approximately eighty cellar hands, assistant laboratory workers and winemakers from across the globe, including Brazil, Italy, America, Japan, Spain, Argentina, England and Australia. Indevin had a permanent staff of fifteen, including four winemakers, while the operating manager had previously worked in other food manufacturing industries that were not involved with wine making.

Many of the casual staff combined seasonal work with tourism and travel in New Zealand, Australia, Europe and the Americas. Most of the harvest crew stayed at a crowded backpacker‘s hostel at Blenheim, sleeping four to a room, and the close social interaction, shared meals and comradeship this offered was were attractions in themselves. I was the

oldest seasonal worker as most employees were aged 18-26. Approximately three quarters of the seasonal staff were either qualified winemakers or had worked in wineries as cellar hands in other places such as Spain, Italy or California. Parties at the backpacker‘s hostel were held regularly and tourist excursions to taste wine or see the sights were informally organised amongst the harvest crew. I interviewed Lisa from the United States, who worked in the harvest in the red wine cellar:

> On Saturday several of us hopped into a hired car and visited Nelson and some wineries for the day. It was Market day in Nelson. I picked up a book on New Zealand wineries and spent a lot of time tasting the fresh produce. We then drove around, visited a few wineries, tasted some delicious Pinot Noir, looked at the coast, took a walk to the sea, and drove home. It was a gorgeous day and a fun trip, but busy, too much to do! I was the only confident English speaker in the group, which made my brain hurt ─ translating for everyone. That night there was a party at the hostel, the last big night before starting work and a way for everyone to get to know one another. Sunday, I went to the farmer's market in Blenheim, much smaller than the one in Nelson, but there were some interesting items for sale.

I stayed at the backpackers for several nights then moved into a single room in a house which was rented out to harvest workers. Also staying there were Paul and Olivia, a couple who worked at wineries together in Europe and America. Paul and Olivia were very sociable and regularly held parties while also travelling to meet winemakers and taste New Zealand wine. Like half a dozen seasonal wine makers I spoke to, Paul and Olivia talked about Marlborough and identified it as a region that produced wines of distinct quality and varietal taste:

> Sauvignon Blanc here is crisp, so fresh and intense. We visited a few wineries in the North Island [of New Zealand] before we came here, the taste of Sauvignon Blanc is different. The soil here is chalky; we think it helps give the wine its distinctive flavors.

Peter was planning to expand his father‘s agricultural pursuits in Oregon, and plant similar white and red grape varietals to the ones grown in the Marlborough region. Peter had flown from America to specifically study how grapes were grown and wine in made in New

Zealand. During meal breaks, David, an experienced wine maker, would describe in sometimes intricate detail, the similarities and differences in taste between Sauvignon Blanc, Semillon and other varietals he had tasted and made in America to that of New Zealand and the Marlborough region. Having tasted very few wines from America, I would nod my head, and agree, and get on with finishing ―lunch" at 1am. While David and Peter were energetic cellar hands they still had their own motivations, business plans and memories of past tasting and wine harvest experiences while working Indevin. As Bergson says, ―there is no perception which is not full of memories. With the immediate and present data of our senses, we mingle a thousand details out of our past experience" ([1908] 1988:33).

PLATE 4.14: Operating the Crushers Source (author 2008)

The author, operating Indevin's 25 tonne crushing control panels on a day shift. Trucks would tip freshly picked white grapes 24 hours a day into metal vats, which were then lifted vertically, so that rotating cylinders, in front of the control panel would crush them. The grape juice would then flow into pressure tanks (Plate 6.2) for the 2nd crush. The white bucket contains plastic containers which were used to take samples of the grape juices from each crushing, which were then stored and tested for such details as their baume level.

PLATE 4.15: Air Presses and Tanks Source (author 2008)

Inside Indevin‘s main winery. The horizontal cylindrical tanks are second crush air presses. To the right are tanks full of fermenting grape juice-wine. Trucks would pull up outside the front (beyond the glass windows) where the first crush would take place.

PLATE 4.16 Cellar Crew Wine Tour Source (author 2008)

Indevin harvest crew on a company organised tour of the Marlborough wine region. Commentary was provided by four winemakers from Indevin.

4.5.1 Cellar Hands and Tacit Knowledge

Indevin winery made efforts to market the experience of working there and implement work practices that were rewarding and friendly. Free meals, beer and wine were served including a main lunch during a twelve hour shift, with alcoholic beverages available on alternate days after the end of a shift, while a juke box played hit songs. Eric Weisinger from the United States says on Indevin‘s website:

The Indevin experience: What some of the 2007 vintage crew had to say:

> My vintage at Indevin was one of the most memorable and educational of my winemaking career. As a place to learn about making wine in New Zealand, as well as getting to know Marlborough, Indevin and the staff created an experience I will not soon forget. Having been in the wine business for 15 years, I would say Indevin is a very valuable work experience for anyone who wants to turn wine into a career. My time there helped me fall in love with the nature of wine, again. And the people! Wonderful, wonderful people. Thank you (Weisinger 2007, The Indevin Experience).

Indevin management spent a week instructing the harvest crew about operating procedures, safety concerns and encouraging the crew to get to know each other and the winery. As a part of this induction the winery took the harvest crew on a tour of the Marlborough wine region pointing out the vineyards whose grapes we would be processing (Plate 6.3). At Claybridge we tasted previous vintages while the winemaker explained what was different about the way in which the grapes were grown in comparison to the surrounding vineyards in Blenheim. This included hand watering of the vines. Claybridge‘s winemaker had previously worked in Germany and alluded to the European tradition where *terroir* played a major part in the making of premium wine, beginning in the vineyard with the type of soil, weather cycles and nourishment of taste in the grapes. Several cellar staff who had travelled from America and Europe paid close attention to this discourse as they wanted to work in the red wine making area at Indevin and were keen to learn as much as they could about premium red wine. Excursions to vineyards and conversations with winemakers associated with Indevin reflected an embodied and contextually learnt form of knowledge about premium wine making.

But learning how to make wine and appreciate the tourist attractions of Marlborough are secondary to the establishment of an industrial base. Indevin is a recent entrepreneurial project built to exploit the needs of smaller grape growers and wineries for an efficient cost effective wine processing plant. Mitchell and Schreiber argue that:

> The very concept of wine tourism suggests that opportunities and cluster development abound, as wine tourism is the symbiotic relationship between two very different industries: one is based on agriculture and manufacturing, while the other is service related (Mitchell,

> 2004). In fact, relationships between wine and tourism have existed since Greek and Roman times (Getz, 2000), but it only recently that governments and analysts have begun to recognise the value of supporting and encouraging formal network and cluster behaviour between the two (2007:80).

More immediate forms of learning also took place, particularly after harvest had started. This involved carrying out the assigned work duties. While vintage staff had been instructed in the correct technical procedures for adding chemicals to the grape juice, operating an air press, or doing pump-overs (transferring fermenting wine from one tank to another), carrying them out was another matter for me and my co-workers. I had never worked as a cellar hand before; learning my assigned duties as a general cellar hand and more specifically as a first crush operator was a didactic learning experience. While the technical process was explained and demonstrated to cellar hands, the actual experience of operating machines and adding chemicals that turned grape juice into wine was a learning experience. As I ―learnt on the job" in a fast paced environment, where the work I undertook was felt as much as conceptually understood. Working at Indevin was a corporeal experience, emotionally intense, and at times frustrating. This was most apparent when I stood in the rain, on a cold New Zealand morning at 4am, directing trucks as they backed to tip their load of grapes, or shoveling grape skins when the conveyor belt broke, or coordinating my crush with the second crush grape operators.

During the week of pre-harvest training, cellar hands were split up into groups of about fifteen and shown the various duties for each position. My group had ten minutes in the first crush receivable area as we clambered up and down stairs, rails and metal platforms and stared at the massive tanks that would be filled with grape-fermenting wine juice. Other than an overview of the whole crushing process I was given no specific training about my position. While the chief engineer casually told me to push buttons here and there, it was still a mystery until the harvest began. Learning the expectations of the job also tended to take place in moments of crisis.

My immediate supervisor, a highly stressed former electrical engineer, who was also new to the job, controlled the second crush of grapes by operating six computer programmed air presses. I had to closely communicate with Andrew as an overflow from the first press could easily occur and the second tank presses had to be empty before the de-stemming,

first press began. One night Andrew came out from the second crush control area at 11pm looking very serious, loudly telling me a few centimetres from my face that I had to be more ~~"p~~roactive", stating that when the grapes were ready to be tipped into crushing vats and when the first crush-destemming had finished. To accomplish this I decided to try and be in Andrew's line of sight, and not begin any critical process till I had been given the go ahead. While this smoothed our working relationship, it meant I had to keep an eye on several operations at once and gradually assume leadership as one of the few native English speakers, from when trucks brought grapes to the winery till they were ready to begin the cycles of crushing. Duties included directing trucks, dealing with tired and frustrated truck drivers, paper work, keeping an eye on the conveyer belts as well as the operation of the grape crushing machinery.

Learning to be a cellar hand was not only reflective of interactions and cooperation among workers carrying out assigned tasks but also tacit conventions concerning the tasks at hand, of sensing and reacting to feelings of other workers and the responsibilities of communicating in the working environment. Lave and Wenger argue that:

> In contrast with learning as internalization, learning as inclusive participation in communities of practice concerns the whole person acting in the world. Conceiving of learning in terms of participation focuses attention on ways in which it is an evolving, continually renewed set of relations, this is, of course conceptualised within a relational view of persons, their activities and the theory of practice (1991:49-50).

Rather than being automatons, alienated from the means of production in a faceless factory cellar hands were expected to display some initiative in carrying out their duties. My experience of working reflected the notion of an ~~"e~~volving" understanding of, and relational working relationships with colleagues, supervisors and the tasks at hand. While the level of participation with colleagues varied after work, a majority of cellar hands lived at local backpackers in Blenheim and socialised together. As seasonal workers, cellar hands occupied a unique position of also being visitor-tourists, many of whom were keen to taste the variety of wines in New Zealand and explore tourist attractions.

4.5.2 Conclusion

In *The Tourist*, MacCannell draws a distinct line between authentic, and inauthentic or –spurious" (1999:151) tourist experiences and sights. The Eiffel tower in France is authentic whereas its reproduction at a Disney theme park is inauthentic. I argue that visits to wine places, are neither authentic nor inauthentic experiences. Rather, it is a tourist's emplacement and corporeal appreciation of wine tasting, listening to tour discourses and enjoyment of a day's outing in a wine region that contributes to the reproduction of tour and local culture, and quantifies the experience of places visited. Wang summarises several critiques about authenticity and tourism:

> However, with the concept of authenticity being widely used, its ambiguity and limitations have been increasingly exposed. Critics question its usefulness and validity because many tourist motivations or experiences cannot be explained in terms of the conventional concept of authenticity. Phenomena such as visiting friends and relatives, beach holidays, ocean cruising, nature tourism, visiting Disneyland, personal hobbies such as shopping, fishing, hunting, or sports, and so on, have nothing to do with authenticity in MacCannell's sense (Schudson 1979; Stephen 1990; Urry 1990). According to Urry (1991:51), the search for authenticity is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism (1999: 349).

As well, set language games, business objectives and neo-totemic values define and give meaning to wine places. Douglas and Isherwood state: –It is extraordinary to discover that no one knows why people want goods" (1997: 3). Instead, I suggest the following question, –In what sense do tourists want goods, and experience leisure practices, such as wine tasting"? This question acknowledges that the world within which tourists experience wine regions, including Banrock, Gemtree and Penfolds, and work in, such as Indevin, are framed in relation to sensual and learned practices, such as tasting wine; and definitive spatial movements, such as wine tours. As Douglas and Isherwood explain, –The choice of goods continuously creates certain patterns of discrimination, overlaying or reinforcing others. Goods, then, are the visible parts of culture" (1997: 44). But, contrary to Urry's (1990) emphasis on the gaze in tourism, or in my case the visible parts of a wine tour, such

as a vineyard vista, I argue that tourists use a gamut of senses, including taste, smell and sound when visiting a wine place.

Understanding a wine place as a sensual experience is also mediated by marketing images and the physical structure of a cellar door. Penfolds winery is notable for the emphasis placed on the imputed authentic atmosphere of its restored buildings, and the quality and prestige of its wine making practices. By contrast, Banrock Station related the quality and taste of its wines to the ecology, taste of the flora, fauna, and wetlands it was restoring. Gemtree Vineyards and Banrock Wine and Wetlands pay particular attention to emphasising their pro-active concern for the environment and moral vision of their winemaking practices. It is practices surrounding leisure activity that literally organise the experience of wine tourism and tasting. This argument recognises that signs in contemporary capitalist cultures, such as South Australia, reflect the ascription of cultural values. As Fine says:

> One of the key markers of community is the existence of shared constraints of language. Constraints are ultimately grounded in social organization and socialization and depend on the existence of common knowledge of linguistic rules and patternings (1995: 247).

That is to say, there are customary forms of behaviour and discourses surrounding wine tourism that reflect totemic branding in relation the presence of a tourist‘s body and mind, helping order the meaning and experience of a visit to a wine region, or the taste of a bottle of wine.

CHAPTER FIVE

TALKING ABOUT WINE

Fleurieu Peninsula:
Often referred to as the painted coast, this region hosts
the largest landscape painting prize in Australia,
The Fleurieu Biennale,
with entries displayed in local galleries and wineries
(*South Australian Shorts*, 2002: 156).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I analyse how consumers are encouraged to savour the gustatory taste of wine, and how cellar door hosts, tour guides, and tourists talk about the experience of wine tasting sessions. Silverstein argues that wine can be both a prestigious and an ~~–a~~lmost sacralized comestible" (2006:483), a phrase that aptly summarises both the ritual, and cultural aura surrounding regional wine celebrations, as with the Fleurieu Biennale. The issue is to understand how wine tourism and tasting are not only distinctive forms of consumer activity, but also speech communities, reflective of several forms of associated language games. I also ask how marketing messages, and the physical surroundings within which wine tastings are carried out, affect the tasters' assessment of their experience, in terms of several ethnographic examples, from dining at Barossa Valley Estate and Woodstock winery, to a wine tasting exercise at Ashton Hills winery.

Conducting wine tours or partaking in wine tasting sessions are activities that explicitly utilise aesthetic performances and presentations in relation to the environments within which tourists move.[31] In the introductory and second section, I analyse how a set of

[31] Likewise, aesthetic performances and foodways presentations are utilised by Heston Blumenthol, whose Fat Duck restaurant was voted best restaurant in the world in 2006. Blumenthol explains how the contexts within which food and wine are presented and consumed affect a customer's sensory perceptions of it. Sipping chilled Muscadet on the banks of the river Loire is a different experience to drinking such wine back in England. Blumenthol is careful to call his avant-garde cuisine, or

aesthetic principles or ideological practices are present, framing the way in which hosts educate customers, and how tourists are supposed to appreciate and understand how wine is made and tastes. In section three I continue the discussion from the last chapter of particular types of wineries, wine places, and particular messages that are related to such places, specifically the Barossa Valley and Ashton Hills' winery. The Fleurieu Peninsula, along with other wine regions such as the Barossa Valley, Clare, Coonawarra, Adelaide Hills and McLaren Vale are known as wine places not just for their wine, but also for other leisure and culinary pursuits. As a sacralised form of consumption wine is prestigious, particularly when associated with higher artistic pursuits. An example is Red Poles, a combined art gallery, licensed café, and Bed and Breakfast in the McLaren Vale, which holds regular Sunday art exhibitions for the community.

In this chapter I argue that a definition of wine tourism and tasting is related to the sensual, the aesthetic dimensions of taste and appreciation that is communicated to tourists by cellar door and winemaking staff, and the range of practices and motivations involved in tourism and foodways consumption. Aesthetics is defined in reference to the embodied oenological constructs and structure of values that inform decisions about the taste of wine, and a tourist's experience and appreciation of places they visit. Fine sums up the analytical significance of defining aesthetics this way: "It captures the cognitive (satisfaction) and affective (sensory) components of aesthetic judgements, and also includes the intentional quality of human action" (1992:1296).

5.1.1 The Aesthetics of Tasting Wine

As discussed in previous chapters, distinctive language games help structure wine tourism discourses, but from my ethnographic observations, tourists who visit wineries in South Australia do not, generally, have an extensive vocabulary, or nuanced range of expressions that they use when initially talking about their experiences of tasting wine. More knowledgeable tourists and wine connoisseurs are also more eloquent, including

---

molecular inspired gastronomical dishes, that are appeal to a customer's expectations of how certain foods should taste. While savory ice creams were popular in Victorian times, Blumenthol renamed his Crab Ice Cream to Frozen Crab Bisque, as diners today expect ice cream to have a sweet taste (Blumenthol 2007).

the various consumer-tourists I interviewed at conducted wine tastings at Ashton Hills and The National Wine Centre, where a winemaker provides a detailed commentary about the wines tasted. Nevertheless, I argue that wine tasting at a majority of cellar doors is a heuristic enterprise where hosts and the associated marketing literature encourages and educates tourists to develop their sensory and aesthetic judgments about the qualities of local wine and food they taste, and their experiences of wine places. I agree with Warde in that:

> Most people are not routinely engaged in, and find it difficult when pushed, to enter into reflective aesthetic discourse of any degree of complexity. They know what they like and justify it in terms of simple preference (2007:12).

During a coach tour of the McLaren wine region in 2007 I interviewed Susann, from England, who said: "I know what wines I like and don't really want to know about tannins and technical explanations".

As well, tourist operators, and government agencies market products and environments such that customers find them aesthetically acceptable. Aesthetics is primarily defined in reference to its root meaning after the Greek word *aisthanomai* (perceive). I also use 'æsthetics' in relation to several associated ideas and social practices that I observed, including the "set of principals of good taste and appreciation of beauty" (Sykes, 1985:15). When communicating with visitors' hosts make use of tasting practices, including an extensive vocabulary and set of evaluative judgements about the perceived qualities of wine.

Many of the wineries have local art hanging in their cellar doors, such as Penny's Hill in the McLaren Vale, or they combine local food with entertainment. In Langhorne Creek, Bremerton's winery held a "Lazy Sunday" (March 2008), which included a three-course gourmet lunch for $60. The consumption of wine and food by tourists and customers takes place within an environment associated with aesthetic and artistic endeavour, including foodways, painting, music and sculpture. Several wine coach tours stopped at Tintara winery in the McLaren Vale: a few metres away is Driden's Fine Arts Centre, which

specialises in local artists. When I visited the gallery in October 2005, a large sculpture of an Australian lizard had been sold for over $20,000 to an American tourist. Artistic practices and their appreciation are not defined as exclusive to the formal canons of artistic endeavour, such as painting. In this, I take issue with Gell's argument: "Namely, the principle that what makes an art work an art work is what members of an art world say about it, or think about it" (1995:26). While not every form of material culture is an artistic practice, art is approached in this thesis as products and practices, including wine tastings and tourism in wine places, which engage an aesthetic sensibility, and their associated discourses.

At Friendly Cellars (pseudonym) in the McLaren Vale, while tourists tasted the whites, Mary, the cellar door host said:

> We moved from Sydney to work here, Jeff is studying winemaking through Charles Sturt University by distance education and picking up work as cellar hand. I left a job in real-estate, I miss the higher income. Quite a few tourists just pass through, but then, I do try and explain how our wine tastes. I take notice of customers who know a bit, they get the reserve tasting … pouring wine, that's not an art, but explaining to interested customers how to taste wine, that's more involved … I am passionate [about good wine] and changed careers for this job.

While Mary is not impressed by customers who 'just pass through', the skills involved in explaining wine tasting to those who stay involve a degree of sensory judgement about the wines served and aesthetic appreciation of the service. Fine argues that:

> Aesthetics are an integral part of most, if not all, human work, and comprise a particularly core component of those occupations that involve some measure of sensory evaluation, even when those occupations are not conventionally regarded as "artistic". For it is readily apparent that in most if not all occupations, practitioners and clients are concerned not merely with the technical doing of tasks, but also with how the product looks and/or how the service is performed (2003:75).

The aesthetics of a winery are more than the taste and technology of making and selling wine. A cellar door and its environs are also work places and aesthetic spaces where the art

and food for sale, social interactions, and how the wine tastes, are central to the experience of visiting a wine place. Silverstein writes:

> At each of the phases of the sociocultural life of wine, interested people come together in various kinds of events that centrally involve discourse, using language in genre-specific events. As in many similar cases, then, language in use thus becomes a mediating *tertium a quo* between humans and their fashioned agricultural and aesthetic commodity, wine (2006:484).

Having lunch at a winery and restaurant in the McLaren Vale wine region is a social occasion, as well as place to taste wine, where tourists and locals buy wine by the glass, relax and have lunch while listening to music amongst local flora. An advertising blurb for Woodstock emphasises it as a ‚family friendly' winery:

> Woodstock is an ideal winery to visit with the family. There is a children's playground to amuse the little ones while adults can indulge in a game of Petanque in our lush and serene gardens in between tastings. …
>
> Whether you choose to graze on one of our Woodstock Platters or opt for the full A-la-carte menu, dine in The Coterie or enjoy a nice sunny day in our Verandahs, Courtyard or Gardens, Woodstock is a spacious and relaxed setting. Please ask our Coterie staff for our kids' special, which is available on request.
>
> A live jazz band entertains every Sunday. You are most welcome to sing or dance along with the band (Woodstock Wine, 2009. Family Friendly).

While this advertisement makes reference to a notion of French inspired aesthetics and leisure activities, with guests able to play ‚Petanque' or bowls, and eat in a French ‚Coterie', the website also says: ‚Rammed earth walls encase the dining area, providing a warm feeling and at the same time a quintessentially Australian landscape . Glass doors and windows frame the lush native gardens creating an atrium feel for the discerning patron" (ibid).

The Marketing blurbs and aesthetic space at Woodstock encompasses local music and family activities, associating wine tourism and consumption with leisure activities and experiences of an Australian place. Such performances enhance the experiences of being a

wine tourist-consumer and promoted a vision of a traditional wine making past. I argue that tacit social conventions, tasting practices and language games (Wittgenstein 1995: Para 23) detailing the taste of wine, helped frame tourist experiences of visiting wine places. Wine tasting and tour discourses also reflect the input of labour, and the creative, technical and oenological skills of particular wine makers and companies. This is evident with the wine tasting sessions I attended at Ashton Hill and Penley Estate, which I discuss later in the chapter.

Wine tasting discourses and experiences are legitimated at different times, and symbolically framed in relation to advertising pamphlets, and physical reconstructions of a traditional winemaking or regional history. The marketing discourses I encountered during field work include sets of related words, phrases and images, helping frame wine tasting and consumption in relation to associated forms of life, such as strolls along a beach and having lunch with a partner in a wine region as discussed in chapter four. Official discourses highlight the geography, history, economic success and imputed innovative approach of the Australian wine industry, as stated in the opening paragraphs of Wine Australia‘s web site:

> Australia's first vineyards were planted in 1788 in a small area near the Sydney Harbour Bridge. Today you will find vineyards throughout more than 60 designated wine regions totalling approximately 160,000 hectares. Current export figures place Australia as the fourth largest exporter of wine, selling to more than 100 countries around the world and contributing $5.5 billion to the nation's economy.
>
> Australia is a respected leader in combining tradition with new ideas and technical innovation and produces a diversity of wine styles including Landmark Australia - our enviable fine wine dimension (Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation, 2010).

In South Australia grapes are processed, transformed and chemically manipulated, becoming tasteful wines which are consistent with appropriate standards of good taste. Wineries too, are designed and architecturally transformed such that their back stages and overt identity as businesses are associated with welcoming cellar doors and landscaped

wine places. Aesthetic language games are sometimes powerful discourses that not only order what is appropriate to value but also display the socio-economic means of production. The back stages of marketing, selling wine and associated products, and the engineering and imagining of vineyards and landscapes, is equated with tasteful or acceptable standards of aesthetic service, cellar door presentation and design. I also use aesthetics in relation to the work practices of tour and winery staff, and the winery environment where aesthetics or principals of good taste come into play.

5.2 WINE: ART, BUSINESS AND SCIENCE

Winemaking and the appreciation of wine are, at times, talked about and presented during wine tours as both art forms, inspired creations of a charismatic oenologist, and as scientific and business pursuits. At a national wine symposium Max Shubert said:

> But we must be not be afraid to put into effect the strength of our own convictions, continue to use our imagination in wine-making generally, and be prepared to experiment in order to gain something extra, different and unique in the world of wine (1990:84).

Shubert is famous in Australia because he experimented in the 1960‘s to create Grange, a uniquely different style of wine for that era. Fifty years later the Australian wine industry uses advanced winemaking technology and scientific research methods in helping promote business. This reflects Weber‘s observation that:

> Only by strict specialization can the scientific worker become fully conscious, for once and perhaps never again in his lifetime, that he has achieved something that will endure. A really definitive and good accomplishment is today always a specialized accomplishment (1946:136).

Making wine is a specialised form of scientific labour. Nevertheless an aesthetic aura surrounds wine; it is also regarded as a creative art form and interrelated with the cultural ethos of South Australia. The SALA festival (South Australian Living Artists) in August, not only has hundreds of artistic exhibitions in Adelaide and regional towns but also at wineries. An advertisement for Bethany Wines in the Barossa Valley says: ―Bethany Wines

hosts a stunning display of outdoor mosaic sculpture created by local artists … Meet the artists while enjoying an afternoon of fine wine, fantastic views and fabulous art" (*The Adelaide Review*, August, 2010:30). At Peter Lehamann Wines during the Barossa Valley Gourmet Weekend in late August 2010, customers can enjoy spinach linguini, face painting and music by the Huckleberry Swedes (Gourmet Barossa pamphlet 2010). The problem is to conceptualise how wine tourism and tasting present messages to tourists and consumers that it is all three: art or music, business practices surrounding leisure activities, and a form of foodways appreciation and science.

The Chief Executive of the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra even compares wine making to music in this news excerpt proclaiming a new sponsorship from Longview wines:

> There will be no prizes for guessing which wine the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra will be reaching for when it toasts the signing of its latest corporate partner, Adelaide Hills vineyard Longview.
>
> The winery has signed on as the ASO's exclusive wine sponsor until 2010. For Longview owners Mark and Peter Saturno, the partnership is an extension of their long-standing personal support of the orchestra. ‗Our family has been avid supporters of the arts, particularly the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra, ever since I can remember,' Mark Saturno said.
>
> ‗The wine industry faces as many challenges as the arts from year to year and businesses must adapt to remain relevant,' Mr Saturno said. ASO chief executive Rainer Jozeps said winery partnerships were much sought after in the Adelaide arts scene. ‗Wine making is an art,' he said. ``The complexities of character and flavour of both wine and music are comparable, and both add enormously to the quality of life. In a state like SA, where art and wine are so much part of the cultural fabric and landscape, it was important the ASO secure a wine sponsor that matches, and enhances, the high standards and quality we seek to project' (Stewart, 2010).

Despite the rhetoric about ―wine making as an art", both Longview and the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra are conducting a business transaction and marketing campaign directed at a stratum of consumers who value both wine and music. Accompanying the news excerpt is a picture of Longview winemakers Mark and Peter Saturno smiling as they play violins whilst ASO concert master and lead violinist Natsuko Yoshimoto holds up a

large glass of wine and a Longview bottle in apparent celebration of the sponsorship deal. The image encapsulates a comfortable reversal of artistic roles – an aesthetic distinction in that the continued sponsorship of the ASO by Longview appropriately augments the 'high standards' of the ASO. The news excerpt reflects discourses in which the quality of wine, art and music are conflated with ideas of 'taste', 'good business' practice and a refined culinary universe.

Longview Vineyard in the Adelaide Hills, like Penny's Hill in the Maclaren Vale does offer the consumer-tourist various choices regarding leisure activities and a culinary, if not a sensual universe. This ranges from wine tasting to the popular Sunday Tapas at $39 per person, to the 4 star Bed and Breakfast (B & B) accommodation that overlooks undulating slopes. Longview is a 45 minute drive from Adelaide, near the historic town of Macclesfield, and has developed a restored 1920 dairy and hay shed as an event and wedding venue. Longview has successfully expanded is winery into a multifaceted attraction and the blurb for its B & B incorporates language games and images surrounding leisurely indulgence in the midst of an Australian landscape:

> The apartments contemporary architecture is nestled among our signature native Yakkas and majestic Pink Gums. Each elegantly decorated suite has king size beds, flat screen TV's, a self-contained kitchenette, en-suite bathroom, ducted air-conditioning and wood fire heating. Private balconies overlooking the vineyard add to the idyllic setting, perfecting an already flawless stay. The lovingly restored Longview Homestead can be used as one large residence or two private apartments. Comprised of beautifully appointed King and Queen Bedrooms and a large sun room this heated and air conditioned home is large enough to sleep 10 but perfect for a luxurious two person getaway (Longview, accommodation 2011).

5.2.1 The Amateurs Master Class: Wine and the Senses

An atmosphere of respect and esteem for the wine tasted is instilled in participants involved in more formal and prescriptive wine tasting events, such as the nine-week "Understanding More About Wine" course that I completed in 2003. The course was organised by the Wine

and Brandy Corporation, a statuary authority established in 1981 that represents the interests of wine makers, the Australian Government and wine exporters. Wine tasting is presented to course participants as a science, because it draws upon established canons of knowledge relating to the chemistry, fermentation, and taste of grapes and viticultural practices. This includes the rapid development of technology relating to oenological practices in Australia in the latter part of the 21st century. The course lecturer was a retired winemaker who pointed out in the first lecture that ascertaining the tastes and smell, or nose of a glass of wine were completed only when the wine is sensed by the nose as well as the nerves in the tongue. [32] In the course textbook, which students were encouraged to read, Iland and Gago (1997: 10) state that it is only then that the "nose", the overall smell of a wine, and the 'palate', the overall flavours, aromas, basic tastes, and tactile sensations are realised.

During this course participants were instructed how to classify and identify particular sensory experiences when tasting wine. The tastes, smells, and feel of different wines in the mouth are broken down, quantified, and recorded on a score sheet. Smelling wines and taking note of such things as the aroma, bouquet, colour, taste, feeling of the wine in the mouth, and on the tongue, and 'length' of a wine's flavour is a normal practice during tasting master classes at The Wine and Brandy Corporation and Penfolds. The term 'bouquet' is used sparingly and in more formalised wine tasting sessions or master classes. [33] The words 'smell' and 'bouquet' have different meanings. Smell refers to the action of smelling or 'nosing' a wine and taking note of its basic aroma. Bouquet refers to the perception of more subtle odours in mature wines and the overall quality or impression of its smell. Robinson, a popular wine writer and wine judge aptly sums up the central attributes of smell and taste that South Australian tourist and wine connoisseurs are encouraged to notice when tasting wine:

> Perhaps the two most significant attributes in a great wine are the range of nuances in its smell (so variegated it is known by insiders as a 'bouquet', as opposed to the simple aroma

[32] While it was rather self evident to wine savants, a majority of tourists and wine tasting participants I interviewed were not aware that the taste of wine was also dependent on being sensed by nerve cells in the nose, as well as the tongue. For instance, an informant said she did not know that Cabernet Sauvignon not only 'tickles' the side of the tongue, but tastes better when one takes the time to smell it.

[33] Iland (senior lecturer in viticulture at Adelaide University) and Gago (former Penfolds winemaker and an influential figure in Australian wine culture), refrain form using the term bouquet in *Australian Wine: from the vine to the glass* (1997: 10). Instead they use the terms 'aromas' and 'flavours' and talk about the 'primary', 'developed' or flavors developed from wine making.

> of a ‗basic' young wine) and the length of time the flavour lingers in the mouth after it has been swallowed, the wine's ‗length' (1997:28).

During more exhaustive wine tasting classes held at the Wine and Brandy Corporation, participants are encouraged to study meticulous tasting notes. Lexicons of adjectives or descriptive terms are provided which participants are encouraged to use when characterising the wine tasted. Participants then compared their sensory experiences of the wine tasted to similar tastes and smells in fruit, vegetables, food, drinks such as coffee, and other flora, such as the herbaceous smell of freshly cut grass (a characteristic of Cabernet and Sauvignon Blanc wines). Pinot Noir is compared to the taste, smell, and age of strawberries, cherry plums, prunes, raspberries, and blackcurrants. The ideal taste of Pinot Noir is characterised by such adjectives as: earthy, barnyard, game, bacon fat, and truffle mushroom. A heavier style of red wine like Shiraz is discursively characterised in relation to herbs, mint, spices, pepper, dark cherry, blackberry, prune, and black olives. The lecturer as well as course participants were, as Wittgenstein says, ―Describing the appearance of an object, or giving its measurements" (1995: Para. 23).

Adjectives and descriptive terminology in the course notes and the lecturer's explanations framed participants sensual experience and conceptual understanding of how wine should taste, smell, look, and feel in the mouth. [34] As an introductory course and foodways practice, this involved the acquisition of an increased vocabulary that developed participant's previous sensory knowledge, when identifying and naming the taste and smell of wine. The development of aesthetic judgements and standards about the taste of wine are not left to chance or arbitrarily acquired. Linguistic codes, including particular ways of talking about wine, detailed how different brands and wine varietals should taste and participants' are given explicit guidance regarding what to notice, such as the smell of sulphur in wine. Such codes educated consumers, and structured wine tasting practices and conversations about the taste, look and smell of wine.

---

[34] Lengthy generic descriptions are provided for different classes of wine as described in the 2001 Royal Adelaide Wine Show Red and White Wine Style Specifications. Both red and white wines are divided into Light, Medium, or Full-bodied classes of wine. For instance, a Dry White Fragrant and Flowery wine style: ―Should be in brilliant condition, pale to light straw in colour, preferably with a greenish tinge; deeper colours accepted in aged classes. Light to medium bodied, with a fresh and flowery bouquet and a clean fruity aftertaste free of bitterness of lingering sweetness, with medium to high acidity" (Royal Adelaide Wine Show, 2001 Tasting Notes).

To ensure that the taster can identify, understand, and grade such elements as the acid, sugar, bitterness and tannin levels of wine, an overview of the history of the wine industry, brands in South Australia, and the technical elements involved in processing grapes to make wine, are also provided. Knowing the correct language games, and ritual forms of practice to visually appreciate, nose (smell), and taste wine are given emphasis. Following the correct steps of tasting is expected of participants as it is not only indicative of industry wide practices, but also as the lecturer implied, a scientific way of sensuously evaluating wine as the full taste of the wine is only accomplished after it has been smelt.

The steps involved in wine tasting are detailed on the tasting score sheet:

> **Tasting Notes: To fully appreciate the wine for tasting, follow these simple instructions.**
>
> 1. Look at the colour and clarity of the wine.
> 2. Swirl the wine in the glass and –NOSE" the bouquet.
> 3. Sip and hold in the mouth for brief period before swallowing – analyse your reactions to the flavours.
> 4. Mark (or score) your wine according to your personal reactions and keep for future reference (Royal Adelaide Wine Show, 2001).

After swirling the wine, tasters were shown how to raise the wine glass to their nose and smell the bouquet of the wine. Oz Clark, a well known wine writer says: –Remember that the tongue can only taste the basic flavours of sourness or acidity, sweetness, bitterness and saltiness. Everything else we perceive as flavour is in fact smell" (1996:14).[35] To illustrate this, the course lecturer, Jamie Nobel, drew an outline of the location of the nerves on the tongue, and how the mouth connects to the nasal passages, while explaining how the chemicals and aromas in wine are sensed in relation to bioorganic and chemical processes.

[35] Borthwick argues that: –Odour and olfaction call into question the foundation of Western Metaphysics: the separability of self from the other" because smell and taste help dissolve _distinctions between, self, other and object'" (2000: 139).

Such aromas travel via the nasal and retronasal passages to the olfactory bulb at the base of the brain. In the course textbook Iland and Gago state:

> Aromas are also sensed while the wine is in the mouth. The aromas travel from the mouth via the retronasal passage to the olfactory bulb. We refer to this sensation as experiencing the flavours of the wine (1997: 7).

Figure 5.1 is a taste tetrahedron, which the lecturer drew on the board, explaining that different wines, such as sweet white wines in comparison to dry red wines, are sensed on different parts of the tongue in relation to their basic tastes, such as sweet or sour. Cabernet Sauvignon, for instance, is sensed around the sides of the tongue rather than the middle of the tongue as there are fewer nerve receptors for taste in that area.

FIGURE 5.1 Henning‘s Taste Tetrahedron Source, (Korsmeyer 1999: 78)

What is immediately striking is the use of the term ‚body" during more formal tasting sessions and informal conversations with friends and tourists who are keen wine enthusiasts. The term ‚body" was used to indicate if a wine has a light, medium or full-bodied feel or weight in the mouth.[36] The use of the term ‚body" or qualities of the wine that that term covers, such as the feel of tannin, or alcohol in the mouth also are evident in descriptive phrases and metaphors expressed in marketing brochures and secondary media, including articles in Penfolds' newsletter. Discussing the taste of wine in relation to the biology of the body, and diagrams or symbolic representations of how the brain, nose, and mouth sense the feel, smell, flavour and taste of wine, is a cultural practice that emphasises the natural functions of the body in sensing wine. From this perspective wine appreciation is a form of knowledge that can be mastered, providing the correct language games, and ritualistic steps are used. In comparison to more relaxed tasting sessions at cellar doors, the course implies that making an aesthetic evaluation of a wines merit is a practice based on a scientific understanding of how taste is logically understood as a biological and natural function of the olfactory nerves of the mouth and nose. This practice discounts other factors, such as the social construction of knowledge about wine and its taste, which wines are more fashionable and profitable to market and consume, and changing consumption patterns of alcohol and wine.

The objectification of how wine should taste is evident during more formal wine tasting classes where a representative winemaker from an established company such as The Wine and Brandy Corporation or Jacobs Creek conducts tastings. At such events, the hosts usually explain that to taste white or fortified wine before red wine, such as Shiraz, is not just a departure from the proper ritual of wine tasting, or disturbance in the legitimate way to taste wine, but as a numbing of nerve cells in the mouth and on the tongue. I interviewed several people during the wine tasting sessions at Jacobs Creek and The Wine and Brandy Corporation and asked them if they felt the taste of particular types of wine affected their ability to hinder or help distinguish wine tasting. Jamie from New Zealand replied that he always tastes white wines first as the heavier fruit and tannin in red wines can affect the lighter ‚flowery" tastes of such wines as Pinot Noir. But in comparison to a formal wine course at the National Wine Centre in Adelaide, few instructions were provided about how to taste wine at more informal wine tasting sessions. Sally said:

[36] Wine with approximately 10% alcohol and light to medium flavors will be light to medium bodied, while wine with 13% alcohol with lots of flavor and high tannins is full bodied.

> I don‘t see the relevance of drinking wines in a prescribed manner. I thought we would just choose something to drink from a wine list ─ and the cellar hand didn‘t give me the option to describe what I tasted. She just followed the list [of wines] explaining only the type of wine and a few of its properties.

Despite Sally‘s experience, I observed that a majority of cellar doors encouraged tourists and consumers to taste white wine before reds and were educated to taste wine in the correct sequence during formal classes, otherwise the taster will miss the nuances of how a wine ‗should‘ taste.

As a scientific discipline, wine making and tasting appeals to a rationalised form of authority (Weber 1946). Such authority obtains legitimacy as a part of a codified and traditional form of knowledge and behaviour. From this perspective, a formal wine tasting session is technique of social discipline that structures the aesthetics and techniques of wine appreciation and tasting. Figure 5.2 is an Aroma Wine Wheel, which has wine tasting descriptors similar to several wine wheels and lists of descriptive terminology that are presented to wine tasting participants at South Australian wineries. Noticeable is the codification of taste-smell in relation to associated descriptors. Thus caramel is related to the aromas of honey, butterscotch, butter, soy sauce, chocolate and molasses.

FIGURE 5.2: Aroma Wine Wheel. Source (Winewriter 2007)

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 167 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

The arrangement of tasting glasses, seating and associated furniture, helps define and bound the spaces where wine tasting occurs. At the most formal, as with the wine tasting sessions held at Penfolds, or at the Wine and Brandy Corporation, detailed tasting notes are available and a company oenologist is usually present. Forms to record the wine taster‘s responses in descriptive phrases and numerical scores are provided, and the oenologist lectures participants about the history of the wine or the winemaking philosophy of a particular company. Wine tasting is structured, firstly by rules of exclusion, such as taboos that signify oppositions between taste and style. Sweet or fortified wines are excluded from being tasted in conjunction with more spicy and subtly flavoured wines, and I did not

encounter any occasions where beer was tasted in conjunction with wine. Secondly, the wines tasted by consumers are structured by, ―rules of association, either simultaneous (at the level of a dish) or successive (at the level of a menu)" (Barthes 1967: 28)**.** Heavier and spicier flavoured wines are tasted after a sweeter white wine, and before more alcoholic wine and liquors such as port. If food, such as crackers, local dried fruit, olives or cheese are also consumed, they are small serves, such that that their taste and volume compliments the wine tasted.

After examining the colour, smell, bouquet, viscosity, texture, taste and palate length,, tasters are expected to quickly gather their thoughts, write down a descriptive response, and award the wine a grade out of 20, denoting an estimation of its overall quality. Wine tasting is carried out in both formal and informal settings. In both cases the spatial environment, such as the positing of glasses and architecture of a cellar door, helps create the atmosphere. Tourism in places where wine tasting occurs is characterised by structured and taken for granted wine tasting discourses and performances, such that the signification of wine tasting is marked by an ascription of value that conceals the social ordering of its production.

5.2.2 Marketing Places: A Barossa Valley Dinner

Significant rituals associated with winery celebrations and marketing are the pre-dinner drinks and socialisation between consumers and tourists, and winemakers and senior management, as with the Barossa Valley Estate vintage dinner that I attended in 2004 (Map 5.1). As a space set apart from everyday concerns, wine tasting, is at times surrounded by an aura of reverence, signifying the wines' connection to the earth and the *terroir* of a particular place. Guests and hosts create an atmosphere of bonhomie and respect for the wine to be tasted. This was also evident amongst the well-dressed, middle class, and mostly middle aged professionals, such as the doctors, teachers and architects who sat next to me during dinner. For Bordeaux growers, Ulin notes that ―… a significant part of their wines' allure is their association with place, tradition, and by extension distinction" (2002:708). Barossa Valley Estate marketed and presented the dinner as an event where wine connoisseurs and loyal consumers can appreciate the traditions of winemaking and the distinctive charms of Barossa Valley Estate as a place. The dinner was held as a part of the biannual Barossa Valley wine region festival. The title on the promotional literature and menu, ―The Heart, the Soul, the Soil", discursively framed the dinner as a celebration of the

Barossa Valley and the winery as a distinctive place, a neo-totemic affirmation of a connection with nature. Customers could celebrate the sense of nature, or the –soil" that distinguishes the taste of the Estate's wines. This was further symbolised with a ritualistic night tour of the Barossa Valley Estate vineyards after the welcoming drinks.

MAP 5.1 Barossa Valley Estate
Source: (Barossa Valley Estate 2011, Google maps).

NOTE:
This map is included on page 169 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Guests consumed *hors d'oeuvers* and preliminary drinks in the cellar door tasting area. After social exchanges and greetings, half a dozen groups of fifteen guests were led outdoors to tour the vines and listen to accounts by the resident viticultural staff, of how bush vines were established and irrigated. The atypical nature of this event was notable as guests wrapped their shoes with an outer plastic covering as insurance they would not contaminate the vineyards when walking along the rows. The paths amongst the vineyards were lit by fires at the top of poles creating _tunnels' that obscured the evening landscape. The mystique of walking amongst vineyards at night framed the meaning and spirit of the occasion and there was evident bonhomie amongst guests and winery staff. Participants then entered a large shed for the main phase of the ritual, the tasting of the wine and dinner. Here, the chief executive of the company talked about the history and determination of Barossa Valley Estate Winemakers to propagate and preserve the original bush vineyards from which the wines we tasted were made.

Guests then tasted and took notes on six vintages (1997-2002) of Barossa Valley Estate E&E Black Pepper Shiraz, which could cellar for up to 15 years (Plate 5.1). The speaker encouraged participants to compare notes on the taste of different vintages of E&E Pepper Shiraz. The taste of different vintages was related to viticultural and management decisions, including the practice of providing minimum irrigation, thus emphasising the quality of bush grapes rather than the tonnage per acre. The speaker's discussion of the technical aspects of growing grapes and making wine highlighted the imputed connection between the ~~"s~~oil" and the ~~"h~~eart", the emotional connection of the people who made and consumed the wine to the land and oenological practices. The E&E Pepper Shiraz that guests tasted was more than a product to be consumed; it was defined and socially celebrated as a unique and precious product of the land. Its uniqueness was especially remarkable, the speaker implied, because E&E Shiraz grapes are handpicked and most viticulturalists have no experience in growing bush vineyards. Apart from being an expensive, labour intensive exercise for the winery, handpicked grapes transmit a message to the consumer that E&E Shiraz was prestigious and well worth the festive dinner where it was celebrated.

Barossa Estates wine tasting and festive dinner is analogous to Firth's (2005) discussion of the Tikopia's celebration of the clan emblem-totem. Whereas the Tikopia identify the yam as the clan totem, guests at Barossa Estate celebrate a collective identity as symbolised by their own neo-totemic emblem - grapes and the wine they drink in celebration. While 21st festive drinking occasions in South Australia are not symbolic of Durkheim's' notion of ~~"r~~eligion in its elementary form" (Firth, 2005:231), I argue that Estate festivities were still sacral, with the assembly of diners experiencing an ~~"e~~ffervescent social environment-tension" (ibid). The welcoming drinks and the drama of walking amongst vineyards lit by fires set the scene helping generate exuberant emotions during dinner. But dinner at Barossa Valley Estate is more than a festive occasion; it is a collective identification with a meaningful form of clan-consumer rejoicing. As the Managing Director said, their wines are special; being made from handpicked grapes and from soil that has been farmed for generations. The emblem—grapes and wine of the collective clan—Estate diners were consumed and embodied during the course of the night, just as the Tikopia ate their Gods, who dwelled in the yams.

PLATE 5.1: Barossa Valley Estate Tasting Notes

NOTE:
This plate is included on page 171 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

.

5.3 ASHTON HILLS AND ITS SPEECH COMMUNITIES

Tasting wine at Ashton Hills occurs within a speech community (Morgan 2001:36; Hymes 1972, 1974) that utilises a central language game (Wittgenstein 1995: Para. 23), or message detailing the appropriate judgements to make and express about the wine participants taste. Such language games frame a dominate message detailing how participants can aesthetically appreciate, taste, and communicate their experiences of wine tasting. Messages include the winemakers' directions as to how to taste wine and describe the "appearance of an object", and give "its measurement" (ibid). Enthusiastic customers therefore note the colour of the wine and estimate its age. As speech communities, there are similarities in the discourses expressed during tours of wine regions and places, and hosted wine tasting events, as at Ashton Hills (Map5.2).

First, there are similar social frameworks structuring the interaction between the actors or participants involved, and the discursive exchanges between winemaker-host and tasting participants; and between tour guides and tourists. Tourists, wine tasters, hosts and oenologists generally follow expectations regarding their social roles and styles of behaviour. The actors involved in a wine tasting or tour modify their behaviour and communicative activities in relation to the meaning of the event, reflecting Berger and Luckmann's observation that, "Consciousness is always intentional: it always intends or is directed towards objects" (1972:34). Second, an educational dialogue is evident between hosts, whether winemakers or tour guides, and between tourists or wine tasters. Certainly, wine tourism involvs adults engaged in relaxed leisure activities in comparison to the structure of daily work. However, more formal or conducted tours and structured wine tasting occasions can also be classified as heuristic events (in the sense of helping discover or learn about). Ashton Hills' Pinot Noir wine blending session was therefore a heuristic event helping educate the consumer-tourist about the taste of wine, in the process of marketing wine places and products.

Visiting Ashton Hills Vineyard in the Adelaide Hills is a bucolic, but tasteful experience. A twenty-minute drive from Adelaide, Ashton Hills' winery was established in 1982 as a small, cool climate boutique winery with 8,600 vines on 3.5 hectares. The main grape

varieties are Pinot Noir, Chardonnay, Riesling, Merlot and Cabernet Sauvignon and the winery is 600 metres above sea level with a climate –similar to that of Burgundy and Champagne" (Ashton Hills Vineyard pamphlet, 2004). During fieldwork, in comparison to the plains of Adelaide, the town of Ashton, the surrounding landscape and contiguous vineyards were green, lush with flora and flowers, and wet from the high rainfall levels. After leaving the sealed road, one travels approximately fifty metres up the winery driveway on a gravel road towards a small unassuming looking shed before parking amongst gum trees. The Ashton Hills winery tasting area and sales outlet is unadorned from the outside (see Plates 5.2; 5.3). On entering, however, customers are confronted by rustic decorations, winemaking paraphernalia, and an intimate and informal atmosphere. While disorganised, this cellar door is also a multi-purpose stage ─ work area, a crowded winery storage room, oenological testing area, and tasting space. Noticeable amongst the managed disorganisation and winemaking activities are many wine awards lining the walls. The tasting bench was immediately to the left of the door with the tasting area occupying approximately a third of the shed. The small area in the shed-cellar door that is normally used by customers for tasting wine can be contrasted to the outdoor and more expansive, driveway area, the setting for a wine blending event.

The wine tasting and blending event, at twenty dollars per head, took place around a roaring open log fire on a cold, dewy Sunday afternoon. The eighteen participants, including a retired librarian who was my tasting colleague, gathered around a large and polished carved table. Most of the wine tasters were from Adelaide, apart from a couple visiting from England and three interstate visitors. In contrast to the wine coach tours I participated in during fieldwork, many of the customers present had a solid knowledge of wine tasting and appreciation. An intimate atmosphere was evident with participants sitting at the table or standing closely together, as opposed to the immediate expanse of vineyards and winery trees surrounding the tasting area.

Stephen George opened the tasting session by asking participants what they liked about Pinot Noir, explaining it is, –Good with food, delicate, more subtle, and cherry tasting". Furthermore, because Pinot Noir is not –sugar sweet" and has low tannins, it is a good wine to accompany fish. Descriptions comparing the taste of Pinot Noir in relation to food reinforced Stephen George's initial assertion that it has a subtle taste and that customers should pay careful attention to their sensory assessment of the wine they taste. A participant

then asked, ―Why do you blend wines?" George replied that larger companies, such as Wolf Blass, aim for a ―consistent" style, whereas Ashton Hill aims for wine variety in relation to seasonal changes. George explained further that small winemaker's ―glorify in", or relish the differences between vintages, and that it is Ashton Hills' practice to use the best grapes from different vineyards each year. The winemaker's discourse implied that differences in the taste of vintages for each year are therefore a guarantee of authentic winery products and oenological practices.

Lien argues that: ―The social production of foods for sale is closely linked with the social production of knowledge" (1997:19). Customers who attended wine tasting sessions at Ashton Hills also participated in the social production of knowledge about its wine. Learning something new about Pinot Noir, Ashton Hills, or wine blending was reflected in several comments by course participants. During an interview, David, a local professional said:

> Jose and I have been drinking Ashton Hills' Pinot Noir for several years and decided to find out how it is made … I want to know more about the kind of climates around here and how they affect the grapes and the wine made.
> …
> Stephen George is a great host. He made me – us, feel so welcome and listened to what we had to say about making Pinot Noir, as much as we picked up some pointers about how it is blended.

Andrew, who regularly attended tasting sessions around Adelaide, said:

> The current Pinot Noir has tastes of cherry, maybe hints of orange, subtle perfumes and spice … In relation to its big alcoholic content, it lacks some depth in flavour, a bit watery you might say … It's been fun, a winter afternoon, loved the outside fire…but I don't agree with Stephen's final blend. I like more robust Pinot Noirs, but interesting to find out George's reasoning and tasting ideas behind the current blend.

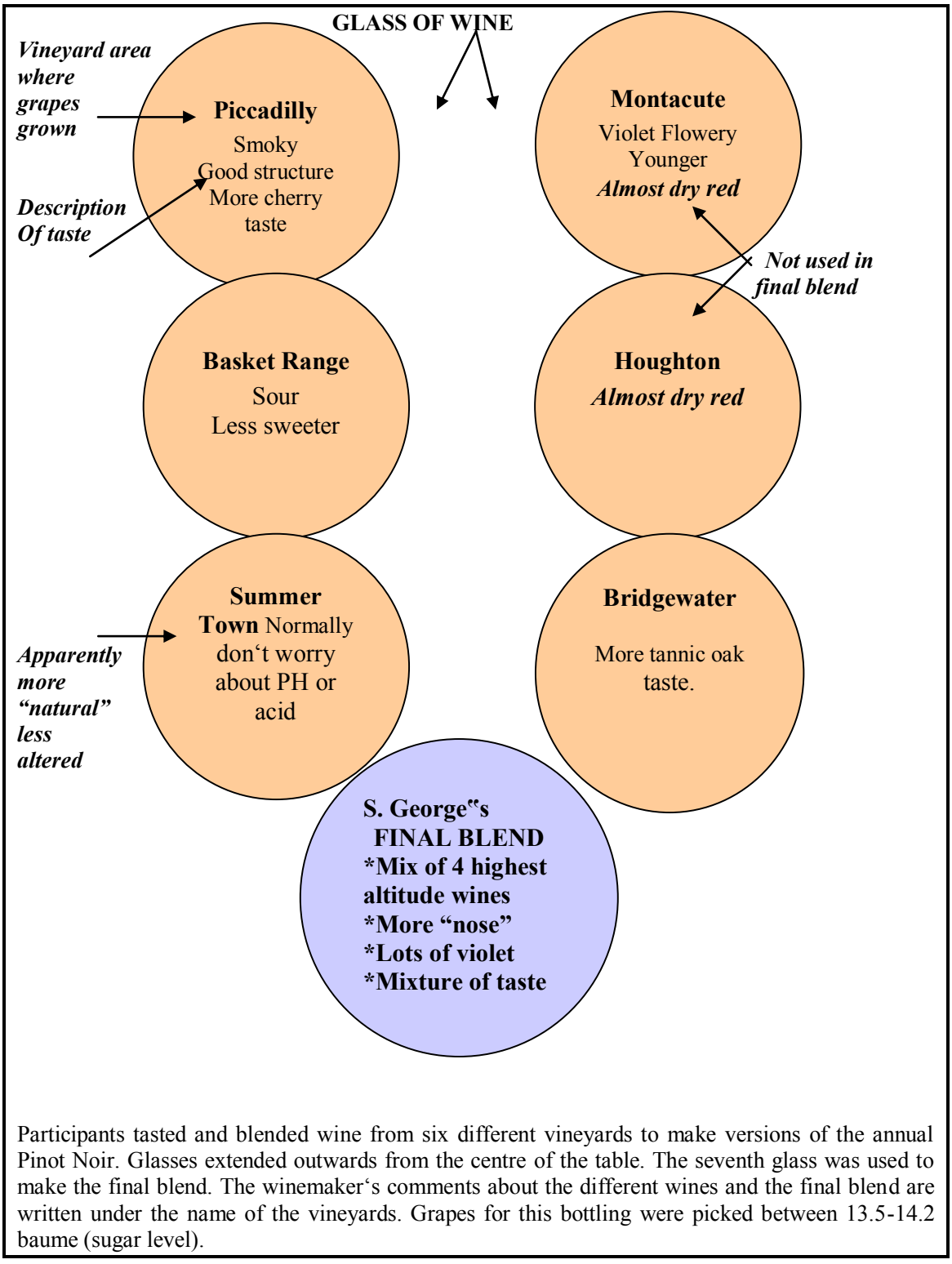
Note how both David and Andrew are pleased to find out background information about how Stephen George makes wine. Our task as amateur wine tasters was to ―discover", through our own attempts at blending and tasting wine from six different vineyards, the correct way to make Pinot Noir. After making our versions the winemaker prepared his,

while explaining why wine from Montacute and Houghton vineyards are not included in the final mix, and how the taste and oenological qualities of wine juice from different wines affect the final blend of Ashton Hills‘ Pinot Noir. While making our version, Stephen argued that wines made by Ashton Hills are a distinctive product in comparison to mass-produced wines that aim for a consistency of style and taste each year. George explained to participants that the Pinot Noir being mixed was made from six vineyards at different heights above sea level: Bridgewater, Piccadilly, Summertown, Montacute, Basket Range, and Haltern. Figure 5.3 pictures how wine tasting glasses are set out and the order of tasting of grapes from different vineyards. Lighter wines (Piccadilly, Basket Range, and Summer) are contrasted with more heavier or tannic Pinot Noirs (Montacute Houghton and Bridgewater).

With his friendly manner, enthusiastic gestures, and an immediate response to any questions Stephen explained how the wines he makes are distinctive and different from other producers, helping establish his identity as a winemaker. The point of identifying where the grapes are grown underscores variations in the taste and quality of wine styles at Ashton Hills in relation to soil type, altitude of vineyard and age of the vines. Above all else the wine is clearly differentiated as a product from other brands. The construction of knowledge about Pinot Noir at Ashton Hills is effected through the dramaturgical and discursive construction of Stephen George‘s identity through social interactions with customers (Goffman 1975b:40).

Stephen insisted that discrepancies in the quality and taste of the six vintages tasted are primarily due to the height above sea level of the different vineyards from which each vintage is picked, and the soils in which it is grown. Ashton Hills has the highest vineyard, approximately 600 metres above sea level. The lower the altitude, the warmer the environment of the vineyard, the more Pinot Noir grapes resemble heavier red wine styles, such as Cabernet or Shiraz. As such, the taste, smell, and appearance of wines made from lower altitude Pinot Noir grapes grown at Houghton and Montacute vineyards bordered on heavier styles of red wine, and one cannot, according to George, make Ashton Hills' style of Pinot Noir in a warm climate and with wine from such vineyards.

FIGURE 5.3: Ashton Hills Pinot Noir Blending
Source: Drawn by author March 2006

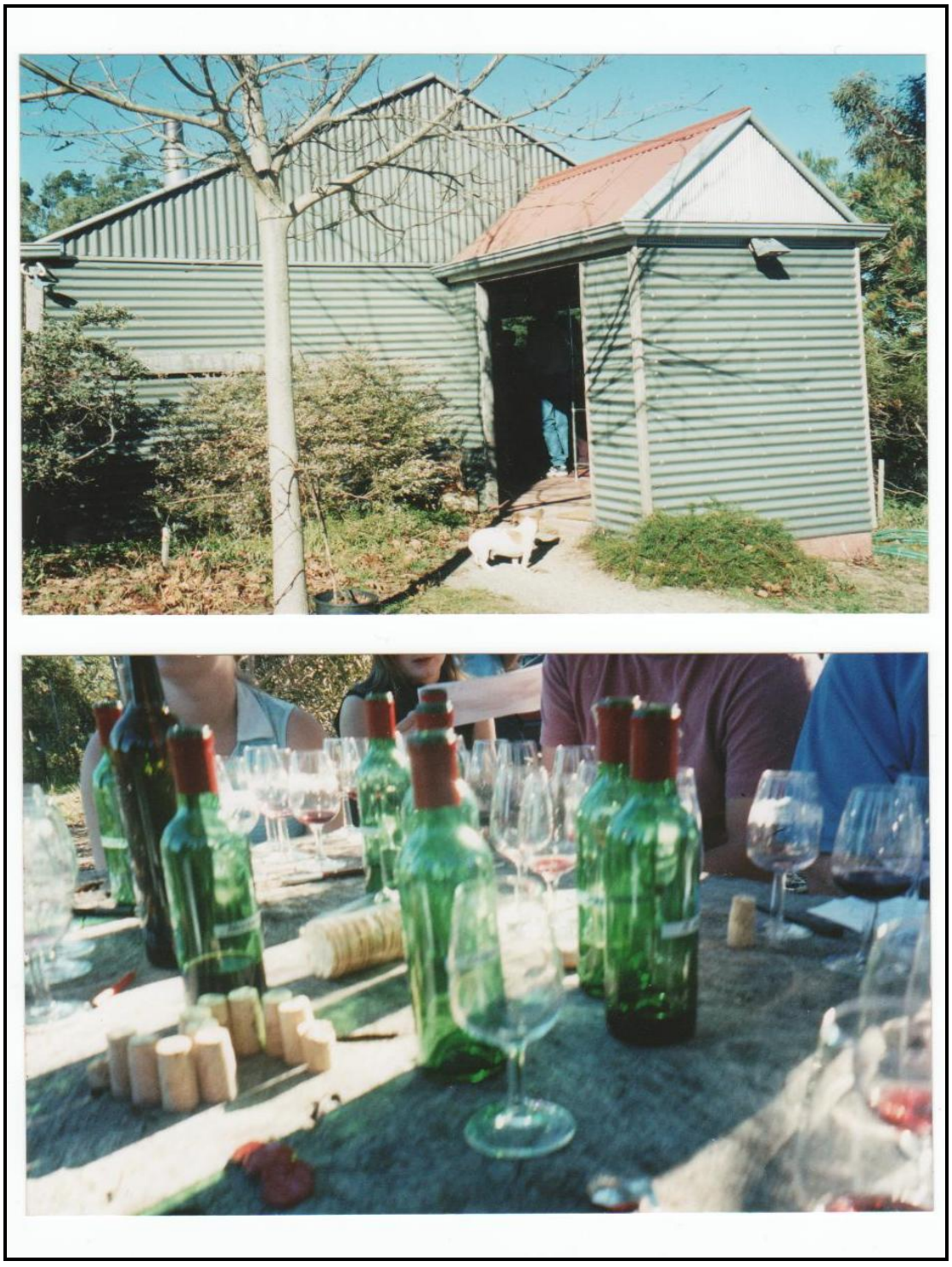


Participants tasted and blended wine from six different vineyards to make versions of the annual Pinot Noir. Glasses extended outwards from the centre of the table. The seventh glass was used to make the final blend. The winemaker's comments about the different wines and the final blend are written under the name of the vineyards. Grapes for this bottling were picked between 13.5-14.2 baume (sugar level).

PLATE 5.2: Ashton Hills Cellar Front Door

PLATE 5.3: Ashton Hills Wine Tasting

Source (author 2005)



MAP 5.2 **Ashton Hills Vineyard** (red dot)
Source: (Ashton Hills Vineyard, Google maps 2011)

NOTE:
This map is included on page 178 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

George has a vision regarding the ―correct mixture" of wines that will create the next vintage of Pinot Noir and participants are encouraged to reflect this in the way they mix their version of Pinot Noir. He declared towards the end of the session that if only five percent of wines from Houghton or Montacute vineyards are added to the final blend of wine, it would have sullied and made unmarketable the correct blend of wines from the four highest vineyards that were used to make the annual Pinot Noir. George gave an informed and persuasive presentation detailing how wines from Ashton Hills should taste, and the philosophy or viticultural decisions affecting the making of Pinot Noir. Whereas a festive drinking session amongst the Subanun (Frake 1964: 130-131) was used to quantify and extend a drinker's social relationships, a festive drinking event at Ashton Hills is used by the winemaker to give voice to an aesthetic and credible discourse about what made good wine and how Pinot Noir should taste in relation to local viticultural and oenological practices.

Weber defines power as, ―... the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his [or her] own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (1997:152). In playing at being winemakers, participants

are encouraged to accept Stephen George‘s vision of wine making, and the taste of Ashton Hills‘ wines. This reflects the charismatic presence and power of the winemaker and hisability to structure the meaning of the event. As an aesthetic exercise, our attempts to blend wine are framed by George‘s discourse referring to the quality of past vintages, the agriculture of the region, the height above sea level where grapes are grown, and the nuances and differentiation of taste of each vintage (Silverstein 2006:484).

At the Ashton Hills Vineyard and many of the wine celebrations, tours, and conducted tastings I attended, the discussion of specific topics and subjects relating to wine appreciation and evaluation mediates the relationship between tourist, wine, and place. Stephan George infused his descriptions of the wine tasted, and dialogues with customers with adjectives and assertions about the ―naturalness" of his product. On one level, blending Pinot Noir at Ashton Hills was a ―bit of a game" and an enjoyable afternoon out. However, a powerful ritual authority also infused and structured the Pinot Noir wine tasting event in the driveway at Ashton Hills. This authority is embedded in the oenologist‘s knowledge and discourse and more subtly as the taken for granted and expected procedures, and social behaviours that accompany wine tasting in a social setting and speech community. In this learning environment tourists are given discursive guidelines about the appropriate type and amount of varietals to blend to make Pinot Noir, and thus engaged in learning activity about George‘s philosophy and style of winemaking.

5.3.1 Conclusion: Validating Taste

Berger and Luckmann argue that, ―Language provides the fundamental superimposition of logic on the objectified world. The edifice of legitimation is built upon language and uses language as its principal instrumentality" (1972: 82). Stephen George uses language to reinforce the legitimacy of how wine is made at Ashton Hills. While participants readily exchange greetings and their views about blending, when the winemaker states his opinions about ―the correct way" to blend Pinot Noir, most people present attentively listen. Winemakers validate their philosophy of winemaking, through verbal instructions and the physical practice of blending wine. Because winemaking is an ideological practice about what wines are tasteful enough or pleasant to drink, be sold and marketed, wine signifies

qualities about the taste of grapes, and the taste of flora and fauna that wine and grapes were compared to. Voloshinov says:

> Every sign, as we know, is a construct between socially organised persons in the process or their interaction. Therefore, the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organization of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction (1994:48).

The taste of wine is also embodied at times in the sense that descriptions of how wines look, are sensed in the mouth, and by the nose are detailed in relation to organic processes of the body and human personality traits. While descriptions of how a wine taste classify particular brands in relation to specific places, winemaking traditions, or the taste of flora, fruit, and vegetables, homologies comparing the taste of wine to human traits also help structure the perception of how particular wines taste. The following quote is from *The Adelaide Review*, a monthly paper catering for the cultural and leisure interests of Adelaide‘s middle classes, and is relevant for the way in which it compares male personality traits to the oenological qualities in the wine tasted:

> The palate is powerful, majestic and deeply textured with blood plum, sweet loamy earth, liquorice and dense, juicy, black fruit flavours. It is one of the more highly structured Grange offerings with good harmony between rich, ripe fruit and dense, savoury tannins: a muscular, slightly stern wine that is worthy of its structure and considerable time in the cellar (Stock 2004: 36).

Stock‘s (a locally renowned sommelier and wine show judge) account of a bottle of 1999 Penfolds Grange Bin 95, with a monetary value of approximately $420 is noticeable for the anthropomorphic qualities that describe how the wine tastes. Stock describes the tasting qualities of Grange (1999) in relation to organic characteristics of the male body —muscular”; social position — —powerful, majestic”; and nature — —sweet loamy earth”. This wine is also characterised as —slightly stern…worthy of its structure” (ibid) in relation to its taste. The same wine is described by Caillard in Penfolds‘ *The Rewards of Patience* (2004:235), a publication that prescribess how customers are supposed to taste, cellar and enjoy Penfolds wines:

> Deep crimson purple. Concentrated, elemental wine with ripe blackberry/liquorice/scented plum aromas and perfectly seasoned malty/savoury oak. The palate is powerfully rich with deep-set blackberry/plum/ dark chocolate/ malty flavours balanced by fine grained tannins. Finishes firm with plenty of flavour length. A classic Grange reflecting the sheer class of the 1999 Barossa Vintage. [37]

Calillard's description of this wine and other wines described in this publication concentrates on the power of the elements and the environment, such as the imagery and taste of oak and fruit. How, why and if oak was used in winemaking is a significant marker at Penfolds, indicating degrees of value about traditional winemaking techniques.

From a symbolic view, „powerful-muscular" men buy Grange as the wine embodies such qualities. Dietler says that:

> Furthermore, similar to other foods, alcohol is a form of what may be called embodied material culture (Dietler 2001). That is, it is a special kind of material culture created specifically to be destroyed, but destroyed through the transformative process of ingestion into the human body. Hence, it has an unusually close relationship to the person and to both the inculcation and the symbolization of concepts of identity and difference in the construction of the self (2006: 232).

Clearly, to buy Pinot Noir, Grange or any expensive wine on a regular basis the consumer needs to be economically successful, and many of the men and women I met during wine tasting sessions at the Barossa Valley Estate dinner are successful middle class professionals. Wine is valuable, because it is not only tasty, it is also a form of material consumption that embodies and totemically symbolises qualities about the economic status, culture and identity of those who imbibe it. Furthermore, the ability to discern taste and assign both an aesthetic and monetary value as a consumer-tourist at Ashton Hills and Barossa Valley Estate is a learned skill.

[37] Calliard has the degree of Master of Wine, and has been an executive of Langton's Wines auctions and Wine Exchange.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

May a merciful God forgive Adelaide her wine,
if He cannot find it in His heart to forgive the poor fools who drink it.
All the grapes on all the vines in all the vineyards of South Australia …
could not produce one glass of wine to equal the Vin Ordinaire of France.
*(*Anderson, *Arcadian Adelaide*, 1905: 57-58)

6.1.1 The New World

Today, Anderson might well choke on the ‗Vin Ordinaire of France" as Australian or New World winemaking practices and winemakers are now exported to France, surpassing Old World winemaking technology and techniques. Anderson's vitriolic spiel is relevant as a language game and form of differentiation, denoting her likes and dislikes regarding the taste and value of Adelaide's wine a century ago. In this chapter, I analyse the world of wine and tourism in relation to two interrelated themes surrounding the evaluation of wine, its taste and accompanying social practises: Firstly, wine is increasingly differentiated in the market place, despite its nature as a fermented grape drink, while associated tourism activities are marketed in relation to distinct attributes of a winery or place, such as Banrock's rejuvenation of a wetland, or Penfolds' emphasis on the authenticity and quality of its wine. Wine tasting language games and marketing images, which elaborate finer and finer points of difference about similar products, differentiate a wine product and holiday destination. Douglas says: ‗The division of labour, as Adam Smith saw, inexorably drives producers to find economies of scale and this drives them to finer and finer differentiations of their product and to search for wider markets" (1997: 74).[38]

[38] Such ‗finer differentiations' also extend to wine education: ‗The degree of Master of Wine is recognised as the highest achievement in the global wine community and equips those that have attained the qualification with a unique understanding of and set of skills for dealing with all aspects of the business of wine … the Institute's membership now spans 23 countries" (Master of Wine 2010).

Secondly, language games about the monetary and symbolic value of wine are factors in the cultural invention of places and the imputed taste of wine. The annual judging of wines at The Royal Adelaide Show, and their classification into different varietal classes, and the differentiation and grading of wine by critics and industry insiders are examples of what Appadurai (1986: 21) and Lien (1997: 270) term, ‗tournaments of value'. Tournaments of value such as competitive marketing presentations (Lien 1997: 269), or wine judging contests, which *The Advertis*er, Adelaide's daily newspaper reports, are defined as,

> … complex periodic events that are removed in some culturally well-defined way from the routines of economic life. Participation in them is likely to be both a privilege of those in power, and an instrument of status contests between them. … [at issue is the] disposition of the central tokens of value in the society in question (Appadurai 1986: 211).

Value is added to wine as it goes through the various stages of production, from growing and crushing grapes, to the distribution and marketing of wine in tournaments of value. In this chapter I revisit the central themes of this thesis, arguing that the taste of wine and experience of place is mediated by several factors, including the surrounding environment, and the kinaesthetic apperception of a place. The analytic point is to conceptualise how wine and tourism are sensual practices, embedded in the material culture of production, global trade and the service sector, as well as symbolic values, such as marketing campaigns and neo-totemic messages about holidays and places in New World wine regions.

6.1.2 The Market for Taste

In the 21st century, tourism and wine tasting exist because people travel, perceive and make what they will of their holiday, the tour and a bottle of wine. A tourist's experience of a place and wine tasting is also structured by degrees of familiarity with taste and aesthetic sensibility. As Silverstein says,

> … wine lives a cultural life at once as a commodity produced, marketed, and consumed, and as aesthetic form one experiences with a sensorium and judgement, however ~~–n~~aturally" sensitive, as well potentially ~~–r~~efined" through training, cumulative experience, and the subtlety of aesthetic memory (2006:483).

Recently, as a part of five year plan to regain market share, France created a mid level category of wine that emphasises grape variety more than wine origin. New wine making procedures were used including the addition of wood chips and added tannin to compete against Australian, Californian and New World brands. An article in *Hemingway Fine Wines* (2009) highlights Australia's use of innovative ~~–c~~ritter" labels (pictures of Australian animals), marketing and wine making techniques to compete against New World wines:

> **France relaxes old wine rules to fight off the New World challenge:**
>
> With its antiquated classification and concentration on the mystique of *le terroir* — the soil and traditions of the vineyard — France has lost out in the past 15 years as world consumption has risen. … Supermarket shoppers prefer labels with Australian marsupials to Appellation *d'origine contrôlée* from obscure villages with six syllables. ~~–F~~rench wine is complicated and often little understood," the Agriculture Ministry said. … Some have gone as far as inventing ~~–c~~ritter labels" to compete with Australia's Yellow Tail and assorted other parrots and wallabies. These include Rhôning Stones and Bois-Moi (Drink Me). A French Languedoc wine sold 1.3 million bottles to Australia last year under the brand of Arrogant Frog.

Images on a bottle, including dogs, horses, frogs or pictures of the 19th century founders of a winery are signs, like markers on a trail, guide posts about not only the taste but also what underlying messages the company or marketeer wishes to communicate to the consumer. I was told by an informant, whose husband was a printer that wine labels are ~~–b~~ig business" and a lot of money is spent on them. Wine is symbolic of more than the cost of its production, and to sell critter labels France has changed not just its laws about

wine labelling but also conceptions about the standards and traditions of wine making. The point is that wine is ‗made' in the world of tourism experiences, images of leisure, and marketing, as much as it is made in relation to oenological methods, and the quality or taste of the soil where grapes grow. As Mintz says:

> But food [and drink] is also a symbolic marker of membership (or nonmembership) in practically any sort of social grouping. Whether it be ceremonial or everyday, public or private, kin-based or not, at work or play, religious or secular, social groups characteristically employ food to draw lines, confirm statuses, and separate those who do, and do not, belong (2002: 26).

The focus of *Bacchus on Tour* has been the social practices and experiences of tourists when visiting wine places and engaging in associated leisure activities. While Lien examines the machinations of marketers in relation to selling fish and frozen pizza in Norway, an analysis of the basic principles underlining the creation and marketing of wine tasting, places and associated leisure practices, will help reveal its social invention:

> Approaching food products as carefully designed to ‗hit targets with great precision', we may ask: What are the general features of design? And: What are the basic principles by which the product managers adapt their products to the market? (Lien 1997: 237-238)

As an icon of quality, the taste and price of Grange Bin 95 is an example of the current benchmark for wine from South Australia, but these standards are not universal. Rather, they are reflective of the cultural production of particular standards about wine taste and oenological quality in the late 21st century. As recently as the 1980s, fortified wine was the drink of choice. Standards of wine taste and consumption practices in Australia are therefore subject to rapid social change and technological developments in oenological practices.

In April 2003 I attended a tournament of value, the Penfolds Barossa Rare Wine Auction at which one imperial bottle of 1998 Grange Bin 95 sold for $64,000. The by-

line in the auction guide says, "…this 1998 Grange promises to sustain the track record of its predecessors. One of the few Grange imperials ever released – a true collector's item". As a larger sized bottle of wine, this Grange will take a couple of generations to age and develop the distinctive style (variation in wine characteristics because of climate, oenological techniques or quality of grapes), taste and nose (smell) in comparison to a normal 750-millilitre bottle. When I went on the Penfolds Grange tour at their Magill winery, our guide was effusive about this – an imperial bottle of Grange will possibly take up to one hundred years to mature. As a tradeable item the 1998 Grange has become a collector's item. In this, it has been assessed independently of its actual production costs and not, as many less expensive wines are, in relation to their value over the next several years. As a luxury good, it resembles gold or designer clothing in that its value is independent of its manufacturing costs and reflective of the significance that consumer culture assigns to goods of symbolic value.

In 2004 during a tour at Penfolds, I read the following description: "Penfolds Grange is considered Australia's greatest wine. More than this, it is an icon that symbolises Australian quality at its highest level". The price of Grange, along with other exclusive brands, such as Three Rivers Shiraz (1996), from Rockford Wines in the Barossa Valley, selling for US $600 a bottle in 2003, reflects the capacity of such wines to age in the bottle, and embodies the reputation of the winemakers. Lien argues that:

> On the other hand, in their efforts to establish brand products, they [product managers] try to construct products with an image that is coherent and stable over time, a 'personality' that supposedly reflects some kind of authentic character of the product.
> …
> Such efforts literally to implant a symbolic image upon the material product prototype may, in fact, be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile both the awareness that all symbols are, in some sense arbitrary, and the simultaneous notion that any alleged 'personality' must reflect a true [authentic] essence located on the inside (1997: 254).

When Robert Parker announces his annual taxonomy of prestige wines with a numerical score out of a possible total of 100 points, the wine world takes notice. Mariah Foley says in The New York Times that:

> From the late 1990s, top-end Australian wines rode a wave of enthusiasm led by the influential critic Robert Parker, who extolled Shiraz from South Australia. His high marks made those wines fly off shelves, with little extra marketing, said Chuck Hayward, owner of the Jug Shop in San Francisco, which specializes in Australian vintages. …

On my trips I would sometimes see Parker‘s scores and comments proudly displayed in cellar doors as press clippings for the relevant brand. Most of the time I couldn‘t afford such wines and took little notice of Parker‘s grading system when evaluating the wine I tasted. Nevertheless, several international tourists I spoke to had heard about the winery or wine in relation to attention from the global media. Other wine show medals, such as the Jimmy Watson Trophy had an effect on the status of the winemaker/company and sales of their wines

6.1.3 Tasting Wine and Selling Place

In *Bacchus on Tour* the central problem is the relationship between tourism as a form of economic presence and marketing promotion, and its embodiment as a sensual and discursive practice. In this, I question Bourdieu (1984), who correlates taste with class distinction in France. From my empirical research I found that taste is grounded in the corporeality of being, not just the symbolic structure of class and an imputed ―habitus", or practices that distinguish taste as a reflection of predisposed socio-cultural structuring of class. Obviously, there is a connection between social status and wine, as with a wine auction, or a tournament of value, but tasting wine is sensual act related to being in a particular cellar door environment. South Australia has 620 wine producers (Table 7.1), but cellar doors still offer a small range of similar varietals for tasting, including Shiraz, Semillon, Chardonnay, Cabernet Sauvignon, Pinot Noir, and Riesling (Table 7.7). Despite recent attempts to develop the range of different wines produced and sold, South Australia still relies on traditional grape varieties. Nevertheless, tourists taste similar grape varieties in most wine places. What distinguishes such places is the associated symbolism and surrounding environment, such as vineyards high above sea

level, or wine made in relation to places of environmental concern. Furthermore, language games denoting the oenological background, taste and the attributed quality of the wine qualify the experience of being a wine tourist.

In 2006, during a tour of the Adelaide Hills I interviewed Keryn, a local teacher, asking if she could recognize the ‗tastes' of this region:

> Not really, I take a few minutes to evaluate the taste of the wine…and then connect descriptions and the actual ‗taste' of the wine. … I mean, what the marketers write on bottles, such as "accents of mown hay", or "hints of Mulberries and Blackcurrants" I struggle to find. I do know that certain areas are better for some grapes. … All I know is that this area must be conducive to growing Semillon or Chardonnay as my friends have been talking about it.

On another tour to this region, Greg, a professional who has been on wine tours in other Australian states and America said:

> Apparently, this Pinot Noir wine has ‗lifted aromatics highlighted by citrus notes'. I can't taste this, but I can taste some orangey-lemon. I describe its taste as fruity and sharp, with a bit of tangy aftertaste, not quite what the cellar hand said, or as eloquent in the Tasting Notes.

I argue that recognising specific tastes in wine and relating them to the wine region was a ‗hit or miss' affair for a stratum of tourists. Nevertheless, customer-tourists were encouraged to engage in language games that outlined specific tasting descriptions and rules at wineries.

At Ashton Hills' winery, Stephen George carefully guided the evaluation of Pinot Noir, such that wine tasting participants agreed to the appropriate combination of grapes from six vineyards to make the current blend. The cellar door host at Gemtree emphasised the biodynamic nature of the wine customers tasted, in differentiation to both nonorganic and organic wines, and oenological practices, as the winemaker only "slightly tweaked" the final product. The biodynamic wine was notable, being made in relation to the

–lunar cycles" and the quality of soil in –cow horns" (Section 4.2). Both Gemtree and Ashton Hills engaged in a dialogue with customers detailing how their wines were differentiated from other brands, grapes and oenological methods.

Wine embodies not only ideas about taste, but also values that differentiate it as a product. In this, I take issue with Trubek's theme that the Francophile concept of *terroir* (or soil and its mystical attributes) accounts for the _taste' of place when consuming wine: –With wine, *terroir* allows us to _see' the taste of place and ultimately explain how and why a wine tastes a certain way" (2008: 54). Yes, winemakers generally indicate that the taste of wine is made in relation to the quality of grapes of a given wine region, but New World wine growing regions use Geographical Indications (see Figure 2.1), as developed by the Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation in 1980, which define much larger regions from which they source grapes to ferment wine than in France.[39]

Tourists and cellar door staff do not usually use the word *terroir* when describing the taste of wine or distinctions made about a place. Rather, as with Banrock Wine and Wetlands Centre and Penfolds winery, particular qualities about the wineries' vision, such as the restoration of wetlands, or tour discourses about innovative winemakers such as Max Schubert, border ideas and the imputed value, taste of wine, and the experience of place. Lien points out that –the market as a physical locale has become the subject of metaphorical elaboration" (1997: 88). Wine places are more than the physical location of a cellar door, rural vista or the –taste of a place" (Trubek 2008: 54). Messages and metaphors about the quality, history, authenticity and even moral stance dominate the invention and marketing of wine places, such that Gemtree enthusiastically promotes the authenticity of its _natural' wine making methods. Furthermore, a tourist's experience of South Australian wine places is mediated by the marketing of foodways and places. This includes Bed and Breakfast accommodation, associated culinary experiences, websites and Tourism South Australia's booklets and television documentaries, such as the _Cook and the Chef', starring Maggie Beer and Simon Bryant, the executive chef at the Adelaide Hilton.

[39] As discussed in Section 2.3.

In comparison to Augé's (1999) notion of global places of transience, or ‗non places', such as airports and supermarkets, I argue that wine places in South Australia, and work sites, such as Indevin, despite the short amount of time that the majority of travellers spend there, have meaning for both locals and tourists. While tourists have varied motivations to visit a winery and consume its goods and services, and divergent expectations of imputed benefits at a cellar door, visitors still have the power to decide if they do or don't like the taste of a wine, or find their holiday meaningful. Wine tasting and tours, and associated leisure activities are memorable experiences and thus invested with significance. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett says:

> Making experiences memorable is a way the travel industry adds value-and-profit to essential services such as food. Indeed, the tourism and hospitality industries design experiences, including culinary ones, within the constraints of the tourist's time, space, and means (2004: xi).

Wine places and tours are carefully designed and constructed to not only differentiate market products, but also give directions as to a how tourist's body is orientated in time and space when visiting a wine region. Tours whether by coach, or a trail are temporally delineated in distinct ways, such as day tour of the McLaren trail that includes a stop at Driden's art gallery. Jackson argues that: ―The phenomenological turn prepares the ground for detailed descriptions of how people immediately experience space, time, and the world in which they live" (1996:12).

While tourists who visit South Australia are largely transient, and have little understanding of local mores, the particularity of their leisure activities or touring, are central to their experience of a place as well as the experience of tasting wine. Lave argues that:

> Developing an identity as a member [of a community] and becoming skilful are part of the same processes, with the former motivating, shaping and giving meaning to the latter which it subsumes (1993:65).

Even for brief periods of time, varying from one hour to a day tourists are members of a tour community and participate in language games about wine tasting, or sight appreciation, or –let‘s relax and tell jokes" during a wine tour that helps differentiate a wine place. Wine tourism is a form of –embodied material culture" (Dietler 2006:229). Travellers are not only the targets of extensive marketing, but also ‗taste‘ the holiday environment and wine product. In accounting for the corporal apprehension of tourism in wine places, I have developed the point that such activities are not neutral, being structured by winery business concerns, media representations of what leisure and consumption mean in wine places, and aesthetic language games, denoting what is tasty enough to be ingested.

7 APPENDIX: TABLES

Source: (Winebiz 2010)

NOTE:
This appendix is included on pages 192-196 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abercrombie, M. 1971. Face to face-proximity and distance, *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 15:4: 399-401.

Abram, S. and J. Waldren. 1997. Introduction: Identifying with People and Places. In S. Abram and J. Waldren (eds), *Tourists and Tourism* pp.1-13. Oxford: Berg.

Anderson, B. 1983.*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, T. 1985 [1905]. *Arcadian Adelaide*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Appadurai, A. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ashton Hills Vineyard, Google maps. Accessed 1 March 2011, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps>.

Ashton Hills Vineyard, 2004. Pamphlet. Ashton Hills: Adelaide.

Augé, M. 1999. non-places: introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity. London: Verso Books.

Austin, J.L.1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Austin-Broos, D. 2009. Capitalism as culture, and economy. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 20, 301-317.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009, June. Accessed 1 December 2009, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3101.0?OpenDocument>.

Australian Wetlands Information Network. 2000. Wetlands, Discover, Explore and Be Amazed! Adelaide: Australian Wetlands Information Network.

Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation, 2010. Welcome to Wine Australia. Accessed 31 July, <http://www.wineaustralia.com/australia/ >.

Australian Wine Online. 2006. Australian Wine Indications Overview. Accessed 7 September 2009, < http://www.winetitles.com/config/>.

Bachelard, G**.** 1994. *The Poetics of Space*. Massachusetts: Beacon.

Bakhtin, M. M. and Medvedev, P. N. 1928 [1985]. The formal method in literary scholarship. *A critical introduction to sociological poetics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Banks, M. 2001. *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage.

Banrock Station Plan of Management. 2004. Adelaide: Banrock Station Wine and Wetland Centre.

Banrock Station Walking Trail pamphlet. 2011.

Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands Centre. 2005. Pamphlet. Banrock: South Australia.

Banrock Station Wine and Wetlands Centre, 2009. Water reconnect. Accessed 20 August 2009, <http://www.water.regconnect.com/>.

Barossa Valley Estate, Google maps. Accessed 1 March 2011, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps>.

Barossa Valley Tourist Association. 2005. Accessed 5 November 2005, <http://www.southaustralia.com/product.asp>.

Barossa Valley Vintage Festival, 2009. Pamphlet.

Barthes, R. 1967. *Elements of Semiology*. London: Cape Editions.

Barthes, R. 1977. Rhetoric of the Image. In *Image, Music, Text*. Essays selected and Trans; ed by S. Heath. London: Fontana Press.

Barthes, R. 2000. *Mythologies* (A. Lavers, Trans.) Sydney: Vintage

Bateson, G. 1972. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Random House.

Baudrillard, J. 1983. *Simulations*. New York: Semiotext(e) Inc.

Baudrillard, J.1996. *The System of Objects.*New York: Verso.

Becker, H.S. 2001. Art as Collective Action. In L. Harrington, and D. Bielby, *Popular Culture: Production and Consumption* pp. 67-79. Blackwell: London.

Beer, M. 2005a. A Barossa Food Tradition. *South Australian Wine and Food*. South Australian Tourism Commission: Adelaide.

Beer, M. 2000b. Food of the Barossa. In B. Storey (ed). *South Australian Wine and Food.* South Australian Tourism Commission: Adelaide.

Beer, M. 2010. Products. Accessed 12 September 2010, <http://www.maggiebeer.com.au/products/details/>.

Bell, C. and J. Lyall, 2002. Accelerated Sublime: Thrill-seeking Adventure Heroes in the Commodified Landscape, In S. Coleman and M. Crang (eds) *Tourism*: *Between Place and Performance*, pp. 21–37. New York: Berghahn Books.

Bennett, T., M. Emmison and J. Frow, 1999. *Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berger, P. L. and T. Luckmann, 1972. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* London: Penguin.

Bergson, 1988.*Matter and Memory*. New York: Zone Books.

Bernstein, B. 1971.*Class, Codes and Control Vol. 1: Theoretical Studies Towards a sociology of language***.** London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bloustein, G. 2003. Introduction: envisioning ethnography—exploring the meanings of the visual in research. *Social Analysis* Fall 47: 1-8.

Blumenthal, H. 2007. Fatduck Philosophy. Accessed 1 June 2007, <http://www.fatduck.co.uk/philosophy.html>.

Boar"s Rock. Accessed 6 November 2010, <http://www.boarsrock.com.au/>.

Bourdieu, P. 1979. Symbolic Power. *Critique of Anthropology* 4(13-14): 77-85.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Borthwick, F. 2000.Olfaction and Taste: Invasive odours and disappearing objects. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 11(2): 127-140.

Britton, R. 1978. *International Tourism and Indigenous Development Objectives: a study with special reference to the West Indies*. PhD Thesis: University of Minnesota.

Britton, S. 1991. Tourism, Capital and Place: Towards a Critical Geography of Tourism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9:451-478.

Bruner, E. 2005.*Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burns, P. 1999. *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*. New York: Routledge.

Caillard, A. 2004. *Penfolds: The Rewards of Patience, Fifth Edition: A Definitive Guide to Cellaring and Enjoying Penfolds Wines.* Adelaide: Penfolds.

Cambourne, B., C. M. Hall, G. Johnson, N. Macioniis, R. Mitchell and L. Sharples 2002. The maturing wine tourism product: an international overview. In C. M. Hall, L. Sharples, B. Cambourne and N. Macioniis (eds), *Wine Tourism Around the World: Development, Management and Markets,* pp. 24-56. London: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Carter, F. 2007. Australia Updates Strategy 2025. *Decanter,* May 3. Accessed 4 September 2007, <http://www.decanter.com/news>.

Carey, J. W. 2009. *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, revised edition. New York: Routledge.

Casey, E. S. 1993. *Getting Back into Place: Toward a renewed understanding of the place-world*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Casey, E. S. 1996. How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time. In S. Feld and K. Basso (eds). *Senses of Place,* pp. 13-52. School of American Research: New Mexico.

Cavendish, M. 1987. *Great Artists*. London: Tiger Books.

Chaney, D. 1996. *Lifestyles*. London: Routledge.

Charters, S. and Fountain J. and N. Fish. 2009. You felt like lingering: Experiencing real Service at the Winery Tasting. *Journal of Travel Research*, 48:1, 122-134.

Chenail, R. 1995. Recursive Frame Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 2:2 October.

Clare Gourmet Weekend. Pamphlet May 2010: Clare Valley Winemakers.

Clare Valley Winemakers Inc, Copyright 2010.
Carto Graphics Unley, South Auistralia

Clarke, O. 1996. *Oz Clarke's New Essential Wine Book*. London: Webster.

Clifford, J. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Cohen, A. P. 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London & Sussex: Tavistock & Ellis Horwood.

Cohen, E. 1988. Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*.15: 371-386.

Coleman, S. and M. Crang. 2002. Grounded Tourists, Travelling Theory. In Coleman, S. and M. Crang (eds.) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. London: Berghahn Books.

Connell, J. 1993. Bali Revisited: death, rejuvenation and the tourist cycle. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11:641-62.

Coonwarrra Org. Accessed 1 March 2011,
<http://www.coonawarra.org/page.php?id=32>.

Coote, J. 1992. Marvels of Everyday Vision: the Anthropology of Aesthetics and Cattle Keeping Nilotes. In J. Coote and A. Shelton (eds), *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*. pp. 245-273. Oxford: Clarendon.

Corrigan, P. 1997. *The Sociology of Consumption: An Introduction*. London: Sage

Craik, J. 1997. The Culture of Tourism. In C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, pp. 113-136. London: Routledge.

Crawshaw, C. and J. Urry. 1997. Tourism and the Photographic Eye. In C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and* Theory, pp. 176-195. London: Routledge.

Crang, P. 1997. Performing the Tourist Product. In C. Rojek and J. Urry J. (eds), *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory,* pp.137-154. London: Routledge.

Crick, M. 1989. Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: sun, sex, sights, savings, and servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18: 307-44.

Crick, M. 1994. Resplendent sites, discordant voices: Sri Lankans and international tourism.
Oxford: Routledge.

Cvtours, 2010. Accessed 12 December 2010
< http://www.cvtours.com.au/clarevalley_map.htm>.

Dietler, M. 2001. Theorizing the Feast: rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts. In Dietler, M. and B. Hayden (eds) *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on food, Politics and Power.* Washington: Harper Collins.

Dietler, M. 2006. Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35: 229-249.

Derrida, J. 1986. *Glas*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Descartes, R. 1988. *Selected Philosophical Writings*, Cottingham J.
Stootho R. and Murdoch D. (trans). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Douglas, M. and B. Isherwood. 1997. The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption. With a new introduction. London: Isherwood.

Dowie Dooles 2009. Winery pamphlet. Adelaide: Dowie Doole.

Duhaime, 2009. Passing Off. Accessed 4 October 2010,
<http://www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary/P/PassingOff.aspx>.

Durkheim E. and M. Mauss. 1963. *Primitive Classification*. Needham R. (trans and ed). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dutruc-Rosset, 2002. Report on World Viticulture, June 24, OIV. *Australian Wine Online*, accessed 4/3/08 <http://www.winetitles.com.au/awol/overview/world.asp>.

Ecotourism Australia, 2008. Certification. Accessed 1 August 2009, <http://www.ecotourism.org.au/eco_certification>.

Euripides. 1973. *The Bacchae and other Plays*. P. Vellacott (trans). London: Penguin.

Explorers. 2011. Accessed 1 March, http://www.australianexplorer.com/tourist_attractions/9001973/contact.htm.

Fabian, J. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Farnell, B. 1999. Moving Bodies, Acting Selves. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 28:341-373.

Feld, S. and K. H. Basso (eds). 1996. *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Feld, S. 1996.Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi. In Feld, S. and Keith H. Basso (eds) *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Finch, H. L. 1977. *Wittgenstein: The Later Philosophy*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanties Press.

Finch, H. L. 1995. *Wittgenstein*. Rockport, Massachusetts: Element.

Fine, G. 1992. The Culture of Production: Aesthetic Choices and Constraints. Culinary Work. *American Journal of Sociology,* 97 (5) March: 1268-1294.

Fine, G. 1995. Wittgenstein‘s Kitchen: Sharing Meaning in Restaurant Work. *Theory and Society* 24: 245-296.

Fine, G. 2003. Occupational Aesthetics: How Trade School Students Learn to Cook. In Harper, D. H. and M. Lawson (eds) *The cultural study of work*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield

Firth, R. 2005. *Elements of Social Organization*. London: Routledge.

Foley, M. 2004. Wine, *New York Times.* Accessed 4 August 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/04/business/global/04wine>.

Foucault, M. 1979. *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Frake, C. O. 1964. How to ask for a drink in Subanun. *American Anthropologist* 66:6 (part 2): 127-132.

Gell, A. 1995.On Coote's _Marvels of Everyday Vision'.*Social Analysis* 38 (September): 18-31.

Gemtree Vineyards. 2010. Accessed 25 August 2010, < http://www. gemtree.com>.

Giddens, 1994. Forword. In R. Friedland and D. Boden (eds), *Now Here: space, time, and modernity* pp. xi-xiii. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goffman, E. 1975a. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Middlesex: Peregrine Books.

Goffman, E. 1975b. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Middlesex: Penguin.

Google map, Australia. Accessed 1 March 2011**, <**http://maps.google.com.au/maps>.

Google map, Banrock 2011. Accessed 1 March 2011, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps>.

Google, DiFabio, Maps 2011. Accessed 1 March 2011, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps?q=difabio>.

Graeber, D. 2001.*Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. New York: Palgrave.

Halliday, J. 1983. *Coonawarra: the history, the vignerons and the wines.* Sydney: Yenisey.

Halliday, J. 2004. Penfolds Bin 128, Commentary. In Caillard, A. *Penfolds: The Rewards of Patience, Fifth Edition: A Definitive Guide to Cellaring and Enjoying Penfolds Wines.* Adelaide: Penfolds.

Hall, M. C. and N. Macionis. 1997. Wine tourism in Australia and New Zealand. In R. Butler, C. M. Hall and J. M. Jenkins (eds), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*. New York: John Riley & Sons.

Hardy, T. 1997. *The Australian Wine Pictorial Atlas, 1998 -99 Edition*. Adelaide: Vintage Image Productions.

Helliwell, C. 1996. Space and Sociality in a Dayak Longhouse. In M. Jackson (ed.) *Things as They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*, pp. 3-21. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hemingway Fine Wines, 2009. France relaxes old wine rules tp fight off the New World challenge. Accessed 10/8/09, <http//:www.hemingwayfinewines.co.nz/index.cfm/France_relaxes_old_wine_rules_to_fight_off_the_New_World_Challenge.html>.

Hirsch, E. 1995. Landscape: Between Place and Space. In *The Anthropology of Landscapes: Perspectives on Place and Space.* Hirsch, E. and M. O'Hanlon (eds). New York: Oxford University Press.

Horizons, 2008. Accessed 1 February 2008, <http//:www.ozhorizons.com.au/sa/bvalley/stonewall/home.html>.

Husserl, E. 1989. Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to Phenomenological Philosophy*, Second Book, Studies in the Phenomenology of Constitution*, trans. R. Rojcewicz and A. Schuwer. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Hymes, D.H. 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J.J. Gumperz & D.H. Hymes (eds). *Directions in sociolinguistics*, pp. 35-71. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Hymes, D.H. 1974. *Foundations of sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

I Call Holidays, brochure, 1994. Adelaide: Unknown publisher

Iland, P. and P. Gago. 1997. *Australian Wine: from the vine to the glass*. Adelaide: Patrick Iland Wine Promotions

Indevin winery, 2008. Accessed 5 July 2009, < http://www.indevin.com/experience.htm >.

Jackson, Michael. 1996. Introduction: Phenomenology, Radical empiricism, and Anthropological Critique. In *Things as They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*, M. Jackson (ed). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Jameson, F. 1998. Notes on globalization as a philosophical issue. In F. Jameson, M. Miyoshi (eds) *The Cultures of Globalization*, pp. 54-77. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Johnson, H. 1992. *The Story of Wine*. London: Mandarin.

Kant, I. 1928 [1768]. On the First Ground of the Distinction of Regions in Space. J. Handyside (trans). In *Kant's Inaugural Dissertation and Early Writings on Space*. Chicago: Open Court.

Kant, I. 1950 [1787]. *The Critique of Pure Reason*, N.K. Smith (trans). New York: Humanities Press.

Kant, I. 1987. *Critique of Judgement*. W. S. Pluhar (trans). Indianapolis: Hackett.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 2004. Foreword. In L. M. Long (ed.) Culinary *Tourism*. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.

Kluckhohn, K. 1951.Values and Value Orientations in the World of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification. In T. Parson and E. Shil, (eds)*Towards a General Theory of Action.*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kohn, T. 2007. Bowing onto the Mat: Discourses of Change through Martial Arts Practice. In S. Coleman and T. Kohn (eds) The discipline of leisure: embodying cultures of 'recreation'. New York: Berghahn Books.

Korsmeyer, C. 1999. *Making Sense of Taste*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Landsberg, A. 1995. Prosthetic Memory: Total Recall and Blade Runner. In *Cyberspace, Cyberbodies, Cyberpunk: Cultures of Technological Embodiment*. Mike Featherstone and Roger Burrows .eds. London: Sage 175-190

Lave, J. and Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participatio*n. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lave, J. and Seth, C.1993. (eds) *Understanding Practice: Perspectives on Activity and Context*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Leiper, N. 1979. The Framework of Tourism: Towards a Definition of Tourism, Tourist, and the Tourist Industry. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6:390-407.

Lehmann, P. 2009. Winepeeps. Accessed 9 November 2009, <http://www.winepeeps.com/2009/05/20/private-tasting-australian-Shiraz/>.

Lien, M. E. 1997.*Marketing and Modernity*. Oxford: Berg.

Lippard, L. 1999. Foreword. In MacCannell, D. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class,* pp. ix-xiiii. California: University of California Press.

Longview, accommodation 2011. Accessed 1 March 2011. <http://www.longviewvineyard.com.au/>.

Longview Vineyard, 2009. Wedding. Accessed 29 August 2009, <http//:www.longviewvineyard.com.au/assets/PDFs/Longview-Wedding>.

Macnaghten, P. and Urry J. 1998. *Contested Natures*. London: Sage.

Malinowski, B. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Master of Wine. 2010. Accessed 4 March 2010, <http://www.mastersofwine.org/>.

Mayo, O. 1991. *The Wines of Australia*. London: Faber and Faber.

McLaren Vale Grape, Wine and Tourism Association. 2007. McLaren Vale, Wine Food and Coastal Experience.

McNamee, J. 2010. The Story. Accessed 4 July 2010, <http://www.gorge.com.au/thestory.html>.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1962. *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. C Smith. New York: Humanities Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1963. *The Structure of Behaviour*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1964. The Primacy of Perception. In W. Cob (ed.) *The Primacy of Perception: And Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History and Politics*, trans. James M. Edie. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1972. Eye and Mind. In H. Osborne (ed.) *Aesthetics*. pp 55-85. London: Oxford University Press.

Mimica, J. 1981. Omalyce: An Ethnography of the Ikwaye View of the Cosmos. Ph.D thesis, Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, Australian National University.

Mintz, S. W. 1985. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. Victoria, Australia: Penguin.

Mintz, S.W. 2002. Food and Eating: Some Persisting Questions. In W. Belasco and P. Scranton (eds) *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies,* pp24-33. New York: Routledge.

Mitchell, R. and M. Alison. 1999. Investigating the Sensory and Affective Nature of the Wine Tourism Experience. In J. Molloy, and J. Davies (eds). *Tourism and Hospitality: Delighting the Senses, Part Two. Proceedings of the Ninth Australian Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference.* Adelaide: Bureau of Tourism Research, Australia.

Mitchell, R. and C. Schreiber 2007. Wine Tourism Clusters and Networks: Operations and Barriers in New Zealand. In Michael, R. (ed) *Micro-clusters and networks: the growth of tourism*, pp.79-106. Elsevier: Oxford.

Moeran, B. 1996.A Japanese Advertising Agency. An Anthropology of Media and *Markets.* ConsumAsiaN Book Series. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.

Morgan, M.M. 2001. Community. In Duranti, A. (ed.) *Key Terms in Language and Culture*, pp. 31-33, Oxford: Blackwell.

Mühlhäusler, P. and A. Peace, 2006. Environmental Discourses. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35: 457-480.

Must See, Must Do in South Australia. 2005. Adelaide: South Australian Tourism Commission.

Nash, D. 1981. Tourism as an Anthropological Subject, *Current Anthropology* 22(5):461-481.

Nash, D. 1996.*Anthropology of Tourism*. New York: Elsevier Science Ltd.

National Wine Centre Google map. Accessed 1 March, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps>.

New Zealand, destinations. 2010. Accessed October 8 2010, http://www.newzealand.com/travel/destinations/regions/marlborough/marlborough.cfm.

Onkaparinga City. 2011. Accessed 1 March 2011, <http://www.onkaparingacity.com/custom/files/media/mclaren_vale_map.jpg>.

Parmentier, R. J. 1997. Semiotic of Anthropology. *Semiotica* 166-1:1-91.

Paschel, J. 1999. *A Theory of Collective Taste and Preference: The Sociology of Food and Wine*. PhD Thesis: University of Washington.

Peace, A. 1996. Loggers are environmentalists too. Towards an ethnography of environmental dispute. Rural New South Wales 1994-1995. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 7(1): 43 - 60.

Peace, A. 2010. The Whaling War: Conflicting Cultural Perspectives. *Anthropology Today* 25(3) June: 5-9.

Peace, A. 2011. Barossa Dreaming: Imagining Place and Constituting Cusine in contemporary Australia. *Anthropological Forum* 21 (1) March: 23-42.

Peter Lehmann wines, 2007. History. Accessed 3 April 2007, <http//:www.peterlehmannwines.com/Content.aspx?p=43>.

Penfolds. 2004. Magill Estate winery pamphlet. Adelaide: Penfolds.

Penfolds. 2004. *Tasting Notes: Penfolds Bin 128 Coonawarra Shiraz 2001*. Adelaide: Penfolds.

Penfolds, Magill, Google Maps. Accessed 5 March 2011, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps?>.

Penny"s Hill, Accommodation 2011. accessed 5 March 2011, <http://www.pennyshill.com.au/5c0.asp>.

Penny"s Hill, Google map. Accessed 1 March 2011, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps>.

Penny"s Hill Winery, Our People 2011. Accessed 1 April 2011, <http://www.pennyshill.com.au/1d0.asp>.

Picard, M. 1996. *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.

Planetware, Barossa Valley 2011. Accessed 9 March 2011, http://www.planetware.com/map/barossa-valley-map-aus-aus320.htm.

Poitras, L and Getz, D. (2006) Sustainable Wine Tourism: The Host Community Perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *14* 5: 425-448.

Port, J. 2007. On the Outer. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Tuesday, 7 November.

Portway, L. 1999. *South Australia's Majestic Murray: A User's Guide.* Adelaide: Murray Darling Association Inc.

Pugh, M. and R. Fletcher. 2002. Green International Wine Marketing. *Australasian Marketing Journal* 10(3): 76-85.

Rann, M. 2010. Accessed November 4 2020, <http://www.google.com.au/search?client=firefox-a&rls=org.mozilla%3Aen-US%3Aofficial&channel=s&hl=en&source=hp&q=national+issue+river+murray&meta=&btnG=Google+Search>.

Ramsar, 2009. Accessed 1 February 2009, <http//:www.ramsar.org/>.

Ritzer, G. and Liska, A. 1997. Complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism. In *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, pp. 96-109. London: Routledge.

Robinson, J. 1997. *Confessions of a Wine Lover*. London: Penguin.

Rojek, C. and J. Urry.1997. Transformations of Travel and Theory. In *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rojek, C. 2000. *Leisure and Culture*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Royal Adelaide Wine Show, 2001. Tasting Notes. Adelaide: Royal Adelaide Wine Show.

Sahlins, M. 1976. *Culture and Practical Reason*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Salopian Inn Google maps..Accessed 1 March 2011, http://maps.google.com.au/maps?>.

Salzmann, Z. 1993. Language, Culture, and Society: *An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Sands, R. 2008. Press Release, Constellation Wines. Accessed 15 August 2009, <http://www.reuters.com/article/pressRelease/idUS139142+15-Jan>.

Santich, B, 1998. *McLaren Vale: Sea and Vines*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Sevenhill, events 2011. Accessed 1 April, <https://www.sevenhill.com.au/events.php>.

Sevenhill, flickr 2011). Accessed 1 march 2011 <http://www.flickr.com/photos/15581971@N07/4734569286/>.

Schudson, M. 1979. Review Essay: On Tourism and Modern Culture. *American Journal of Sociology* 84:1249-1258.

Schubert, M. 1990. The Story of Grange Hermitage. In *Penfolds: The Rewards of Patience*, Second Edition. pp. 69-84. Adelaide: Penfolds.

Schouten, F. 1995. Heritage as Historical Reality. In Herbert, D. (ed) *Heritage, Tourism and Society*. London: Mansell.

Silverstein, M. 2006. Old Wine, New Ethnographic Lexicography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:481-496.

Simic, P. 2003. *Winestate: The Italian Issue* 3 (26): May/ June.

South Australia: A brilliant blend, 2010. Adelaide: South Australian Tourism Commission.

South Australian Government. 2007. Fleurieu Peninsula Wine and Food. Adelaide: South Australian Government.

South Australia Tourism, Wine and Food. 2010. Experience. Accessed 7 June 2010, <http://www.southaustralia.com>experiences>wine & food>.

South Australian Department for Environment and Heritage. 2009. Biodiversity, Wetlands. Accessed 8 July 2009, <http://www.environment.sa.gov.au/biodiversity/murraylands_bcp/habitat>.

South Australian Secrets. 2002. Adelaide: South Australian Tourism Commission.

South Australian Food & Wine. 2005. Adelaide: South Australian Tourism Commission.

South Australia Fact Sheet, Tourism Industry. 2005. Adelaide: South Australian Government.

South Australian Food Centre, 2010. Regional Flavours Wow the World. Accessed 1 February 2010, <http://outernode.pir.sa.gov.au/>.

South Australian Shorts. 2002. South Australian Tourism Commission: Adelaide.

Spurling, L. 1977. *Phenomenology and the Social World: The philosophy of Merleau-Ponty and its relation to the social sciences*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Spurlock, C. M. 2009. Performing and Sustaining (Agri)culture and Place: The Cultivation of Environmental Subjectivity on the Piedmont Farm Tour, *Text and Performance Quarterly*
29(1): 5-21.

Stephen, C. 1990. The Search for Authenticity: Review Essay of Dean MacCannell, The Tourist. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology: a Critical Review* 35:151-6.

Strategy 2025. Accessed 3 February 2007, <http//:www.winetitles.com.au/awol/overview/strategy2025/2025_6.as>.

Stewart, F. 2010. No Strings in ASO wine deal, *Adelaide Now.* Accessed 31 July 2010, <http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/business/sa-business-journal/no-strings-in-aso-wine-deal/story-e6fredel>.

Stock, N**.** 2004. Penfolds Grange 1999. *The Adelaide Review*. May.

Stoller, P. 1989. *The Taste of Ethnographic Things.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Stoller, P. 1997. *Sensuous Scholarship*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Sutton, David E. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. Oxford: Berg.

Sykes, 1982. (ed) Concise Oxford Dictionary. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Takeabreak. 2006. Accessed 5 July 2006, <http//:www.takeabreak.com.au >.

The Adelaide Review, Bethany Wines. August, 2010.

The Advertiser, 2005 (author unknown). Vine pull move in crisis: Crushed. Saturday 31 December.

The Australian & New Zealand Wine Industry Directory, 2009
South Eastern Australia Geographical Indications.

Tilly, C. 2002. Metaphor, Materiality and Interpretation. In V. Buchli (ed) *The Material Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg.

Tourism Policy. 2009. Accessed 5 July 2009, < http//.www.tourism.sa.gov.au/... /TourismPolicy/South_Australian_Strategic_Plan_230306.pdf>.

Tourism Research Fact Sheet. 2009. At a Glance. Issue 78, September. Accessed July 2009,<http://www.tourism.sa.gov.au/ WebFiles/publications/FastFacts/PDFDocument/At_A_Glance_Jun09.pdf>.

Totaltravel. 2006. Accessed 5 July 2006, <http//:www.totaltravel.com.au>.

Tourism Research Fact Sheet, 2006/7. Wine Fact Sheet. Adelaide: South Australian government. Accessed 5 October 2009, <http://www.tourism.sa.gov.au/ WebFiles/publications/FastFacts/PDFDocument/winefactsheet_2006-07updateNov2007.pdf>.

Travlou, P. 2002. Go Athens: A Journey to the Centre of the City. In S. Coleman and M. Crang (eds) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. Oxford: Berghahn. Books.

Trubek, A. 2008. *The Taste of Place, A Cultural Journey Into Terroir*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Turner, V. W. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Tyler, S. A. 1984. The Vision Quest in The West or What the Mind‘s Eye Sees. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 40(1):23-40.

Ulin, R. C. 1986. Social Change through a Southwest French Wine Cooperative.*Ethnologia Europaea* XVI:25-38.

Ulin, R. C. 1995. Invention and Representation as Cultural Capital: Southwest French Winemaking History. *American Anthropologist* 97(3):519-527.

Ulin, R. C. 2002.Work as Cultural Production: Labour and Self-Identity among Southwest French Wine-Growers. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (NS) 8: 691-712.

Urry, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.

Urry, J. 1991. The Sociology of Tourism. In C.P. Cooper (ed.) *Progress of Tourism, Recreation and Hospitality Management* Vol 3:48-57.

Urry, J. 1992. The Tourist Gaze and the Environment. *Theory, Culture and Society* 9:1-26.

Voloshinov, V. N. 1994. Language and Ideology. In J. Maybin (ed). *Language and Literacy in Social Practice: A Reader.* Multilingual Matters: Avon.

Wagner, R. 1975. *The Invention of Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Wang, N. 1999. Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2): 349-370.

Warde, A. 2007. Does Taste Still Serve Power: The Fate of Distinction in Britain. *Sociologica* N3*:*1-20.

Wattlerange. 2009. South Australian government. Accessed 3 April 2010, <http//::www.wattlerange.sa.gov.au/webdata/resources/i>.

Weber, M.1946. Science as a Vocation. In H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (eds.) *From Max Web: Essays in Sociology,* pp. 129-156. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, M. 1997.*The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Free Press.

Weiner, James F. 1991.*The Empty Place: Poetry, Space and Being among the Foi of Papua New Guinea*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Weisinger 2007, The Indevin Experience. Accessed 5 May 2009, <http//:www.indevin.com/experience.htm>.

Wetlands, Discover, Explore and Be Amazed! Australian Wetlands Information Network brochure 2000:1.

Winebiz. 2010. Accessed 5 January 2010, <http://www.winebiz.com.au/statistics/gic.asp.

Wine Australia. 2009. Accessed 19 April 2009, <http//:www.wineaustralia.com/Australia>.

Wine Makers Federation of Australia. 2000. *The Marketing Decade: Setting the Australian Wine Marketing Agenda 2000*-2010. Wine Makers Federation of Australia: Adelaide.

Winetitles. 2005. Overview World. Accessed 2 February 2005, <http//:www.winetitles.com.au/awol/overview/world.asp>.

Wineweb 2011. Accessed 1 March 2011, <http://www.wineweb.com/map_s_australia.cfm>.

Winewriter. 2007. Aroma Wine Wheel. Accessed 21 July 2010, <http://winewriter.blogspot.com/2007/06/wine-aroma-wheel.htm>.

Wine Tourism Fact Sheet. 2007. Adelaide: South Australian Tourism Commission.

Whorf, B.L. 1956. *Language, Thought, and Reality*. Boston: MIT Press.

Wittgenstein, L. 1995. *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Woodstock Wine, 2009. Family Friendly. Accessed 9 October 2010, <http//:www.woodstockwine.com.au/visiting/family_friendly>.

World Travel and Tourism Council 2009. Progress and Priorities. Accessed 9 October 2009, <http//:www.wttc.org/eng/Download_Centre/>.

……