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Ai Hisano

Working Paper 17-099

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Ai Hisano
Harvard Business School

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Reinventing the American Wine Industry: Marketing Strategies and the Construction of Wine Culture

Ai Hisano

Abstract

This working paper examines the remarkable growth of wine consumption in the United States since the 1960s. The country is now the largest wine consumer in the world, exceeding the wine-producing European countries such as France and Italy, which had long dominated world markets. The paper identifies the late 1960s and 1970s as the major turning point by analyzing the role of businesses in reinventing the image of wine from a cheap and very alcoholic beverage to a sophisticated natural product, and a fine accompaniment for gourmet food. By creating wine as a symbol of social status, the reimagined wine industry became a reinforcer of social and class divisions in the United States.

Reinventing the American Wine Industry: Marketing Strategies and the Construction of Wine Culture

Ai Hisano

Introduction

In 2013, the United States became the largest wine consumer in the world, accounting for more than 13 percent of the global wine consumption, followed by France and Italy.[1] This was a remarkable change. Historically, wine-producing European countries, led by France, had been the leading global consumers, as well as producers, of wines. In the nineteenth century, American wineries were known to produce quality wines, but the era of Prohibition form 1922 to 1933 eradicated the domestic wine industry, and had long-lasting consequences. It took several decades after its repeal for American wine consumption to move upwards. From the 1960s there was spectacular growth: U.S. wine consumption grew from 163 million gallons in 1960 to 913 million gallons in 2015.[2] Although beer has remained the most popular alcoholic beverage in the United States in terms of consumption amounts, the growth rate of wine consumption has exceeded that of beer consumption over the last four decades (Figure 1).[3]

This working paper identifies a major turning point which explain this transition. During the decades between the 1930s and 1960s, a large percentage of American wine was cheap with high-alcohol content. This was called "dessert wine" under the United States definition, in contrast to "table wine" (which did not mean, as was common usage in Europe, low quality but

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[1] France and Italy had been the two larges consumers until 2013. The United States becamse the second largest after France in 2007, exceeding Italian consumption, and surpassed France in 2013.

[2] Wine Institute, "World Wine Consumption, 2013-2015," accessed May 9, 2017, http://www.wineinstitute.org/files/World_Wine_Consumption_by_Country_2015.pdf.

[3] Kym Anderson and Signe Nelgen, *Global Wine Markets, 1961 to 2009: A Statistical Compendium* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2009). See also William L. Downard, *Dictionary of the History of the American Brewing and Distilling Industries* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980).

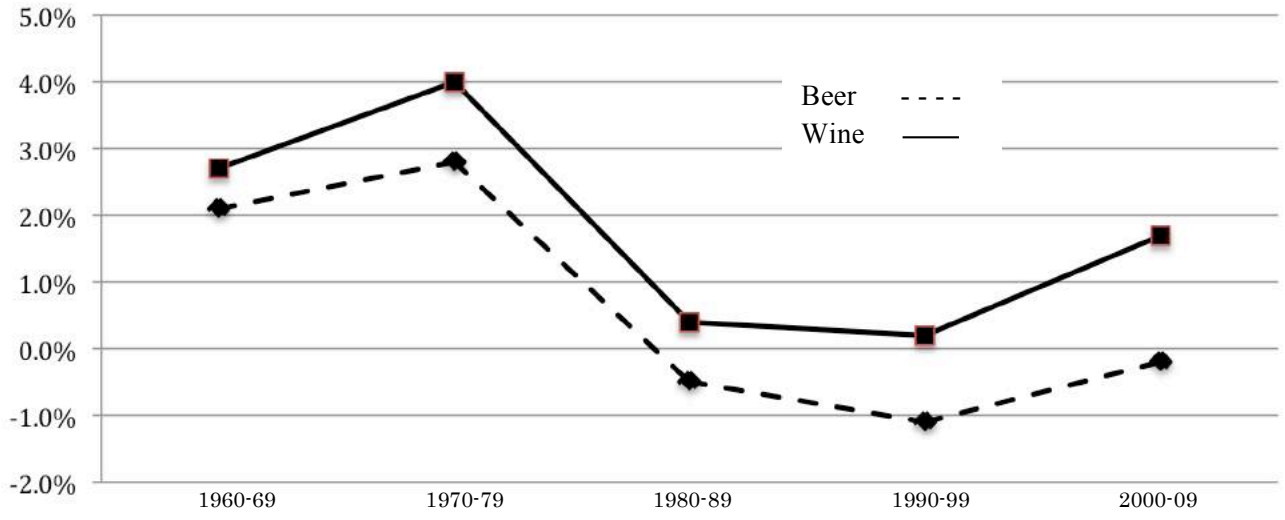

Figure 1. Per capita consumption growth rate, 1965-2009.
Source: Anderson and Nelgen, *Global Wine Markets, 1961 to 2009: A Statistical Compendium* (2009)

rather low alcohol content). By 1978, however, table wines had surged to account for 70 percent of the wines in distribution.[4] Leon Adams, a San Francisco-based wine connoisseur and journalist, enthusiastically rejoiced in the increase of table wine consumption and called the change "the wine revolution."[5] How did the transformation of wine consumption patterns, and the expansion of the wine market, happen?

To analyze the transformation of wine consumption and the market growth, this working paper explores the role of businesses in creating a specific wine culture in the United States in the late 1960 and early 1970s. Through their marketing campaigns, wine companies promoted their products as a symbol of refined tastes. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's definition of taste as "an acquired disposition" to "establish and mark difference by a process of distinction," I argue that taste for wine functioned as "a system of differentiation," reproducing social inequality and

[4] Elie Skofis, "Production of Table Wines in the Interior Valley," in *Wine Production Technology in the United States*, ed. Maynard A. Amerine (Washington D.C.: American Chemical Society, 1981), 123.
[5] Leon D. Adams, *The Wines of America* (San Francisco: Houghton Mifflin Book, 1973), 179.

naturalizing the ideology of taste.[6] By examining how and why the late-1960s became a key moment for the American wine industry, this paper illuminates the process of taste making, the embodiment of one's taste, and the negotiation of taste and power relations. In doing so, the paper suggests that the construction of American wine culture entailed what Howard Becker called "cooperative links" between different activities, conducted by various actors including wine companies, grape farmers, advertisers, newspaper and magazine journalists, and consumers.[7] This creation of tastes for wine and its images helped change wine consumption patterns and expanded the market.

This working paper seeks to broaden the scope of the current business history literature on the wine industry. Business historians have explored the rise of the wine industry across countries by analyzing wineries' production and marketing strategies, institutional structures, and commodity chains.[8] More recently, scholars from various disciplines have expanded their studies to integrate regulatory policies on wine businesses, consumption patterns, and cultural changes. In *Empire of Vines*, for example, Erica Hannickel contends that horticultural literature, as well as wineries, created a bucolic image that obscured imperial ambitions, environmental degradation, and economic and racial exploitation in the American wine industry.[9] Building on Hannickel's approach, this working paper brings perspectives of cultural and social history to

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[6] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 67, 226, 466.
[7] Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 24.
[8] Paul Duguid, "Networks and Knowledge: The Beginning and End of the Port Commodity Chain, 1703-1860," *Business History Review* 79 (3) (Autumn 2005): 493-526; Michael R. Godley, "Bacchus in the East: The Chinese Grape Wine Industry, 1892-1938," *Business History Review* 60 (3) (Autumn 1986): 383-409; Teresa da Silva Lopes, *Global Brands: The Evolution of Multinationals in Alcoholic Beverages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); James Simpson, "Cooperation and Conflicts: Institutional Innovation in France's Wine Markets, 1870-1911," *Business History Review* 79 (3) (Autumn 2005): 527-558; Ian M. Taplin, *The Modern American Wine Industry: Market Formation and Growth in North Carolina* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).
[9] Erica Hannickel, *Empire of Vines: Wine Culture in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). See also Briggs Asa, *Wine for Sale: Victoria Wine and the Liquor Trade, 1860–1984* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

business history to analyze how corporate marketing helped create and altered consumers' attitude towards drinking.

The 1960s and 1970s were decades of conflict in the United States, associated with the Civil Rights movement, the rise of the second wave of feminism, and the protracted dispute over American involvement in Vietnam War. In historicizing the creation of wine as a modern cultural artifact, this paper positions the wine industry at this moment of transition and conflict, and shows how wine emerged as a new form of social differentiation.

The Definition of Wine

American wine-making and -drinking are not modern developments. While Native Americans had been making some kinds of wines, European immigrants brought wine making and drinking culture to the New World since the fifteenth century. Due to unfavorable climate and plant diseases, however, early attempt to establish vineyards in the American colonies were not often successful. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, European immigrants and their descendants began developing better quality wines with new technologies and grape varieties in various regions, including today's New York, Ohio, and California. By the end of the nineteenth century, California, particularly the Napa Valley, became the major production site of quality wines in the country.[10] The state's wines were acclaimed even at international competition. At the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889, about forty American wines won medals, and many of them were from the Napa Valley.[11]

In the nineteenth century, winemakers, intellectuals, and elites promoted wines as the

[10] For early history of American wine production and consumption, see Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
[11] Paul Lukacs, *American Vintage: The Rise of American Wine* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 90.

symbol of pastoral ideal and sophistication. Thomas Jefferson, who was dedicated to French culture, was particularly in favor of French and Italian wine in his pursuit of European tastes and sophistication. Jefferson rejected "the strong wines of Portugal and Spain" and selected fine lighter wines to accompany meals. Wine-making and drinking were part of his vision of agrarian ideal.[12]

Beginning in 1922, Prohibition had devastating impacts on American winemaking, and also altered the image of wines. The acreage of fine wine-grape varieties decreased sharply, and table-grape and raisin-grape acreages increased. These latter varieties, less suitable for quality wines, dominated the supply of grapes for American wine well after the repeal of Prohibition. The number of licensed wineries plummeted from 917 in 1922 to 268 by the repeal in 1933.[13] Even after the repeal, there were few trained winemakers, little usable equipment, little aged wine, and no distribution channels.

On the consumer side, there was the huge demand for so-called fortified wines, or "dessert wines," with high alcohol content, such as angelica, muscatel, port, and sherry. Largely because of their high-alcohol content and relatively inexpensive price (50 to 75 cents per bottle), these "proof per penny wines" proved more popular than dry wines in the United States. Dessert wines outsold table wines approximately three to one.[14] Since they were cheaper to produce than quality table wines and seldom aged, the American wine industry largely devoted to the production of these dessert wines in the 1940s and 1950s.[15] Founding the E. & J. Gallo Winery

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[12] Hannickel, *Empire of Vines*; Lukacs, *American Vintage*, 176.
[13] Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 33.
[14] Tyler Colman, *Wine Politics: How Governments, Environmentalists, Mobsters, and Critics Influence the Wines We Drink* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 68.
[15] Maynard A. Amerine, "Development of the American Wine Industry to 1960," in Amerine, *Wine Production*: 20-21; Lukacs, *American Vintage*, 124.

with his brother Julio in the year of the repeal, Ernest Gallo quickly responded to such public demand.[16] Paul Lukacs, a wine editor for *Saveur* magazine, asserted that Ernest had "an uncanny talent for introducing new products to meet untapped demands."[17] Ernest insisted that people bought vintage wines primarily to show off and the "greatest consumption was among those who were drinking dessert wines for alcoholic reasons, that is, drinking it for the alcoholic content."[18] He had little patience with people who talked about making American wine more sophisticated or changing American tastes.[19] By the late 1970s, Gallo had accounted for more than 30 percent of the national wine market.[20]

On the contrary, the wine importer Frank Schoonmaker regarded the popularity of dessert wines as "abnormal and unhealthy." It was "a proportion which exists nowhere else in the wine-growing world," decried Schoonmaker.[21] In *The Complete Wine Book* (1934), he lambasted the state of the American industry: its devotion to dessert wines, the overall poor quality of its products, and its use of generic labels and commercially invented names.[22] Like Schoonmaker, Leon Adams considered dessert wine as distasteful. Adams especially denounced the term "fortified" as "a most ugly word." Mass media as well as the wine industry had widely used the term to signify dessert wine in general. In retrospect, Adams later stated that fortified wines "almost killed the wine industry." The word in itself had a connotation of "skid row drink."

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[16] The Gallo brothers first based their business on the vineyards that Ernest succeeded from his father. Ellen Hawkes, *Blood and Wine: The Unauthorized Story of the Gallo Wine Empire* (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1993), 120.To distinguish the person, Ernest Gallo, from the company, Gallo, I will refer to him by his first name.
[17] Paul Lukacs, *American Vintage: The Rise of American Wine* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 131.
[18] Ernest Gallo, *Ernest Gallo, The E. and J. Gallo Winery, 1995*, Interviewed by Ruth Teiser, Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.
[19] Lukacs, *American Vintage*, 131.
[20] Raymond J. Folwell and John L. Baritelle, "The U.S. Wine Market," Economics, Statistics, and Cooperative Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Economic Report no. 417 (December 1978): 1.
[21] Richard Mendelson, *From Demon to Darling: A Legal History of Wine in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 137.
[22] Frank Schoonmaker, *The Complete Wine Book* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934). See also Lukacs, *American Vintage*, 124.

Besides, in Adams's view, the general low-quality of fortified wines prevented Americans from developing their palate. He asserted that many Americans "ha[d] not yet been subjected to the civilizing influence of flavorful cuisine." In such "gastronomic deserts of America, wine, which enhances food flavors, does not compete with catsup, which hides flavors that usually deserve to be hidden." Believing that his mission was "to civilize American drinking, teach Americans to use wine," Adams assisted winery executives to found the Wine Institute, an advocacy group for the California wine industry, in 1934.[23]

Through the Wine Institute board of directors, Adams requested that the federal government amend the regulations to prohibit the use of the word "fortified" in any advertising or labeling. Instead of "fortified," Adams suggested "dessert wine," defined as wine with more than 14 percent alcohol content, and at the same time proposed the word "table wine" to designate non-sparkling wine with not over 14 percent alcohol.[24] In 1938, the class of fortified wines was renamed dessert wines and the low-alcohol content wine as table wines. Sparkling wines, such as champagne, were classified as the latter category.[25] By replacing the term, fortified, with dessert wines, Adams and the government officials aimed to eliminate the general association of wine with low-quality booze.

There was still ambiguity left, however, in the definition of table and dessert wines. Because this definition was based on alcoholic content, not the taste of wine, table wines were

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[23] Leon D. Adams, *Revitalizing the California Wine Industry*, Interviewed by Ruth Teiser, Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1972.

[24] In table wines, the alcohol is created entirely by the natural fermentation of sugars and rarely exceeds 14 percent of the wine's volume. On the other hand, in the production of dessert wine, brandy, distilled from wine, is added to arrest fermentation before the sugars have completely fermented, keeping these wines sweet. Most dessert-wine labels give their alcoholic content as 17, 18, 19 percent. Leon D. Adams, *The Commonsense of Wine*, revised ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book, 1986), 94-95.

[25] It was not until 1954 did the Wine Law finally took the word "fortified" out of the Internal Revenue code. Adams, *Revitalizing*.

sometimes sweet to the taste, and dessert wines sometimes dry. In fact, half of the table wine sales included wines with sweet taste and miscellaneous other wines.[26] Mere alcohol content did not necessarily draw a definitive line between different types or qualities of wine, and the signification of "table" was arbitrary. In wine-producing European countries, the definition of wines differed widely from the United States. In 1935, France established a system with four categories: *Vin de Table* ("table wine"), *Vin de Pays* ("country wine"), VDQS (*Vin Delimité de Qualité Supérieure*), and AOC (*Vin d'Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée*). Under this definition, "table wine" was any wine made anywhere in France, and designated low-end wines. The latter two wines were superior quality, categorized as "Quality Wines Produced in Specified Regions (QWpsr)." In 1962, the then European Economic Community created wine categories similar to French definition: "table wine" and "QWpsr."[27] These European categorizations were not based on alcohol content but on production and management method as well as geographical conditions. The American classification of wines thus can be better understood as distinguishing between cultures of taste rather than between two types of wine.

A nationwide wine marketing study, conducted by the National Foreign Trade Center in 1970, exemplifies the relationships between a type of wines and taste. The report stated that "many American consumers like[ed] at first white liquorous wines, then develop[ed] a taste for dry wines and reds." Those who had switched their favorite wines from "liquorous" to "dry" were more likely to purchase "wines of better quality, particularly imported."[28] The report

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[26] Pinney, *A History of Wine* (2005), 229. See also M. A. Amerine and M. A. Joslyn, *Table Wines: The Technology of Their Production*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 61.
[27] Colman, *Wine Politics*, 158.
[28] The National Foreign Trade Center, "Wine in the United States: Consumer Tastes and Attitudes," July 1970, Seagram Company, Ltd. Collection (hereafter Seagram), Hagley Museum and Library (hereafter HML), Wilmington, DE.

indicates strong associations between a certain type of wine and sophisticated taste by calling the change of taste from "liquorous," or dessert, wines to dry table wines as the "development" of taste. Although Schoonmaker and Adams did not necessarily regarded imported wines as better than American wines, they, too, believed that taste for table wines was a proof of civilization and their mission was to educate American consumers.

The distinction between "table" and "dessert" wines and the notion of dry wine as sophisticated taste exemplify the construction of a wine discourse and its pervasiveness in American society. In their co-edited book *French Food* (2001), Lawrence Schehr and Allen Weiss asserted that "the words and texts of an expansive culinary discourse" "fixed the culinary product and gave it an existence beyond the sphere of immediate culinary production" by transforming "the material into the intellectual, the imaginative, the symbolic, and the aesthetic."[29] As wine connoisseurs, the wine industry, and journalists created and disseminated a discourse about wine – fermented grape juice came to symbolize "something chic and sophisticated."[30]

The Embodiment of Taste

Julia Child once noted, "knowledge of wines is a lifetime hobby."[31] The acquisition of knowledge about wine was especially critical in developing one's taste. For wine companies, whose primary objective was to reach out to as many consumers as possible, "democratization" of wine knowledge was crucial to increase wine consumption and promote their products. Wine

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[29] Lawrence R. Schehr and Allen S. Weiss, ed., *French Food: On the Table, on the Page, and in French Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 16-17.
[30] Mendelson, *From Demon to Darling*, 133-34; and Lukacs, *American Vintage*, 132.
[31] Simone Beck, Louisette Bertholle, and Julia Child, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 33.

advertisements served as a kind of wine labeling manuals for consumers, instructing them in which part of a bottle and a label provided what kind of information. These advertisements also suggested a specific brand name to look for at a store while relieving consumers of worrying about intricate information such as vintage year and grape varietals (Figure 2). Such advertisements were necessary particularly in self-service stores where consumers could purchase wines and other products without interacting with "pushy sales staff."[32] These wine labels functioned just like any other food packages that provided consumers with "product education."[33]

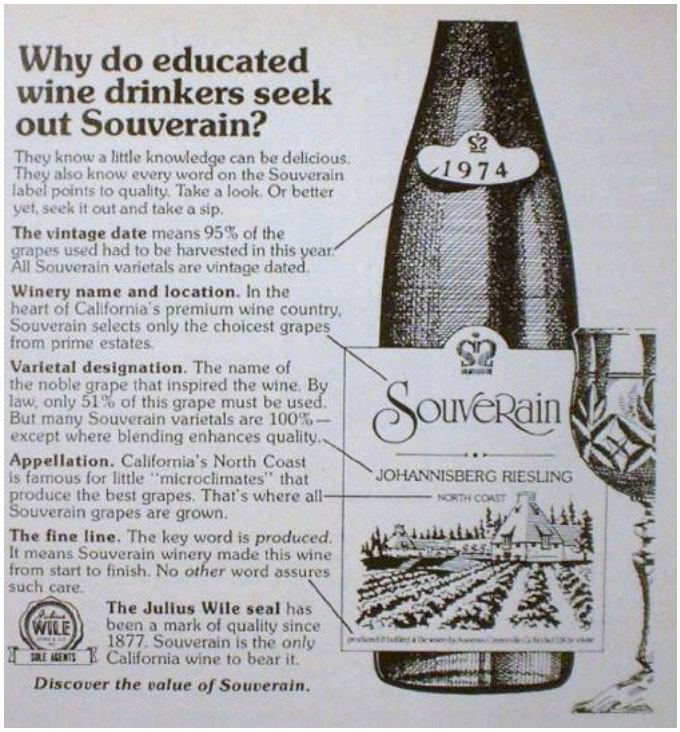

Figure 2 : Souve Rain Ad, *New Yorker*, April 3, 1978.

[32] Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Society: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 147.
[33] Susan Straseer, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 34.

Wine companies' catechism needed to have an immediate effect, that is, to lead consumers to purchase their products, rather than to train lifetime connoisseurs. Their advertisements thus told consumers explicitly to look for their labels, suggesting that the taste of wine was less important than a brand name to develop a taste for wine (Figure 3). In a newly developing market, it was indispensable for wine companies to offer specific information about their brands to "novice" consumers who had just started drinking wine.

Knowledge did not obliterate class and racial differences, however. To the contrary, there was an imbalance in its dissemination, and in turn wine literacy widened fissures among people of different social and economic status. Several market studies reported that primary wine

Figure 3: Pontet-Latour Ad, *New Yorker*, July 26, 1978.

consumers were relatively young, college-educated, and middle- to upper-middle class. Wine advertisements mainly targeted at these groups. For instance, magazines intended for middle-class audience dominated the primary media especially for table wine advertisements throughout the late 1960s to 1970s. In terms of the number of ad pages in a magazine, more than half of wine ads appeared in *The New Yorker*, *Gourmet*, *Newsweek*, *New York*, and *Time* in 1970.[34] Such magazines as *Ebony* and *Black Enterprise* whose primary audience was African Americans also featured some wine advertisements, but the number was far fewer than other magazines.[35] In reproducing the hierarchies of social relations, the exclusion of African Americans and the working class from an informal education system in popular magazines reaffirms that taste for wine was a domain of white middle-class consumers, who possessed both economic and cultural capital to acquire taste in wine culture.

Those middle-class consumers showed their desire, and even obsession, for attaining wine knowledge. The above mentioned 1970 consumer research revealed that about 75 percent of the respondents wanted a supplementary label on a bottle that would explain the best temperature to store wines and the right combination of principal dishes and wines.[36] In identifying the hallmark of "the cultivated man" as the possession of "an immense fund of knowledge," those who wished to develop their tastes believed in the power of knowledge to disguise their ignorance and to show off their tastes.[37] A 1975 *New Yorker* cartoon cynically depicted a man explaining characteristics of various wines in a knowing matter (Figure 4). But

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[34] *Time*, "Analysis of 1970 Wine Advertising in Leading Magazines," 1971, Seagram, HML.
[35] Ibid. See also *Newsweek*, "Magazine Advertising Investment: Liquor, Wine and Malt-Beverage Industries," 1970-76; *New Yorker*, "Imported and American Wine and Beer Advertising Page Record and Marketing Information," 1968-1970; and *Time*, "Wine Advertising in Leading Magazines: Beer, Wine, Liquor," 1974-75, Seagram, HML.
[36] The National Foreign Trade Center, "Wine in the United States."
[37] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 330.

he repeats the same comment, "dynamite wine," to describe different kinds of wines whose names sounded French. While trying to boast of his knowledge and taste, he does nothing but expose the superficiality of his knowledge. This satire as well as the market research on labeling underscores that the acquisition and the presentation of knowledge were ways to demonstrate one's taste. Consumers expressed their tastes not only through what they consumed but also through how they consumed.

The body and self-presentation also functioned as vehicles that exposed one's taste.[38] In the mid-1950s, a market study found that 90 percent of the American public still associated California wines with inexpensive jugs and cooking wine. By the 1960s, however, American consumers' attitudes toward domestic wines were beginning to change.[39] In the 1975 "National Wine Survey" by *Newsweek*, for instance, more than half of the respondents disagreed that

Figure 4: *New Yorker*, June 23, 1975.

[38] Ibid., 190.
[39] Elin McCoy, *The Emperor of Wine: The Rise of Robert M. Parker, Jr. and the Reign of American Taste* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 30, 32; and George M. Taber, *Judgment of Paris: California vs. France and the Historic 1976 Paris Tasting that Revolutionized Wine* (New York: Scribner. 2005), 81.

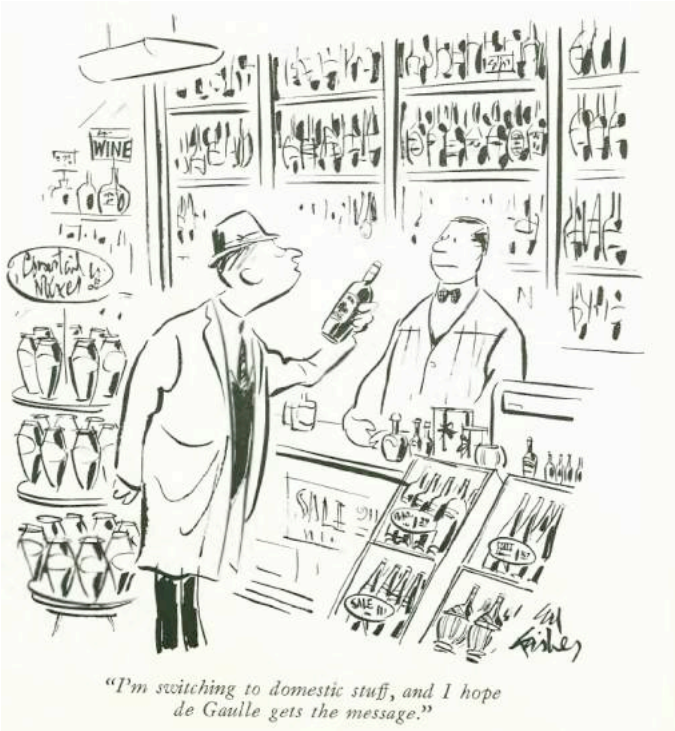

Figure 5: *New Yorker*, April 20, 1968.

imported wines generally tasted better than American wines.[40] A cartoon from *New Yorker*, published in 1968, indicated such a change. It epitomized the manifestation of taste through the body and performance while indicating general American consumer attitudes toward imported wines (Figure 5).[41] The caption reads: "I'm switching to domestic stuff, and I hope de Gaulle gets the message." Charles de Gaulle, the then president of France, was rapidly losing a political power by the time the cartoon was printed. This illustration ironically tied together two symbols of France – wine and the President – by suggesting the decreasing consumption of French wine in the United States and the declining popularity of the French President. By telling a store clerk his resolution to switch "to domestic stuff" rather than bringing a bottle of domestic wine to the cashier in silent, this customer explicitly showed his preference for domestic wine. In addition to

[40] *Newsweek*, "National Wine Survey: Reporting the Demographic and Marketing Characteristics of Wine Users," January 1975, Seagram, HML.
[41] *New Yorker*, April 20, 1968.

his utterance, his triumphant, self-satisfactory face and the bodily expression indicated his esteem for domestic wines, thus embodied his taste.

During the 1960s and 1970s, wine symbolized another disposition of taste: the back to nature movement. Especially after Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* in 1962, Americans increasingly became conscious about environmental issues. In addition, consumer rights and countercultural movements attacked endless economic growth, industrialization, and materialism.[42] In emphasizing the relations between wine and natural resources, wine companies sought to create a popular image of wine as a product of nature. In so doing, they presented themselves as a defender of a pastoral ideal. Historian Jackson Lears contends that traditional values survived as "a rhetorical strategy" of the industry "even as modernization whirled ahead at full tilt." This "appropriation of the preindustrial past" was one of the major motifs that wine companies employed for their advertisements.[43]

Almadén advertised the naturalness and sacredness of wine through an image of grapes. One of its advertisements depicted a mythical image in which a God-like couple, or anthropomorphized nature, took care of grapes as their children (Figure 6). In reality, however, those who harvested and picked grapes were farm laborers many of whom were immigrants. In a Christian Brothers' advertisement, images of workers showed involvement of human labor in grape growing (Figure 7). But these laborers from nineteenth-century engravings sentimentalized and idealized the actual work that actually took place on the Napa Valley fields.

Contrary to the image of wine as a product of "nature," the late-twentieth-century rise of American wine was impelled by machines such as mechanical harvesters, drip irrigation systems,

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[42] See Cross, *An All-Consuming Society*, 145-91.
[43] Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 385.

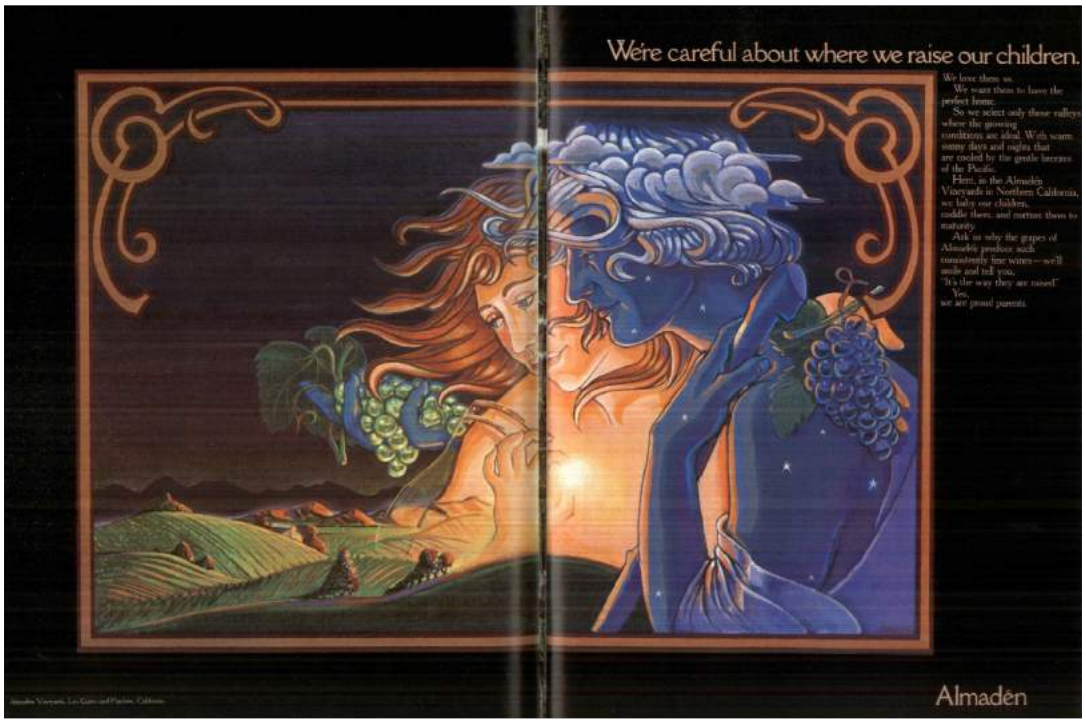

Figure 6: Almadén Ad, *New Yorker*, April 26, 1976.

Brother Timothy's Napa Valley Notebook

THE NAPA VALLEY HAS BEEN THE HOME OF THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS TABLE WINES FOR YEARS. FOR THE BEST OF REASONS.

The Christian Brothers are longtime Napa Valley vintners. We share the belief of many enologists that there is no better home in California for the choice varietal grapes we use in our table wines.

Our small valley is scarcely thirty-five miles long and only five or six miles at its widest point. But here in this tiny space are areas that challenge almost every fine wine-growing region in the world.

THE MATURE GRAPE VINE. 19th CENTURY FRENCH ENGRAVING. THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS COLLECTION. THE WINE MUSEUM OF SAN FRANCISCO.

PLANTING. 19th CENTURY ENGRAVING.

Some millions of years ago, Mount St. Helena at the north end of the valley erupted in volcanic fury and left behind the gravelly loams and soils that our vine-bearing grape vines prefer. And a pattern of hills, gradually rising, which creates a myriad of weather pockets. Each grape has found a perfect home whether it prefers coolness or warmth.

Climate and soil are only part of our Napa Valley story. Here, too, we have the quiet place to make our wines, and give them all the time they need to come to life. Slowly, patiently, in our own way. Each of our wines is made with pride, and we invite you to enjoy in them all of the special qualities found only in our wondrous and lovely Napa Valley. You are always a welcome guest here at our winery.

HARVESTING. 19th CENTURY ENGRAVING.

Brother Timothy, FSC.
CELLARMASTER
THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS
NAPA VALLEY, CALIFORNIA 94558

Worldwide Distributors: Frances and Sickel, Inc. San Francisco, California

Figure 7: The Christian Brothers Ad, *New Yorker*, March 10, 1975.

and rotary fermenters. The scientific methodology employed by the researchers at the University of California at Davis came to serve as the basis for an "American vision of wine growing": the intrusion of science and technology on the agrarian ideal. The desire to manipulate both grapes and wine to achieve predictable, reliable results reflected what Leo Marx called "the machine in the garden."[44] By presenting grapes and wine as a part of God-given nature, these advertisements of the two large grape growers, Almadén and the Christian Brothers, masked the actual production processes and the hierarchy among producers in the vineyard. As Robert C. Ulin argues, the concept of "natural" was used rhetorically and hegemonically to support the privileged position occupied by some large growers, marketing firms, and global corporations. The "hegemonic components of cultural representation" elucidates the power relations between workers and wine companies as well as between smaller wineries and large wine companies.[45]

The "Authenticity" of Wine Culture

While obscuring the inequality between different classes, the hierarchical relations between wineries and laborers, and the mechanization of wine production, many wine advertisements foregrounded the image of wine as civilized and natural. These advertisements served to legitimize wine culture and sophisticated taste. As consumers repeatedly came into contact with the representation of wine in their everyday lives, various media, including newspapers, magazines, and TV programs, created images of wine and wine-drinking culture as

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[44] Lukacs, *American Vintage*, 175-76; and Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Gary L. Peters, *American Winescapes: The Cultural Landscapes of America's Wine Country* (Boulder: Westview, 1997), 53.

[45] Robert C. Ulin, "Writing about Wine: The Uses of Nature and History in the Wine-Growing Regions of Southwest France and America," in *Wine, Society, and Globalization: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Wine Industry*, ed. Gwyn Campbell and Nathalie Guibert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 44.

something authentic and aspirational.

Julia Child's television program and cookbooks enhanced her audience's interests in wine and French culture in general while encouraging the cultivation of taste for wine. California-born Child and her husband Paul "discovered" the quality of California wine when they visited the Charles Krug vineyard in the Napa Valley in the late 1950s.[46] Child later organized the American Institute of Wine and Food in 1981. Her thirty-minute television program, *The French Chef*, was exceptionally popular compared to other "educational" cooking shows in the 1960s. Starting in February 1963, the program lasted ten years, and reruns continued until 1989.[47] A Boston-based TV station, WGBH, first produced the program for National Educational Television, but the show became so popular that it was eventually broadcast to 104 educational stations across the country.[48] A study of the press coverage of the first few years revealed that Child's audience included a broad range of people "from professors to policemen." According to *TV Guide*, while the Kennedys in the White House boosted "the snob appeal of French dining and associate[ed] it with ruffles and truffles, Child was making it accessible to everyone." *Life* magazine also reported that the show had a "measurable effect" on the commodity market: "Week after week, the ingredients of whatever Gallic delicacy she prepares for her programs are apt to be sold out in the listener areas the very next day."[49]

In one of *The French Chef* episodes, "Cheese and Wine Party," Child introduced eleven different wines including French and American "counterparts."[50] All the American wines were

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[46] Noël Riley Fitch, *Appetite for Life: The Biography of Julia Child* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 235.
[47] Ibid., 292.
[48] "Humming It Up in the Haute Cuisine," *Life*, October 21, 1966: 45.
[49] "Humming It Up," *Life*: 45.
[50] "Cheese and Wine Party," in *The French Chef with Julia Child*, DVD, WGBH Boston Video, 2005, originally by WGBH-TV Boston, 1962-1972. The wines featured in the show were Riesling Alsace 1966 (France), Riesling California, Tavel Canto (France), Beaujolais (France), Mountain Zinfandel 1966 (California), Médoc Red

products of California. By juxtaposing French and American wines as "counterparts," Child implied that the qualities of wines from the two countries were comparable. Distinguishing wines by their types and grape varietals rather than by the country, she explained how to store different types of wine and when to open the bottle and serve the wine. White wine, for example, should be chilled for an hour or two and opened just before drinking. Red wine, on the other hand, needed to be kept at normal room temperature. It was "terribly important" to purchase red wine two to three weeks before drinking to rest it.[51] Her advice was minute and precise, yet not complicated. As *The Saturday Evening Post* reported, Child possessed "none of the pretentious mannerisms so often associated with practitioners of haute cuisine."[52] Her friendliness and boldness caught many Americans' heart.

It was not only through television that Child reached to her audience. During 1963 and 1964, she offered forty-five short essays and recipes to *the Boston Globe* newspaper free of charge. Two years before *The French Chef* started, Child had co-authored a best-seller cookbook *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*. In less than a year after its publication, the book sold 100,000 copies at $10 each and was on its fifth printing. By 1966, it had sold a quarter of a million copies.[53]

Mastering included only French wine, but this did not mean that Child and her co-authors considered French wines to be better than wines from other countries. The authors noted that "[a]s this is a book on French cooking, we have concentrated on French wines."[54] Their focus

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Boudreaux (France), Cabernet Sauvignon (California), Pinot Chardonnay 1967 (France), Pinot Chardonnay 1967 (California), Red Burgundy 1967 (France), and Pinot Noir 1965 (California).

[51] Ibid.

[52] Lewis Lapham, "Everyone's in the Kitchen with Julia," *The Saturday Evening Post*, August 8-15, 1964: 21. See also Fitch, *Appetite for Life*, 293.

[53] Fitch, *Appetite for Life*, 292, 294, 305.

[54] Beck, Bertholle, and Child, *Mastering*, 33.

was not wine's particular origin or prestigious chateau names. Rather, the preparation and situation of drinking wine were more important: "Wine is a living liquid containing no preservatives. Its life cycle comprises youth, maturity, old, age, and death. When not treated with reasonable respect it will sicken and die." The authors especially emphasized the matching of wine and food by explaining that "the wine should complement the food and the food should accentuate and blend with the qualities of the wine." What readers should "keep in mind" was that "[a] robust wine overpowers the taste of a delicate dish, while a highly spiced dish will kill the flavor of a light wine. A dry wine tastes sour if drunk with a sweet dessert, and a red wine often takes on a fishy taste if served with fish."[55] By preaching the virtue of drinking wine and unfolding wine knowledge in plain language, Child introduced wine to a wide range of Americans. Furthermore, she endorsed drinking of wine as a legitimate habit by indicating that wine enhanced a joy of eating rather than leading drinkers to intoxication.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, as American consumers increasingly considered wine appreciation as the authentic taste, various companies outside the wine industry adopted and appropriated the sophisticated images of wine to express the quality and reliability of their product. Airline companies often advertised the quality of their service and comfortable flight by featuring wine and meal service. In the 1960s and 1970s, an international travel became popular among American households.[56] The number of passengers departing from the United States jumped from 2.9 million in 1960 to 9.4 million in 1970, and about 30 percent were Europe-bound. Especially, the number of air travel rapidly increased in the 1960s: the total

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[55] Ibid., 32, 35.
[56] Taber, *Judgment of Paris*, 80. See also Lukacs, *American Vintage*, 187.

number of travelers by air was 0.5 million in 1950, 2 million in 1960, and 8.5 million in 1970.[57] Encountering severe competition, many airlines advertised their in-flight service as superior. For the EL AL Israel Airlines, for instance, teaching their "stewardesses how to pour wine" was an important part of their employee training.[58] Other airlines, including Air France, also used images in which a female flight attendant pours wine into a male passenger's glass (Figure 8). In these advertisements, wine and the female body symbolized scrupulous service. Wine with splendid dishes, served by a well-trained, friendly female attendant, became a part of a flight experience to Paris, London, and other European cities.

Figure 8: Air France Ad, *New Yorker*, May 25, 1963.

[57] The number of sea travel only increased from 0.45 million in 1950 to 0.85 million in 1970. U.S. Census Bureau, "Statistical Abstracts 1951-1994," http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/statab1951-1994.htm.
[58] Advertisement of EL AL Airlines, *Life*, January 20, 1967.

Exclusive hotels also presented a pleasant and luxurious stay by using an image of wine, especially high quality wine cellars and professional sommeliers. The St. Regis-Sheraton advertised that its cellar "reflects his [a sommelier's] abiding interest and knowledgeability," and that its wines from "renowned vineyards of the worlds" were stored "in temperature controlled rooms, ready for service in the gilded restaurants." Such "attention to detail" was "characteristic of this well-mannered hotel." Ritz-Carlton also emphasized high-quality wine as one of its service.

Advertisements for Grey Poupon Dijon mustard and for Parker's soft-tip pen employed a metaphor of aging (Figures 9 and 10). In contrast to the ephemerality and a rapid-pace life style in modern consumer society, aging symbolized maturity, patience, and the timeless quality. Grey Poupon's mustard contained a small amount of white wine, but the signification of wine in this ad was more than a mere ingredient. Rather, the analogy between wine and mustard indicated excellence in its quality. The Parker solemnized its product by indicating the aging of wine and the age of a winery, Château Lafite-Rothschild, designated on a wine bottle in the ad. The Château's wine was one of the most renowned and expensive wines in the world. 1868 on the label, supposed to be the wine's vintage, was the year when Baron James de Rothschild purchased Château Lafite. Its bottles have since then been labeled Lafite-Rothschild. The name of a prestigious Château and the year when it was renamed as such registered the Parker's refillable pen with first-class quality and long-lasting value. By adapting the value of wine culture as authentic, these companies from various industries presented their products also as authentic and high quality.

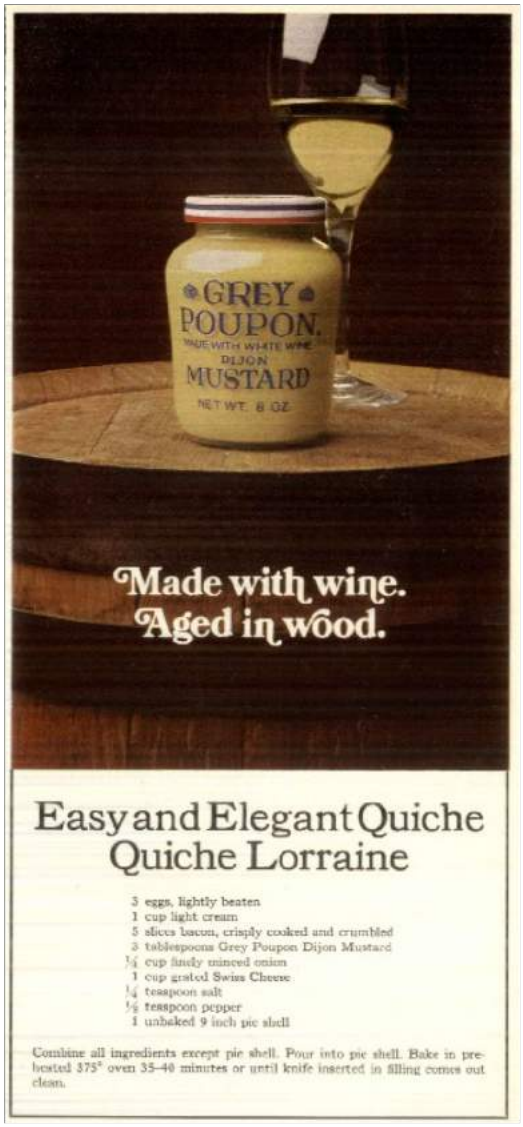

Figure 9: Grey Poupon Dijon Mustard Ad, *New Yorker*, March 10, 1975.

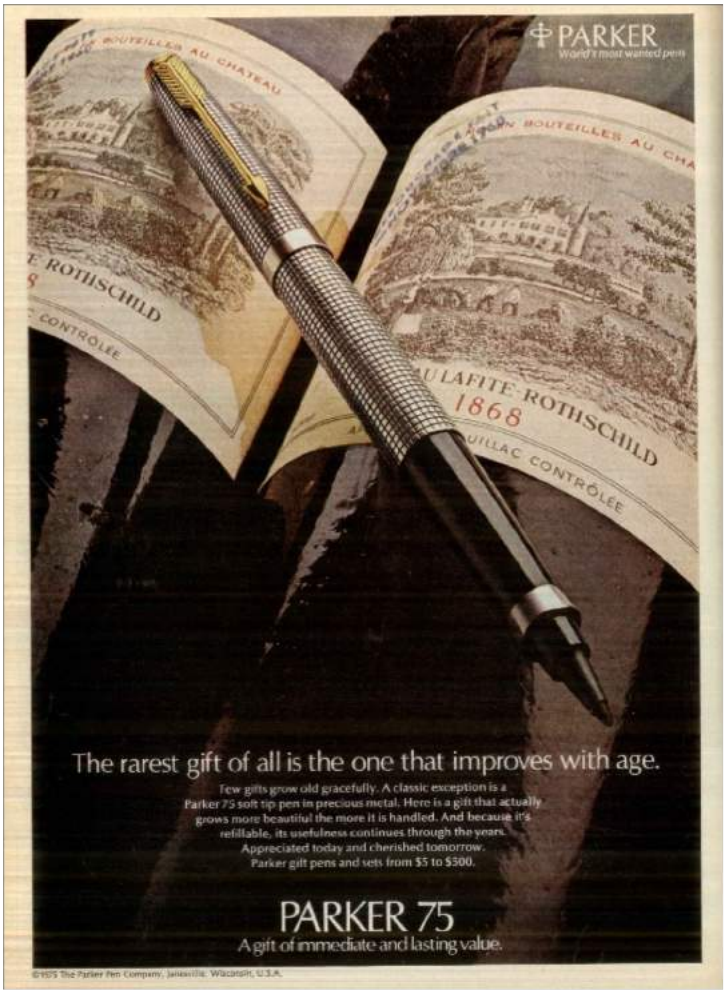

Figure 10: Parker Ad, *Time*, September 29, 1973.

Labor Struggles and Winemaking

The construction of the wine image as nostalgic, sacred, and natural was a volatile project and entailed a subversive hegemony. On March 2, 1975, an alarming image appeared in *The New York Times*: blood shedding from a cluster of grapes. This full-page advertisement by the United Farm Workers (UFW) called for a boycott against Gallo wines (Figure 11).[59] The advertisement's image showed a decade-long struggle and frustration of farm workers against large corporations. By this time, the American wine industry had been highly concentrated: the four largest wine companies, including Gallo, accounted for more than 50 percent of all wine consumption.[60] The UFW's boycott and its impact also illuminate a negotiating process in the making of taste and wine culture between wine companies, the union and farm workers, and middle-class consumers.

In 1965, the UFW, led by Cesar Chavez, struck against the grape growers of the Delano region in southern California and launched a boycott of grapes.[61] The union's target included wineries as well as Schenley Industries, whose various liquor brands and other products drew at least $250 million in annual sales in the year, and the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, which operated more than thirteen thousand acres of vineyards in California.[62] In the following year, Chavez began a three-hundred-mile march, along with strikers and supporters, from Delano to the state capitol building in Sacramento.[63] In 1967, the UWF won contracts with the major grape growers such as the Christian Brothers, Almadén, Paul Masson, and Gallo, the four biggest wine

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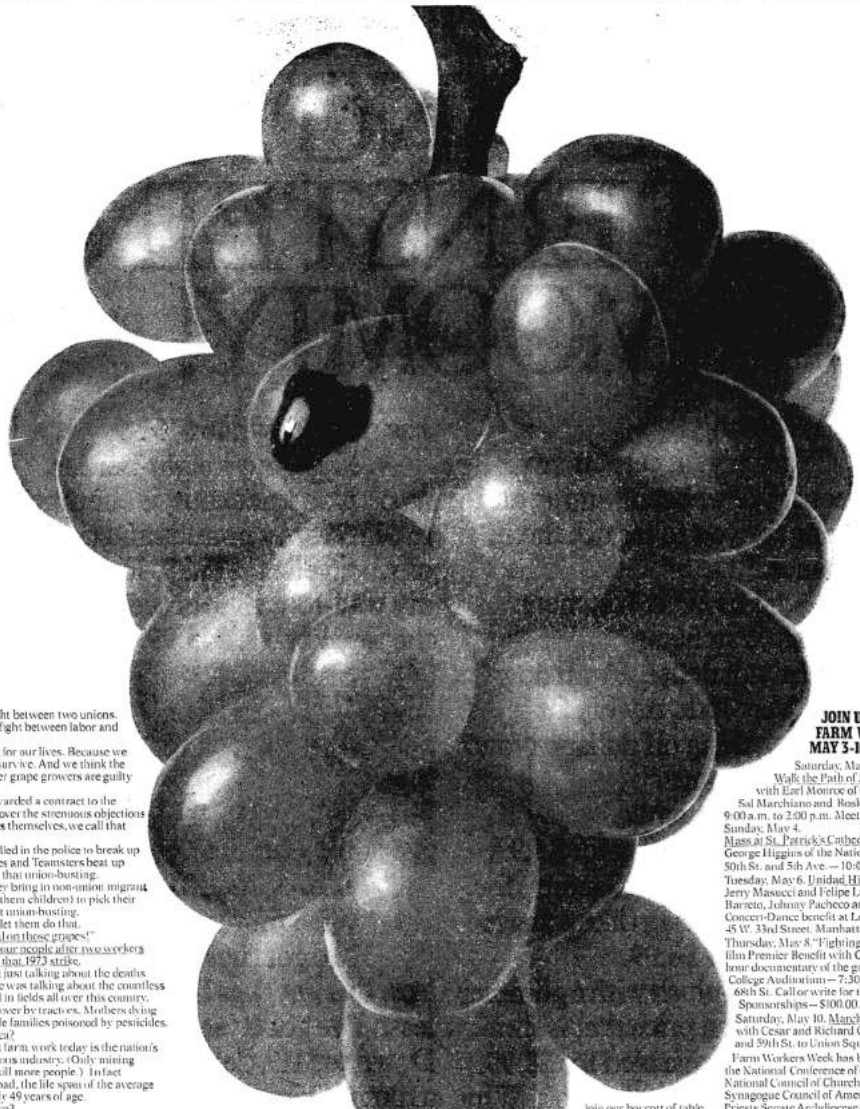
[59] Advertisement of the UFW, *New York Times*, May 2, 1975: 14.
[60] Folwell and Baritelle, "The U.S. Wine Market," 1.
[61] Pinney, *A History of Wine* (2005), 349.
[62] Susan Ferriss and Ricardo Sandoval, *The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers Movement* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997), 113-14.
[63] Randy Shaw, *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21st Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 2.

"THERE'S BLOOD ON THOSE GRAPES!"



This isn't a fight between two unions.

It isn't even a fight between labor and management.

We're fighting for our lives. Because we need our union to survive. And we think the Gallos and the other grape growers are guilty of union-busting.

When they awarded a contract to the Teamsters in 1973 over the strenuous objections of the farm workers themselves, we call that union-busting.

When they called in the police to break up peaceful picket lines and Teamsters beat up our people, we call that union-busting.

And when they bring in non-union migrant workers (many of them children) to pick their grapes, we call that union-busting.

And we can't let them do that.

"There's blood on those grapes!" Cesar Chavez told our people after two workers were killed during that 1973 strike.

But he wasn't just talking about the deaths of two workers. He was talking about the countless others who've died in fields all over this country.

Children run over by tractors. Mothers dying in childbirth. Whole families poisoned by pesticides.

Is this America?

It's a fact that farm work today is the nation's third most hazardous industry. (Only mining and construction kill more people.) In fact conditions are so bad, the life span of the average farm worker is only 49 years of age.

Is this America?

It's a fact that excessive work speed-ups physically break the bodies of farm workers. And that the greatest need of migrant families is for hospital care.

But who can afford hospital care on an average income of $1,885 a year?

And what has the federal government done? It spends about $12 a year per migrant on health services compared with $200 a year for other citizens.

Is this America? Yes, this is America.

An America we were starting to change when the United Farm Workers Union came in back in 1967.

That's the year we fought for and won our first labor contract. And for the next 8 years our workers won decent wages and the beginnings of health and safety protection.

We established 5 clinics in California staffed with doctors and nurses. And sent health teams into labor camps to test for tuberculosis, diabetes and other diseases.

We created the Robert F. Kennedy Medical Plan to cover farm workers and their families for everything from doctor's visits to maternity and surgical needs.

We prohibited the use of DDT, Parathion and other dangerous pesticides. And forced the growers to put toilets in the fields and provide hand washing facilities.

We stopped forced migrancy by introducing hiring halls and eliminating labor contractors.

And we prohibited the hiring of children, thereby ending the use of child labor.

We want this work to goon.

So if you want to help 2 million farm workers, join our boycott of table grapes and Gallo Wine.

Don't buy table grapes unless they have the U.F.W. eagle on the label.

Don't buy Gallo Wine or any other wine made in Modesto, California. (If it says "Modesto," it's made by Gallo.)

And don't buy any of the Gallo names, like Thunderbird, Ripple, Andre Cold Duck, Boone's Farm, Madria-Madria Sangria, Tyrolia, Carlo Rossi, Red Mountain or Josef Steuben.

Do buy Paul Masson, Christian Brothers, Almaden, Italian Swiss Colony, Perelli-Minetti, Viedel or Novitiate of Los Gatos.

If enough of us join the boycott, the growers will get the message. And America's farm workers will get the union they deserve.

JOIN US DURING FARM WORKERS WEEK. MAY 3-10, 1975

Saturday, May 3.
Walk the Path of Justice
with Earl Monroe of the N.Y. Knicks.
Sal Marchiano and Rosko Mercer. Central Park, 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. Meet at Mall off 72nd St.

Sunday, May 4.
Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral with Monsignor George Higgins of the National Catholic Conference. 50th St. and 5th Ave. — 10:00 a.m.

Tuesday, May 6. Unidad Hispana. Geraldo Rivera, Jerry Masucci and Felipe Luciano present Ray Barreto, Johnny Pacheco and Hector La Voe in Concert-Dance benefit at Leviticus. 45 W. 33rd Street, Manhattan. 9:00 p.m.

Thursday, May 8. "Fighting For Our Lives" the film Premier Benefit with Cesar Chavez — A one-hour documentary of the grape strike. Hunter College Auditorium — 7:30 p.m. Park Avenue & 68th St. Call or write for tickets ($10.00 each) Sponsorships — $100.00.

Saturday, May 10. March For Farm Worker Justice with Cesar and Richard Chavez from 5th Avenue and 59th St. to Union Square 11:00 a.m.

Farm Workers Week has been endorsed by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, National Council of Churches, Synagogue Council of America, Priests Senate Archdiocese of New York and the Baptist Ministers Conference of New York.

United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO
331 West 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024
(212) 799-5800

I want to help pay for this ad.
1. ☐ I'm enclosing my donation.
2. ☐ I pledge to boycott Gallo Wine and table grapes unless they have the U.F.W. label.
3. ☐ I want to be a full-time organizer for the farm workers.

Name _____ Address _____
Town _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

DON'T BUY GALLO WINE. UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Figure 11: *New York Times*, May 2, 1975.

companies in the country. In acknowledging farm workers' efforts to unionize themselves, *The Wall Street Journal* called these two years of improvement as "days of wine and roses." But "the days ahead could easily be fraught with headaches and thorns," commented the article.[64]

In California, approximately a half of the total grape yielding was used for wine in the mid-1960s.[65] Thus for major wine companies, the UFW's grape strike posed a significant threat. Naturally, it was mostly wineries that signed the contract with the UFW in 1967. But the contract covered only about 5,000 of the state's 250,000 farm workers.[66] While the 1967 contracts clearly had economic importance for wineries, the majority of farm workers were still struggling without a labor contract. Yet the UFW's achievement, especially the contract with Gallo, was important to the union not necessarily for the number of workers but for its symbolic value.

Ernest Gallo first admired Chavez and was sympathetic with a labor union, at least ostensibly. In his interview, Ernest proudly stated that Gallo was "one of the first to agree to have [their] vineyard unionized" and he was "in favor of this movement throughout California to organize the grape laborers."[67] As the UFW became more active especially against Gallo, however, Ernest began to consider Chavez's operation of the union as disorganized, inefficient, and unreliable.[68] At the contract renewal in the spring of 1973, the company entered into

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[64] "Wine and Roses: AFL-CIO Doing Well with California Farm Labor – for Now," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 29, 1967: 12. By 1972, the UFW had contracts with 150 growers and an estimated membership of fifty to sixty thousand, of which thirty thousand were year-round workers while others worked only during the harvest season. Shaw, *Beyond the Fields*, 3.

[65] Philip M. Wagner, *Grapes into Wine: A Guide to Winemaking in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 62-63. During the years 1950-1993, on average, approximately 51 percent of total table-type grape production was sold for fresh consumption. The remaining 49 percent was crushed for wine making. Since the percentage of fresh shipments was decreasing from 1955 to 1973, the larger percentage of table-grapes was used for wine at the time of the UFW strikes and boycotts. Julian M. Alston, et al., "The California Table Grape Commission's Promotion Program: An Evaluation, *Giannini Foundation Monograph*, no. 43 (November 1997): 9.

[66] Susan Ferriss and Ricardo Sandoval, *The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers Movement* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997), 138.

[67] Gallo, *Ernest Gallo*.

[68] Hawkes, *Blood and Wine*, 65.

negotiations with the UFW's rival union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.[69] When Gallo signed the contract with the Teamsters in 1973, the UFW began a second grape strike, in which two union members lost their lives at picket lines. While the company protested that they were the innocent victims of "a turf war" between rival unions, the media repeatedly publicized that Ernest and his brother Julio were the leaders of the crusade to defeat Chavez.[70]

In the midst of this struggle against Gallo, the UFW published the bloody grape ad in *The New York Times* and other newspapers. The article explained working conditions on a grape farm and protested the necessity and legitimacy of a boycott for the justice of laborers: "We're fighting our lives. Because we need our union to survive. And we think the Gallos and the other grape growers are guilty of union-busting." "Is this America?" the union repeatedly asked readers. "There's blood on those grapes!" This blood was far from an image of sacred wine, that is, the blood of Christ. It was a symbol of struggle against the tyranny of wine companies, indicating the deaths of two workers during the 1973 strike.[71]

By showing an image of grapes rather than a bottle of wine to call for a boycott of Gallo wines, this UFW's advertisement suggests the labor relations in the wine industry. Grapes were crucial ingredients for wine production. The specific origin and variety of grapes determined not only the quality of wine but also its designation on the label. Under federal law, for instance, a varietal names such as chardonnay needed to include more than 75 percent of the variety. In California, to designate wine as "California central coast counties dry wine," producers were

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[69] Pinney, *A History of Wine* (2005), 349. Many other growers who had signed with Chavez also jumped over the Teamsters. Better organized and well financed, the Teamsters won contracts with about 375 California grape growers by stressing their professionalism and reliability. At the same time, many workers turned to the Teamsters. By September 1975, the union' membership in California had risen to 55,000, while the UFW's had shrunk to 6,000 from more than 50,000 in 1970 and its contracts from 300 growers to twelve. "California Compromise," *Time*, March 19, 1975: 18. See also "Rendering to Cesar," *Time*, September 1975: 32; and Shaw, *Beyond the Fields*, 47

[70] Pinney, *A History of Wine* (2005), 349; and Hawkes, *Blood and Wine*, 266.

[71] Advertisement of the UFW, *New York Times*.

required to use only grapes grown within the fifteen counties specified in the law including Sonoma and Napa. Since wine companies could not use grapes from other regions for a certain wine, a grape strike had a direct impact on wine companies in California. As *The Wall Street Journal* observed, the "boycott and its threat became a potent weapon."[72] This did not necessarily mean that grape laborers had stronger power against their employers than other farm workers. Yet, an image of grapes and blood printed on the newspaper was a signifier not simply of wine but also of the hierarchical relations between growers and laborers. The grape image disclosed the contradictions of material affluence, industrial development, and labor exploitation.

While Gallo insisted publicly that the boycott had no major effect on the company, its national sales dropped by 7 percent in 1974.[73] The impact of the boycott was not only on Gallo's business but on the overall national consumption of grapes and wines. At the first grape boycott in the late 1960s, annual per capita grape consumption fell from 3.2 pounds per person in 1966 to two pounds per person in 1971 and 1972.[74] College students particularly supported the UFW's boycott. Since they had been the major consumers of Gallo's "pop" wines, or dessert wines more generally, such as Thunderbird, the company saw a dramatic decline in these high-profit sales.[75] "That's when Ernest organized a special group of his salesmen," recalled a former Gallo sales trainer. "These were trainees out of Los Angeles who were closest in age to the students. They

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[72] "Wine and Roses," *The Wall Street Journal*.
[73] Hawkes, *Blood and Wine*, 267.
[74] "UFW: Strawberries, Mushrooms," *Rural Migration News* 7, no.1 (January 2001), http://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=484_0_3_0.
[75] Hawkes, *Blood and Wine*, 191. See also J. E. Seagram and Sons, "College Students' Drinking Patterns and Preferences," June 1969; "Youth Drinking Habits, California," August 1970; and "Youth Drinking Habits, Metro New York and New Jersey," September 1970, Seagram, HML. Thunderbird was introduced in 1957 for sixty cents a quart and became extremely popular especially among college students. Although Thunderbird was undoubtedly one of Gallo's early marketing successes, it also contributed to the company's down-market image. By 1989, in the face of public concern over alcoholism and internal family pressure, Gallo had asked distributors not to sell its flavored fortified wines to retailers in low-income neighborhoods.

were assigned to visit college campuses to explain the Gallo position and urge students not to boycott our wine."[76] Despite the company's effort, during the 1975 graduation ceremonies, students at the University of California at Berkeley held a public "trial" and convicted Ernest and Julio Gallo and Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters, of "crimes against the people."[77] The direct impact of these student actions on the national market is not clear. Nor is it known whether they began drinking table wines instead of "pop" wines. Nevertheless, directly or indirectly, this local student support for the union and their rejection of Gallo's pop wines were parts of the national trend of decreasing popularity of dessert wines.

In 1975, Gallo announced that it wanted to join the UFW in pressuring the new governor, Jerry Brown, to enact the farm labor bill, which the former governor Ronald Reagan had steadfastly opposed. The historic California Agricultural Labor Relations Act passed in June 1975, ten years after the Delano grape strike began. For the first time, farm workers in the United States were granted the rights that industrial and service workers had received under New Deal federal law in the 1930s.[78] In February 1978, Chavez declared an end to the Gallo boycott.[79]

The UFW's strikes and boycott subverted the images of table wines that popular culture had created through wine ads, songs, and movies. The labor struggle also revealed working and living conditions of farm workers who had been idealized and heroized in a public image. Through their political actions, the UFW presented an alternative signification of taste. Wine companies increasingly advertised their products by emphasizing wine drinking as the development of taste. Meanwhile, farm workers, or specifically the union, also approached to

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[76] Hawkes, *Blood and Wine*, 267.
[77] *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 7, 1974, quoted by Hawkes, *Blood and Wine*, 267.
[78] Shaw, *Beyond the Fields*, 3, 49.
[79] Pinney, *A History of Wine* (2005), 350.

middle-class consumers, asking them to purchase specific brands, including Paul Masson and the Christina Brothers, and not to buy Gallo. By publicizing the winery's "union busting," the UFW indicated that purchasing Gallo wine was not a legitimate, honorable decision to make for consumers. Taste for wine in this mass consumer society did not mean a preference for wine in general. Rather, civilized and sophisticated taste was largely based on the selection of particular brands as well as awareness of labor struggles and the capitalist mode of wine production. In this regard, corporate capitals and elite class as well as grape laborers constantly constructed and reconstructed wine culture and a meaning of taste. Depending on social and economic conditions, consumers also participated in the negotiation of taste making by consuming and not consuming a certain brands and goods.

Back to the Global Stage

"California defeated all Gaul." On June 7, 1976, *Time* magazine correspondent George Taber reported the triumph of California wines at the Paris Wine Tasting in his article, entitled as "Judgment of Paris."[80] At this blind tasting contest of chardonnay and cabernet sauvignon from France and California, California wines rated best in each category. Although Taber's article was the first to report the American victory in the United States, even two weeks after the actual event, the magazine allotted only less than a quarter of a page to the news without any photograph. Despite of the small coverage, the article seemingly had an impact on its readers. The day after Taber's story appeared in *Time*, "something unusual" happened at Acker Merrall & Condit, "America's oldest wine shop," in Manhattan. By noon, the store sold out of the five

[80] George M. Taber, "Judgment of Paris," *Time*, June 7, 1976: 58.

cases of wine it had from Chateau Montelena and Freemark Abbey, the two California wineries that had participated in the Paris Tasting in the white wine section. The former had ranked first and the latter winery seventh out of ten participants.[81] On the other side of the continent, by the beginning of June, 1976, Chateau Montelena had sold out all the 1,800 cases of the 1973 chardonnay, the vintage that won the contest.[82]

Like *Time*, the event did not receive wide coverage in other media. Nonetheless, Acker Merrall & Condit's "unusual" sales and Chateau Montelena's explosive hit demonstrate American middle-class consumers' interests in wine and, more importantly, the relations between taste, knowledge, and authenticity. As I argued above, many "novice" wine consumers identified taste with knowledge that they acquired from advertisements, magazines, cookbooks, newspapers, and other media. Some advertisements appealed consumers to choose wine by the brand rather than the taste and flavor, while others caricatured snobbish consumers who showed off their firsthand knowledge. Media coverage, such as Taber's *Time* article, and advertisements were important sources of wine knowledge that stimulated many readers to rush into that old wine store in Manhattan. The accumulation and implementation of knowledge were crucial in developing one's taste. The 1976 Tasting and its consequences, including the increase of California wine sales, show how knowledge and authenticity operate when consumers express and perform their tastes.

This reemergence of the wine industry in the 1970s was backed by an investment boom in California vineyards. The number of wineries in the state rose from 240 in 1970 to 550 in 1983. Large companies from outside the wine industry, including Heublein, Coca-Cola, Pillsbury,

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[81] Ibid., 213-14, 202.
[82] Frank J. Prial, "California Labels Outdo French in Blind Test," *New York Times*, June 9, 1976.

Nestle, started to invest in California wine. These large companies introduced to vineyards business strategies that focused on brands, marketing campaigns, and stable and high returns. They increasingly marketed wine as a brand product, which served as a marker for consumers to judge the quality of wine.[83] With financial investment, intensive marketing, and technological advancement, winemaking became a huge enterprise by the late 1970s. Wine companies' marketing strategies that promoted certain brands and employed easy-to-understand labels and wine names not only expanded the domestic wine market but also recreated the image of wine and wine-drinking culture.

Conclusion

The American wine market changed dramatically in the late 1960s and 1970s. The most obvious shift was the rise in the proportion of "table wine" at the expense of "dessert wine." This reflected a shift in society's understanding of wine drinking, which in turn drove wine consumption upwards. American wines also regained an international reputation. Technological development, the expansion of wine enterprises, popular interest in French culture, and the rise of social and cultural movements contributed to the reimagination of wine-drinking during this period. Winemakers and wine connoisseurs played a critical role in reinventing the image of wine from cheap alcoholic beverages to sophisticated, natural, and a fine accompaniment for food. Such images were in turn adopted, appropriated, and reproduced in particular historical and social conditions, including the growth of international travel, conflicts between grape growers and the wine industry, and consumers' resistance to mass conformity. Wine served as a kind of

[83] Colman, *Wine Politics*, 70-71.

cultural capital, informing both wine's popular image and people's knowledge of wine at social and individual levels. Consumption of wine came to indicate social distinctions, such as race, gender, and economic positions while according consumers new forms of status through consumption. The production, marketing, and consumption of wine, like other consumer products, have social and cultural consequences. In the case of wine, it became a symbol of social status, and a re-inforcer of social and class divisions, in the United States.