« WINE ROUTES »:

A COLLECTIVE BRAND TO BUILD A WINE REPUTATION ON THE BASIS OF TERROIR AND LANDSCAPES.

THE CASE OF LANGUEDOC ROUSSILLON, MENDOZA AND WESTERN CAPE

« LES ROUTES DES VINS »:

CONSTRUIRE COLLECTIVEMENT LA REPUTATION DES VINS EN COMMUNIQUANT SUR LES TERROIRS ET LEURS PAYSAGES.

LE CAS DU LANGUEDOC ROUSSILLON, DU WESTERN CAPE ET DE MENDOZA.

Emilie VANDECANDELAERE, ENESAD INRA SAD <u>vandecan@ensam.inra.fr</u> UMR Innovation 2 Place Viala 34060 Montpellier cedex2

Joachim EWERT,
Department of Sociology,
Private bag XI Matieland 7602
University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, South Africa

JWE@SUN.AC.ZA

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ABSTRACT

In the wine sector, prompted by changes in consumption and international trade, mass wine production is being transformed into a quality wine system. Improving the wine quality and establishing its reputation are based on the valorisation of territorial resources - geographic (terroir, landscape, ecosystem) and human (savoir faire, culture). This process can be traced through the construction of "wine routes". Indeed, the emerging "wine routes" in Languedoc Roussillon, Mendoza (Argentina) and the Western Cape (South Africa) are contributing to the process of "zoning", by organising an itinerary inside the area of appellation, through the production of quality wines associated with local landscapes and specific production practices.

This paper analyses the relation between the establishment of « wine routes » and zoning issues, in both Old and New World wine regions. In Languedoc Roussillon, Mendoza as well as the Western Cape, we investigate the reciprocal relations between wine routes and the valorisation of zoning. Flowing from this analysis we present a typology of wine routes based on their relation to territorial resources.

RESUME

Le marché international du vin est désormais tourné vers la qualité et les vignobles de vin de masse se transforment pour construire la qualité et la réputation de leurs produits. Cette construction s'appuie notamment sur la valorisation de ressources territoriales de nature physique (terroir, paysage, écosystème) et humaine (savoir faire, culture, patrimoine...). Les « Routes des Vins » sont des exemples concrets de ces processus de «territorialisation », combinant ces ressources territoriales pour communiquer sur l'ancrage géographique et la spécificité des vins. Les « Routes des Vins » émergentes, observées dans les régions vitivinicoles en transition vers la qualité, en Languedoc Roussillon, à Mendoza (Argentine) et au Western Cape (Afrique du Sud), participent souvent à la valorisation des terroirs, en organisant un itinéraire sur le territoire associé, en faisant découvrir les vins « de qualité », les paysages, les pratiques et le savoir faire associés à leur élaboration.

Cette communication propose d'analyser les relations entre les «Routes des Vins » observées dans ces trois régions de «l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde » et la valorisation des terroirs viticoles. Nous montrons d'abord l'importance que prennent les routes des vins, associées au tourisme viticole dans la construction de la réputation des vins. Ensuite, nous analysons la double relation entre les routes des vins et le zonage viti-vinicole. Nous présentons enfin différents types de routes des vins selon leurs relations au territoire.

INTRODUCTION

In the face of increasing international competition, old and new world wine regions have to differentiate their production and market them as "quality wines" and as part of the development of wine tourism (DOWLING and GETZ 2001). In the innovative process towards quality wine production, relations to geographic space are evolving and being reinforced. This "territorialisation" (TOUZARD 2000) of the vineyard is particularly relevant in former mass production wine regions which find themselves in the transformation towards quality wine systems. The valorisation of territorial resources-geographic such as terroir, landscape, ecosystem, and human such as traditions, savoir faire etc.-, needs a local organisation that shapes collective actions with regard to territory, as illustrated by the appellation system which depends on terroir studies, delimitation, definition of "traditional practices" and rules (SYLVANDER 1998). "Wine routes" and other wine tourism projects can be important vehicles in the process of territorial valorisation (CAMBOURNE, HALL et al. 2000), especially where the appellation concept is not sufficiently developed. Different territorial resources are combined with the aim of building both the reputation of the territory and of the wine, offering to the consumer a composite "basket of goods" (PECQUEUR 2000). Our observations in Languedoc Roussillon, the Western Cape and Mendoza illustrate the inter-relations between "wine routes" and the valorisation of zoning: on the one hand, a wine route needs to learn its specific terroir (i.e. make a contribution towards zoning) and on the other, the valorisation of zoning can support the marketing of the wine route. Different types of wine routes can be distinguished, depending on these relations

TERRITORY REPUTATION AND WINE ROUTES

Although most people have an understanding of the concept "wine route", a commonly agreed definition does not exist, nor does it have a universal juridical meaning. Each wine

¹ Nevertheless some legal definition does exist, such as in Italy, where the Tuscany region gave legal status to its wine route as a rural development tool. This was later recognised by the national government. On this basis,

route can be considered a unique product resulting from collective action implemented by its members. A wine route results from collective, local organisation aimed at the promotion of a wine producing area attracting consumers, thus contributing to the global phenomenon of wine tourism.

Wine routes: a collective tool for wine tourism and geographic marketing

International competition in the quality wine markets and the intensification of global competition for tourists are occurring at the same time (DOWLING and GETZ 2001). This kind of synergy between wine and tourism can exist, as both products are differentiated on the basis of regional identity. 'The identification of wine regions has a direct impact on tourism because of the inter relationships that may exist in the overlap of wine and destination promotion and the accompanying set of economic and social linkages" (HALL, JOHNSON et al. 2000). Reciprocally, viticulture is a way to develop tourism in uneconomic areas, on the basis of resources such as identical landscape, life style etc. The conjunction between wine and tourism is an opportunity for creating a competitive advantage through niche marketing, requiring new partnerships and joint marketing efforts.

Wine tourism is becoming especially important in the development of new wine producing regions. In this regard different definitions are being proposed, mostly focused on the consumer: "Wine tourism involves visits to the vineyard, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows for which wine tasting and/or the experiencing of a wine region are the prime motivating factors" (HALL et al 2000). However, different perspectives exist, depending on the type of actor, (e.g. consumer, tourist agencies or wine producers). "Wine tourism is simultaneously: a form of consumer behaviour, a strategy by which destinations develop and market wine related attractions and imagery and a marketing opportunity for wineries to educate and to sell their products directly to consumers" (DOWLING and GETZ 2001).

Although the construction of a wine route's reputation is difficult to measure, different ways can be identified. Firstly, the wine route concept favours a specific relation between the producer and the consumer that participates in the collective reputation of the territory. this reputation permits higher prices with a 'territorial rent' (PECQUEUR 1995). Secondly, the wine tourism experience increases brand awareness and loyalty (people who have tasted wine in the cellar buy it afterwards). Conversely, the producer can be informed directly about consumer demand and improve his wine variety. Wine routes also increase consumer exposure through a variety of signalling tools and educational opportunities (e.g. educating people about the unique character of the region). Finally, wine routes can have a positive impact on the region as a whole, by attracting tourists, residents, journalists or investors. All economic sectors can take advantage of the dynamics of the wine sector.

wine routes are on their way to being defined by the European network of wine producing regions (AREV). FROCHOT uses a very common definition of wine routes: "A wine route consists of a (or several) designated itinerary through the wine region which is thematically sign-posted as well as being marketed and interpreted via a free leaflet and map, which notes the different vineyards and winemakers and provides information on sites of historical and other interest. Beyond the production of a leaflet to guide and inform the visitors along the route, pictographic road signs are also created which utilise specific logos to guide the visitors" (FROCHOT 2000).

The growing reputation of wine routes observed

The history of the Franschhoek valley in the Western Cape illustrates the inter-relations between a territory's reputation, wine activities and economic development. The Huguenot families that fled France and settled in the Cape at the time of Dutch colonisation in the 17th century, established vineyards in the Franschhoek valley. However, it was not a prosperous community until 1967. At that stage descendants of the Huguenots built a monument and a museum, both of which started to attract tourists. Soon after this a few private cellars were built and more vineyards planted. An association of wine estates called "the Vignerons de Franschhoek" organised themselves into a wine route, developing relations with the tourist office and local restaurants. "From being a very small wine producing ward, turning out less than 5% of the South African production, Franschhoek started about 10 years ago to attract some of the big names and large investments were made in the vineyards: 20 of the 21 cellars in the valley were built or radically increased" (VILLIERS 2000). Today Franschhoek is "one of the most popular wine routes" especially for international visitors, representing a collective brand for "high priced premium wines", and famous restaurants (a total of 30 famous establishments, with 5 in the South African top 100) (VILLIERS 2000).

The story of the Stellenbosch region in Western Cape also illustrates these links. A study of the Chief Directorate agriculture of the Western Cape shows the impact of this wine route on economic development (NOWERS, VILLIERS et al. 2002). Since its establishment in 1971, on the idea of the Burgundy one, numerous places have been developed, for instance guest houses (700 beds) coffee shops, pubs and restaurants. Stellenbosch has also seen the biggest increase in the number of estates of all wine regions. Stellenbosch represents 11% South Africa's total wine producing area, but is responsible for 70% of all the awards won by local wines on local and international competitions (JOWE 2002).

The relation between resurgence of the wine industry and development of wine tourism is quite prevalent, especially in the new world (CAMBOURNE, HALL et al. 2000). However, in old wine regions like Languedoc Roussillon, we can observe the same phenomenon. For example the growth of tourism in the Camargue has allowed the local wine sector to develop the "door cellar" market and to make known the collective brand of "Vin des Sables". In some more isolated appellation areas in the northwest of Languedoc Roussillon, wine routes are seen as a tool to simultaneously develop the reputation and tourism, benefiting to the bcal economy.

In the Corbières territory (AOC wine producing area of 350 cellars, 700 000Hl of wine), formerly characterised by mass wine, the "syndicat de cru de Corbières" is strongly involved in tourism development to promote the local wines and create economic development. In 1991, it organised the "Corbières wine route", sign-posting the territory and encouraging the cellars to create tasting rooms. In June 1999 it created an association "Tourisme Vigneron en Corbières-méditerranées" with the guesthouse organisation "Relais départemental des gîtes de France". Joined by the "syndicat de cru de Fitou" and other local institutions, the association developed structures and promotional material to make the territory attractive. Different "quality conventions" are contracted between public and private actors in order to guarantee sustainable development. This kind of organisation is being developed in the neighbouring territories.

In Argentina, the links between wine route and reputation development are less visible, due to the recent emergence of these organisations. South America was formerly known as a bulk producer of mass wine (CAMBOURNE *et al.* 2000), and tourism started to assume a degree of importance for exports because of the role of international tourism in creating brand awareness and market exposure. Even if some cellars have been involved in wine tourism for

a long time, such as the cellar La Rural with its wine museum (established in 1945), most wine routes in the Mendoza Province (responsible for 70% of national production), have only emerged together with the recent tourism development since few years – all this in the general context of liberalisation and the international opening of the Argentine economy since 1990 (Lascano 2001). The first wine route, "los Caminos del Vino", was established in Mendoza in 2001. It includes 20 cellars in the historic wine producing areas around the capital, more specifically in the municipalities of Lujan de Cuyo and Maipu. In Mendoza, well known for its proximity to the Andes Mountains, most of the tourists visiting the city, also visit the cellars nearby. According to the tourism secretary of the provincial government, 80% of city visitors go on to visit cellars, representing about 750 000 visits (in 2000). The number of visitors varies from a few hundred to several thousand a year (of 19 cellars researched, 6 receive more than 10 000 visitors a year, another 4 between 1000 and 10 000 per year). Unfortunately the actual economic conditions have hampered the projects in their efforts to achieve their objectives. Nevertheless, this project has been complimented by other efforts on the part of public and private actors to develop wine in order to enhance the reputation of the territory and to develop the local economy. Specifically developed by public actors, at a national level with the Rural Tourism program of the tourism secretary, and managed locally in Mendoza by the agriculture and tourism sub-secretaries and Development Rural Institute (IDR), the "alimentary routes" aim to organise quality production and to promote direct sales of different local producers, some of them being wine producers, through four itineraries.

Therefore, to a varying degree, in regions of both the old and the new world that find themselves in the transition towards quality, wine routes are being developed in order to develop the territory's reputation - something that will bring economic benefit to local people at both at the individual and collective level. Both wine routes and the process of zoning hinge on a reputation based on origin.

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN WINE ROUTES AND ZONING

The links between terroir and zoning

Due to a certain symbolism and a natural agronomic link to the terroir, wine is "one of those rare commodities which is branded on the basis of its geographical origin" (HALL et al, 2000). In wine production sector, the concept of "terroir" mostly denotes the agronomic potential (based on topography, climate geology and soil) reflected in the characteristics of the product. A terroir is then defined as a complex of natural environmental factors that enable the specificity of a wine to be identified by its origin. In other cases it can be associated with the landscape (ROBINET 1996; SALETTE 1996), and even traditional social practices (BRODHAG 2000).

Zoning represents a tool to identify the terroir and make it a territorial resource, on the basis of soil studies, mapping and choice of boundaries. We can distinguish two ways of zoning, based either on micro or macro scale studies of the effect of terroir. Micro scale studies correspond mostly to individual practices in order to determine the suitability of the land for a specific cultivar, assisting the producer in the cultivar and rootstock selection, the irrigation design and scheduling of soil and crop management. The macro scale studies permit to identify regional specificity and can be made at a collective level, such as through a wine route organisation. Thus, the terroir studies are a base to combine wine landscapes and the appropriate technical practices in the appellation system especially in Europe. In the Western Cape, soil scientists are favourable to implement of terroir studies to provide a scientific basis

for the demarcation of areas of origin based on the terroir concept (CAREY, ARCHER et al. 2001).

Wine routes' contribution to zoning

Wine routes, as a club of producers, need frontiers: "The concept of a bounded space is vital to the idea of a wine route since it defines for wine-producing members an identity that proclaims unique attributes for their wines and cultural heritage" (PRESTON-WHYTE 2000). Zoning identifies the terroir and the associated boundaries that the wine route can mobilise. Conversely, the presence of a wine route reinforces the learning about terroir and zoning.

In South Africa, terroir studies have been conducted since 1991, supported by Winetech. However, the current demarcation, divided into four categories (region, district, ward and estate²) is mostly based on macro geographical features and the "land type" of a ward, (SAAYMAN 2001) with few terroir studies. The foundation for the demarcation process was already laid in 1973, when a "wine of origin" scheme was introduced on the request of the wine estates. The wine routes are organised at the level of district or ward and further enhance the zoning by promoting knowledge about terroir. For example, the Robertson wine route ordered zoning studies at a "meso scale", i.e. at a collective level for several farms that are members of the wine route. In some cases, the establishment of the wine route precedes the introduction of an appellation. For example, producers in the Helderberg area within the Stellenbosch district have organised their own wine route with the objective of applying for a separate demarcation.

In Languedoc Roussillon, most of the wine routes and other wine tourism projects are supported by the local wine organisation in charge of the appellation and the area zoning according to "syndicat de cru" or "syndicat de vin de pays". For example, the Saint Chinian syndicat de cru is developing zoning tools for its appellation area, i.e. mapping the different soil units for a future wine crop management system and ordering a "landscape diagnostic".

Mendoza may represent an exception in this regard, due to the weakness of the *Denominación de Origen* structures (Lujan de Cuyo and San Rafael in the Mendoza province), created in the 80s but not firmly organised and used. Nevertheless, Valle de Uco and Lujan de Cuyo, two of the three areas included in the wine route "Caminos del Vino" (initiated by *Bodegas de Argentina*, the organisation defending the interest of the quality wine producers), have been studied by scientists at the national agricultural research institute (INTA) (CATANIA and MONTE 1988;) LABORDE 1988), (TACCHINI, PIZZI *et al.* 2000) and identified as a suitable and specific terroir (in particular for the Malbec cultivar).

The promotion of zoning by wine routes

In the New World, zoning valorisation is quite recent. The pertinence of the appellation system in international competition can be controversial, since the link between quality and terroir is not only an objective matter, (SALETTE 1996) but also at a juridical one, carrying with it the risk of protectionism when rules are established (VALCESCHINI 1998).

Nevertheless, in both the old world with its appellation system, and more recently in new world wine countries with their brand and cultivar strategy, origin and vine adaptation to terroir is a tool for differentiation and potentially beneficial for exports (COUDERC and

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² See Annex for the appellation system in force in the Western Cape.

FORT 2000; COELHO and RASTOIN 2001). In both contexts terroir is increasingly valorised: "There is a growing interest in the origin of wines...and the identification of terroir units is an important step in meeting the consumer challenge and penetrate an important market" (CAREY et al. 2001). This trend is part of the international development in the direction of geographic indication (JUBAN and TINLOT 1998; TAYLOR 2000). Against this background, it seems necessary to reinforce the zoning process by communicating it, and to associate to the soil and climate conditions that characterise the zoning, some other elements that the consumer can experience, e.g., the landscape as the visible part of the soil characteristic (SCHEFFER and RONCIN 1998).

In this context, the wine route can add further value to zoning, and make it more accessible to the new consumers. The wine route presents the whole territory in its different aspects to the consumer and has to make it coherent, explaining the links between the specificity and quality of wine on the one hand and the terroir associated with landscapes and practices on the other. Offering a composite basket of goods and services (e.g. wine tasting, landscape, history) the wine route represents a way of transforming a "trust characteristic" of the wine (i.e. something that can't be verified), into an "experience characteristic" (something one can verify after buying the wine) (VALCESCHINI 1998). The consumer can't verify the origin by drinking the wine, but can experience it through a visit to the region.

The collective geographic marketing of the wine route allows the actors to make promote the specificity of wine by promoting the specificity of landscapes, associated with the pedoclimatic characteristics. Each wine route "sells" its particular area. "Each route seeks to articulate a distinctive set of attributes that endows it with a distinctive "trademark" (PRESTON-WHYTE 2000). Therefore, a wine route, through its different territorial resources, can be seen as an informal (i.e. not institutionalised) "quality signal" (LACROIX, MOLLARD et al. 2000).

However, in some cases the combination of wine and other territorial resources into a "basket of goods" is also a way to avoid a decline of prices, as illustrated in the case of Nyons wine in France (MOLLARD and PECQUEUR 2001).

DIFFERENT TYPES OF WINE ROUTES AND THEIR LINK TO TERRITORY

Wine routes represent a collective and geographic brand that is used to a greater or lesser degree depending on the type of actors. In Languedoc Roussillon wine producers use a "terroir strategy" (FORT and COUDERC 2001), based on different demarcated areas (CHAMPAGNOL 1996). A number of wine routes are being built on this basis, responding to an increasing local wine market. In the Western Cape, although situated in the New World, local actors are increasingly orientated towards exports, especially the Anglo-Saxon markets. Here actors have used wine routes for a long time (since 1971), benefiting both the tourist market and territorially demarcated areas. In Mendoza, most of actors involved in quality wine production are national or international investors, focused on local production without strong territorial links, but investing in individual brands and cultivars instead. Wine tourism is important for the international firms, but wine routes that require collective co-ordinations are not yet developed on the basis of terroir. As a result this concept is virtually unknown amongst consumers as yet.

Different types of wine routes can be found in each region, depending on the actors involved and their relations to their territory. Four types have been distinguished (VANDECANDELAERE and TOUZARD 2001), according to their internal organisation

(degree of exclusivity or the condition for entry) and the extent to which territorial resources (i.e. human and geographic) get valorised.

The "brands route" represent a network not specifically anchored in its territory and where the objectives are more individualised. "Los Caminos del Vino" in Mendoza is an example of this type, with zoning not being valorised for the wine route. We can find this type in every region where the territory (and its resources such as terroir) is not a collective project.

The "label route" corresponds to a global label given to all cellars that want to take part, without selective conditions for entering the "club". Also, there is no strong member involvement or collective action to mobilise territorial resources. For example "Route 62", crosses different wine regions in the Western Cape (Paarl, Wellington, Tulbagh, Worcester, Robertson and klein Karoo) from west to east (Cape Town to Port Elizabeth). The "Balades en Vin de pays" in Languedoc Roussillon, illustrate also this type where there is no geographic boundary in the area valorisation.

The "terroir route" represents a quality oriented, selective organisation based on terroir which is strongly valorised as a key element of wine quality. It is represented by the first wine route initiatives in Languedoc Roussillon, supported by the *Syndicat de Cru*, one of their legal functions being "to valorise the terroir". They not only developed the studies and applications for zoning, but also encouraged the better wine cellars to open tasting rooms and to publicise the local terroir. The "Chemin des Schistes" ("schiste route") is another example, shared by three "syndicat de cru" (Faugères, Saint Chinian, Coteau du Languedoc). This wine route is directly linked to its specific terroir.

The "terroir wine route" seems to evolve into a "territorial route" where actors other than those from the wine sector are involved. They do this in order to mobilise new territorial resources for the promotion of not only wine products, but the territory as a whole. In the Western Cape, the distinction between the two is based on the degree of collective action. Some wine routes aim at marketing only the demarcation area (e.g. Stellenbosch, Constantia, or Durbanville), while others also lend social and technical assistance to the producers in the process of the transition towards quality. For instance, in the case of Robertson a vehicle was created in the form of the "Valley of Roses" association or in the case of Paarl with its "Red Route". In Languedoc Roussillon, the wine routes are evolving from a simple organisation for the sake of sign posting or the marketing of the terroir, to an association for the promotion of tourism and the valorisation of additional resources (e.g. landscapes, ecosystems, patrimony) In all this the process is aided by public policies in the form of "territorial contract for exploitation" (CTE)).

In the case of the territorial type, wine routes are seen as "a suitable network for co-operation projects between public and private enterprises and associations, in tourism and wine industries in encouraging regional development and job creation" (HALL, JOHNSON *et al.* 2000). Effective co-ordination between different actors - private and public - and across different sectors, is a key factor in the viability and success of collective action. If set up effectively, wine routes can facilitate production links, exchanging know how and market intelligence, jointly train employees, develop research capacity and new markets and share equipment and infrastructure.

CONCLUSION

Wine routes are networks oriented towards the valorisation of territorial resources, more specifically the terroir. This collective form of wine tourism holds advantages for regions involved in the transition towards quality production. They can build a reputation of "quality" through the combination of three objectives: tourism, cellar door sales and product brand promotion. In this process, zoning as a base for demarcation and appellation is a tool for building the wine route. Reciprocally the wine route participates in the learning process and the promotion of the demarcated terroir. Depending on the type of actors involved and their relation to the territory, we can distinguish between four types of wine routes, essentially differing from one another with regard the objective of branding – collective or individual.

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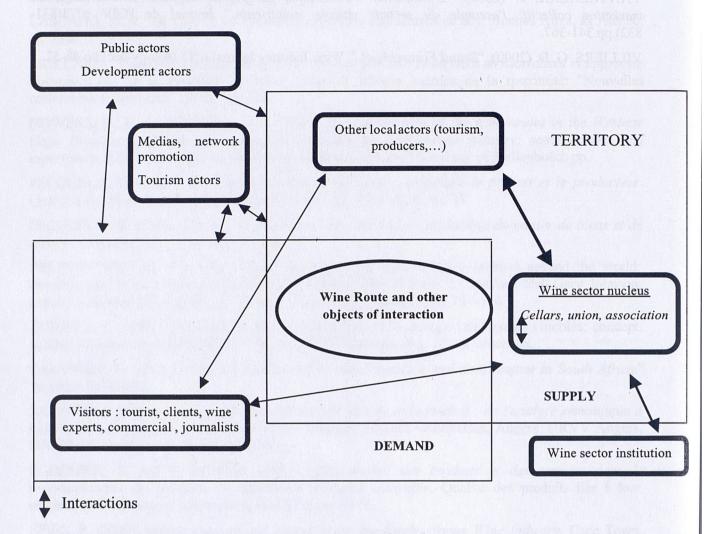
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The wine route structure of co-ordination



Objects of interaction in the wine route

Туре	Object	Status
Principal	"Wine Route"	"basket of goods" built by interactions
Tool, support	Leaflet	Private
	Roads Signs	Private, public
	Communication (internet, radio)	Private Public
Elemental components: Territorial resource	Physical resource landscape, ecosystem terroir,	Collective, public
	Human resources savoir faire, history, culture	Collective, public

Demarcation in South Africa

In South Africa, wine areas were demarcated in response to a request to by wine farmers to the Minister of Agriculture in 1969. Wine producers who started to market their wines on their own estate instead of delivering grapes to the co-operative, wanted to institute control over the specifications and quality of their product. As a result, a "wine of origin" control system was in put place in order to certify vintage origin and cultivar (for the first time in 1973). Certification is only for "wines of origin", i.e. wines made under strict control - from the crushing of the grapes to the making of the final product.

Certification is done for areas of varying size. The smallest is the "estate", corresponding to few adjacent farms. The next biggest unit is the "ward", thereafter the "district" and lastly the "region". In Western Cape there are 4 regions, 11 districts, 42 wards and 92 estates. The biggest geographical unit all regions. For instance, "Western Cape" includes all wine districts except those of the Northern Cape, Northwest Province and the Free State.

The current basis for demarcation evolved out of the dispensation of statutory control (SPIES 2000), and not as a *terroir* based system for quality wine production. The demarcation system is evolving through amendments by experts (soil scientists viticulturists and oenologists) of the Wine and Spirit Board. Increasingly these experts take *terroir* specificity into account as the scientific basis of the new demarcation.

The current demarcation, rather administrative in the case of region and district, corresponds to macro geographical features like mountain ranges, rivers and broad climatic regions, while the ward takes into account various factors: soil and climate, existing cultural practices and the traditional name of the area (VAN-NIEKERK 2000). The demarcation of an estate is based on the "land type" concept, unique to South Africa and proposed by MACVICAR in 1974 (SAAYMAN 2001). It is defined as "a class of land over which the macroclimate, the terrain form and the soil pattern each displays a market degree of uniformity".