
The Taste for the Particular: A Logic of Discernment in an Age of Omnivorousness

Jennifer Smith Maguire

Citation

Smith Maguire, J. (2015) The taste for the particular: A logic of discernment in an age of omnivorousness. Pre-publication version. *Leicester Research Archive*.

This is a pre-publication version of an article that will appear (forthcoming) in *Journal of Consumer Culture*. The final, published version has further revisions and is shorter. Where possible, please cite from the final article.

Abstract

This article provides an analysis of two leading specialist wine magazines, *Decanter* and *Wine Spectator*, and the codification and legitimation of a 'taste for the particular.' Such media of connoisseurship are key institutions of evaluation and legitimation in an age of omnivorousness, but are often overlooked in research that foregrounds the agency of tasters and neglects the conventionalization of tasting norms and devices. The wine field has undergone a process of democratization typical of omnivorousness more broadly: former elite/low boundaries (operationalized in the paper through the Old/New World dichotomy) are ignored, and a discerning attitude is encouraged for wines from a diversity of regions. Drawing on the magazines' audience profile and market position data, and a content analysis of advertising and editorial content from 2008 and 2010, I examine the differences in the use of four legitimation frames (transparency, heritage, genuineness and external validation) for the provenance elements of Old and New World wines. The analysis suggests that the Old World—typically French—notion of *terroir*, on which the traditional Old/New World boundary rested, has been democratized through the particularities of provenance. Yet, the analysis also reveals continuing differences between the two categories (including greater emphasis on the heritage and external validation of Old World context of production, and on the transparency and genuineness of New World producers), and the preservation of established hierarchies of taste through the application of *terroir* to New World wines, which retain the Old World and France as their master referent.

Keywords

Authenticity, democratization, distinction, legitimacy, provenance, taste, *terroir*, wine

Introduction

Reviews written for high status consumers provide an ideal entry point for examining the practice of discernment, and a critical opportunity for considering gaps in our current conception of taste and its reproduction. Such reviews suggest that 'good taste' today is far from straightforward. Serious critical appreciation is directed at what was once *déclassé*, as when a music critic reviews a heavy metal album: 'guitars are detuned so low that they sound like they're going backward...: a gorgeous mid-range rumble that is soothing despite its obvious fury' (Frere-Jones, 2005: 26). Transgressions of boundaries of taste are treated to knowing celebration, as when a restaurant reviewer praises a grilled-cheese sandwich (made with Calabro mozzarella, miso mayonnaise and ridged potato chips) as 'a peerless balance between high and low' or cheddar, bacon and foie gras on a toasted waffle as the 'most intrepid white-glove/white-trash combo' (Paumgarten, 2011: 16). And, the mundane and prosaic are elevated to the status of the authentic and covetable, as when a fashion reviewer reports on men's 'heritage' casual wear, including £721 reproductions of early 20th century work boots: 'Recreated faithfully out of cordovan equine leather, it's a standout design for spring' (O'Flaherty, 2012: 74).

Such media reports are part of a contemporary taste pattern broadly referred to as 'cultural omnivorosity': a configuration of preferences that ignores traditional elite/low cultural divides and brings a discerning attitude to bear on multiple genres (Peterson, 2005; Peterson and Kern, 1996). This ostensible democratization of taste via the validation of the formerly lowbrow can also be found in the wine field, as a recent review (Beckett, 2014: 75) of Turkish wine suggests:

There was a time when you couldn't have sold a Turkish wine...for love or money...because people would have been embarrassed to put it on the table. These days, however, it seems to be a question of the weirder the wine, the better; and if only one barrel has been made, better still.

As even a casual reading of newspaper wine columns reveals, old assumptions about quality wine production no longer hold in an age of omnivorosity. Yet, the suggestion that 'the weirder, the better' is misleading: not all wines (or forms of weirdness) are equally legitimate. Democratization may change the stakes and strategies, but not the game of distinction; the need for logics of discernment persist. If wine is any indication, one such logic in today's marketplace is that of particularization: the minutiae of provenance (where, how, by whom, when an object was produced) have become a device for distinguishing what counts as good taste.

In this article, I aim to develop the understanding of the cultural production of taste. I part company with the typical approach to studying omnivorous taste, for which the unit of analysis has been individual tasters' participation in or knowledge of discrete genres of cultural activities. Such an approach is problematic on two fronts. First, as the above examples suggest, the practice of taste lies as much in differentiating within, as it does between, genres (Wright, 2015). It is on the basis of the specific details of provenance (detuned guitars, miso mayonnaise, equine leather, single barrel production) rather than the genre per se (heavy metal music, white trash cooking, work boots, Turkish wine) that judgements of taste are made. Second, taste is as—or more—likely to be enacted as semi-automatic practice as it is a matter of conscious deliberation (Warde, 2014). Yet, the sociological understanding of the practice of taste lacks sufficient attention to the creation and conventionalization of norms and devices that reproduce hierarchies through habitual judgements of taste. As such, my concern is with the construction of a *logic* of taste and specifically, the codification and legitimation of a 'taste for the particular.'

Support for my discussion is drawn from the field of wine. Fine wine is an elaborately stratified cultural field with a well-developed infrastructure of evaluation, and a global array of expert assessors, award competitions and specialist publications producing and circulating conventions for ranking quality and assigning prestige (Allen and Germov, 2010; Karpik, 2010). At the same time, fine wine and its associated hierarchies of esteem have undergone democratization¹ (Howland, 2013), a process which is operationalized in this paper through an exploration of the representation of Old and New World² wines in specialist wine magazines. Historically, hierarchies of prestige in the wine field broadly conflated country of production with quality, resulting in a relatively crude Old/New World dichotomy. This categorization was legitimated through *terroir*, the French notion that a wine's quality is inextricably linked to the environment of its production, including soil, climate, topography, and the history and culture of a place (Charters, 2006). Thus, Old World—especially French—wines were superior because they 'had' *terroir*; New World wines did not. While subject to variation and contestation, the Old/New World categorization was nevertheless institutionalized via such mechanisms as pricing conventions, production regulations, wine marketing and wine education (Fourcade, 2012; Garcia-Parpet, 2008; Schamel, 2006). Within the resulting wine 'cultural world-system' (De Swaan, 1995, cited in Janssen, 2006), France was clearly at the core. That position has been eroded over time, signalled by such well-publicized events as the 1976 blind wine tasting in Paris, when French judges were shocked to have judged Californian wines to be superior to their French counterparts (Taber, 2005).

The tension between democratization and distinction makes the cultural field of wine a useful case through which to examine dynamics observed elsewhere in relation to elitist egalitarianism (Ljunggren, 2015), changing repertoires of legitimacy (Lamont, 2012; Johnson and Baumann, 2007), and emerging forms of cultural capital (Prieur and Savage, 2013). My focus is the ways in which specialist wine magazines frame Old and New World fine wines, with particular reference to wines' conditions of production (i.e. their *terroir* and provenance). Specialist wine magazines and the wider media genre of cultural review and criticism (e.g. Janssen, 2006; Janssen et al., 2008; Johnson and Baumann, 2007) are key institutions of evaluation and legitimation. Such media frame goods for, shape the perceptions of, and transmit cosmopolitan capital to a cultural and economic elite, thereby offering a window on to contemporary logics of legitimate taste.

The article proceeds with an overview of key dimensions of cultural omnivorousness research, to underline the lack of attention to the media as key legitimating institutions responsible for the cultural production of taste. I then turn to an analysis of the two leading specialist wine magazines, *Decanter* and *Wine Spectator*, drawing on audience profile and market position data for the two titles, and a content analysis of advertising and editorial content from 2008 and 2010 that examined how Old and New World wines were framed in terms of transparency, heritage, genuineness and external validation. Examining how the taste for the particular is constructed and legitimated as a logic of discernment, the discussion focuses on the capacity of these magazines to categorize and legitimate; the democratization of *terroir* through the particularities of provenance; and the preservation of established hierarchies of taste through the application of *terroir* to New World wines. In conclusion, I consider what logics of taste do and why they matter.

Taste in an Age of Omnivorousness

Examining data on US musical tastes and arts participation, Peterson and Simkus proposed in 1992 that Bourdieu's figure of the 'taste-exclusive highbrow' was obsolete. Instead, elite taste was becoming omnivorous: 'redefined as being an appreciation of the aesthetics of every distinctive form along with appreciation of the high arts' (1992: 169). Since then, research on the cultural omnivore thesis in various countries (for overviews, see Hazir and Warde, 2014; Peterson, 2005) has provided further support for the decline of univorous, highbrow snobs, the democratization of (some) previously elite practices, and the validation of (some) formerly denigrated

cultural forms (e.g. Erickson, 1996; Ollivier, 2008; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Warde et al., 2007). There is an increasingly nuanced grasp of the intertwining of democratization and distinction, and of the continued significance of boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate culture for the reproduction of social stratification, both local and global (e.g. Johnston and Baumann, 2007; Smith Maguire and Lim, 2015). Four dimensions of cultural omnivorousness research can be identified, relating to: diversity of tastes, volume of tastes, a particular discriminating disposition, and the structural factors that explain the rise of omnivorousness. Empirical research on these dimensions diminishes as one moves along the list.

The first two dimensions have received the most empirical attention: diversity of tastes ('likings that cross cultural boundaries'; Purhonen et al., 2010: 266), and volume of tastes (the 'sum of the likings of [different] genres'; Purhonen et al., 2010: 266). Partly because such operational definitions readily translate into survey instruments—and reflecting contemporary governmental priorities around measuring and managing cultural capital (Wright, 2015)—such research has been disproportionately quantitative in approach (Hazir and Warde, 2014). Research focusing on diversity and volume of tastes as individual-level attributes has revealed their unequal distribution within populations, along the lines of education, occupation, gender and age. For example: in Finland, highly educated older women are most likely to be omnivores (Purhonen et al., 2010); in the UK, the greatest gap in likelihood to be omnivorous occurs 'between men with the highest social status and women with the lowest' (Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010: 193). Although omnivorousness is found across the class spectrum, it is a taste repertoire that concentrates in the elite.

However, there are inevitable limitations to 'counting' tastes through blunt genre categories and frequencies. Tastes are a matter of *how*, not *what*: they are 'ways of preferring' (Daenekindt and Roose, 2014). This brings us to a third dimension of omnivorousness: a 'particular discriminating orientation towards taste' (Warde et al., 2008: 149). As Warde et al suggest, 'the omnivore might be a person who is prepared to consider the merits of any cultural artefact or genre, and who is capable of discrimination among them' (2008: 150). This omnivorous orientation is especially marked for 'professional' omnivores who 'manifest discriminating preferences for both high and popular works, and a particular knowledge of differences within, as well as across, genres' (Warde et al., 2007:153; see also Peterson and Kern, 1996). More broadly, as a growing body of work on the lived experience of elite class identities suggests, the performance of good taste is tied to particular cultural repertoires and

modes of appreciation (Holt, 1997; Jarness, 2013; Lamont, 1992; Ljunggren, 2015; Prieur and Savage; Schimpfoss, 2014).

Research on this third dimension offers significant insights as to the principles of discernment. In Bourdieu's data, distance is a central criteria: distance from the instrumental constitutes a taste of luxury, as opposed to a taste of necessity (1984: 6); distance from aesthetic conventions constitutes a taste for the difficult, as opposed to the vulgar or facile (1984: 34, 536, *passim*). Recent research has identified other such oppositional dynamics. For example, social distinction is accomplished not only through boundaries between high and low, but also between old and new/trendy (Bellavance, 2008; Taylor, 2009), modest and opulent (Daloz, 2010; Schimpfoss, 2014), and cosmopolitan and traditional (Cvetičanin and Popescu, 2011). Elite cultural capital consists not only of knowledge of highbrow culture, but of a 'knowing, distanced or verbalised, appropriation of culture' drawn from an expanded, cosmopolitan world view (Prieur and Savage, 2013: 263). Social status is reproduced not by simply liking the 'right' thing and having restricted knowledge of it, but by explicitly displaying and practicing such knowledge (Holt, 1997; Skeggs, 2001); or not simply by liking lots of things but using those likes and practices to acquire the prestige of being busy and diverse in one's tastes (Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010; Gershuny, 2005). While this research offers a tantalizing glimpse of the logics that underpin good taste, the focus generally remains on the tasters, as opposed to the conventionalization of tastes.³

The fourth dimension of research relates to the structural factors that underpin the emergence of cultural omnivorousness. Key among them is the increased tolerance of difference and scepticism towards universalist value judgements, the roots of which are tied, variously, to globalization, migration and cosmopolitanism, generational shifts, postmodernism, social mobility and the spread of liberal education (e.g. Ljunggren, 2015; Peterson, 2005; Prieur and Savage, 2013; Turner and Edmunds, 2002). Some of these factors are anticipated in Bourdieu's account (1984: 315) of the rise of the new bourgeoisie, who rejected the 'aristocratic stiffness' and social distance of their bourgeois progenitors (1984: 311), and the rise of the new petit bourgeoisie, whose 'controlled transgressions' of cultural hierarchies were attempts to 'rehabilitate and ennoble' not-yet-legitimate cultural forms, and thus monopolize them as their own (1984: 326). Increased tolerance can thus be seen as an engine for (not the death knell of) the dynamism of taste regimes through which successive groups distance themselves from their predecessors.

Another key factor is the production of a culture of abundance. The digitalization and circulation of cultural goods, global expansion and niche diversification of consumer brands, intensification of cycles of fashion and 'cool,' and legitimization of heretofore illegitimate genres (e.g. Frank, 1997; Peterson, 2005; Wright, 2015) lend themselves to the democratization of access to what was once elite, and to the valorisation of eclectic tastes as a mainstay of the economy. Central in this regard is the media. On the one hand, media are mechanisms of democratization. Advertising and mass media disseminate knowledge of elite *and* popular practices and objects of taste, collapsing the difference between mass and restricted culture (Peterson, 2005: 274; Taylor, 2009). On the other hand, elite cultural media circulate new discourses of legitimacy and conventionalize a cosmopolitan representation of good taste, as Janssen and colleagues have demonstrated with regard to arts, culture and fashion journalism (Janssen, 2006; Janssen et al., 2008). Their research not only tracks the increasingly international composition of the category of good taste (i.e. more coverage of foreign arts and culture) but suggests how such evaluative media operate as conduits for the transmission of an expansive world view, which characterises the elite (Holt, 1997).

Taking these four dimensions together, we find that the elite are most likely to be culturally omnivorous, which amounts not to indiscriminate openness (liking everything) but to a reflexive, discerning mentality applied within and across genres. Structural factors have been identified to explain omnivorousness as a new form of 'good taste,' of which the media have been central. Nevertheless, this research has yet to give the structure of taste as much attention as the agency of tasters. Warde argues that studies of consumption generally neglect the normalisation of practices and 'pay little attention to the creation of norms, standards and institutions which produce shared understandings and common procedures' (2014: 295). This is a critical gap. As Lamont notes: 'the cultural or organizational dimensions of all forms of sorting processes' are significant to the 'processes that sustain hierarchies' (2012: 202). The discourses of legitimacy reproduced in elite media effectively facilitate a classed distribution of 'repertoires of evaluation,' which in turn contribute to processes of social closure, demarcating more or less exclusive status groups on the basis of taste (Jarness, 2013: 65, *passim*). Without a grasp of the conventions of discernment, an understanding of taste is reduced to the autonomous, reflexive individual, and a charismatic ideology of culture (Bourdieu 1984: 390). This allows the institutional, conventional and habitual bases of social reproduction to remain hidden from critical view.

Thus, a better understanding of the shared logics and devices of elite, omnivorous taste is required. A necessary step involves investigations of how conventions of ‘good taste’ and cultural legitimacy are constructed through valuation and evaluative practices (Lamont, 2012). This is a marked shift away from the performances of individual tasters, towards the habitus and the ‘system of schemes of perception and appreciation’ (Bourdieu 1984: 171). Logics of taste exist independently of individuals, operating as shared and embodied frameworks for interpreting aesthetic content, and exercised as devices for making discerning judgements (cf. Calarco, 2014: 1016). Such logics and devices may guide the skills associated with enacting and performing taste (e.g. the reflexive judgement of the omnivore), but so too may they render judgements habitual and unthinking (and thus all the more powerful as a basis for social reproduction).

Democracy and Distinction in the Wine Field

The history of fine wine is characterized by long-term processes through which production and consumption were made, first, more exclusive and, more recently, more democratic. Wine has long been established as a field of connoisseurship, thanks in part to the institutionalization from the mid-18th century of systems of classification for the production of quality wine. Such classifications hinged on the designation and ranking of specific vineyards and wine-producing regions (Charters, 2006; Fourcade, 2012; Garcia-Parpet, 2008; Howland, 2013). Bound up with these classifications is the notion of *terroir*, which connotes quality by virtue of linking a wine to its particular vineyard or place. Formed through historic, economic and sociological forces, *terroir* and appellation systems more generally were devices for securing competitive advantage and monopoly rents (Fourcade, 2012; Harvey, 2002) and continue to be significant in commanding a price premium (Beckert et al., 2014). As a corollary to the construction of *terroir* as an Old World—especially French—wine product attribute, New World competitors were excluded from making related quality claims; thus, *terroir* was regarded in the New World as anti-democratic (Fourcade, 2012; Guy, 2001). This Old/New World opposition is neatly captured in a 2004 advertisement⁴ for ‘the great wines in Burgundy’ that depicts ‘John’ wistfully sniffing his wine glass:

John, the discerning New World grower, knows all about the bouquet of white Burgundy. He just can't get it in his glass. The bouquet of a truly memorable white Burgundy stems from the “terroir.” That's how wine growers in Burgundy describe the alchemy of local soil, climate and wine-making traditions that draw the best out of the Chardonnay grape. As for getting it into the glass, that's what the discerning drinker might call *savoir-faire* or know-how.

However, rather than an objective reflection of an Old World monopoly on *terroir*, the advertisement can best be understood as a defensive response to a shift in the global production and democratization of fine wine.

Howland's excellent account of the democratization of fine wine notes six interrelated structural factors that have eroded Old World monopolization of *terroir*-based quality claims since the 1970s (2013: 330-32; see also Fourcade, 2012; Garcia-Parpet, 2008). These are: varietal labelling, which reduces the need for expert knowledge of vineyards and regions; more accessible information about wine (via the web, wine clubs, classes and service personnel), which opens up access to previously elite knowledge; a proliferation of quality assurances, such as wine awards, points rankings and wine columnists, making expert guidance widely available; the emergence of more affordable entry points to fine wine, including tiered product offerings from vineyards and restaurant wine lists; greater proximity to the formerly elite spaces of wine, via winery tourism; and greater openness and ordinariness of the elite makers of wine, via media profiles and public events. At the same time, the search for competitive advantage 'entails seeking out criteria of speciality, uniqueness, originality and authenticity' (Harvey, 2002: 100), pushing New World producers to articulate their own accounts of the singularity of their products. Quality claims based on place, regionality, tradition and small-scale production methods have become increasingly common for New World wines (e.g. Pinney, 2005; Resnick, 2008), and the term *terroir* itself has been absorbed into marketing and broadened in scope to include notions of personality and identity (Charters, 2006; Fourcade, 2012). Thus, quality claims have undergone democratization in the sense that *terroir* has been joined by, or folded within, a more expansive notion of provenance that is linked to wider concerns with and desires for authenticity rooted in the particularities of production (Inglis, 2015; Smith Maguire, 2013).

If today there is no longer a pretence of a neat Old/New World divide with regard to legitimacy, wine nevertheless remains a highly stratified cultural field, making it a useful example through which to explore the tension between democratization and the reproduction of established hierarchies of distinction. My empirical entry point is drawn from the wine field's highly visible infrastructure of taste making media, which also includes the lists and tasting notes associated with wine award competitions and wine writer blogs, wine store reviews and mobile phone apps that provide detailed background information on recommended wines at a multitude of price points, and the promotional media of wineries themselves (Beckert et al., 2014). My focus is specialist wine magazines aimed at cultural elites. As Johnston and Baumann argue

regarding gourmet food magazines, such media are significant ‘legitimizing institutions with the cultural authority to bestow symbolic capital’ and frame particular goods as ‘worthy choices’ (2007: 170). Just as media forms are cited as central mechanisms of democratization (e.g. Howland, 2013; Peterson, 2005), so too do they function as mechanisms in the reproduction of distinction and construction of cultural legitimacy: such media are sites ‘for struggles...to establish specific practices as more valuable than others’ (Ollivier et al., 2008: 118). The wider implications of such media hinge on their ability to ‘extensively contextualize the meanings and motivations’ underpinning consumption practices (Johnston and Baumann, 2007: 170) and to accomplish the ‘socialization of individual desire and the redefinition of appetite in collective terms’ (Ferguson, 1998: 600). These magazines form part of the institutional infrastructure through which particular logics of taste are legitimated and circulated for adoption into the habitus of the elite.

Wine Magazines and the Taste for the Particular

My focus now turns to an analysis of how the taste for the particular is constructed through representations of Old and New World wines in *Decanter* and *Wine Spectator*, two leading specialist wine magazines. The magazines offer the benefit of focusing attention *within* the category of the legitimate to allow exploration of differences, if any, between the representation of *terroir* and provenance for what were once highbrow/lowbrow choices (i.e. for Old and New World wines). The research entailed, first, an analysis of the market positioning and readership profiles of the two magazines and, second, a content analysis of 2008 and 2010 issues of the magazines. The data for the content analysis consisted of samples of wine advertising, regular wine columns (James Laube from *Wine Spectator*, Steven Spurrier of *Decanter*), and feature articles explicitly relating to provenance or *terroir*.⁵

Provenance attributes contained in advertising and editorial content were divided into those relating to: the product (qualities of the product framed as if intrinsic to it—e.g. the wine’s style as an expression of place); the producer (e.g. winemaker, winery owner, brand); and the context of production (e.g. where a wine was produced, method or other specific details of production, such as reference to vineyard, scale of production, time of harvest). A coding schema captured how these provenance elements were represented in terms of four frames for cultural legitimacy, informed by existing literature. The first three frames (transparency, heritage, genuineness) pertain to authenticity as a meta-frame for the legitimization of omnivorous choices. Johnston and Baumann’s (2007) analysis of foodie magazines reveals four authenticity frames

through which legitimacy is constructed: geographic specificity, simplicity, personal connections and historicism. These findings dovetail with common markers associated with authenticity, including economic disinterestedness and anti-commercialism, the natural and the rural, heritage and tradition, and the local and hand-crafted rather than the mass-produced and industrialized (e.g. Beverland et al., 2008; Botterill, 2007; Fine, 2003; Zukin, 2009). Such cues are mobilized both as the frames of legitimacy for mediated representations of diverse choices and as devices for discerning between those choices. The fourth frame, external validation, pertains to legitimation devices external to the wine magazine that provide ostensibly objective guarantees for the provenance and quality of the wines. Previous research has underscored such devices as significant in the valuation of wine, including appellation designations and wine awards (Beckert et al., 2014; Garcia-Parpet, 2008; Karpik, 2010).

The analysis identified the most common frames and provenance elements within those frames (generally, those that appeared in at least 25 per cent of the advertising and wine column samples), and any significant differences in the representations of Old and New World wines.⁶ Below, I discuss three main dimensions of the magazines' codification and circulation of a logic of the taste for the particular: first, the magazines themselves as institutions of legitimation; second, the democratization of *terroir*; and third, the preservation of established hierarchies of taste via *terroir*.

Specialist magazines as legitimating institutions

Decanter, based in the UK (though half of its distribution is outside of the UK), has been published since 1975; *Wine Spectator*, based in the US, has been published since 1979. Both are widely considered to be among the most influential and widely read specialist wine magazines. These are an ideal data source for an examination of the cultural construction of logics of legitimacy for cultural omnivores, reflecting Lamont's observation (2012) of the links between categorization and legitimation in processes of valuation and evaluation.

The magazines are established categorization devices (Lamont, 2012): wines are classified as fine wine by virtue of their inclusion. This capacity to categorize wines (and wine practices, regions, makers, and so forth) rests on the already established legitimacy of the magazines themselves. Their authority as arbiters of legitimate taste is self-proclaimed (*Decanter's* tagline is 'the world's best wine magazine'; *Wine Spectator* subscription advertisements promise 'all the information you need to make a great wine purchase'), and inter-textually constructed and confirmed. The magazines' writers also serve as judges of prestigious award competitions; their

reviews are cited by retailers and other wine writers; they publish 'best of' guides that present themselves as definitive judgements of quality and value.

The production and consumption of these magazines also affirms their legitimacy as categorization devices. The magazines are written by and for the upper middle class and their aspirants. Their wine writers are cultural intermediaries and exemplar professional omnivores (Smith Maguire, 2010); their readers are the 'members of powerful and influential social groups responsible for the production of culture' (Warde et al., 2007: 150). *Decanter* and *Wine Spectator* readerships⁷ differ in terms of gender (men make up 59 per cent of *Wine Spectator* readers but 87 per cent of *Decanter*), but otherwise share the characteristics of the affluent transnational capitalist class. At least three quarters of both magazines have readers 35 years or older. Both have readerships with a majority of professional/managerial individuals with an average annual income of approximately US\$150,000, whose consumption patterns confirm their high levels of economic and cultural capital. For example, 86 per cent of *Decanter* readers have been on a wine-related holiday and 59 per cent have been on a wine course; 70 per cent of *Wine Spectator* readers have travelled outside of the US in the past three years, and at least 60 per cent claim attending live theatre, museums and attending wine and food events/festivals as passions and hobbies.

Despite their similar readerships and shared focus on fine wines, *Decanter* is more Old World-focused than *Wine Spectator*: 77 per cent of *Decanter* advertisements focus on Old World producers (compared with 48 per cent in *Wine Spectator*); and 45 per cent of Spurrier's *Decanter* columns are Old World-focused, compared with only four per cent of Laube's columns in *Wine Spectator*. Meanwhile, 54 per cent of Laube's columns, and none of Spurrier's, focus on US wines. Parallels can be drawn here with Janssen et al.'s (2008) observations regarding the inverse relationship between a country's centrality to global cultural production and the internationalization of their cultural and arts reporting, which they take as a measure of a country's 'globalization from within.' However, the lower degree of international coverage in *Wine Spectator* is not only a symptom of the ascendancy of American (especially Californian) wine making, nor is *Decanter*'s more international content simply a sign of Europe's decline and thus more pronounced cosmopolitan outlook. The content also reflects the political economy of the magazines: unlike *Wine Spectator*, *Decanter* is aimed at a UK consumer with ready access to Old World (and especially French) wines but for whom American wines are scarce and heavily burdened by import duty—the reverse of the situation for the US reader of *Wine Spectator*. Caution should thus be exercised in seeing these differences as purely an expression of cross-cultural differences in

omnivorousness (or a preserve of snobbishness in the UK). While these magazines have international readerships, their primary market is one that will set constraints upon what wine writers will write about or which wine brands will choose to advertise. This underlines the importance of focusing on the discourse of legitimacy rather than the objects (the wines) themselves. In the next two sections, I unpack how the construction of legitimacy via authenticity both democratizes the notion of *terroir*, and reasserts established hierarchies of prestige.

The democratization of terroir through the particularities of provenance

The magazines' *raison d'être* is to construct legitimacy: their value rests on their capacity to add value to (or create belief in the value of) the wines featured therein (Bourdieu 1984: 250). Central to this capacity is their role in circulating a legitimating discourse and aesthetic framework (Janssen, 2006). Authenticity is an established frame of reference for wine, especially authenticity derived from provenance attributes such as where a wine was made, by whom, when and how (e.g. Beverland and Luxton, 2005; Harvey, 2002; Inglis, 2015; Smith Maguire, 2013). Indeed, Johnston and Baumann (2007) suggest that authenticity is so prevalent in gourmet food magazines that it is a 'near-essential part of the omnivorous culinary discourse' (2007: 179). The content analysis examined the relative presence of four legitimacy frames: transparency, heritage, genuineness and external validation. All of the legitimacy frames appeared in at least some of the advertisements and articles.

The most common legitimization frame was that of transparency, found in 82 per cent of the advertising and 74 per cent of the columns. Through representations of the geographic specificity (via details of the context of production) and biographic specificity (via details of the specific producer) of a wine's provenance, wine magazines perform a crucial function in the construction of legitimacy. Common examples included mention of the specific geographic location of the winery and pictures of, or quotes from winemakers. On the one hand, the origins for particular wines come to seem known or knowable (Trubeck, 2005) and thus trustworthy and credible (Sassatelli and Scott, 2001). On the other, wine in general is reproduced as the object of intellectual and aesthetic discernment—an object for which origins matter. Moreover, transparency as a legitimizing frame offers a potentially high volume of diverse choices, thus affirming wine as a legitimate field of omnivorous taste. All wines have some form of geographic or biographic specificity, and thus all wines theoretically can, by virtue of transparency, be legitimate (whereas heritage may be more difficult to claim for newer producers, and genuineness more difficult to substantiate).

Although transparency was the most common frame, the provenance elements through which wines were framed as transparent were more and less common for Old and New World wines. In terms of a more inclusive notion of *terroir*: elements linked to geographic specificity (specific references to the context of production, such as region, country of origin, time of production, location of vineyard or winery) did not differ significantly between advertising representations of Old and New World wines. Whereas, elements linked to biographic specificity did: New World wine advertisements were far more likely to include a visual image of the producer. Similarly, feature articles focused on New World wines were more likely to discuss, quote and depict the specific winemaker or winery owner. However, there is no New World monopoly on the cult of the winemaker: wine columns did not differ with respect to discussions of biographic specificity for Old and New World. Thus, the taste for the particular involves the construction of new boundaries between the legitimate and not-yet-legitimate (from Old vs. New World wines, to geographically- and biographically-specific vs. mass, standardized wines) and the categories that sustain those boundaries (from *terroir* to provenance).

The legitimation frame of heritage was found in 35 per cent of the advertising and 39 per cent of the wine columns. By providing visual and textual information on heritage, the wine magazines add value to particular wines through links to tradition, historicism and an anti-modern nostalgia (e.g. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Peñaloza, 2000; Zukin, 2009). The most common provenance element to be framed in this way was the producer, via references to the history behind the winery, winemaker, wine brand or region. However, there were some significant differences: heritage frames were far more likely for Old World wines in terms of regional heritage (in the wine columns) and heritage of the style of winemaking (in the advertisements). This difference may reflect that Old World regions have, on the whole, longer-term histories of winemaking. However, heritage is not exclusive to the Old World. There was no significant difference in frequency in advertising representations of heritage of the winery or brand (the most common form of heritage) between Old and New World wines, and the heritage of the winemaker (e.g. being a second or third generation winemaker) was included in the feature articles more frequently for New World wines (a point of difference confirmed above with regard to biographic transparency).

The third frame, genuineness, was found in just over a quarter of both the advertising and columns. Previous research links authenticity to economic disinterestedness, the hand-crafted, a lack of artifice or homogeneity, and an opposition to the mass market (e.g. Beverland et al., 2008; Fine, 2003; Johnston and Baumann, 2007). This took

various forms in the magazines. Most commonly, genuineness was used as a frame for the producer: 29 per cent of wine columns mentioned the producer's character or philosophy. Also common was the genuineness of product attributes: reference to a wine's genuine expression of where it is from appeared in 26 per cent of wine columns, and 17 per cent of the advertising sample. However, advertising for New World wines was significantly more likely to use genuineness as a frame in this way. In the feature articles, discussions of wine as genuine (commonly in relation to being innovative) occurred only in relation to New World wines.

Besides authenticity frames, the fourth legitimation frame for provenance was external validation. Devices such as lists, wine awards and reviews (Allen and Germov, 2010; Karpik, 2010) remain central for rendering provenance credible and valuable for both Old and New World wines. However, there were two major points of difference. Firstly, external validation of the context of production (reference to registered designations of origin, such as *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée*, or AOC status) was found in 52 per cent of the advertising, but was present in significantly more Old World wine advertisements (68 per cent, compared with 26 per cent of New World ads). Similarly, 36 per cent of the columns on Old World wines referred to official designations of origin, but no columns on New World wines did so. This likely reflects the more established geographic indication systems within the Old World (although clearly it is not universally applied). While similar systems are now being institutionalized in other regions of the world (e.g. the promotion of regional geographic indicators in Australia), there is likely to be a credibility gap. Secondly, wine reviews were cited in significantly more advertising for New World wines; this difference was also found in the feature articles. Interestingly, references to wine awards appeared in only 19 per cent of the advertising sample, with no significant difference for Old and New World wines (cf. Allen and Germov, 2010).

In summary, all four legitimation frames were used for both groups of wines in both the editorial and advertising content. The logic of discernment underlying the category of fine wine does not operate along an Old/New World opposition, confirming a democratization and globalization of fine wine production and consumption. For both Old and New World wines, geographic transparency and winery heritage are deemed credible and valid criteria for evaluation and guarantors of quality. It is through the particularities of provenance (product, producer, context of production) that *terroir* is effectively democratized, becoming a seemingly universally available quality claim for all wines, regardless of region of origin. At the same time, the hyper specification of

provenance—*terroir max*—retains its capacity to serve as a device for discernment, implicated in the categorization and legitimation of some wines as fine wines.

The preservation of established hierarchies of taste

The analysis found no strict Old/New World divide in the wine magazines with regard to where *terroir* could be found: there was no significant difference in the frequency of use of the specific term '*terroir*' for Old and New World wines, in either the advertising or wine column samples (and in both cases, the actual term was used infrequently). The term was more common in the feature articles, appearing in two-thirds of the sample: twice in reference to Old World wines, and six times in reference to New World wines. However, the democratization of *terroir* is accompanied by differences within the category of the legitimate: there is a greater emphasis on heritage and external validation of the context of production for Old World wines, and a greater emphasis on transparency of the producer and genuineness of producer and product for New World wines.

The construction of distinction-within-democracy and reproduction of boundaries between Old and New World wines becomes apparent through a close reading of the *terroir*-focused feature articles. On the one hand, Old World wines can 'double dip' into the repertoires of *terroir*-based legitimacy. For example, an article discusses the pinot noir wines of an estate in Burgundy, France⁸ (where *terroir* is referred to as *climat*):

The domaine's wines...transmit a sense of place, the fundamental notion of *climat* that is central to the character of great Burgundy. As such, each vineyard has its own distinctive character, structure and style. [The wine's] magic lies partly in its rarity and its history; however, when you taste the wine, its pedigree is immediately evident.

The link between the featured wine's quality and *terroir* are presented as self-evident, as would be expected given the legal protection that renders the region's name interchangeable with that of the wine (pinot noir made elsewhere cannot be called Burgundy). Nevertheless, other legitimation frames are also in use in the article: transparency (the writer standing among the actual vines); heritage (pedigree, from vintage to vintage); genuineness (the wine's distinctive, magical style). Even in an article on a region considered the benchmark of *terroir*-led winemaking there is evidence of an expanded, democratized notion of provenance.

On the other hand, New World wines' claims to legitimacy remain reliant on the traditional, exclusive notion of *terroir* as their master referent. Within the

democratized application of *terroir* are vestiges of the old regime—as the following three examples suggest. The writer of an article on Washington, US⁹ suggests that the wines are remarkable because of ‘the *terroir*—the land and the climate,’ and singles out the winemakers who ‘follow the estate model, with a winery in the same place as the vineyards.’ The sommelier of an award-winning restaurant is quoted: ‘For me, Washington state is the second-best place in the world for Syrah, after the Rhône Valley.’

A second article on Chinese wine producers¹⁰ focuses on those ‘eagerly trying to prove that China has the right *terroir* to produce great wine, rather than just great amounts of wine.’ The author highlights a young Chinese winemaker, a graduate of Bordeaux University’s *Institut d’Oenologie*, who cultivates 5 acres of land on the slopes of a mountain range, her success clear from the fact that the ‘winery’s 500 cases of Bordeaux-style wine are snapped up quickly. Luxury hotels...buy 60 percent, the Beijing government buys 20 percent and private clients buy the rest.’

A third article on the wine regions in Victoria, Australia¹¹ focuses on small wineries producing ‘exciting wines that are at once pure and Australian yet somehow European in style.’ Highlighting Victorian Shiraz, ‘often tellingly labelled as Syrah,’ the author likens it to the style of the northern Rhône (rather than ‘local’ shiraz from South Australia). A transplanted Rhône winemaker declares: ‘I am a soil lover and Australia has the oldest soils in the world,’ and describes the diversity in Victoria as ‘amazing, like a second France.’

These examples echo the multiple frames found in the Burgundy article, yet with a marked difference. Unlike for the established legitimacy of Burgundian *terroir*, the representations of New World *terroir* invoke multiple forms of external validation: the sommelier who prefers the Washington Syrah, the luxury hotel that buys the Chinese Bordeaux blend, the French winemaker who considers Australian heritage and soil to be on par with that of France. In all three examples, credibility for New World *terroirs* is transferred through external validation—not simply through reference to protected designations of origin or wine competition awards, but through association with the established legitimacy of France and French winemaking. Legitimacy is derived in terms of terminology (e.g. ‘*terroir*’), grape varieties (‘noble’ Syrah grapes), style of winemaking (e.g. ‘European’ style; a Rhône Syrah versus an Australian Shiraz), and culture of production (e.g. the ‘estate’ model, France-trained winemakers). These examples suggest a shift from a stark contrast between Old and New World to variations in degrees of legitimacy, and increasing diversity of the category of

legitimate taste (Elias, 1994). These findings offer contextualizing insight into discussions of the decline of deference for high culture—and French culture in particular—in the contemporary period (Janssen, 2006; Janssen et al., 2008; Prieur and Savage, 2013). The case of fine wine suggests that European culture retains its master status in terms of cultural cachet and the power to legitimate, if not in terms of the material production of culture.

What Do Logics of Taste Do?

Bourdieu's account of the interweaving of habitus, taste, capital, field and practice (1984) remains indisputably influential for the sociology of consumption. However, with the research lens so often trained on the individual taster at a single point in time, his theorization of the structured practice of taste is typically reduced to tracing class-based patterns in individual outcomes. A necessary, corrective step is to examine the creation and habituation of logics of taste: shared schemes of perception and appreciation that mobilize individual dispositions and preferences. Such conventions tend to operate through oppositions; they are principles of division (Bourdieu 1984: 479) that reduce complexity and make selection and categorization a manageable—even unthinking—exercise. Logics of taste are powerful mechanisms of social reproduction: inexorable forces (that push and pull, enable and constrain) through which certain ways of thought, desire and embodied action appear not only reasonable but natural.

There is always a risk when giving notice to a neglected dimension of a phenomena that what has been previously in focus then slides from view. Certainly, that is a limitation in the present discussion. My focus has been trained entirely on the magazines as mechanisms of categorization and legitimation, through which a convention (the taste for the particular) is made explicit and circulated as a condition of existence. In doing so, I have paid only cursory attention to the political economic and institutional forces shaping the production of the magazines' content and neglected the subjective dispositions of their contributors. And, while previous research suggests ways in which readers *might* utilize the magazines as pawns in games of distinction, as they do wine itself (e.g. Jarness, 2013), the negotiated understandings of the readers are excluded from this analysis. I have also bracketed off the questions of how the taste for the particular and its conventionalization have taken shape over time; whether and to what degree conditions of existence are embodied in the habitus of individuals (which individuals, and from what positions within which societies?); what other logics of discernment overlay and compete with an opposition between the particular and the mass in different habitus formations;

and what other mediated forms contribute to the institutional infrastructure for the conventionalization of good taste. These remain pressing questions. A complete account of the production and consumption of taste is (typically) beyond any single piece of research; but as a community of scholarship, the study of consumption might better address areas of deficiency to build up a more complete account of taste that moves beyond a false structure/agency dichotomy.

In closing, let me suggest three implications of the taste for the particular, vis-à-vis the question of what logics do. First, the taste for the particular is a logic for coping with the proliferation of choice. It emerges from the conditions of existence in a culture of abundance: amidst proliferating consumer choices and information about those choices, it is a logic of practice that reduces complexity. As the case of fine wine suggests, it is exercised through particular categorization devices—such as the hyper specification of provenance, and the opposition of particular/mass. While the taste for the particular resonates with the high involvement connoisseurship of reflexive omnivores, it is also—via media such as specialist wine magazines—a logic of discernment by proxy: the nuanced, reflexive evaluation of options can be delegated to the wine review or the simplified opposition of wine from *somewhere*, versus wine from *anywhere*.

Second, the taste for the particular is a logic for preserving the game of distinction in a culture of democratization. In part, this entails inscribing distinction within newly legitimate areas (e.g. Chinese fine wine). It also entails reintroducing aesthetic distance for that which has become conventional: the hyper specification of provenance is a way to rehabilitate French wine, which risks becoming too ‘obvious’ in a field that espouses messages such as ‘the weirder, the better.’ Such a stratification device effectively tessellates the production and consumption of goods. Ironically, from the perspective of the choice-laden consumer, a corollary of this logic is the prolific generation of further potentially worthy choices. Seemingly any cultural practice, object or field becomes ‘available’ as an arena for the hyper specification of provenance and exercise of discernment.

Finally: while it might potentially disrupt the established cultural hierarchy of what counts as good taste, the taste for the particular is ultimately a conservative logic. Bourdieu suggested (1984: 480) that logics are formalized as classificatory schemes only when the established order is threatened; their codification is a device for assuring the continuation of the social order by objectifying and institutionalizing the dominant group’s taken-for-granted habitual codes and imposing them on others via

collective representations. The media of connoisseurship is such a collective representation. Specialist wine magazines are part of a transmission belt pulling the rising new elites into an established order, so that even as the membership of the elite diversifies, the established stakes continue to count. If highbrow snobbishness is now in bad taste, the need for displaying good taste continues and, more so, the maintenance of class boundaries through such displays must become more subtle. The cultural field of 'good wine' is now more inclusive, but it is far from a level playing field. Rather than a single criteria—*terroir*—there are now multiple provenance elements through which the legitimacy of wines may be represented. For example, regional heritage, winemaking style and the winemaker's personal biography are three provenance elements through which a wine may be framed as a worthy choice; they are also vectors along which Old and New World differences continue to be articulated. And, while *terroir* is discussed with reference to New World regions—as in the American, Chinese and Australian examples—it retains the Old World and especially France as referent.

The taste for the particular is thus a preservation mechanism. As the hallmarks of elite taste become readily available to all, such a logic is a way to exercise modesty and discernment (e.g. by choosing the small-scale over the mass). This is a logic for coping with the changing terrain of social stratification and the challenges from rising new global elites. The taste for the particular—at least in wine—maintains the traditional pecking order with European culture at the apogee even as the membership of the elite diversifies (e.g. to include Chinese fine wine investors and Australian *terroirists*). The dominance of the bourgeois cultural canon and the established values of restraint and foresight as hallmarks of civility (Bourdieu, 1984; Elias, 1994) are reproduced within a culture of abundance, in a manner that doesn't jar against liberal values in a globalized world (cf. Ljunggren, 2015). The taste for the particular can thus be understood as a response to the shifting ground in an age of omnivorousness: a process by which social distance and distinction can be maintained, albeit through narrower margins and more elaborate codes.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to the *Journal of Consumer Culture* editor and reviewers for their helpful suggestions, to the University of Leicester College of Social Science Research Development Fund, and Liam Voice for his research assistance.

References

- Allen MP and Germov J (2010) Judging taste and creating value: The cultural consecration of Australian wines. *Journal of Sociology* 47(1): 35-51.
- Beckert J, Rössel J and Schenk P. (2014) Wine as a cultural product: Symbolic capital and price formation in the wine field. *MPIfG Discussion Paper* 14(2): 1-24. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2464015>.
- Beckett F (2014) Wine: Fiona Beckett tries some weird but wonderful grapes. *The Guardian Weekend* 11 October: 75.
- Bellavance G (2008) Where's high? Who's low? What's new? Classification and stratification inside cultural "repertoires". *Poetics*. 36(2-3): 189-216
- Beverland MB, Lindgreen A and Vink MW (2008) Projecting authenticity through advertising: Consumer judgments of advertisers' claims. *Journal of Advertising* 37(1): 5-15.
- Beverland M and Luxton S (2005) Managing integrated marketing communication through strategic decoupling. *Journal of Advertising* 34(4): 103-16.
- Botterill J (2007) Cowboys, outlaws and artists: The rhetoric of authenticity in contemporary jeans and sneaker advertisements. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 7(1): 105-25.
- Bourdieu P (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Calarco JM (2014) Coached for the classroom: Parents' cultural transmission and children's reproduction of educational inequalities. *Annual Sociological Review* 79(5): 1015-37.
- Charters S (2006) *Wine & Society: The Social and Cultural Context of a Drink*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Cvetičanin P and Popescu M (2011) The art of making classes in Serbia: Another particular case of the possible. *Poetics* 39(6): 444-68.
- Daenekindt S and Roose H (2014) Ways of preferring: Distinction through the 'what' and the 'how' of cultural consumption. *Journal of Consumer Culture* Epub in advance of print: 1-21.
- Daloz J-P (2010) *The Sociology of Elite Distinction: From Theoretical to Comparative Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Elias N ([1939]1994) *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Erickson B (1996) Class, culture, and connections. *American Journal of Sociology* 102(1): 217-51.
- Ferguson PP (1998) A cultural field in the making: Gastronomy in 19th-century France. *The American Journal of Sociology* 104(3): 597-641.

- Fine GA (2003) Crafting authenticity: The validation of identity in self-taught art. *Theory & Society* 32: 153-80.
- Fourcade M (2012) The vile and the noble: On the relation between natural and social classifications in the French wine world. *The Sociological Quarterly* 53(4): 524–45.
- Frank T (1997) *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Frere-Jones S (2005) Critic's notebook: Life and death. *The New Yorker* 5 September: 26.
- Garcia-Parpet M-F (2008) Markets, prices and symbolic value: Grands crus and the challenges of global markets. *International Review of Sociology* 18(2): 237-52.
- Gershuny JI (2005) Busyness as the badge of honor for the new superordinate working class. *Social Research* 72(2): 287–314.
- Guy KM (2001) Wine, champagne and the making of French identity in the belle époque. In: P Scholliers (ed) *Food, Drink and Identity*. Oxford: Berg, 163-77.
- Harvey D (2002) The art of rent: Globalization, monopoly and the commodification of culture. *Socialist Register* 38: 93-110.
- Hazir IK and Warde A (2014) The methodological trajectory of the omnivore debate. *European Sociological Association Consumption Research Network Midterm Conference*, Porto.
- Holt D (1997) Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's theory of tastes from its critics. *Poetics* 25(2/3): 93-120.
- Howland PJ (2013) Distinction by proxy: The democratization of fine wine. *Journal of Sociology* 49(2-3): 325-40.
- Inglis D (2015) On oenological authenticity: Making wine real and making real wine. *M/C Journal* 18(1). Available at <http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/948>.
- Janssen S (2006) Fashion reporting in cross-national perspective 1955-2005. *Poetics* 34(6): 383-406.
- Janssen S, Kuipers G and Verboord M (2008) Cultural globalization and arts journalism: The international orientation of arts and culture coverage in Dutch, French, German, and US newspapers, 1955-2005. *American Sociological Review* 73(5): 719-40.
- Jarness V (2013) *Class, Status, Closure: The Petropolis and Cultural Life*. PhD Thesis, University of Bergen, Norway.
- Johnston J and Baumann S (2007) Democracy versus distinction: A study of omnivorousness in gourmet food writing. *American Journal of Sociology* 113(1): 165-204.

- Karpik L (2010) *Valuing the Unique: The Economics of Singularities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Katz-Gerro T and Sullivan O (2010). Voracious cultural consumption. *Time & Society* 19(2): 193-219.
- Kirschenblatt-Gimblett B (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lamont M (1992) *Money, Morals and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamont M (2012) Toward a comparative sociology of valuation and evaluation. *Annual Review of Sociology* 38: 201-21.
- Ljunggren J (2015) Elitist egalitarianism: Negotiating identity in the Norwegian cultural elite. *Sociology* Epub in advance of print: 1-16.
- Mennell S (1992) *Norbert Elias: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- O'Flaherty MC (2012) In with the old. *How To Spend It: The Financial Times Magazine* 18 March, 73-6.
- Ollivier M (2008) Modes of openness to cultural diversity: Humanist, populist, practical and indifferent. *Poetics* 36(2-3): 120-47.
- Ollivier M, van Eijck K and Warde A (2008) Presentation. *Poetics* 36(2-3): 115-19.
- Paumgarten N (2011) Tables for two: Earl's Beer & Cheese. *The New Yorker* 10 October, 16.
- Peñaloza L (2000) The commodification of the American west: Marketers' production of cultural meanings at the trade show. *Journal of Marketing* 64: 82-109.
- Peterson RA (2005) Problems in comparative research: The example of omnivorousness. *Poetics* 33: 257-82.
- Peterson RA and Kern R (1996) Changing highbrow taste: from snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review* 61: 900-907.
- Peterson RA and Simkus A (1992) How musical tastes mark occupational status groups. In: M Lamont and M Fournier (eds) *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 152-186.
- Pinney T (2005) *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Prieur A and Savage M (2013) Emerging forms of cultural capital. *European Societies* 15(2): 246-67.
- Purhonen S, Gronow J and Rahkonen K (2010) Nordic democracy of taste? Cultural omnivorousness in musical and literary taste preferences in Finland. *Poetics* 38(3): 266-298.
- Resnick E (2008) *Wine brands: Success Strategies for New Markets, New Consumers and New Trends*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Sassatelli R and Scott A (2001) Novel food, new markets and trust regimes: Responses to the erosion of consumers' confidence in Austria, Italy and the UK. *European Societies* 3(2): 213-44.
- Schamel G (2006) Geography versus brands in a global wine market. *Agribusiness* 22 (3): 363-74.
- Schimpfoss E (2014) Russia's social upper class: From ostentation to culturedness. *The British Journal of Sociology* 65(1): 63-81.
- Skeggs B (2001) *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Smith Maguire J (2010) Provenance and the liminality of production and consumption: The case of wine promoters. *Marketing Theory* 10(3): 269-82.
- Smith Maguire J (2013) Provenance as a filtering and framing device in the qualification of wine. *Consumption, Markets and Culture* 16(4): 368-91.
- Smith Maguire J and Lim M (2015) 2015. Lafite in China: Media representations of 'wine culture' in new markets. *Journal of Macromarketing* 35(2): 229-42.
- Taber GM (2005) *Judgement of Paris: California vs. France and the Historic Tasting That Revolutionized Wine*. New York: Scribner.
- Taylor TD (2009) Advertising and the conquest of culture. *Social Semiotics* 19(4): 405-25.
- Trubeck AB (2005) Place matters. In: C Korsmeyer (ed) *The Taste Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg, 260-71.
- Turner BS and Edmunds J (2002) The distaste of taste: Bourdieu, cultural capital and the Australian power elite. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 2(2): 219-39.
- Warde A (2014) After taste: Culture, consumption and theories of practice. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 14(3): 279-303.
- Warde A, Wright D and Gayo-Cal M (2008) The omnivorous orientation in the UK. *Poetics* 36(2-3): 148-65.
- Warde A, Wright D and Gayo-Cal M (2007) Understanding cultural omnivorousness: Or, the myth of the cultural omnivore. *Cultural Sociology* 1(2): 143-164.
- Wright D (2015) *Understanding Cultural Taste: Sensation, Skill and Sensibility*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Zukin S (2009) *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Notes

¹ By 'democratization' I refer to a process of 'functional democratization': a structural feature of decreasing inequality in the power balance between groups by virtue of increasing mutual interdependence (Mennell 1992: 109).

² Old World wines are primarily considered to be those from France, Italy, Spain, Germany and Austria; New World wine producers include Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Argentina, South Africa, the United States and Canada.

³ This is not to suggest a simple division between consumers (tasters) and producers (the institutions at work in the (re)production of conventions of legitimate taste). The process of the conventionalization of taste involves multiple actors (including professional tasters who span the consumption/production divide) and institutions (including various forms of media beyond the specific magazines that form the focus of this article).

⁴ Bourgognes print advertisement. 2004. *The Times* (London) 23 October: no page.

⁵ The advertising sample consisted of 124 items (65 from *Decanter*, and 59 from *Wine Spectator*): all full page or larger advertisements from four 2010 issues each of *Decanter* and *Wine Spectator*, for red and white still and sparkling wine and their producing regions, excluding fortified wine, liquor or non-drinks advertising and duplicates. The wine column sample was constructed by selecting one regular wine columnist from each magazine (James Laube from *Wine Spectator*, Steven Spurrier of *Decanter*); their 2008 and 2010 columns produced 50 items (28 Laube columns, 22 Spurrier columns because *Wine Spectator* publishes three more issues per year than *Decanter*), which were then reduced to a sample of 31, consisting of only those columns that focused explicitly on Old and/or New World wine. The features sample consisted of all features from 2010 issues for which provenance, heritage, *terroir* or regionality were explicitly mentioned in the table of contents description: this produced 12 items.

⁶ Assessing the relative presence of the legitimation frames was approached as follows. First, for the advertising and wine column samples, frames that appeared in at least 25 per cent of the Old World or New World portions of each sample for any provenance attribute were noted. The feature article sample was too small to merit statistical analysis: in that case, a 'common' frame was one which appeared in at least half of the articles. Second, differences between the Old and New World wine portions of the advertising and column samples were assessed via Pearson's chi-squared test; results of $p < 0.05$ were noted as statistically significant. Third, agreement between two or more of the samples in terms of differences between Old and New World representations was taken as an indication of noteworthy significance.

⁷ Information on magazine readership composition was obtained from the magazines' media kits (available online: [http://content.yudu.com/A1qxnF/DecanterMediaInfo/resources/index.htm?referrerUrl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.decanter.com%2F](http://content.yudu.com/A1qxnF/DecanterMediaInfo/resources/index.htm?referrerUrl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.decanter.com%2F;);

http://www.mshanken.com/winespectator/ws/WSM_Reader11.pdf), which cite various market research sources for the information: NOP 2009 for *Decanter* readership demographics and IPC Media Insight Decanter survey, January 2010 for *Decanter* reader hobbies; and MRI Fall 2010 Survey for *Wine Spectator* readership demographics and Mendelsohn Affluent Study 2010 for *Wine Spectator* reader hobbies.

⁸ Sanderson, B. 2010. 'Terroir and transparency.' *Wine Spectator*, 31 May.

⁹ Steiman, H. 2010. 'Washington an open secret.' *Wine Spectator*, 15 December.

¹⁰ Graham, M. 2010. 'Finding China's terroir.' *Wine Spectator*, 31 October.

¹¹ Catchpole, A. 2010. 'Victoria: Cool climate, diverse *terroirs* and elegant wines.' *Decanter*, 8 January.