Seeking the Ethics in Consumption:

The Case of Wine and the Middle Classes of Post-Apartheid South Africa

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Abstract

In this thesis, I critically examine wine, and the ethics tied to its consumption, in South Africa's Western Cape. In doing so, I expand the conceptual parameters of ethics typically applied to research on wines produced across the Global South. Additionally, by focusing on the perspectives of middle-class consumers in the Western Cape, I contribute to a body of knowledge that decentres the Global North as *the* site of ethical consumption and calls for the inclusion of underrepresented voices from across the Global South.

I enrich my contributions in two ways. Firstly, I take a historicised approach to wine consumption in South Africa to examine the tensions that connect the contemporary context with its settler colonial- and apartheid legacies of regulation, restriction, and control according to social locations of race and class. Secondly, I consider these dynamics in relation to wine production in the Western Cape, including the roles of viticulture and vinification in establishing and embedding a racial hierarchy of white power and Black disenfranchisement and exploitation.

This research is qualitative. It centres insights from 31 middle-class wine consumers in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands and 47 people working in the value chain for wine in South Africa. Data were collected in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands between October 2019 and March 2020. Methods of data collection included semi-structured interviews, observations, researcher diaries, and fieldnotes.

The research interrogates three themes. Firstly, perspectives on contemporary consumer markets. Next, the evolution of wine consumption spaces. Finally, interpretations of ethics in the lives of wine consumers. Seeking the ethics in consumption, with a focus on middle-class consumers in the Global South, allows for a nuanced and complex analysis of a product that remains haunted by its entanglements with South Africa's painful legacies of settler colonialism and apartheid.

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Given the opportunity, I am certain I could write an entire thesis of thanks to all those who have so generously supported the development of this work. Whether there is an audience for such an effusive piece of writing, I am less certain. So, given the chaos of March 2020 (and the years following) I recognise how lucky I am to have been able to express my gratitude to most people in person. Below, I hope to communicate the same depth of feeling albeit *slightly* (but only just) more succinctly.

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Finally, to all those in Cape Town who I hugged goodbye, was unable to hug, and hope to hug again: thank you.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Definition
AfDB	African Development Bank
AGM	Annual General Meeting
ANC	African National Congress
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
CAGR	Compound annual growth rate
COPE	Congress of the People
CPI	Consumer Prices Index
CTICC	Cape Town International Convention Centre
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ESTA	Extension of Security of Tenure Act
EU	European Union
FLSA	Fairtrade Label South Africa
FMOEA	Fairtrade Marketing Organization Eastern Africa
FTSA	Fair Trade South Africa
GDP	Gross domestic product
ILO	International Labour Organization
ITI	Iterative Thematic Inquiry
IWSR	International Wine and Spirit Research
KWV	Koöperatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Suid-Afrika
LSM	Living Standards Measure
MCC	Methode Cap Classique
MI	Middle income
NAMC	National Agricultural Marketing Council
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OIV	International Organisation of Vine and Wine
PPP	Purchasing parity power
PYDA	Pinotage Youth Development Academy
R	Rand
RSP	Retail selling price
SA WITU	South African Wine Industry Transformation Unit
SAARF	South African Audience Research Foundation
SAB	South African Brewery
SALBA	South African Liquor Brand Owners Association
SASA	South African Sommeliers Association
SAWB	South African Wine and Brandy Company
SAWIS	South African Wine Industry Information and Systems
SWSA	Sustainable Wine South Africa
UCT	University of Cape Town
UK	United Kingdom

Abbreviation	Definition
USA	United States of America
USD	US Dollar
VFR	Visiting friends and relatives
WFP	Women on Farms Project
WIETA	Wine and Agricultural Ethical Trade Association
WOSA	Wines of South Africa
WSET	Wine & Spirit Education Trust
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1.   Research Background

In February 2019, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) – a self-described "radical and militant economic emancipation movement" (EFF, no date) – hosted a fundraising gala dinner in Pretoria ahead of its manifesto launch. In his closing address, Julius Malema (President and Commander in Chief of the EFF) was reported to state that the EFF was the only movement able to "fight White Monopoly Capitalists" (Stone, 2019).[1] Without them, Malema continued, South African citizens risked "the likes of the Rupert's [sic] running the country" (Stone, 2019); 'Rupert' referring to Johann Rupert, the South African entrepreneur, owner of L'Ormarins wine estate, chairman of the Swiss luxury goods firm Compagnie Financiere Richemont, and eldest son of Anton Rupert (a former member of the Afrikaner Broederbond) (see Kriel (2010)).

Wine is a critical lens through which to better understand Malema's shifting relationships with African National Congress (ANC) elites.[2] In 2009, he accused Mbhazima Samuel Shilowa – former senior member of the ANC who, along with others, left to establish the political party, Congress of the People (COPE) – of "insulting" the ANC, the political party that had taught them "to use a fork and knife, to taste red wine, [and] to wear expensive suits" (Posel, 2014, p. 45). Malema was therefore seen to embrace the politics of a black upward social mobility more widely seen in post-apartheid South Africa (Posel, 2014). During a 2010 speech, however, delivered in celebration of his 29th birthday, Malema criticised ANC leaders for abandoning those in poverty, stating that he "did not need the permission of the so-called 'left leaders', who spend their time drinking wine, for [him] to fight for the poor" (The Daily Maverick, 2010). In 2020, Malema accused President Cyril Ramaphosa of "selling the country for a glass of wine from the Rupert family" (Gerber, 2020) and in doing so, centred wine as *the* symbol of white monopoly capital.

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[1] In recent years, the term 'white monopoly capital' has gained prominence in mainstream South African politics. Some consider it a controversial term given its contemporary association with the British public relations firm, Bell Pottinger. In 2016, Bell Pottinger co-opted the term 'white monopoly capital' in part to shape the reputation of the Zuma administration. The work was commissioned by the Gupta family who are known to have benefited from state corruption under the Zuma administration (2009–2018). As a result of the controversy, Bell Pottinger went into administration in 2017 (Aboobaker, 2019; Musyoka, 2022).

[2] Julius Malema was former President of the ANC Youth League from 2008 until his suspension from the ANC in 2011.

South Africans are well-aware of Malema's criticism of the ANC and its alliance partners. Through the politicisation of wine, he has portrayed senior ANC members as elitist, greedy, and disinterested in South Africa's working classes (Posel, 2014). Wine is seen to act as a symbol for selfishness and materialism, a betrayal of ethical values honed through a lifetime of anti-apartheid resistance. This is applied not only to the moralities of wine drinking but to the politics of its production. Malema made this explicit in a 2021 speech in Kayamandi, a township in Stellenbosch that borders several wine farms, when he stated that he and the EFF would "take back the wine farms [from white farmers] and drink all the wine" (Head, 2021). On April 6th, 2022, Malema led a protest march to Rupert-owned wine farms in Stellenbosch, a date once celebrated as Founders Day in apartheid South Africa in commemoration of the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and the Dutch East India Company [Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie [VOC]) at the Cape in 1652 (Zeeman, 2022). It is evident that the histories of wine in the Western Cape continue to have ramifications for the ways in which its meanings are mobilised and moralised in the 21st century.

The irony of such statements, notwithstanding Malema's dismissal of any supposed contractions in his behaviour, is that Malema is often observed to engage in the very practices of consumption that he denigrates in others (Bearak, 2010; Posel, 2014; Citizen Reporter, 2019b; Naidoo, 2019). As is regularly reported by journalists, Malema is well known for his "penchant for designer labels, fancy cars, expensive champagne and lavish partying" (Posel, 2014, p. 44). As Posel (2015, p. 2170) states, while the growth of a "black elite and middle class [may be] one of the most striking changes" of post-apartheid South Africa, it is also the "site of racialised contention", moralisation, and problematisation. Given this context, it is unsurprising that an image of the wine provided at the 2019 EFF gala dinner – a R200 Rupert & Rothschild 2016 Classique red blend – went viral on social media and became the focus of scrutiny for journalists, social media sleuths, and rival political movements (Citizen Reporter, 2019a). Journalist Carien du Plessis, who first shared the image on social media, was accused by an EFF supporter of smuggling the wine into the gala. Another commentor sardonically enquired about the availability of the champagne brand, Veuve Clicquot. Black First Land First[3] condemned the EFF for "promoting the racist Johann

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[3] Black First Land First is a Black Consciousness, Pan Afrikanist movement. The movement was founded by Andile Mngxitama in 2015 following his expulsion from the EFF. Black First Land First was deregistered as a political party in 2019 and was reregistered in 2021 following amendments made to its constitution (Mail&Guardian, 2015; Davis, 2019; Nkosi, 2021).

Rupert's wine at its gala dinner" (Citizen Reporter, 2019a; Black First Land First, 2019) further stating that:

> The same EFF that claims to be revolutionary and wears overalls in Parliament, dines in Gucci and drinks Rupert's [sic] wine at night. There are many black-owned wine brands that need exposure and support which the EFF could have promoted, but just like the ANC, they put white people first and support white businesses for their own personal gain.
>
> Black First Land First (2019).

The cacophony of voices associated with this single event calls attention to the politicisation and contestation of wine in post-apartheid South Africa, with wine consumers seemingly moralised and vilified accordingly. Malema may have astutely observed that South Africa's political elites are increasingly expressing their sense of status through red wine, but he also connected this to a betrayal of ethical and anti-apartheid values (Nugent, 2009). In turn, Malema has himself been scrutinised by a ready audience eager to reprimand him for his own allegedly moral failings and perceived hypocrisies, as evidenced through the types of wines he consumes. For Black First Land First, these practices were ethically egregious because the wines served at the gala dinner were those belonging to a white-owned wine business (specifically, the Rupert family) instead of a black-owned brand. As Ndlovu (2022, p. 385) argues, there is a "strong link between identity and consumption" in post-apartheid South Africa, particularly at the intersection of race and class. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of wine, which has long been a "cultural and political symbol" of South Africa (Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020, p. 147). Wine is entangled in the changing fortunes and misfortunes of generations of people, their families, and their communities. In South Africa's Western Cape – the epicentre of the country's wine production industry – questions around the ethicalities of wine consumption are never far removed from the histories and politics of its production.

In this study, I search for the meanings of ethics in everyday consumption through the case of wine and the middle classes of South Africa's Western Cape. I investigate three core themes. Firstly, perspectives on contemporary wine consumer markets; next, the emergence of wine spaces designed for middle-class consumers; finally, articulations of ethics within everyday practices of wine consumption. This study is qualitative in its methodological approaches with methods of data collection including semi-structured

interviews, observations, researcher diaries, and fieldnotes. This approach allows for a nuanced and reflexive approach that captures a diverse array of subjective perspectives (Kitchin, 2000). The study centres insights from 31 wine consumers living in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands and 47 people working in the value chain for wine in South Africa. Data were collected in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands between October 2019 and March 2020.

1.2.   Research Motivations

In 2015, I undertook a three-month internship with the feminist non-governmental organisation (NGO), Women on Farms Project (WFP). WFP was formally established in 1996. For more than 25 years, its team has supported women who live and work on wine and fruit farms in the Western Cape, primarily through rights-based capacity building. In 2015, this included programmes on health, labour, food, and young people. My primary role with WFP was to support the Food & Cooperatives team in the development of a nutrition-focused training workshop for use with farmworkers. However, the development of this workshop accounted for a small portion of my working day. Instead, I joined WFP colleagues in their visits to women and young people who lived and/or worked on wine and fruit farms (or in informal settlements, having been evicted from their homes on farms) across the Western Cape. WFP sought to understand peoples' needs, encourage more women to become involved with the NGO, and deliver rights-based training on several critical issues such as labour, health, work, and housing.

On my first full day with WFP, we visited a wine farm in Wellington which farmworkers had reported as having harmful working and living conditions. The farmworkers who met us drew our attention to the lack of clean running water, electricity, and general disrepair of their homes. Compounding this egregiousness, farmworkers also showed us payslips of their weekly salaries and the increase in deductions that had been taken for rent, electricity, and water, often without their informed consent. For some, weekly earnings amounted to approximately R50 per week.[4] At the time, an increase in deductions had been reported by workers across many wine farms. WFP believed this to be a producer response to the farm

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[4] In 2015, the national minimum wage for farmworkers was R128 for a nine-hour day. In January 2015, the currency conversion rate was R17.5 to £1.00. Therefore, R50=£2.86 and R128=£7.31.

worker strikes of 2012/2013 and to the subsequent statutory increase in daily minimum wage for agricultural labourers from R69 to R105.

As we drove through the limewashed gates that demarcated the boundaries of the wine estate (a ubiquitous feature of the Western Cape), I was struck by the extreme social and economic inequalities between those visiting the wine estate for pleasure and those who lived and laboured within its borders. Their proximity intensified these glaring disparities. For visitors, the wine estate represented a utopia of beauty and tranquillity in which wine consumption was encouraged as an indulgent and performative luxury. This representation was antithetical to the experiences of many farmworkers, generations of whom have lived and worked on wine estates in the Western Cape. Years later, during an interview conducted for this study, one industry respondent would express a similar sense of unease: "The reality of what it looks like is ugly. It's awful."[5]

It is encounters such as this that have shaped the development of this study. On reflection, however, I now understand that my personal motivations were infused with subconscious subjectivities and unarticulated assumptions concerning the entanglements between ethics, wine, and consumption. For example, I unquestionably accepted the concept 'ethical consumption' to mean ethically certified farms, international ethical trade, and ethically conscious shopping practices. I assumed that people visiting or living near to wine estates did not know about the working and living conditions experienced by farmworkers. I believed that if wine consumers were equipped with knowledges on these issues, they would incentivise change through ethical spending decisions, for example, purchasing ethically labelled products from certified wine farms.

I am not alone in holding these assumptions. In 2018, WFP held a protest outside of the entryway to the annual three-day Stellenbosch Wine Festival. Here, farmworkers distributed flyers to passers-by that called attention to working conditions on wine farms, including a lack of access to toilets, clean drinking water, and protective equipment (Nortier, 2018; Maregele, 2018). As Carmen Louw (then programme coordinator for WFP) stated, a central motivation for protestors was to make wine drinkers "aware of the appalling conditions women workers face" on wine farms (Maregele, 2018), making a direct connection between

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[5] Simon (I16); industry respondent (04/02/2020).

the price of a festival ticket and the daily minimum wage for a person working on a wine farm:

> We want people to at least think before they drink the wine. We told people that the cheapest ticket for the festival was R150 per person, that's not even what most workers get for a whole day.

<div align="right">Maregele (2018).</div>

Hence, by raising awareness of working conditions on vineyards WFP sought to mobilise wine drinkers towards practices of ethical consumption. As stated by WFP member, Fransina van Rooi, "When you visit the wine estates ask how the workers are treated, where they live and work" (Nortier, 2018).

To my knowledge, the Stellenbosch Wine Festival is one of the few times that WFP has actively sought to mobilise South African wine consumers into ethical action. Given limited budgets, WFP has strategically focused on awareness-raising activities in Europe, a key importer of South African wines. In 2006, WFP (in collaboration with ActionAid-UK) purchased three shares in the British supermarket chain, Tesco. Gertruida Baartman, a farmworker on a farm supplying fruit to Tesco, attended the company's Annual General Meeting (AGM) in London. There, she shared her experiences as a seasonal farm worker on a farm in the Western Cape, making national headlines in the process (Finch, 2006; Mesure, 2006; Women on Farms Project, 2012). In a 2021 German article, WFP called for German citizens to "lobby for and ask questions about the working conditions of women farmworkers" and "pressure their supermarkets" to ensure a commitment to corporate social responsibility (Naser, Solomon and Louw, 2021). WFP is not alone in its focus on European consumers and markets. In 2016, the documentary "Bitter Grapes" was aired in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (the latter two markets being particularly important given their state-owned monopoly systems for alcohol). Directed by the Danish filmmaker and investigative journalist Tom Heinemann, the documentary exposed living and working conditions on several wine farms in the Robertson region of the Western Cape (Heinemann, 2016a). Following its release, the Danish supermarket chain, Dagrofa, halted the sale of wines from some of the farms investigated in the documentary (Eads, 2016).

Cases such as these complicate well-established narratives about the power of ethical trade. For example, several of the wine farms covered in "Bitter Grapes" were accredited by the

Wine and Agricultural Ethical Trade Association (WIETA), a multi-stakeholder ethical auditing organisation based in the Western Cape. Europe is one of the primary markets for ethically labelled wines and includes countries such as Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (UK) (Fairtrade Foundation, 2013; Fairtrade Sverige, 2016; Fairtrade Deutschland, 2021). In 2019, more than 20.5 million litres of Fairtrade wine were purchased and consumed in the UK alone (Fairtrade Foundation, no date). In 2022, the Co-op supermarket chain became the first in the UK to only stock South African wines made to Fairtrade certified standards (Leader, 2022). Given that South Africa is the biggest producer of Fairtrade wines, producing two-thirds of all wines sold globally (Goode, 2021), it is clear that a reputation for ethical production is critical to the industry's international market access strategies.

Collectively, these cases speak to some of my initial assumptions about the meanings and geographies of ethical consumption. These assumptions are as follows: firstly, that ethical trade (typically focused on labour rights) involves ethical consumers in the Global North and ethically certified producers in the Global South (Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015; McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015).[6] Next, given the presumed spatial and temporal distance between consumers and producers, it is assumed that consumers are ignorant of important production-related issues. Therefore, consumers require the knowledges needed to make ethically mediated purchasing decisions that demonstrate care across distance (Barnett *et al.*, 2005; Barnett *et al.*, 2010). Knowledges can materialise in a myriad of ways, for example, by proxy (e.g., an ethical label), personal and/or shared experiences, or in the case of "Bitter Grapes", the media (Eden, Bear and Walker, 2008; Papaoikonomou, Valverde and Ryan,

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[6] The terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' do not have one agreed upon conceptual definition (Martins, 2020). Martins (2020, p. 20) understands the term 'Global South' to broadly refer to the "grouping of countries and people that experience economic marginalisation within the global system and have elements of a shared history of colonisation and exploitation." The term 'Global North' is used to refer to "countries and people traditionally referred to as 'the West'" (Martins, 2020, p. 151). Iqani (2016, p. 3) uses the term 'Global South' as shorthand to refer to non-European and postcolonial peoples while decentring "poverty as the central feature of the global south." Therefore, while Iqani (2016, p. 3) partly uses the term 'Global South' to reference terms such as "'underdeveloped', 'developing', 'post-colonial', 'third' and 'non-western'" she primarily uses it to "disrupt and displace" them. Here, 'Global South' is understood to be an "experimental term" that allows it to be "diversely utilised" (Iqani, 2016, p. 8). For Mignolo (2011, p. 166), the term is "a fuzzily delimited sector of the planet" that highlights the "economic, political, and epistemic dependency and unequal power relations in the global world order." Most importantly, however, it represents "the place where another way of life is burgeoning." Within the context of this study, I follow in the steps of Mignolo (2011), Iqani (2016), and Martins (2020). In doing so, I recognise the term 'Global South' to 'fuzzily' recognise and reference geographies with shared histories of colonisation, exploitation, and/or economic marginalisation while disrupting the centrality of a development-oriented discourse as a core facet of the contemporary experience in this context. In turn, I recognise the term 'Global North' to account for the beneficiaries of these uneven and capitalistic dynamics and who have historically held power on a global platform.

2012; Heinemann, 2016a). Finally, it is assumed that consumers will modify their purchasing practices and ensure their consumption practices are informed by ethical knowledges (e.g., avoiding certain products and purchasing others). It is this – the growing consumer demand for ethically made products in international value chains – that is presumed to incentivise the improvement of working and living conditions for labourers (Barnett *et al.*, 2005; Barnett *et al.*, 2010).

Calling attention to the unjust, unfair, and harmful working and living conditions experienced by a globalised labour force is important and necessary work. Farmworkers, unions, activists, NGOs, scholars, and journalists have all been critical in driving much-needed change in production practices across an array of agricultural sectors. The purpose of this study is not to dismiss nor diminish the importance of this work. However, there is a need to acknowledge that the foundational assumptions of the mainstream model of ethical consumption have had real-world ramifications for the ways in which consumers are understood and represented across geographies. Firstly, a binary is established between so-called ethical and unethical practices of consumption as defined by a narrow set of market-defined labour and environmental standards that have been typically agreed upon by institutions and consumers in the Global North (Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015; McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015). This interpretation of ethics and its materialities (e.g., in the form of ethical labels) are presumed to be universally accepted, creating an expectation that a Global North model can be unproblematically applied to, and accepted in, Southern contexts. In South Africa, for example, development-oriented research examining the opportunities for ethical consumption have consistently emphasised the need to educate consumers on ethical labels, sustainability, and sustainably made products (Belgian Development Agency, 2013). This fails to account for the complexity of the ethics in consumption and, additionally, a recognition that all practices of consumption contain some kind of ethical dispensation (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015; Daya, 2016).

Next, a spatialised binary is established, with the Global North viewed as the epicentre of ethical consumption which, as explained above, is understood to be a universally applicable model. This means that consumers across the Global South are often excluded from debates on the meanings of ethical consumption; moreover, should market-oriented action fail to materialise in Southern markets, blame is often assigned to the supposedly disinterested and disinclined Southern consumer (Gregson and Ferdous, 2015). In parallel, increasing

international investor interest in the middle classes within emerging economies[7] in Africa and Asia centres opportunities for economic growth largely focused on increased consumer spending (McKinsey & Company, 2012; McKinsey & Company, 2016). The middle classes, it is presumed, are eager to demonstrate their newfound wealth and status through "conspicuous and wasteful consumption" regardless of the ramifications for environmental sustainability and climate change (Hodgson, 2022); in short, the antithesis of the supposedly moral, ethical, and Northern consumer. Within the context of wine, this is made particularly evident in a 2007 opinion piece titled, "Transformation and the Delinquent South African Wine Connoisseur". Here, Moseley (2007) states that the lack of ethically labelled wine markets in South Africa is a direct cause of the wilful disinterest and ignorance of the South African consumer, who is presumed to value knowledges about the geographies of wine (e.g., soil, climate, region) while remaining wilfully ignorant of the social conditions behind its production:

> While the government and the wine industry are partly to blame, the South African wine consumer, restaurateur and grocer are also at fault […] Shouldn't the South African consumer be showing the world that they support social justice and real transformation in the wine industry? The irony, of course, is that many South African wine consumers, and certainly the higher end buyers, are incredibly brand conscious. They want to know where a wine was produced and under what conditions. Sadly, many of these consumers have yet to take an interest in labour relations. It isn't right that I have an easier time finding South African fair trade wine in Saint Paul, US than in Cape Town. Isn't it time the consumer set about transforming 'Proudly South African'?

> Moseley (2007).

It is vitally important that unhelpful and harmful narratives such as these are challenged. As more people in emerging economies are defined as middle-class so too are assumptions made about what they consume, where they consume, and why they consume. Often, this is understood in terms of the benefits to a capitalist economy. For example, financial institutions, global management consultancies, and market researchers continue to frame the benefits of the emerging middle classes via opportunities for business expansion, retail

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[7] In this study, the term 'emerging economies' is understood to refer to "[historically] low-income, rapid growth countries using economic liberalization as their primary engine of growth" (Hoskisson *et al.*, 2000, p. 249). Bruton *et al.* (2013, p. 169) note that several scholars have sought to build upon this this definition with the authors themselves focused on the concept of "strategic entrepreneurship".

growth, and luxury goods markets (Signé, 2019). Amidst the climate crisis, however, are criticisms of irresponsible, unsustainable, and voracious consumption regardless of the environmental consequences (Marx-Pienaar and Erasmus, 2014). Researchers, in human geography and elsewhere, seek to contest and challenge these assumptions and add nuance to these problematic, Eurocentric, and essentialised debates. As Gregson and Ferdous (2015, p. 245) argue, "charges of irresponsibility and reckless over-consumption" need to be challenged with consumers across the Global South staking a claim in "a Northern-centric debate" (ibid) on the meanings of the ethics in consumption.

The aim of this study is to search for the ethics in everyday consumption beyond a narrowly defined model of ethical consumption based on labour and environmental standards. In doing so, I contribute to an emerging body of work that expands the conceptual parameters of ethics as understood in relation to everyday practices of consumption. This study centres wine, specifically, wines that are produced and consumed in South Africa's Western Cape. As I discuss further in Chapters 2 and 3, wine – as a product, alongside its production and its consumption – is entangled with South Africa's deeply problematic legacies of colonialism, settler colonialism, and apartheid. These entanglements are intensified in the Western Cape, the epicentre of the country's wine industry. In seeking the ethics in wine, I argue that these legacies, understood through the ongoing experience of "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172), continue to impact and inform the contemporary context for middle-class consumers.

Finally, I recognise that ethics are vital to and inseparable from the entire research process. In Chapter 4, I discuss this further including the need for a critically reflexive position that accounts for each aspect of this study's development, implementation, analysis, and writeup. In part, this requires the continual reassessment of shifting power dynamics, a critical reflection of unquestioned and unearned privileges, and the embrace of an ethics of unsettlement as guided by affect (e.g., discomfort, disgust, shame) (Ahmed, 2017; Singh, 2018; Cook and Trundle, 2020; Chadwick, 2021). As will be discussed, this is an important "methodological and ethical [tool that enables] researchers to ask different questions and disrupt normative research protocols" (Chadwick, 2021, p. 557).

1.3.   Research Scope and Questions

This study seeks to illuminate the ethics that exist in the everyday consumption of wine. It specifically focuses on middle-class consumers living and working in the City of Cape Town

and the Cape Winelands and their experiences of wine in South Africa's Western Cape. As I will evidence, it is only in recent years that the South African wine industry has begun to proactively develop strategies to grow consumption within this diverse – yet undefined – demographic. An important consideration of this study, therefore, is to understand what assumptions guide these strategies, to understand the societal, political, and historical context informing these assumptions and, consequently, to understand the ethical ramifications associated with their entanglement in consumer-oriented market strategies.

The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. How are contemporary wine trends and patterns interpreted by people working within the value chain for wine in South Africa, and/or wine consumers?

2. What are the assumptions underpinning strategies to grow middle-class wine consumption, and how do these assumptions materialise in space?

3. In what ways do middle-class consumers experience wine in the Western Cape, and how do they articulate these experiences within a register of ethics?

4. In what ways does the example of wine and South Africa's middle classes further geographical debates on the ethics in consumption?

The objective of question 1 is to understand how people working in wine in South Africa understand local consumer markets including perceived difficulties and opportunities in growing wine consumption. This requires the evaluation of quantitative market data to better understand the ways in which data such as these are embedded within deeply entrenched and essentialised perspectives on the perceived dynamics between race, class, and wine consumption. This question is considered further in Chapters 5 and 6.

The primary goal of question 2 is to examine strategies focused on growing middle-class wine consumption in South Africa. Importantly, I aim to understand the assumptions that underpin these strategies and the possible implications for the continued perpetuation of harmful, racialised stereotypes about middle-class consumers in post-apartheid South Africa. Through this question, I also seek to examine how wine strategies, focused on middle-class consumers, materialise in space. I focus specifically on spaces with deeply contentious histories of wine (and alcohol more generally) consumption that are often framed as antithetical to one another: the township and the wine estate. This question is considered further in Chapters 6 to 8.

The objective of question 3 is to understand how middle-class consumers articulate their varied relationships and experiences with wine, and the ways in which these relationships and experiences are spatially and temporally contextualised. Through this question, I aim to better understand the ways in which wine consumption is understood as an emotional and ambivalent practice infused with ethical contestations. This question is considered in Chapters 5 to 8.

The objective of question 4 is to evaluate the ways in which this study furthers debates on the geographies of the ethics in consumption, with particular focus on middle-class consumers in South Africa's Western Cape. This question is considered in Chapter 9.

1.4. Research Locations: Cape Town and the Cape Winelands

The primary research locations for this research were two municipalities in the Western Cape: The City of Cape Town and the Cape Winelands (Figure 1). Several factors justified this, which are explained in detail below.
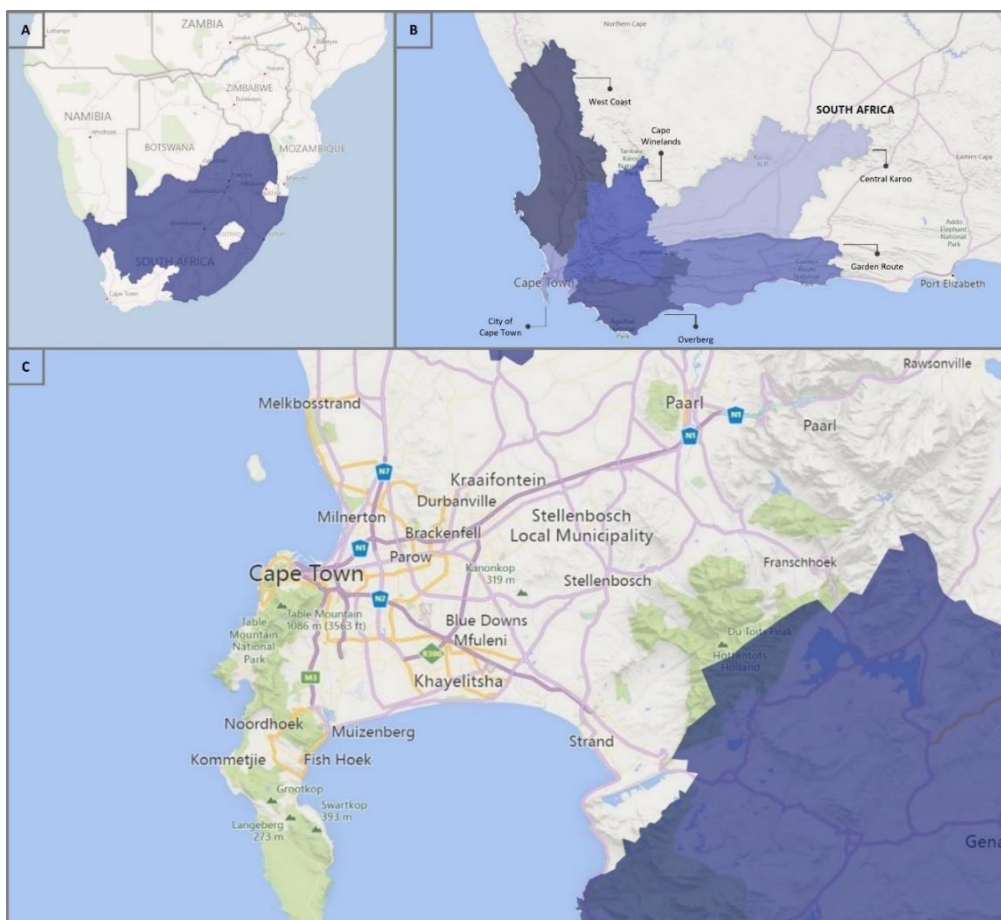
A) The Western Cape province; B) Western Cape municipalities; C) Primary research locations across the City of Cape Town and the Cape Winelands (Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Paarl, and Franschhoek).
Source: author's image built using Microsoft Power BI. Version 2.11.603.0.
Figure 1. Research study locations

1.4.1. *Wine industry perspectives*

A central aim of this study is to examine the ways in which people involved in South Africa's wine value chains understand middle-class wine consumers. The Western Cape is the epicentre of the South African wine industry. Vineyards cover 90,512 hectares of land across the country but 95% of 2,613 primary grape producers and 536 wine cellars are collectively situated in the Western Cape and within 100–200 km of Cape Town (Bruwer, 2003; SAWIS, 2021). While its trajectory is neither smooth nor linear, the wine industry is an important part of the Western Cape economy and has been since the 18th century (Groenewald, 2012). In 2019, the wine industry contributed 1.1% to South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP) (R55 billion) and employed 269,096 people (1.6% of national employment) (FTI Consulting, 2021).[8] Wine tourism is also important, directly contributing R2.4 billion to South Africa's economy and supporting the employment of 36,406 people in 2019 (Vinpro, 2019a). Post-1994, wine exports have increased significantly, notably, to Europe. Between 1992 and 2002, for example, wine exports increased from 20 million litres (2.4% of production) to 177 million litres (32.3% of production) (Wood and Kaplan, 2008). Here, the focus on the UK as a key market mirrors early 19th-century colonial trade routes in which wine producers in South Africa, under the guise of empire, enjoyed preferential tariff access to British markets (Anderson and Pinilla, 2022).

The growth of winemaking in the Western Cape has also resulted in the proliferation of wine-related organisations, businesses, and industries. The Western Cape is home to the wine industry's institutional organisations and operational business units including Vinpro, South African Liquor Brand Owners Association (SALBA), South African Wine Industry Information and Systems (SAWIS), South African Wine Industry Transformation Unit (SA WITU), Wines of South Africa (WOSA), and Winetech (Figure 2). As I discuss further in Chapter 5, individuals working for these organisations have been critical in developing strategies focused on growing wine consumption in South Africa. Several additional organisations and businesses of importance to this study are also based in the City of Cape Town or the Cape Winelands. These include independent organisations connected to wine production (e.g., WIETA), agricultural NGOs (e.g., WFP), and a multitude of businesses and organisations further along the domestic value chains for wine (e.g., national supermarket

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[8] In 2019, the labour force participation rate and official unemployment rate were 60% and 28% (respectively) in South Africa (modelled International Labour Organization [ILO] estimate) (World Bank, 2022b).

retailer headquarters, South African Sommeliers Association [SASA]) and wine tourism (e.g., Wesgro).

Vinpro	NAMC	SALBA
• Non-profit organisation (est. 2003) • Represents nearly 2,600 wine grape producers, cellars, and wine-related businesses • Provides strategic direction and specialised services	• Promotes market access for South African agricultural products	• Non-profit organisation (est. 2005) • Represents 22 South African alcohol manufacturers and distributors • Provides strategic focus on themes including illicit trade, excise duties, and responsible and ethical trade

Business Units

SAWIS	Winetech	SA WITU	WOSA
• Collates, analyses, and disseminates data for the South African wine industry	• Receives and manages the research statutory levy from the South African wine industry • Four core functions: Research and Development, Knowledge Transfer, Innovation, Learning and Development	• Generates and promotes equitable access, and participation in, the South African wine industry and wine value chain • Increases black representation in positions of management in wine cellars, businesses, and industry organisations	• Promotes generic export-oriented marketing strategy for South African wine industry

NAMC, National Agricultural Marketing Council; SALBA, South African Liquor Brand Owners Association; SAWIS, South African Wine Industry Transformation Unit; SA WITU, South African Wine Industry Transformation Unit; WOSA, Wines of South Africa.
Sources: adapted from SA WITU (2018); Pretorius (2019); Vinpro (2021a); SALBA (no date).
Figure 2. Institutional structure of the South African wine industry

As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the plethora of wine-related organisations and businesses in the Western Cape required an active and longer-term research period that would allow for flexible, mobile, and reactive approaches to data collection. In this way, my approaches to data collection could be more easily adapted to the changing availabilities of research participants while also accounting for serendipitous opportunities to expand my social networks.

1.4.2.   Wine consumer perspectives

In Chapter 2, I expand on the conceptual framework of this study and discuss further the meanings of the concept 'middle-class' in a South African context. As will be explained, there remains no agreed upon definition of what the term 'middle-class' actually means in this space (Musyoka, 2022). What is generally accepted, however, is that there are certain characteristics more commonly associated with a so-called middle-class lifestyle, outlook, and/or standard of living. These typically revolve around the ownership of certain goods, services, and/or amenities, income, occupation, and education.

In 2016, the Western Cape was home to more than six million people, the majority of which (just over four million) lived in the City of Cape Town (Wazimap, 2016b).[9] On average, residents in the City of Cape Town have higher estimated annual household incomes compared to the Western Cape province (R57,000 vs. R29,400, respectively) and higher annual incomes (R57,500 vs. R30,000, respectively) (Wazimap, 2016b). This is also the case compared to other municipalities. For example, in the Cape Winelands the average annual household income and annual income are estimated to be R29,400 and R30,000 (respectively) and the majority of residents (29%) earn between R10,000–R20,000 annually. In the City of Cape Town, the majority of residents (21%) earn R20,000–R40,000 each year (Wazimap, 2016a). While fewer people are employed in Cape Town compared to the Cape Winelands (50% vs. 53%) more people are likely to be formally employed (79% vs. 76%) and have completed a higher level of education (e.g., Matric, or higher; 48% vs. 39%) (Wazimap, 2016a).

As discussed in Chapter 4, I did not aim to recruit consumer participants based on quantifiable middle-class criteria such as income, employment, education (etc.). However, as I argue, criteria such as these have been used to strategize the growth of new wine consumer groups in South Africa. For this study, therefore, the criteria used by the wine industry to build middle-class consumer groups were useful in delineating a diverse group of people who would be more likely to have the resources needed to holistically engage with wine in the Western Cape. Resources might include those associated with income and employment, but they could just as easily include the mobilities, time, and social networks that are often needed to engage with different spaces of premium wine consumption. As I will call attention to in Chapter 3, several consumer respondents expressed ambivalence in self-identifying their class position, 'middle' or otherwise. This study therefore seeks to better understand what wine and the ethics in its consumption might mean in relation to a diversity of people who are in the ongoing process of "'doing being middle class'" (Lentz, 2020, p. 459) in post-apartheid South Africa.

A core finding from this research is that the South African wine industry has increasingly and actively centred black middle-class consumers in its strategic ambitions for growth within

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[9] Most recent census data are for 2011; 2016 data are from the Community Survey, a large-scale survey that takes place between Census 2011 and Census 2021. The Community Survey includes 1.3 million sampled households across the country (STATS SA, no date).

the country. As I will discuss in detail, this is not dissimilar to other consumer-oriented industries searching for growth in South Africa. Importantly, this finding is critical to the examination of the meaning of ethics in wine consumption. However, this study is *not*, in itself, a study of black middle-class consumption cultures in post-apartheid South Africa. As I note elsewhere in this chapter, and as discussed further in Chapter 2, a core study aim is to understand how the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) constructed and enforced in apartheid South Africa continues to impact and inform the contemporary context for all middle-class wine consumers in post-apartheid South Africa. This requires, as discussed in Chapter 2, paying attention to concepts of whiteness and blackness in a South African context, both in relation to understandings of class alongside their entanglement with ideas around wealth and poverty (Ndlovu, 2022).

1.4.3. *Wine and the Western Cape*

In the Western Cape, a relationship with wine is not restricted to products available for purchase in spaces of retail (e.g., supermarkets) or hospitality (e.g., bars and restaurants) as might often be the case in other provinces in South Africa. In the Western Cape, wine is a multi-sensorial experience; most wine estates are open to the public and are increasingly viewed as resorts with restaurants, farmers markets, museums, music concerts, and more (Ferreira, 2020). Visitors are encouraged to visit the Cape Winelands not only to taste wine, but to enjoy the scenery, and to socialise with friends and family (Visit our Winelands, no date). Wine festivals are hosted throughout the year on wine estates and throughout the province. These celebrate the wines of local winemakers, wine regions, varietals, styles, and more. Wine auctions, including the Cape Fine & Rare Wine Auction, are held on historical wine farms and facilitate the sale of select vintages to private audiences (Cape Fine & Rare Wine Auction, no date).

Wine is also an important focus of academic study in the Western Cape. Stellenbosch University is home to the Department of Viticulture and Oenology and the South African Grape and Wine Research Institute. Nearby, Elsenburg Agricultural Training Institute accounts for more than 50% of winemakers trained in the South African wine industry (Vinpro, 2015). The Cape Wine Academy offers training and qualifications in wine marketing, service, and tastings. The University of Cape Town (UCT) offers a Business of Wine Course for professionals, many of whom work in South Africa's wine industry. The Pinotage Youth Development Academy (PYDA) provides wine-related hospitality training for

young people, and the Wine & Spirit Education Trust (WSET) provides an array of courses designed to prepare people for a career in wine. Now in its sixth year, the Wine Tourism Conference focuses on business-oriented opportunities in local and international markets.

All of this is to say that wine is blended into the social, cultural, and economic identities of the Western Cape. Centuries-old oak and cork trees can be found in the oldest wine regions (e.g., Constantia and Stellenbosch), a legacy of the ambitions of European settlers to produce the accoutrement of winemaking in the Western Cape. Hectares of vineyards and hundreds of wine estates line roads now officially demarcated as Wine Routes. Such routes sit within other cartographic ambitions, including South Africa's Wine of Origin scheme which defines the Western Cape through wine – from a single plot of vines to wards, districts, subregions, and regions (SAWIS, 2022b). In the centre of Cape Town (the first and oldest market for wines made in the Western Cape), the oldest fruit-bearing vine in Africa (planted in 1771) continues to be harvested in Heritage Square, its leaves providing shade during the hot summer months and its grapes harvested to produce small volumes of rare wine (Local at Heritage Square, no date). Wine is clearly an important part of the economy of the Western Cape. Wine is also central to its histories, materialities, geographies, and cultural identities. Its production has irrevocably altered the landscapes of the Western Cape – which can, in fact, be conceptualised as winescapes; for Johnson and Bruwer (2007, p. 277) this "encapsulates the interplay of: vineyards; wineries and other physical structures; wines; natural landscape and setting; people; and heritage, town(s) and building and their architecture and artefacts within, and more."

The ethical complexities of wine do not end as its production. In this study, I aim to show that the ethicalities and complexities of its consumption are closely entangled with the individual and collective memories of its racialised and classed histories, presenting themselves in a willingness to recollect, the privilege to avoid, and the determination to forget.

1.5.   Key Terminology: The Language of Race in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The study of wine, consumption, and the middle classes of the Western Cape requires an understanding of, and sensitivity to, the languages of race and their histories in South Africa. As this thesis will evidence, discussions of race and class are central to assumptions made about wine consumers and everyday wine consumption practices in post-apartheid South Africa. Reading these discussions through a lens of ethics, I argue, requires an

understanding of the histories, spaces, and cultures of wine production and consumption in South Africa. Below, I present some of the context needed to broadly understand the racialised language included in this thesis.

In South Africa, many aspects of life before apartheid were not dissimilar to other colonial and settler colonial societies, equally grounded in racial capitalism and legacies of enslavement, that also strived for racial segregation (Seekings, 2008). The 1948 election of the Nationalist Party, however, allowed for the legalisation of one of the "most thoroughly racialized orders of the world" (Posel, 2001a, p. 87). The Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950[10] – one of the pillars of apartheid – required all South African citizens to be legally classified and documented as White, Native, or Coloured based on generally agreed upon (and deliberately imprecise) factors such as descent, language, culture, and appearance (Population Registration, 1950; Posel, 2001a).[11] Subsequent amendments led to a fourth racial classification, Indian, for people of South Asian descent and the replacement of 'Native' with 'Bantu' and 'Black' (the latter subsequently subdivided based on ethnicity and/or language) (Posel, 2001a; Posel, 2001b; Seekings, 2008).

Speaking to the deliberate impreciseness of racial classification, Seekings (2008, p. 3) notes that in "difficult or contested cases" decisions of race centred "cultural markers of 'appearance' and 'general acceptance'". This might arbitrarily include physical characteristics (which are reported to include skin colour, hair texture, facial bone structure, height, and genitalia; see Posel (2001b)), but it could just as easily be interpreted "in terms of social standing or class" (Seekings, 2008, p. 3). This included "friends, work, name, dress, deportment, [and] *tastes*" (Seekings, 2008, p. 3, emphasis added). As Posel (2001b, p. 61) observes, multiple aspects of everyday life were "invested with racial significance" that included perceptions of how well a person dressed (including their style and quality of clothing) their leisure and sporting activities, and the types of foods and drinks they consumed, including alcohol.

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[10] The Population Registration Act was repealed in 1991.

[11] The Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950 defined these as the following: a 'white person' meant "a person who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person"; a 'native' meant "a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member or any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa"; a 'coloured person' meant "a person who is not a white person or a native" (Population Registration, 1950). Note the demeaning and dehumanising label of 'native' in contrast to 'white person' and 'coloured person'. As Southall (2016, p. 238) states: "central to this naming [of 'native' was the] depersonalisation of the colonised and the denial of the individuality."

Hence, a legal system of racial classification informed every aspect of people's lives under the apartheid state (Posel, 2001a). A white minority – the only group to be represented in parliament – enjoyed preferential legal and political rights, alongside economic benefits, access to land, education, and employment (Seidman, 1999). Those classified as black had their citizenship tied to so-called homelands first established as 'native reserves' by the British colonial government through The Land Act of 1913 (Seidman, 1999).[12] While black South Africans might work in white-owned businesses, industries, and homes, they were legally required to carry passes and expected to eventually return to designated homelands (Seidman, 1999). Within a legalised and racialised social hierarchy, within which white South Africans were at the apex and black South Africans at the nadir, those classified as coloured or Indian were typically framed as having an "intermediate status" (Brown, 2000, p. 199). This was in part (particularly for coloured South Africans) connected to a presumed proximity to whiteness. As noted by Posel (2001a), the majority of contested racial classification cases involved coloured South Africans who sought to be legally reclassified as white (such people were referred to as the so-called "Pass-Whites" – see Brown (2000, p. 199)).

In striving to undo these harms and injustices, successive post-apartheid ANC governments have continued to use these racial labels when monitoring the effectiveness of its legislation and its policies (Posel, 2001a). Similarly, census methodologies continue to adopt the racial labels of Black African, Coloured, Indian/Asian, White (and occasionally, Other), when seeking to capture longitudinal demographic trends (STATS SA, 2012). It is suggested that a common argument in favour of such labels is the need to evaluate the extent to which the harms of apartheid have been addressed over the longer term (Posel, 2001b). At a legislative level, however, the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998 defines the term 'black people' as a generic label to mean "Africans, Coloureds, and Indians" (Government Gazette, 1998, p. 6). This is also applied to definitions used in the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, No. 53 of 2003 (Government Gazette, 2004a). Through this, legislation seeks to connect "terms of redress directly to a history of racialised disadvantage" which "bears directly on entitlements to preferential treatment" (Posel, 2001b, p. 68). As a result, the generic application of 'black' is often used in sector-specific affirmative action

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[12] Under the 1913 Land Act, 13% of South Africa's land area was demarcated for approximately 75% of the population classified as 'African' (Seidman, 1999).

policies. For example, SA WITU defines the term 'black people' as a generic label to mean "Africans, Coloureds, South African Chinese and Indians" (SA WITU, 2022, p. 4).

As will be illustrated in this study, South Africa remains "an intensely racialised society" (Posel, 2015, p. 2170). The four racial categories legally imposed by the apartheid state are now a relatively normalised and everyday form of parlance: "a habit of thought and experience, a facet of popular 'common sense'" (Posel, 2001a, p. 51). Research in post-apartheid Cape Town, for example, shows a correlation between apartheid-era racial classifications and the ways in which people continue to classify themselves and other people (Seekings, 2005; Seekings, 2008). Hence, in everyday vocabularies, the term 'black' is often used to frame "Africans as distinct from Coloureds and Indians" (Southall, 2016, p. 237). This does not mean there is no contestation or resistance to such labels. As I discuss in Chapter 4, several research participants expressed discomfort with predefined demographic labels and categories. Based on some of the information provided by participants, it was clear that these labels have constrained the nuances, ambivalences, and diversities of ethnicity in a South African context. However, as I discuss in this thesis, racialised labels are also central to mainstream understandings of the relationship between race, class, and consumption. From the pejorative 'Black Diamond' to 'coconut' and 'buppie', there exist a plethora of labels that centre practices of consumption in discussions of race and class in post-apartheid South Africa (de Coninck, 2018; Dimitris Kitis, Milani and Levon, 2018).

There are ongoing academic discussions on the application of racial labels in a South African context (Modiri, 2012; Baron, 2022). Modiri (2012, p. 406) uses the term 'black people' to refer to "Africans […] so-called 'coloureds' and 'Indians' (and all other groups previously designated as 'non-white' and discriminated against, disenfranchised and oppressed on that basis during (and after) apartheid". This is in line with Steve Biko's writings on Black Consciousness that called for unity amongst all those oppressed under white supremacy:

> The last step in Black Consciousness is to broaden the base of our operation. *One of the basic tenants of Black Consciousness is totality of involvement*. This means that all blacks must sit as one big unit, and no fragmentation and distraction from the mainstream of events be allowed. Hence we must resist the attempts by protagonists of the Bantustan theory to fragment our approach. We are oppressed not as individuals, not as Zulus, Xhosas, Vendas or Indians. We are oppressed because we are black. We must use that very concept to unite ourselves and to respond as

a cohesive group. We must cling to each other with a tenacity that will shock the perpetrators of evil.

Biko (1978, p. 19, author emphasis).

While recognising ongoing reflections in this space (Pillay, 2015; Mangcu, 2016; Mangcu, 2017; Pirtle, 2021a), I have taken the following approach when discussing racial labels and identities with the hope that this demonstrates a much-required sensitivity to the complexities of race in the South African context. I adopt the capitalisation of 'Black' to encompass all people of colour who were subjugated under apartheid and who continue to experience its consequences in the post-apartheid context. I adopt the lower case (e.g., black, white, coloured) when discussing people's own racialised identities and the ways in which they discuss other people's racialised identities. While doing so, I recognise that these represent the very same social constructs used to classify all South Africans under apartheid. I also recognise that, for many people, the use of these terms is relatively normalised (although not without controversy, revision, and rejection) in everyday South African society (Posel, 2001a; Posel, 2001b; Schramm, 2016; Pirtle, 2021b). To differentiate this everyday understanding from government-sanctioned racial labels, I add quotation marks to the latter (e.g., 'Black'). In doing so, I recognise these to be the labels used to classify people using arbitrary generalisations that allowed for the legal subjugation of Black South African citizens. Finally, in instances where direct quotes (e.g., from the literature) discuss racial labels, I retain the original source formatting. Here, it is not always possible to ascertain the conceptual nor political context behind these labels given that the decision to capitalise (or not) is not always explained by the author.

1.6.   Thesis Structure

This thesis is composed of nine chapters. In this, Chapter 1 ("Introduction"), I have introduced the research background of the project. In post-apartheid South Africa, the everyday consumption of wine is embroiled with political, ethical, and moral considerations and judgements. Often, however, the concept of ethics is typically used as shorthand to refer to a narrow set of social and/or environmental codes, audits, and certifications often defined by institutions and consumers of the Global North. There is a need to better understand the meanings of ethics in everyday consumption that accounts for the nuances, complexities, and tensions of wine in the Western Cape. The research questions for this study, therefore, are designed to interrogate the assumptions underpinning wine

consumption in this context, including perspectives on wine consumers, wine consuming practices, and spaces of wine consumption. The research locations – broadly, the City of Cape Town and the Cape Winelands – are critical to this analysis given the economic, cultural, historical, and material impact of wine here.

In Chapter 2, I outline the conceptual framework underpinning the study, focusing specifically on the concepts of ethics, consumption, and the global middle classes. Here, I seek to understand the ways in which these concepts are operationalised, both in relation to wine, to each other, and to the empirical context of South Africa. I first position the thesis within literature on the geographies of wine consumers with specific focus on middle-class consumers in emerging economies. I identify an assumption implicit to this literature, namely, that the middle classes are motivated to consume wine in order to acquire and maintain status. There is a need, I argue, for more critical and analytical research which captures the nuances and complexities of wine consumption in emerging economies. Next, I interrogate the concept of ethical consumption. I begin by establishing the relationship between the South African wine industry and ethics. I follow this through examination of geography literature focused on meanings of ethical consumption. Aligned with recent calls, I identify a need to expand the conceptual parameters of ethics to allow for its exploration within everyday consumption practices. I add to this, however, by centring the concept "regimes of consumption", as delineated by Posel (2010, p. 172), which, I argue, allows for an exploration of ethics in relation to the racialised and classed tensions of consumption in post-apartheid South Africa. Finally, I consider the entanglements between consumption and the middle classes of South Africa. I do so in three ways: firstly, I evaluate literature seeking to define the middle classes based on consumption and income metrics. I next consider its conceptualisation through market research metrics. Finally, I evaluate the value associated with the lived experiences of middle-classness. I conclude the latter approach is the most appropriate for this study, allowing for a nuanced analysis as understood in relation to the consumer experience.

In Chapter 3, I justify my focus on South Africa's Western Cape. I first do so by contextualising the entanglement of wine production in legacies of colonialism, settler colonialism, and apartheid. I argue that the consumption of wine is as equally complicit in these legacies as its production and demonstrate this by contextualising its role in supporting the expansion of European settler colonial agricultural activities within the

Western Cape. Here, I call attention to the historical racialisation of wine as a 'white' and 'European' alcoholic product and show how this classification, under the apartheid state, was a critical factor in the criminalisation of Black consumption practices. I also call attention to problematic practices, such as the dop system,[13] which have continued to have implications for the wellbeing of those working and living on farms throughout the Western Cape. I conclude that these histories are pivotal in understanding the contemporary context for the ethics in everyday wine consumption in the Western Cape.

In Chapter 4, I present the methodological design of this study. This study utilises feminist theories of care, emotion, affect, and subjectivity in fieldwork. This approach is crucial to centring the research through a lens of ethics that accounts for reflexivity and a recognition of the tensions of work in a transnational and transcultural context. I explain my preliminary research plans in detail to demonstrate the care and attention required in developing the study prior to in-person fieldwork. Next, I discuss my approaches to data collection including the suitability of the semi-structured interview method in creating a nurturing and confidential space for research participants. When describing my approaches to participant recruitment, I centre emotions and affect in guiding these processes; this is again connected to the centring of feminist approaches to methodologies and acts in resistance to neoliberal and masculinist interpretations of the fieldwork process that encourage the extraction of data, often, at any cost. Finally, I share reflexive insights on my positioning in the field. I focus in particular on the concept of mobilities; in South Africa, the ability to move between and within spaces is heavily shaped by racialised identities. I evaluate two readings of mobility: firstly, the ways in which I moved, literally, within the Western Cape as guided by my privileged position as a transnational and British researcher. Secondly, the ways in which my mixed-race identities and ethnic ambiguities affected the research process.

In Chapter 5, I present the first of my empirical findings. The objective of this chapter is to understand the assumptions made about wine consumers in South Africa based on the types of wines consumed according to quantitative sales data. I show the ways in which assumptions about wine tastes are racialised and classed, with more premium wine styles and wine cultures associated with white and wealthy South African consumers.

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[13] Under the dop system, farm workers were provided with large volumes of poor-quality alcohol throughout the working day (Williams, 2016). The dop system was officially banned in 1960 but was seemingly not enforced until the 1990s onwards (May *et al.*, 2019).

Simultaneously, I argue, this excludes black participation from spaces and practices of wine consumption. Finally, I call attention to the masking of the main wine market in South Africa, which has long been associated with a disenfranchised and agricultural labouring class.

In Chapter 6, I explore the strategies developed by the wine industry to grow middle-class wine consumption in South Africa. I pay particular attention to an industry focus on black middle-class consumers including the reasoning put forward for these strategies. I examine the assumptions used to solidify the relationship between black middle-class consumers and wine, namely, status and conspicuous consumption. This framing, I argue, works to essentialise taste without accounting for the ways in black consumers have been historically marginalised and criminalised in relation to wine consumption.

In Chapter 7, I present the first of two chapters examining spaces of middle-class wine consumption. In this, I centre the township, which has long been framed as antithetical to spaces of wealth and wine. I present consumer perspectives showing the ways in which wine consumption in townships continues to be moralised and is connected to the apartheid-era construction of racialised space. I follow this by examining industry perspectives on townships and the reasons they believe these spaces are important in growing black middle-class wine consumption. I call attention to previous methods used to try and grow wine in township spaces. I show how the core motivations of the township wine festival – to bring a premium wine consumption culture to people living, working, and/or socialising in townships – is loaded with assumptions about townships and the people who live and/or socialise there, including a presumed need to educate people on how to engage with a wine consumption culture most often associated with white consumers. The township wine festival, I argue, represents a middle-class enclave designed to welcome a select few.

In Chapter 8, I examine the growing emphasis placed on wine consumption at the wine estate – a racialised space associated with white and wealthy consumers. I call attention to strategies to build wine consumption with specific focus on middle-class people living and working in the Western Cape. I show the disconnect between the framing of the wine estate through tourism and the ways in which these spaces are experienced by local visitors. I argue the wine estate acts as a space of ethical contestation in which the racialised identities of middle-class consumers, alongside their identities as South African citizens, ruptures attempts to frame wine as apolitical and neutral.

In Chapter 9, I summarise the key findings from the study. These are centred around the following: firstly, contemporary wine trends in post-apartheid South Africa; secondly, growing the number of middle-class consumers; thirdly, middle-class consumer experiences of ethics. These findings are organised around the key contributions to knowledge. I first consider the implications in relation to research involving wine consumers in emerging markets. I then explain the contributions of this study to literature on the ethics in consumption. In the final section, I evaluate opportunities for further research exploring the entanglements between wine, ethics, and middle-class consumption in emerging economies.

Chapter 2. The Ethics in Wine Consumption and South Africa's Middle Classes

2.1.   Introduction

To date, the demand for wine in emerging economies across the heterogenous Global South is predicated on two key assumptions. Firstly, the size of the middle-class population in any given market dictates the volumes of wine consumed, with the middle classes presumed to have an ingrained predilection towards wine (Banks and Overton, 2010; Smith Maguire and Lim, 2015; Howland, 2019; Clifton, Clifton and Velikova, 2021; Ho, 2021a; Ho, 2021b). Secondly, the middle classes in emerging economies drink wine, particularly those imported from wine-producing countries in Europe, to signal and embed their class position, social status, and cultural identities as distinct from other social groups (Järvinen, Ellergaard and Larsen, 2014; Ho, 2021b). In this way, the consumption of wine is suggested to be entwined with capital – the economic, the cultural, and the social (Bourdieu, 1984; Ho, 2021b). Within this, the types of wine consumed are assumed to demonstrate class position; as Ho (2021b, p. 53) states, it is the "hierarchy of wine" that "shapes identity within a social hierarchy." Given the reification of wine and its mythologies (Carter, 2019; Inglis, 2022), it is perhaps easy to see why wine has often been unquestionably placed on the imaginative pedestal of middle-class consumption practices.

Amidst this broader context, the overarching aim of this study is to search for the ethics in wine consumption with respect to the middle classes of post-apartheid South Africa. In doing so, I seek to achieve three core objectives: firstly, to disrupt the assumption that the middle classes in emerging economies consume wine conspicuously to demonstrate status; secondly, to expand the conceptual parameters of ethics as understood in relation to wines produced and consumed in South Africa; thirdly, to centre the diversity and complexity of perspectives expressed by (and about) the middle classes of post-apartheid South Africa. As Popke (2006, p. 508) argues, "ethical dispositions are always-already inscribed in the everyday performance of consumption" and it is this position that acts as a foundational cornerstone of this study.

In this, Chapter 2, I present the conceptual framework underpinning this study, focusing specifically on three core concepts: ethics, consumption, and the growing middle classes. In doing so, I seek to understand the different ways in which these concepts are operationalised, both in relation to wine, to each other, and to the empirical context of

South Africa. This includes recognition that these are multi-faceted concepts with many meanings. Therefore, in this chapter, I aim out to outline the different meanings applied to these concepts and justify the conceptual approaches used in this study.

This chapter is composed of three sections. In the first section, I argue why wine – a product that offers a "window into places, cultures, and times" (Dougherty, 2012, p. 5) – is an important medium to examine questions of class and consumption in post-apartheid South Africa. I do so by calling attention to the ways in which the literature on wine and the middle classes in emerging markets typically centres a theoretically shallow understanding of consumer motivations, as guided solely by the desire for status. Importantly, this literature typically centres wine consumers in Asia and leaves the African context under-examined. Collectively, I argue, this leaves little room to explore the nuances and complexities of wine consumption in relation to the growing middle classes in emerging markets.

Next, I examine the ways in which the concept of ethics is understood in relation to the following: 1) wines produced and consumed in South Africa; 2) middle-class consumers across the heterogenous Global South. Here, I examine the concept of ethics that is most often applied to consumption and is often understood through narrowly defined labour and/or environmental standards (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015). Aligned with calls from a growing number of geographers, I argue the need for a broadening of the conceptual parameters of ethics as understood in relation to middle-class consumers in the Global South. Here, I bring theories from the literature on the ethics in everyday consumption into dialogue with the concept of "regimes of consumption" as delineated by Posel (2010, p. 172). In doing so, I establish an ethics in consumption focused specifically on the interrogation of racialised and classed consumer stereotypes. In post-apartheid Cape Town and the Cape Winelands, everyday consumption practices remain enmeshed with problematic and racialised stereotypes cultivated to achieve the segregationist and discriminatory ambitions of successive settler colonial and apartheid states (Posel, 2001a; Posel, 2001b). It is for this reason that, nearly 30 years following the end of apartheid, Black South African citizens continue to face racism and discrimination when seeking access to relatively everyday spaces of consumption such as pubs, restaurants, and hotels (CapeTalk, 2015; SABC News, 2022; Booysen, 2022). For the purposes of this study, I envisage the ethics in consumption as a conceptual tool that allows for the disruption and historicization

of the racialised and classed consumer stereotypes which lie dormant within everyday life in the post-apartheid city.

Finally, in the third section, I examine the ways in which South Africa's middle classes are defined and conceptualised through consumption. I argue that commonly used approaches – in which consumption is understood as synonymous with spending and the ownership of specific goods – do not allow for the critical examination of the ethics in consumption. I instead argue for a conceptualisation of middle-class as "middle-classness" which allows for the "social dynamics of 'doing being middle-class'" (Lentz, 2020 quoted in Mercer and Lemanski, 2020, p. 429). This fluid understanding of class, I argue, allows for what Daya (2022a, p. 2) describes as a "multiplicity of stories and experiences" to be captured that pay attention to the cultural, emotional, and ethical aspects of consumption in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.2.   Geographies of Wine Consumers

The theorisation of wine consumption is infused with its geographical possibilities and complexities. At the global scale, the continued conceptual division of some wine-producing countries into binaries of 'Old World' and 'New World' speaks both to the historical entanglements between viticulture and European settler colonialism and to the difficulties of introducing concepts that better reflect contemporary changes in viticultural geographies around the world (e.g., in India and China) (Banks and Overton, 2010). It is within such conceptual binaries that a global consumer group makes decisions on the types of wines they seek, with 'Old World' products (i.e., those produced in Europe) typically presumed to be of superior quality to 'New World' alternatives (i.e., those produced in former European colonial states, for example, South Africa) (Giacomarra *et al.*, 2020).

Central to this thesis is the argument from Dougherty (2012, p. vi) that wine is "the agricultural product that best mirrors the environmental, social, and economic conditions under which the grapes grow". When a person consumes wine, they are not simply imbibing a product; they are tasting its geographies which are themselves a "window into places, cultures, and times" (Dougherty, 2012, p. 5). Wine is therefore understood as a "manifestation of culture" (Senese, Wilson and Momer, 2012, p. 81) and the concepts and knowledges valued by wine connoisseurs – such as terroir, soil composition, climate, region, country – emphasise the importance of geographical expertise within these cultures. Harvey (2002), for example, calls attention to the power and politics associated with some of the

geographical concepts most valued by wine connoisseurs (e.g., terroir). He argues that the languages and labels of wine are the culmination of an intense and ongoing international debate that is largely focused on the preservation of geographically contingent monopolies (Harvey, 2002). South African winemakers, for example, have been unable to use the terms 'champagne' or 'champenoise' on wine labels since 1992 following the creation of the Appellation d'Origine Protégée. Instead, wines made using the traditional champagne method in South Africa are labelled 'Methode Cap Classique' (MCC) (Furuya, 2017; Comité Champagne, 2022).

This theorisation of wine is crucial in allowing for a conceptualisation of consumption that accounts for the intangible. As expressed above, wine consumption is understood to represent something *more* than the literal act of ingestion. Wine consumption can be understood through a myriad of complex, multi-sensorial, and interconnected moments and practices. Even when understood at its most literal, it remains magical. It calls upon the motor system to control wine's most infamous movements: swirling, sniffing, spitting. The olfactory system allows for the heady experiences of scent and aroma. Proprioception, the sense of self in space, allows one to touch glass to lips. In the mouth, taste receptors activate the insular cortex and allow for the conscious experience of the geographies of flavour. Within the body, wine (as ethanol) is digested and absorbed, with accompanying spatial and temporal materialities. Through the circulatory system, wine transgresses the blood-brain barrier and disrupts functioning. The consumption of wine can have (patho)physiological, cognitive, and behavioural effects with both short- and longer-term implications. Above all, the ways in which these various moments and practices come together have an effect on the perceived status of the consumer.

This conceptualisation of wine consumption bears similarities to the argument put forward by Warde (2005, p. 145), who understands consumption to represent a 'moment' "within and for the sake of practices". Here, practices represent both a coordinated entity of 'doings and sayings' and the performance of these 'doings and sayings' which Warde (2005) argues, require and entail consumption. Within this, consumption is not restricted to, or defined by, market exchange but is instead "an integral part of most spheres of daily life" (Warde, 2005, p. 137). Warde (2005; 2014) defines the 'moments' of consumption in terms of acquisition, appropriation, and appreciation. Hence, consumption encompasses moments of exchange, activity, and meaning that are dependent on the conventions of the practice (Warde, 2017).

It is both the engagement in practice (as activity and performance), and the social unevenness of this, Warde (2005) argues, that explains the nature and process of consumption. Evans (2019) adds to the definition from Warde (2005) through devaluation, divestment, and disposal. Furthermore, as Evans (2020, p. 300) also states, this characterisation of consumption allows for "fuzzy boundaries and shifting agendas" and creates new opportunities for engagement, including research specifically focused on the ethical dimensions of consumption (Crang and Hughes, 2015) alongside the materials, meanings, competencies, and temporalities of alcohol consumption (Wright *et al.*, 2022).

Status is also connected to the geographies of wine and deeply impacts the perceived value of the final product (Unwin, 2012). Perhaps one of the most famous examples of this is the Paris Wine Tasting of 1976 (otherwise known as the Judgement of Paris) (Taber, 1976). In a blind tasting, a panel of French judges consistently rated Californian wines as superior to French equivalents (Taber, 1976). Tastings in 1986 and 2006 led to similar results (Crane, 2018). Given the assumption that French wines would outperform Californian competitors, these results were controversial (Crane, 2018). The controversy of this event was also connected to the disruption of power as understood through expertise, taste, and judgement. As Harvey (2002, p. 100) argues, "knowledge of wine and 'proper' appreciation is often a sign of class and is analysable as a form of 'cultural' capital" connected to the "culture of the product […] the cultural practices that surround its consumption and the cultural capital that can evolve alongside among both producers and consumers". Hence, while the Paris tasting had ramifications in the world of wine beyond the panel of French experts, their reactions call attention to the impact of these results on the perceived stability of their knowledge, expertise, and cultural capital. Odette Kahn (editor of "La Revue du Vin de France"), for example, sought to revoke her scoring cards and suggested that the test was false on the basis that Californian winemakers were seeking to emulate French wines (Taber, 2005). It is likely, however, this was as much connected to a determination to maintain a sense of authority on the subject matter as it was to ensure the reputation of the French wine industry remained unblemished. This is because, through wine, a consumer is seen to gain the intangible, including status, power, and cultural capital (Currid-Halkett, Lee and Painter, 2019; Rainer, 2021). This is often connected to the temporal and spatial qualities of a wine. For example, rare wines produced from specific vineyards in prestigious regions and in particular years can sell for hundreds of thousands of pounds (Overton, Murray and

Banks, 2012). Likewise, bulk-produced wines marketed without reference to geography, vintage, or varietal can be sold for relatively little. In recent years, the former (the realm of the luxury and the premium) is understood to be of particular significance in emerging wine consuming markets, specifically, those involving middle-class consumers. As I will argue, however, this literature fails to account for the multitudes of meanings applied to wine consumption beyond aspirations for status and power.

2.2.1. *Wine consumption and the growing middle classes*

Over the past decade, scholars across disciplines (e.g., geography, economics, sociology) have increasingly paid attention to wine, consumption, and the middle classes in emerging economies (Banks and Overton, 2010; Overton and Murray, 2013; Anderson and Wittwer, 2015; Ho, 2021a). Aligned with discourses on the economic importance of this globalised group (typically understood in relation to consumer spending), Overton and Murray (2013) argue that the stability of the middle classes is critically important in ensuring the continued growth of premium wine markets. While the United States of America (USA) and countries in Europe (specifically, France, Italy, Germany, the UK, and Spain) represent the biggest wine markets globally in terms of volume, consumption levels have generally been in decline from the early-to-mid-2000s onwards, excluding the USA. The International Organisation of Vine and Wine (OIV) notes that the European Union's (EUs) share of global wine consumption has decreased considerably since 2000 onwards (59% in 2000 vs. 48% in 2021) (OIV, 2022b). Anderson and Wittwer (2015) attribute this trend to the overall reduction in wine consumption in European producer countries alongside the increase in wine consumption in emerging markets such as China and Japan. In 2017, for example, China saw a boom in wine consumption; its subsequent decline from 2018 onwards has led to a significant reduction in the volumes of wine consumed globally (OIV, 2022b).

In recent years, countries across Africa (e.g., Namibia, Botswana, Tanzania, and Kenya) have, alongside China and Hong Kong, become increasingly important export markets for the South African wine industry (Wesgro, 2021; Daniel, 2022). Indeed, such is the growing importance of China that some South African wine producers are creating new red wine blends specifically intended for consumers in this market (Daniel, 2022). Overton, Murray and Banks (2012, pp. 278-279) suggest that it is the newly wealthy in emerging economies who are "turning to wine as a new high-status product [in particular] prestige brands from Europe". Within this context, the patterns, practices, and performances of wine

consumption are assumed to be closely associated with aspirations for "social prestige" (Overton and Murray, 2013, p. 702) and a "signifier of middle class status and distinction" (Howland, 2013, p. 335). The status associated with wine is often connected to the authentic display of wine appreciation and wine knowledge (Howland, 2013; Overton and Murray, 2013). It is this group, Overton and Murray (2013, p. 715) argue, who seek to "emulate the consumption patterns of the wealthy by consuming wines that retain some important markers of prestige" (Overton and Murray, 2013, p. 715). As Currid-Halkett, Lee and Painter (2019, p. 85) note, this theorisation of wine speaks to the ways in which its consumption is presumed to be "more suggestive of cultural capital rather than [the] economic."

In recent years, wine economists have paid increasing attention to wine markets in China and Hong Kong (Anderson and Wittwer, 2015; OIV, 2022b). In Hong Kong, Ho (2019, p. 192) argues that wine has become popular amongst the growing middle classes "because it captures the notions of high culture, flaunting wealth and being Westernized". It is an increase in wealth and/or income that is understood to encourage consumers' supposed penchant for purchasing "products from the Western world" (Ho, 2021b, p. 250). As Ho (2021a) also observes, however, wine consumers in China and Hong Kong are often portrayed negatively by wine critics in Europe. The racialised stereotype is that these consumers "do not have the relevant knowledge to consume sophisticated products from the West in ways defined as appropriate by Western drinking and wine cultures" (Ho, 2021a, p. 9). The presumed lack of wine knowledges and familiarity with Eurocentric wine consumption cultures is assumed to translate into a lack of wine appreciation. This argument is often evidenced, for example, by consumers mixing expensive wines with soft drinks, adding ice and/or dried plums to wine, or pairing red wine with seafood (Ho, 2021a; Ho, 2021b). As Ho (2021b, p. 249) argues, the suggestion of incorrect wine practices – in contrast to the presumed-to-be-correct Western standards – demonstrates "forms of Western (colonial) superiority and cultural imperialism [that fail] to acknowledge cultures beyond the Anglo-Eurocentric world." It would be more appropriate, Ho (2021b, p. 261) argues, to conceptualise such consumers as "creative drinkers" who are "innovative when drinking wine [and drink] to suit their own tastes" within their own localised contexts.

Research on wine, consumption, and the middle classes in emerging economies has typically focused on markets in China, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Japan (Lee, 2009; Lockshin, 2014;

Anderson and Wittwer, 2015; Ho, 2019; Ho, 2021a; Ho, 2021b). What is missing – and what I aim to address in this study – is a critical examination of wine consumption as it relates to the diversity of middle-class experiences within the context of Africa, specifically, South Africa. In 2008, the continent of Africa accounted for 2.5% of global wine consumption (Banks and Overton, 2010). While relatively low compared to other regions, it is also believed to have one of the highest growth rates in wine consumption (Banks and Overton, 2010). In 2021, for example, South Africa and Nigeria were the 20th and 24th biggest importers of champagne globally (~1.1 million bottles and 559,000 bottles, respectively) (Luckhoff, 2022). A growth in general wine sales is also seen across the continent; in Kenya, for example, wine markets grew by 124% between 2016 and 2019, with the country identified as a prospective export market by the South African wine industry (Clifton, Clifton and Velikova, 2021). In Mozambique, wine consumption increased from 72,000 hl in 2015 to 161,000 hl in 2019; in Nigeria, it has increased from 63,000 hl in 2007 to 279,000 hl in 2021, and in Namibia, it has increased from 61,000 hl in 2011 to 381,000 hl in 2021 (OIV, 2022a).

As has been suggested in the case of China and Hong Kong, Clifton, Clifton and Velikova (2021, p. 380) state that the growth of wine consumption in different African countries is due to "a growing middle class with greater disposable incomes and a desire to secure a certain social status through association with wine." In this study, I argue that this framing of wine consumption risks the essentialisation of middle-class consumers across the heterogenous and diverse spaces of the Global South. Furthermore, it positions such debates within Northern-centric understandings of acceptable drinking practices with consequences for the ways in which Southern consumers are portrayed and understood in a global context (Ho, 2019; Ho, 2021a; Ho, 2021b). As I will further argue, therefore, seeking the ethics in wine consumption adds nuance and complexity to these debates which continue to frame the relationship between wine, consumption, and class solely through status.

2.3. Ethics and the Wine Consumer

2.3.1. Ethical trade and the South African wine industry

Ethics have long been a core focus of the South African wine industry, particularly in relation to its reputation in key export markets in Europe (Bek, McEwan and Bek, 2007; Herman, 2012; Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020). As I will argue in the following section, however,

this framing of Southern producers and Northern consumers is exclusionary and fails to account for a diversity of perspectives as expressed by Southern consumers.

Discussions on the need for a wine industry collectively focused on an ethical and environmentally sustainable production model are evident from as early as 1999 with the publication of the strategic document, Vision2020 (NAMC, 2002). Initially, however, the concept of sustainability (within the context of labour and environmental issues) did not extend to discussions of ownership, redistributive practices, or Black empowerment (Ponte and Ewert, 2007). These issues would be an important area of strategic focus as detailed in the 2003 Wine Industry Plan and the 2007 Wine Industry Transformation Charter (South African Wine Industry, 2003; South African Wine Council, 2007).

The South African wine industry has long interpreted ethics in relation to practices of wine production; this is evidenced by the growth of ethically certified wine farms. In 2003, Thandi Wines became the first wine farm in South Africa (and in the world) to receive Fairtrade certification (Moseley, 2008; Niklas, Storchmann and Vink, 2017). In the past two decades, the number of Fairtrade certified wine farms in South Africa has steadily increased (there are currently 45 Fairtrade certified wine producers) (FLOCERT, 2022). Of the three countries that now produce Fairtrade certified wines (South Africa, Chile, and Argentina), South Africa is the biggest producer and accounts for two-thirds of Fairtrade wine sales globally (Baldo, 2016; WOSA UK, 2021). Fairtrade certified wines are typically exported and have experienced continued growth in European countries, including Germany, Sweden, and the UK (Moseley, 2008; Fairtrade Sverige, 2017; Back *et al.*, 2019; Fairtrade Deutschland, 2021).

Geographers examining the ethics of wines produced in South Africa most often focus on ethical trade – a term typically used to refer to "the sourcing of products from producers guaranteeing core labour and human rights standards to their workforce" (McEwan and Bek, 2009a, p. 723). This focus includes research centred on the impact of ethical certifications and accreditations in farmworkers' lives, international ethical trade, and global value chains (Bek, McEwan and Bek, 2007; McEwan and Bek, 2009a; Herman, 2012; Overton, Murray and Howson, 2019; Alford, Visser and Barrientos, 2021). Contemporary labour dynamics justify the need for ethical trade, which are themselves shaped by historical systems of enslavement and indenture as seen in the Cape Colony from the seventeenth century onwards (Du Toit, 2002; Dooling, 2007; McEwan and Bek, 2009a). This racialised, authoritarian, and paternalistic labour model was critical in the establishment of a "class of

Coloured and Black farm labourers" (Olsson, 2018, p. 58) with a "coloured identity" crystallising in the Western Cape in the late-1800s (Adhikari, 1992, p. 97). Such regimes also allowed for the consolidation of wealth, land, and power by a white settler elite (Dooling, 2007).

Today, the economic and social inequalities built into this labour model remain visible on wine farms throughout the Western Cape (Du Toit, 2002; Howson, 2022). Surveys conducted in the 1990s show that housing (where available) was often of poor quality, including a lack of access to running water, electricity, and toilet facilities (London, 1999). Despite the Extension of Security of Tenure (ESTA) Act, No. 62 of 1997, high rates of housing evictions have continued well into the 21st century (London, 1999; SAHRC, 2003; Howson, 2022). In the 2011 survey "Ripe with Abuse", wine farm workers were reported to experience substandard health and safety (e.g., exposure to pesticides and a lack of access to toilets during the working day), wage deductions, racial and gender discrimination, and barriers to freedom of association (Human Rights Watch, 2011; Howson, 2022). For women, seasonal employment and housing rights are often contingent upon their partners' fulltime employment contracts, intensifying this precarity (SAHRC, 2003; Devereux, 2020). Young people are also vulnerable, with difficulties accessing education and reports of forced labour on some wine farms (SAHRC, 2003). Such practices are reported to continue; in the investigative documentary, "Bitter Grapes", attention was drawn to labour violations at several wine farms, including excessive salary deductions, health and safety risks (e.g., pesticide use without appropriate protective equipment), and difficulties in joining unions, with women workers particularly vulnerable to exploitation (Heinemann, 2016a).

The South African wine industry has long been aware that labour injustices on wine farms have had significant economic implications in international markets. In the 1980s, initial attempts to improve working and living conditions on wine farms were largely initiated by the wine industry with support from the apartheid government and international donors (Bek, McEwan and Bek, 2007). McEwan and Bek (2009b, p. 256) note that the wine industry was primarily motivated by a need to improve its reputation, allegedly receiving some of the "worst anti-apartheid press" of the era. Hence, the Wine Industry Plan paid particular attention to international markets with the viewpoint that "ethical and environmental assurances [were] becoming increasingly relevant in consumer preferences" (South African Wine Industry, 2003). Further, it was suggested that "technological innovation, ethical and

environmental practices and wine tourism" would give South African wines an advantage over other producers in the global marketplace (South African Wine Industry, 2003).

Today, wine industry organisations acknowledge the historical social injustices directly connected to wine production. However, attention is often drawn to programmes which seek to transform and empower historically disadvantaged people working on wine farms. This focus includes training programmes such as the Vinpro Foundation (now renamed as the Evergrow Foundation), youth-oriented education, nutrition, and health support (e.g., the Pebbles Project), and land redistribution schemes (e.g., shared ownership in wine estates – see Bosman Adama and Solms Delta as two notable examples). These initiatives are accompanied by a plethora of social and environmental certification schemes, including Fairtrade, WIETA, World Wildlife Fund (WWF) Conservation Champions, and Sustainable Wine South Africa (SWSA). McEwan and Bek (2009b, p. 256) argue that it is a lack of true transformational change, post-1994, that has driven the "proliferation of numerous voluntary codes and standards" in the South African wine industry.

The amalgamation of these different programmes, certifications, and trainings are increasingly used to evidence the South African wine industry as *the* pioneer of ethical winemaking. In the 2020 article, "South Africa Shows the World Why Ethics in Winemaking Matter", a clear distinction is made between wine production practices in South Africa compared to those in other wine-producing countries with a focus on ethical standards, land reform, and farmworker training (Buzzeo, 2020). Hence, ethical trade is a key component of marketing strategies for the South African wine industry both at the institutional level and at the producer level (Van Rooyen, Esterhuizen and Stroebel, 2011; Howson, 2022). The context of recent digital marketing efforts provides further evidence of the industry's centring of ethics. For example, wine.co.za (the "virtual home of South African wine") has established the campaign "#wineforgood" to showcase "all the good being done by the wine industry" (wine.co.za, 2021). As typified by "Bitter Grapes", however, the very codes and initiatives developed to improve labour practices and mitigate international scrutiny risk "being nothing but a marketing tool for the industry" (Heinemann, 2016a) that can be positioned as one ethical issue of many. For example, during the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, in which both the distribution and sale of alcohol were banned in South Africa, global social media campaigns such as #SaveSAWine and #JobsSaveLives encouraged

international consumers to view the purchase of South African wines as an explicitly ethical choice regardless of its ethical accreditations (Robinson, 2020d; Schutz, 2021).

Amidst 20 years of ethically mediated work by the South African wine industry is missing the everyday perspective of the Southern consumer. This is something I aim to address through this study by paying attention to the ethics in wine in relation to middle-class consumers' everyday lives in the Western Cape.

2.3.2. Ethical wine consumption in South Africa

Geographies of ethical trade, including those involving wine, are often conceptualised to envision a Southern producer and Northern consumer (Crang and Hughes, 2015). In contrast, there is very little research on ethical wine consumption within the context of consumers in the Western Cape and/or South Africa (Saayman and Saayman, 2019). This finding is surprising given the relative proximity of these consumers to spaces of wine production, particularly those living and working in the Western Cape, and the importance of ethics for the reputation of the South African wine industry more generally.

This evidence is not to say that there have not been efforts to grow the consumption of ethically certified wines in South Africa. Fair Trade South Africa (FTSA) was established in 2005 to create greater public awareness about Fairtrade and Fairtrade products within South Africa (Fairtrade Foundation, 2010). In 2009, Fairtrade Label South Africa (FLSA) was established as a division of FTSA and was designed to license the Fairtrade Mark and control the sale of Fairtrade labelled products in South Africa (Fairtrade Foundation, 2010). Through this, South Africa became one of the few countries globally, and one of two countries in Africa (the other being Kenya, with Fairtrade Marketing Organization Eastern Africa [FMOEA] officially launched in 2013), within which Fairtrade products were made, sold, and consumed (Fairtrade International, no date-a; Fairtrade International, no date-b; Fairtrade Africa, no date). Importantly, a core ambition of FLSA and FMOEA was to tap into the "emergence of new markets and a middle class in the South" (Fairtrade Africa, no date). FLSA initially prioritised two products for the South African market – wine and coffee – to be sold in collaboration with leading supermarkets (FLSA, 2011).

FLSA did see some market success. Market researchers, for example, reported that between 2009 and 2010, South African shoppers increased their Fairtrade purchases by 315% (GlobeScan, 2011). Sales of Fairtrade labelled products grew from an estimated R5.7 million

in 2009 to R18.4 million in 2010, with South African wines accounting for 50% of all sales in 2010 (FLSA, 2011). This trajectory continued, with sales reaching R287 million in 2013 (with more than 460,000 bottles of wine sold) and increasing to R294 million in 2014 (Erasmus, 2014; Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015). With support from well-known wine producers and supermarkets, FLSA continued to develop strategies to grow domestic markets, including increasing the number of Fairtrade certified wine farms displaying the Fairtrade Mark on products intended for South African markets (Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015; Coetzee, 2017). Success, in terms of sales, supported the presumptions built into the Fairtrade model, wherein the visibility of the Fairtrade Mark on packaging acts not just as a site of differentiation in a saturated wine market but also as a proxy for ethically mediated knowledges used to guide everyday purchasing decisions.

By 2017, FLSA had ceased operations in South Africa. Its struggle to sustain an ethically labelled market could easily be blamed on the consumption practices of middle-class South Africans. This is because blame is a critical component of an ethical consumption model that relies on consumers changing their spending practices. Within this model, consumers are "morally implicated in their actions through dimensions of knowledge and ignorance, recognition and mis-recognition" (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 28). This argument is one element of an ethical consumption model composed of a "linear chain of relations between free will, knowledge, voluntary action, causality, responsibility and blame" (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 25). If consumers fail to sufficiently demonstrate "explicit practices of acknowledged commitment" (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 28) they risk being framed as both uncaring and unethical. This framing of South African consumers has spatially problematic implications. Crang and Hughes (2015, p. 131) argue that a key assumption underpinning research on ethical consumption (that is, the ethics of consumption associated with certifications and accreditations) is that "producers are located in poorer countries, in particular those of the global South, and consumers are located in richer ones particularly in the global North". As Gregson and Ferdous (2015, p. 245) similarly argue, the increasing number of middle-class people across the Global South, combined with "consumer cultures [presumed to be] grounded in status, distinction and conspicuous consumption" risks their framing as irresponsible, reckless, and self-centred. This contrasts with Northern-centric debates on ethical consumption which often centre the supposedly enlightened consumer of the Global North (Gregson and Ferdous, 2015). This focus on status and distinction is clearly evident

within the context of wine – as discussed in section 2.2.1, for example, Overton, Murray and Banks (2012, pp. 278-279) argue that the assumption that wine is a "high-status product" is an important driver of middle-class consumption in countries across Africa and Asia.

Crang and Hughes (2015, p. 131) argue that despite the growing middle classes in emerging economies "playing an increasingly significant role in the global politics of consumption", the ethical meanings of consumption practices are "under-researched and under-theorized" (Crang and Hughes, 2015, p. 131). As Gregson and Ferdous (2015, p. 244) note, the "majority of research on ethical consumption continues to focus on production in distant places, bracketing consumers from its analysis" within which an "imaginary of Northern consumers and Southern producers prevails". This process often, as described above, involves a "consequentialist chain of ethics" (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 24) in which ethically mediated knowledges are presumed to be critical in connecting consumers with "distant or absent others" (ibid, p. 29). Within this model, people across the Global South are "positioned as objects of care-at-a-distance for subjects in the Global North" and, as a result, "responsibility in consumption becomes the exclusive responsibility of the Northern consumer" (Gregson and Ferdous, 2015, p. 247). The "unstated implication" argue Gregson and Ferdous (2015, p. 245), is an "absence of responsibility for consumers in the South".

Several geographers have raised concerns about the conceptual framework underpinning the ethics of consumption, in particular, its assumption that those engaging in ethical practices are the "affluent consumers in the West" (Barnett *et al.*, 2010, p. 4). Gregson and Ferdous (2015, p. 244) argue that "ethical consumption needs to be rethought to admit Southern consumption, particularly the middle class consumers of the South." They argue that the centring of Northern consumer perspectives in consumption scholarship, in particular in analyses of global commodity chains, value chains, and production networks, situates these consumers "at the apex of global value chains" (Gregson and Ferdous, 2015, p. 244). In contrast, the economies of the Global South are framed as export-led, with focus on producers and production, with little room for accounts of consumption or consumers. Within imaginaries of Northern consumers and Southern producers, therefore, Gregson and Ferdous (2015) argue that responsibility in consumption becomes exclusively Northern, with the implicit assumption of the absence of responsibility for consumers in the south. This focus, McEwan and Goodman (2010, p. 108) argue, creates a binary between "the 'haves' (Northern consumers) and the 'have nots' (Southern producers)". This argument is

entangled in a narrative of hierarchy that involves the presumed affluent consumers in the Global North, who through purchase of ethically produced goods, are engaged in the reproduction of paternalist relations with producers in the Global South who are framed as objects of responsibility. As stated by McEwan and Goodman (2010):

> Progressive initiatives that can make a tangible difference in the South still fortify centuries-old self/other distinctions by reminding consumers in the North of their post-colonial and angst-ridden ethical obligations to the poverty-riddled South.

> McEwan and Goodman (2010, p. 108).

Importantly, this unevenness in relations shapes the accepted definitions of what is ethical while failing to consider alternative understandings of the concept. In recent years, however, geographers have sought to address the imbalances in the field of ethical consumption, paying attention to the historical centring of the Global North in spaces of consumption and the framing of ethical consumption around a narrow set of values (Crang and Hughes, 2015). This research has resulted in increased attention paid to understandings of ethical consumption in the heterogenous spaces of the Global South (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015). However, as McEwan, Hughes and Bek (2015) observe, much of this work connects ethics to narrowly defined social and/or environmental values and responsibilities. They argue that there is a need to pay greater attention to the ethics in consumption which accounts for sensitivities to the local context. Daya (2016) supports this position and suggests that understandings of the ethics in consumption might be expanded by paying attention to, and including, the experiences of Southern consumers. Rather than assuming that Southern consumers must reach a predefined ethical threshold determined by actors in the Global North, Daya (2016) argues for an understanding of the complexity of ethics in everyday consumption, including their shaping by immediate concerns and social relations. Similarly, Gregson and Ferdous (2015) note that Southern consumers, their consumption practices, and their connections to, and articulations of, responsibility are excluded from the possibilities of ethics in consumption, further risking the presumption that ethical consumption and consumers are absent from the South. It is a core goal of this thesis to contribute to the ongoing call for research that expands the conceptual parameters of ethics as understood in relation to the middle-classes of post-apartheid South Africa.

2.3.3. The ethics in everyday wine consumption

The purposive application of ethical codes in the South African wine industry is connected to the determination to tangibly address contemporary injustices which remain haunted by legacies of settler colonialism and apartheid. As Du Toit (2002) argues, therefore, ethical codes require explicit contextualisation within histories of exploitation and disenfranchisement:

> Any attempt to understand the challenges posed by implementing standards of 'ethical sourcing' in the South African wine sector needs to begin with an appreciation of the political and social problems of the Western Cape at the turn of the twenty-first century and their historical background.
>
> Du Toit (2002, p. 361).

It is this position, I argue, which also holds true to understanding the ethics in everyday consumption practices in post-apartheid South Africa. Beyond explicitly ethical consumption practices (such as those associated with labour and environmental certifications), Barnett *et al.* (2005, p. 28) argue that "everyday consumption practices are always already shaped by and help shape certain sorts of ethical dispositions." Therefore, "everyday consumption routines" can be thought of as *"ordinarily ethical"* (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 28, author emphasis). Here, ethics not only refer to narrowly defined social and environmental responsibilities but incorporate the "activity of constructing a life by negotiating practical choices about personal conduct" (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholm, 2005, p. 10). Hence, as Barnett *et al.* (2005, p. 28) argue, the very basics of routine consumption "can be seen to presuppose a set of specific learned ethical competencies". The ethics in everyday consumption, for example, can emphasise the importance of emotion and affect (Miller, 1998; Hall, 2011). Aligned with this work is a framing of ethics in consumption as care, inspired by feminist theories that pay attention to the relationships between people across formal/informal and public/private binaries (Popke, 2006; McEwan and Goodman, 2010). As Popke (2006) argues, the everyday has ethical significance, giving room to expand the breadth of the social which is subject to moral or ethical judgments. Further, as Popke (2006, p. 508) states, "ethical dispositions are always-already inscribed in the everyday performance of consumption".

Aligned with the above, a growing body of work has sought to realign the connections between ethics and consumption through the conceptual frames of the ordinary and everyday (Adams and Raisborough, 2010; Hall, 2011; Hall, 2015). In doing so, they highlight the complexities, contradictions, and tensions of ethics in everyday consumption practices. While these practices may at times be entangled with market-based discourses of ethical consumption (e.g., Fairtrade goods), the latter is not the sole determiner of ethical validity (Hall, 2011). For Clarke *et al.* (2008), the ordinary ethics of consumption relate predominately to practices of care for the self and to others (e.g., family); while not displacing more abstract concerns, these ordinary ethical practices relate to concerns around value, quality, and health. Elsewhere, through an ethnography of ethics in everyday familial consumption in the home, Hall (2011) explores how participants' discussions of needs and wants are mediated through negotiations of responsibilities (often parental), affordability, and value. Hence, as Hall (2011, p. 635) suggests, "rather than consumers subscribing to a given set of ethics in consumption […] there are multiple ways of recognising consumption as an ethically-embedded process." Within the "moral balancing" of everyday life, a plurality of ethical dimensions can be made evident within consumption, including those connected to articulations and practices of responsibility and care (Hall, 2015, p. 142). Considering a multi-scalar perspective, Hall (2015, p. 140) argues that the "impacts of economic and political change on everyday urban life" also require further academic attention, particularly within research on the ethics in consumption. Specifically examining the ethics of consumption in times of austerity within the UK, Hall (2015) recognises the negotiation of potentially competing ethical priorities, incentives, and responsibilities, amidst a backdrop of increasing precarity.

In recent years, an increasing number of geographers have argued that the meanings of ethics in consumption, and spaces within which such practices take place, need to be broadened to account for a diversity of spatially contingent perspectives. In their work examining middle-class consumption practices in Bangladesh, Gregson and Ferdous (2015) show ethical consumption to be well-established, not necessarily through goods that express their ethicality but as objects of desire (e.g., retail brands). They frame this as "consumption with ethical effects" that are rendered invisible and unknowable in North–South understandings of ethical consumption (Gregson and Ferdous, 2015, p. 245). This dimension of consumption is entangled with other values, for example, status and distinction

(Bourdieu, 1984); hence, Gregson and Ferdous (2015, p. 252) suggest that ethical consumption exists "not as ethical consumption per se but as ordinary consumption whose effect is ethical."

In research examining the purchasing decisions of middle-class consumers in South Africa's Western Cape, McEwan et al. (2015) identify commonalities in ethical experiences, practices, and dispositions, as articulated by participants who are diverse in terms of class (and associated income), ethnicities, and cultures, and as demonstrated through the practice of thrift. Identifiable as a phenomenon across all participants, regardless of relative income, the practice of thrift is conceptualised as an example of ethics in consumption, speaking not just to economic rationalities but to an ethics of care and responsibility (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015). This understanding of ethics in everyday consumption is particularly important given, as discussed, the possibility that these understandings are in tension with a narrowly defined understanding of ethical consumption. In the study by McEwan, Hughes and Bek (2015), for example, participants articulate their ethical choices in their unwillingness to pay for goods that, while framed as green or sustainable, also come at a higher financial cost. Here, practices of thrift, that prioritise the most effective use of available resources (e.g., buying cheaper food in greater volumes or redistributing money saved on food spending for other household expenses) are connected to responsibilities and care for the self and for others within the household.

Importantly, this research draws attention to two essential facets of understanding of relevance to this study. Firstly, it pays attention to the heterogeneity of middle-class experiences, specifically in South Africa's Western Cape. Secondly, while the research understands thrift to constitute a form of ethics in everyday purchasing decisions, it also recognises such decisions to be mediated by relative affluence and purchasing power (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015). Recognising a voluntary form of thrift, McEwan, Hughes and Bek (2015) observe that the capacity to enact certain practices of everyday consumption, and their ethics, require certain economic, temporal, and spatial privileges (e.g., having the time and mobilities to access different stores to purchase items according to perceived thrift benefits). Hence, enacting thrift requires certain capabilities and abilities, and can be connected to an assertion of status that links thrift to aspiration. As will be later discussed, this is a crucial element to consider for this study; while ethics may be always-

already in everyday consumption practices, this does not mean these practices are devoid of power or privilege, or accessible to all.

While the research by McEwan, Hughes and Bek (2015) focuses on the purchasing decisions of consumers in formal and everyday spaces (e.g., supermarkets), Daya (2016) recognises that the ordinary ethics in everyday consumption can also be explored in informal trading spaces. Arguing again that moral values are embedded in everyday consumption, Daya (2016) seeks to understand an ethics that includes everyday habits, considerations, and desires. Paying attention to informal markets in Cape Town, Daya (2016) explores how these spaces, involving the consumption of craft, allow for ethics to be expressed and enacted, with care performed through mutual recognition and appreciation of a collective social project. Here, consumer ethics emerge from the value placed on direct human contact and a desire to build multi-scalar shared identities. While expressing recognition of a shared identity can be easy to dismiss (superficial at best, exploitative at worst), Daya (2016) argues that a social theory of the ethics in consumption needs to acknowledge these accusations, but also move beyond them, to explore spaces of ethical possibility and to theorise them as opportunities for expanded responsibility and care. In post-apartheid South Africa, Daya (2016, p. 133, author emphasis) argues, "the few public spaces that enable some sense of a shared culture, *matter*".

As Hall (2011) recognises, memories of place are often marked by habits and practices of consumption and are infused with ethical possibilities. "Memories, habits and repertoires", Hall (2015, p. 143) argues, are a critical component of everyday consumption; therefore, infusing analyses with historicised perspectives, that account for collective and individual memories, can illuminate important insights into the ethics in contemporary consumption. As Hall (2015, p. 144) states, "personal, formative or familial memories and experiences" can continue to shape "everyday negotiations and practices around consumption and ethics." Practices of memory, ethics, and consumption are entwined, including desires to remember and to forget (Hall, 2011). Such work is often focused on practices of consumption oriented around the home (Bell and Valentine, 1997; Valentine, 1999; Hall, 2011; Hall, 2015; Meah and Jackson, 2016). However, as Anderson and Daya (2022, p. 1677) argue, the "politics and ethics of memory landscapes" can play an important role in shaping understandings of "spatial justice" within the wider urban context.

In this study, I seek to add to the diversity of scholarly perspectives above by infusing the concept of the ethics in everyday consumption – as delineated above – with the "fundamental point" argued by Posel (2010, p. 172) that "throughout South Africa's history of colonial rule and white supremacy, regimes of race have co-produced regimes of consumption." As Posel (2010) further states:

> The making of the racial order [in apartheid South Africa] was, in part, a way of regulating people's aspirations, interests and powers as consumers. The desire and power to consume was racialized, at the same time as it was fundamental in the very making of race. This interconnection in turn has had a profound bearing on the genealogy of varied and contested imaginings of 'freedom'.
>
> Posel (2010, p. 160).

Hence, as argued by Ndlovu (2020, p. 569) understanding the connections between race and consumption requires engagement with the subject "from a historical perspective that sees the two as reinforcing or conflated with each other." As Dawson (2023, p. 149) argues, "racist ideologies have long shaped moral attitudes" to everyday and ordinary consumption practices in South Africa, as connected to the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) enforced on South Africans for much of the 20th century. The construction of the apartheid state was contingent upon the legalisation, normalisation, and acceptance of racist policies and practices including those focused on consumption practices (Posel, 2001a; Posel, 2001b). So entrenched were apartheid policies that ordinary and everyday practices, for example, entering and exiting a retail store, were racially segregated (Kamaloni, 2019). Hence, as Posel (2014, p. 48) argues, "if whiteness implied an entitlement to prosperity, being classified Black was tantamount to being judged unworthy of certain modes of consumption." This continues to have ramifications for the everyday lives of racialised peoples in post-apartheid South Africa. As Kamaloni (2019, p. 86) attests to, the entrenched connections between race and consumption had ramifications for the places she knew she "instinctively […] could go and the spaces [she should] avoid" within her day-to-day life in post-apartheid Cape Town.

Calling attention to the ways in which "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) continue to impact the everyday lives of South Africans allows for the confrontation of the "apartheid past" in ways that involve the ethical deployment of memory (Coullie, 2018, p. 2).

The types of knowledges and experiences that are actively and internationally remembered and forgotten, including through consumption, are loaded with ethical considerations and tensions (Akpome, 2018; Coullie, 2018). As Coullie (2014, p. 195) states, "the ethics of memory" means "remembering the past so as to foster more caring relationships and seeking the truth of the past and building a better future". Remembering the past can bring forward ethical values "such as respect and love" and more firmly connect the "ethical link between caring and memory" (Coullie, 2018, p. 202). So too can misrepresentation have serious ethical ramifications (Coullie, 2018).

In conceptualising the ethics in consumption as the interrogation of "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) in everyday post-apartheid South Africa, I seek to call attention to the ways in which racialised and classed assumptions continue to inform who consumers are, what they consume, and why. This is understood to be an explicitly ethical goal, making visible the moralisation and contestation of wine consumption based on stereotypes of race and class connected to histories of settler colonialism and apartheid.

2.4.   Consumption and South Africa's Middle Classes

There is a growing body of multidisciplinary literature focused on the consumption habits of the middle classes in emerging economies across Africa (Chevalier, 2015; Ncube and Lufumpa, 2015; Spronk, 2018). Despite this, as Musyoka (2022, p. 3) states, "there are no clear definitions" of the term 'middle-class' within the context of Africa. This ambiguity is not for lack of trying, with economic-oriented definitions often taking centre stage, including those put forward by financial institutions (e.g., the African Development Bank [AfDB]) (Musyoka, 2022). In a 2011 report, AfDB defined Africa's middle classes in absolute terms based on per capita daily consumption of USD 2–20 (2005 purchasing parity power [PPP]) (AfDB, 2011).[14] From this, it was estimated the middle classes represented 34% of the pan-African population (approximately 326 million people) in 2010, representing an increase from 26.2%, 27.0%, and 27.2% in 1980, 1990, and 2000, respectively (AfDB, 2011). However, recognising that the majority of people within this category were at a high risk of falling into poverty (the so-called 'floating class'), a revised definition of middle-class (per capita daily

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[14] This definition of middle class encompasses a floating class (defined as those with per capita daily consumption of USD 2–4; 24% of the population by income), a lower middle class (per capita daily consumption of USD 4–10; 9.9% of the population by income), and an upper middle class (per capita daily consumption of USD 10–20; 10.8% of the population by income) (AfDB, 2011).

consumption of USD 4–20) indicated Africa's middle-class population was considerably smaller than initially believed – approximately 138 million people (AfDB, 2011).

These figures, alongside forecasted projections, have directly contributed to growing international interest in consumer markets across Africa. Africa's middle classes are the subject of interest for global management consultancies (e.g., Bain & Company, McKinsey & Company, Deloitte) who have sought to identify investment opportunities for multinational corporations based on the anticipated growth of consumer markets (McKinsey & Company, 2012; Deloitte, 2014). Market aspirations for the 'new frontiers' of consumerism – see Atwal and Bryson (2014) – are demonstrated by the increasing presence of luxury brands (e.g., Cartier, Gucci, Louis Vuitton) in emerging markets that include South Africa (Crosswaite, 2014; Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016). As Musyoka (2022, p. 3) argues, these examples speak to the "capitalist intentions" associated with the perceived need to define Africa's middle classes in which consumption is understood solely in terms of spending. Such investment-oriented aspirations, however, are unstable and uncertain. As Melber (2022) notes, adjustments in the perceived size of Africa's middle classes (originally defined based on income and expenditure, as with the AfDB definition) have paused and/or slowed international investment and expansion strategies with downward adjustments seen in the retail and consumption sectors.

Musyoka (2022, p. 3) recognises there to be an "emerging consensus around the character (rather than the definition) of [the] middle classes". As demonstrated above, this 'character' is assumed to include behaviours and attitudes that are of benefit to a capitalist economy (e.g., consumption conceptualised as spending) alongside values conducive to the promotion of democracy, governmental accountability, and political stability (Visagie and Posel, 2013; Visagie, 2015; Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016; Burchardt, 2022; Musyoka, 2022). According to AfDB (2011, p. 2), Africa's middle classes are "Africa's future, the group that is crucial to the continent's economic and political development". The growth of the middle classes, it states, is correlated with:

> A rise in progressive values that are highly conducive to strong economic growth. In particular, the middle class are more likely to have values aligned with greater market competition and better governance, greater gender equality, more investment in higher education, science and technology than those of the poor.
>
> AfDB (2011, p. 6).

47

Similar narratives are evident within the context of South Africa, which, along with Nigeria, is "regarded as [a high-wealth jewel] in the African crown" (Crosswaite, 2014, p. 187). At the launch of the "2022 Black Middle Class Report" from the UCT Liberty Institute of Strategic Marketing, Martin Neethling (chief marketing officer of PepsiCo sub-Saharan Africa) stated that the middle classes "are really the bulwark for full economic development [with their] success fundamental to growth" (Swingler, 2022). The importance of the middle classes, Neethling continued, was directly connected to the "spending power and influence they have [in] heavily [shaping] the economy" (Swingler, 2022). This framing of (South) Africa's middle classes, Musyoka (2022, p. 9) argues, is infused with neoliberal thinking that presents a "romanticised view" of an individualised "orderly, socio-economically active (and therefore democratic), and manifestly consumerist class".

As demonstrated by the title of the UCT report, and as will be evidenced by the research findings of this study, the emerging middle classes of post-apartheid South Africa are typically conceptualised by financial/market-oriented institutions as a Black racialised demographic. Yet, for most of the 20th century in South Africa, the concept of middle classness – as a privileged economic position – was largely understood in relation to a white South African demographic (Iqani, 2017). As Iqani (2017, p. 112) argues, while the "South African middle class dream had existed throughout apartheid" it was racialised in the sense that "only Whites could access it." To be recognised and accepted as middle-class during this time, Iqani (2015, p. 129) further notes, "required being free of racist legal constraints, and being able to reach one's full potential and goals." Given Black South African people were decidedly not "free of racist legal constraints" (Iqani, 2015, p. 129) for much of the 20th century, it is unsurprising that the concept of middle classness has, until only recently, continued to be implicitly connected to the concept of whiteness in a South African context, that is, a hierarchy and practice that allows for white privilege and the denigration of people of colour, notably, Black South Africans (Ndlovu, 2022). As Ndlovu (2022, pp. 385-386) argues, the concept of blackness in apartheid South Africa was "constructed as incompatible with wealth, expansive urban space and luxury – features attributed to whiteness." This has led, Ndlovu (2022) continues, to "enduring ideas of blackness as a natural lack" (p. 386) in contrast to ongoing and embedded assumptions that connect whiteness to wealth. The unpicking of engrained beliefs concerning the intersection of race, class, and wine consumption is central to key arguments presented in later chapters of this study.

2.4.1. *Estimating the size of South Africa's middle-classes*

In the introduction to this chapter, I argued that the growth of wine consumption in emerging economies is dependent on two assumptions. First, that the size of the middle-class population can be used to predict wine growth in any given market (Banks and Overton, 2010). Second, that the emerging middle classes consume wine to demonstrate status (Järvinen, Ellergaard and Larsen, 2014; Ho, 2021b). Ho (2021b, p. 255) states, for example, that aspiring middle-class wine consumers "wish to accumulate cultural capital and display wealth through learning about, and drinking wine." Inherent within this, however, is a third assumption: that the definition of 'middle-class' is fixed, certain, and quantifiable and, as such, can be used to predict future wine growth based on the number of middle-class people. The recognition that the term 'middle-class' is undefined in the context of Africa (Musyoka, 2022) speaks to the fallacies within these assumptions.

Post-1994, particular attention has been paid to South Africa's black middle classes, a heterogenous demographic that has seen considerable growth most often attributed to government policies of affirmative action (e.g., the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, No. 53 of 2003) (Musyoka, 2022). Scholars have long recognised the existence of a black middle-class in colonial and apartheid South Africa (and in other colonial and settler colonial states), with work most often grounded in Weberian analyses that pay attention to status, power, and different social indicators of middle-classness (e.g., level of education, occupation, income, wealth) (Southall, 2014a; Iqani, 2017; de Coninck, 2018). However, as Musyoka (2022, p. 4) argues, the black middle classes were "not as consequential economically" in apartheid South Africa compared to the post-apartheid context. For example, under the apartheid state, black middle-class South Africans were unable to vote and did not have protected property rights (Musyoka, 2022). Furthermore, Black South Africans were heavily restricted in where they could live, what they could buy, and where they could buy goods and services (Posel, 2010). Generations of Black South Africans were disenfranchised and controlled including their being "denied business opportunities, dispossessed of land, forcibly relocated and barred from occupational advancement" (Visagie, 2015, p. 4). In tandem, successive apartheid governments actively sought to ensure the upliftment of white South Africans through education, access to land, and employment protections (Clark and Worger, 2011; Visagie, 2015). The overall result: a white and affluent middle-class and a poor and disenfranchised

Black majority population (Musyoka, 2022). In post-apartheid South Africa, the consequences of these heinous policies remain. South Africa is regularly ranked as one of the most unequal countries in the world (based on the Gini coefficient), with race understood to be a key driver of its inequalities (World Bank, 2022a; Musyoka, 2022).

As with the wider African context, the growth of the middle classes in post-apartheid South Africa is most often understood in terms of consumption, spending, and implications for the economy. Visagie (2015) states that in 1993, the proportion of white middle-class South Africans (defined as those with an income threshold between R1,400–R10,000 per person per month [after tax, 2008 prices]) was nearly twice as high compared to the black middle classes (54% vs. 29%). By 2008, these figures had largely reversed (29% vs. 52%, respectively) (Visagie, 2015). These values are corroborated elsewhere. For example, between 2004 and 2012, the size of the black middle-class population in South Africa was estimated to have more than doubled (1.7 million, 2004 vs. 4.2 million, 2012), growing by more than 30% in 2005/2006 alone (Pollock, 2007; UCT News, 2013). It is this growth that has captured the attention of the media, financial institutions, scholars, management consultancies, and market researchers, all of whom aim to define and understand South Africa's middle classes (Musyoka, 2022). The continued growth of this group, researchers have stated, is "crucial to the health and future of the economy [as it helps to create] a vibrant and stable society […] increasing South Africa's skills base, deepening employment, and widening the tax net" (UCT News, 2013). Economic growth is largely understood to be connected to spending (which is itself understood as synonymous with consumption). The annual spending of black middle-class South Africans, compared to their white middle-class counterparts, has increased from 2008 onwards (UCT News, 2013). In 2013, black middle-class South Africans were estimated to spend over R400 billion per year (UCT News, 2013).

Against the backdrop of state corruption, low economic growth, and struggling infrastructure, global management firms have increasingly expressed concerns about the stability of South Africa's middle classes (McKinsey & Company, 2016). Mainstream worries focusing on its fluctuating size are centred on the country's economic stability and sustainability (BusinessTech, 2021a; BusinessTech, 2021b; BusinessTech, 2022). However, it is important to recognise that while fluctuating economic factors have affected the size of South Africa's middle-class population (based on income), researchers have increasingly questioned the suitability of the definitions themselves in accurately estimating the number

of middle-class people in the country (Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016). Visagie (2015, p. 4) states that South Africa's middle classes "cannot be defined as the relatively affluent and simultaneously as the middle majority" – two commonly used international approaches used to define the size of the middle classes. Given the extremely high levels of poverty and inequality in South Africa, Visagie and Posel (2013, p. 165) argue that many of those who are labelled middle-class in a relative sense (i.e., the middle-income group) "do not possess the socio-economic status typically associated with middle-class affluence". For example, Visagie and Posel (2013) show that the mean income of this group is 5.7 times lower than the absolute definition of middle class based on affluence (R646 vs. R3,656 mean income per capita, respectively). Based on this, the size of the middle classes varies considerably from 15.4 million people (31.6% of the population; relative terms) to 9.9 million people (20.4% of the population; in terms of affluence) (Visagie and Posel, 2013). The application of each definition therefore creates groups of differing sizes, racial compositions, and economic profiles (Visagie and Posel, 2013). Visagie and Posel (2013) show that 83% of black South Africans are in the middle-income segment and less than 50% of the affluent category, respectively. In contrast, white South Africans represent 2.8% of the middle-income segment and 31% of the affluent segment (Visagie and Posel, 2013). Those who are defined as the affluent middle classes are more likely to own a telephone, television, and/or vehicle, as well as having a higher monthly mean wage (R1,321 vs. R5,657 per month), lower unemployment levels (31% vs. 10%), more people employed per household, and a longer time spent in formal education (Visagie and Posel, 2013).

Burger *et al.* (2015b) similarly note that different approaches used to estimate the size of South Africa's middle classes (e.g., occupation and skill level, vulnerability, income, and self-identification) leads to considerable variation in the people who are defined as middle-class. They demonstrate that more black South Africans are classified as middle-class when using vulnerability and income-based approaches compared to occupation. In a later study, Burger, McAravey and van der Berg (2017) propose a capability threshold when estimating the size of South Africa's middle-class population. The notion of empowerment underpins this threshold, that is, those people who do not "rely on external support – whether from family, friends or, frequently, from the state" (Burger, McAravey and van der Berg, 2017, p. 91). An empowered middle-class, it is argued, can be distinguished from lower-income groups through four factors: "freedom from concern about survival and meeting basic

needs; financial discretion and buying power; labour market power; access to information and the ability to process information" (Burger, McAravey and van der Berg, 2017, p. 93). When viewed in this way, South Africa's empowered middle classes are argued to have expanded between 1993 and 2012 (from 27% to 48%, respectively) (Burger, McAravey and van der Berg, 2017). However, as Zizzamia *et al.* (2016, p. 26) argue,[15] the capability threshold used in the study includes indicators such as access to clean water, sanitation, and electricity that are "too weak to adequately capture the notion of 'empowerment'." As they note, "a lack of deprivation" is not synonymous with empowerment (Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016, p. 26). Therefore, while the capability threshold captures the increase in the provision of basic services post-1994, it does not necessarily capture changes in employment and labour markets (Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016). Zizzamia *et al.* (2016) use an (in)vulnerability to poverty threshold as a key measurement in defining the size of South Africa's middle classes. They define a middle-class income range as R3,104–R10,387 per monthly capita (January 2015 values) where the lower bound is estimated to yield a maximum 10% risk of falling into poverty and the upper bound is assumed to be associated with an invulnerability to poverty (Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016). Based on this, Zizzamia *et al.* (2016) suggest that South Africa's middle-class population is smaller than previously estimated, with 13.5% defined as middle-class and 18% defined as a vulnerable class.

In summary, researchers demonstrate the difficulties of estimating the size of South Africa's middle-class population. While living standards have generally improved, the majority of South African citizens struggle to meet their basic needs (Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016). Variations in the definitions used to define the concept of 'middle-class' in post-apartheid South Africa have led to estimates ranging from 13.5% to 48% (Zizzamia *et al.*, 2016; Burger, McAravey and van der Berg, 2017). Nonetheless, expectations for the country's economy are predilected on the assumption that South Africa's middle-class population is not only growing, but thriving, as evidenced by spending and consumption patterns.

Wine consumption may be assumed to be a middle-class phenomenon, but it is evident that in post-apartheid South Africa, the term 'middle-class' is itself unstable and imprecise. Moreover, defining a person as middle-class based on spending and income (that is often

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[15] Zizzamia *et al.* (2016) refer to the working paper version of the study, which was subsequently published as Burger, McAravey and van der Berg (2017).

used interchangeably with consumption) does not explain middle-class motivations for wine consumption.

2.4.2. *Identifying the characteristics of South Africa's middle classes*

The growth in wine consumption in emerging economies is not simply presumed to be connected to the increasing number of people defined as middle-class but to the aspiration for a middle-class lifestyle which is implicitly understood to include wine. As Howland (2019, p. 106) argues, "quality wine is arguably a consummate global middle-class commodity" which contains a multitude of attributes that "underpin the status differentiations and fashionable consumption favoured by the middle classes." Aligned with this, financial institutions recognise that the middle classes cannot solely be defined through income and spending. For example, while AfDB (2011, p. 6) defines Africa's middle classes in absolute terms, it has also stated "variables such as education, professions, aspirations and lifestyle" are critical in defining who is, and who is not, middle-class. Geography is presumed to be one important factor, with urban areas and/or coastal regions suggested to be home to Africa's middle classes (AfDB, 2011). A similar line of reasoning is shared by the World Bank, wherein a global middle-class can be identified by formal employment, urban residential living, and engagement in non-agricultural activities (Clementi *et al.*, 2020). Urbanisation, it is assumed, is critical to the lifestyles and identities of Africa's middle classes (Melber, 2022). It is notable therefore, that in a South African context, STATS SA (2009, p. 2) (a government data management agency) uses standard of living indicators to define a "middle-class material standard of living" that includes formal housing, a running water tap and a flush toilet in the property, electricity as the primary source of lighting, electricity/gas as the main cooking source, and having a landline and/or a household member with a mobile phone. These indicators, STATS SA (2009, p. 2) states, incorporate "aspects of secure and desirable living circumstances" that may "contribute to economic growth and participate in modern markets." STATS SA (2009) actively omits education, occupation, and household possessions when defining a middle-class standard of living in contrast to the characteristics described by, for example, AfDB (2011).

Interestingly, South Africa's middle classes are increasingly understood and defined through their consumption practices (not just in terms of general spending but in terms of the types of items purchased) (Burger *et al.*, 2015a). This is often associated with the South African Audience Research Foundation's (SAARFs) Living Standards Measure (LSM), a consumer

segmentation tool developed in the late 1980s which market researchers have used to identify middle-class consumers without (in theory) making an explicit reference to racial labels (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015). The LSM tool divides the South African population into ten groups (with ten representing the highest living standard level and one the lowest) based on behaviours, consumption practices, and the ownership of certain goods (e.g., a vacuum cleaner) and facilities (e.g., a swimming pool), alongside a level of urbanisation (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015; Chevalier, 2015). SAARF defines the term 'middle-class' as South African citizens within the LSM 5–8 groupings (Mashaba and Wiese, 2016). Interestingly, however, the LSM 7–10 group is also understood to represent the middle classes – albeit the most affluent. McEwan, Hughes and Bek (2015) define South Africa's middle classes as LSM groups 7 to 10 while recognising the diversity of this group including differences in wealth and income. Hughes, McEwan and Bek (2015) suggest that the LSM 7–10 grouping is the most affluent of the middle classes; this is aligned with perspectives that frame LSM 4–6 as the main market, a segment broadly understood as in flux and/or a lower-middle income group (Smollan, no date). More recently, LSMs have been critiqued for being outdated; as such, the Socio-Economic Measure (SEM), developed by Neil Higgs and a team at Kantar TNS, has been lauded as a suitable replacement for the LSM (Corbishley, Mason and Dobbelstein, 2022). This consumer segmentation tool focuses not just on what people have (i.e., durables) but what people have access to in and/or near their homes (BizCommunity, 2017). However, it is noted that these measures share similarities with demonstrable differences only identifiable towards the lower end of the measuring scale (Corbishley, Mason and Dobbelstein, 2022).

Most of the initial research involving South Africa's black middle classes, particularly post-1994, has focused on opportunities for market spending, with consumers framed as "highly ambitious and aspirational in their spending patterns" (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 43) with investments in education, spending underpinned by credit, and rising incomes. In interviews with people living in Soweto, Alexander *et al.* (2013, p. 143) argue that "material differentiation" shapes respondents' understandings of class, including the ability to afford a particular lifestyle (e.g., purchasing specific food, alcohol, and clothing brands/labels) and to socialise in specific places. However, respondents also understood class as performative, describing aspirations, attitudes, behaviours, and facial expressions understood to be emblematic of middle-classness (Alexander *et al.*, 2013). Hence, the "ability to consume and

maintain a certain lifestyle" is often largely understood as pivotal to class performance (Alexander *et al.*, 2013, p. 143). Similarly, in life-history interviews with one Sowetan man, Krige (2015, p. 111) observes that "ownership and access to material objects of consumption" are considered to be necessary components of being middle-class.

Here, it can be inferred that consumption is critical to demonstrating a middle-class lifestyle through the types of goods and services purchased and displayed. This discourse is most often connected to wine and the middle classes in emerging economies in which wine is understood to be demonstratable of status (Howland, 2019; Ho, 2019; Ho, 2021a). Within this, however, there is little examination of the subjective rationalities and ethicalities of wine consumption as understood within the "regimes of consumption" framework (Posel, 2010, p. 172).

2.4.3.   *Lived experiences of middle classness*

Burger *et al.* (2015b, p. 38) note that many measures used to estimate the size of South Africa's middle classes "appear to have a weak relationship with self-identified class." Indeed, Khunou (2015, p. 90) argues that many of the approaches used to define South Africa's black middle classes are "retail oriented, populist and reductionist in their approach and conclusions". In consequence, these have:

> Reduced the experience of the black middle class[es] to an undifferentiated mass of conspicuous consumers, foregrounding the tradition of conceptualising class and general life experiences of black people as homogeneous and fixed.
>
> Khunou (2015, p. 90).

There is, therefore, a need for better and more nuanced understandings of consumption from the perspectives of those who do not rely on quantifiable indicators to define their sense of middle-classness (Khunou, 2015). This necessity includes, for example, recognition of the reluctance to identify with class-based labels. Khunou (2015, p. 91), for example, interviews two black women who "reluctantly self-identify as middle class." This reluctance is in part connected to the approaches used to define the black middle classes in post-apartheid South Africa (e.g., with a focus on consumption and consumerism), its historicised association with whiteness, and an understanding of the relationality of the term based on "shifting" temporal and spatial experiences (Khunou, 2015, p. 91).

Mercer and Lemanski (2020, p. 430) similarly argue that while there are myriad attempts to demarcate the parameters of Africa's middle classes, often based on income, spending, and wealth, "the desire to classify and measure the middle class in the global South has rushed ahead of empirically situated research on the everyday triumphs and trials of middle-class life in Africa." Indeed, as Ndlovu (2020, p. 582) states, there is a need to pay more close attention to the "everyday realities, subjective experiences and 'insider views' of its [middle class] members as they perform their middle-classness." Mercer and Lemanski (2020) state:

> The middle classes are as much made through their social relations and social practices as they are (if indeed they are) identifiable through aggregate snapshots of income, consumption habits and voting behaviours.
>
> Mercer and Lemanski (2020, p. 429).

Hence, I argue that the middle classes should not be thought of as an "existing group that can be clearly delineated" but as a "classification-in-the-making" (Spronk, 2018, p. 316) that is "unstable, tenuous and context-specific" (Mercer and Lemanski, 2020, p. 429). Spronk (2018, pp. 319-320, author emphasis) suggests that, far from being an obstacle, the impreciseness of the term "can be used productively to underline that *the* middle class is not a helpful classification." This understanding of middle-class as "middle-classness" allows for the "social dynamics of 'doing being middle-class'" (Lentz, 2020 quoted in Mercer and Lemanski, 2020, p. 429) and calls attention to the complexities and contradictions of a diverse group of people, beyond more fixed interpretations. While the goal of this study is not to specifically examine the doing of middle-classness, this concept is nonetheless critical in adding nuance to the ethics in everyday wine consumption that makes visible "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) in post-apartheid South Africa and allows for the examination of wine amidst the "everyday triumphs and trials of middle-class life in [South] Africa" (Mercer and Lemanski, 2020, p. 430).

In the South African context, the conceptualisation of the label 'middle-class' as "an embodied and experiential sense of class" (Lentz, 2020, p. 459) is being increasingly examined in relation to geographies of food and consumption. This interrogation is critical given economic-oriented tendencies to understand middle-class consumption solely through spending patterns and presumptions of conspicuous consumption (Khunou, 2015). In research on middle-class food practices, Daya (2022a) does not explicitly define participants

as middle-class. Instead, participants describe their identities within the South African context, which calls attention to a relational and shifting interpretation of class. Through this, a "multiplicity of food stories and food experiences" are captured, showing the cultural, emotional, and ethical aspects of consumption (Daya, 2022a, p. 2). While the study examines middle-class perspectives, its goal is not to quantify consumption practices which may be characteristic of a middle-class lifestyle, rather, to call attention to the "imaginaries and materialities of cultural identity" (Daya, 2022a, p. 1) as expressed by those who self-identify as middle-class or recognise their engagement with a middle-class lifestyle. It is this framing that shapes this study and allows for a critical examination of the meanings of ethics in relation to wine, consumption, and the middle classes. This conceptual approach therefore allows for the argument put forward by Warde (2022, p. 23) that "consumption is an arena of endless contestation, sometimes trivial, sometimes deadly." Nowhere is this more evident than in South Africa where, as I argue, "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) continue to shape the complexities of perspectives on the meanings of ethics in wine consumption.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have aimed to outline the concepts and theories that are critical to understanding the key arguments I make throughout this thesis. I began by calling attention to the assumptions currently informing debates on wine consumption and the global middle classes in emerging markets. These are as follows: firstly, the growth of wine consumption is underpinned by the number of middle-class consumers. Secondly, that the core motivation for wine consumption is the aspiration for status, with European wines considered to be particularly valuable. While most of this research takes place within the geographies of Asia (mainly China and Hong Kong), similar assumptions are applied to consumers across Africa. There is a dearth of research on wine consumption and the middle classes within the context of the African continent – something I seek to begin to address through this study involving consumers in South Africa's Western Cape.

Connected to this, I argue the need to understand the consumption of wine through the lens of ethics. The uncritical application of status and aspiration to middle-class wine consumer motivations fails to account for the diversity and complexity of meanings therein. Through an analysis of the literature, I call attention to ways in which the term 'ethical consumption' is conceptualised. Firstly, and as demonstrated in the case of the South African wine

industry, ethical consumption is often used to refer to a narrowly defined and quantifiable set of labour and/or environmental standards (McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015). Secondly, ethical consumption is understood as the 'ethics in consumption', that is, the recognition that the meanings and moments of consumption are inherently infused with ethical and/or moral concerns. Within both concepts, however, is the acceptance that their application in relation to middle-class consumers of the Global South are "under-researched and under-theorized" (Crang and Hughes, 2015, p. 131), with debates often centring Northern consumers. It is a core goal of this thesis to address this imbalance through an examination of the ethics in everyday consumption. Here, however, I operationalise the ethics in consumption to mean the ways in which "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) continue to have ramifications for the ways in which consumers, and consumption practices, are moralised ethically questionable in South Africa based on racialised and classed stereotypes.

As discussed in the third section, however, the concept of 'middle-class' remains unstable and unfixed in a South African context. I presented three ways in which the concept is often understood in relation to consumption. This including spending and the ownership of certain goods. The LSM, for example, identifies a middle-class population based on what people have. Such conceptualisations, however, risk the essentialism of consumers and imply a homogeneity of the middle-class experience. For this study, I argue the importance of conceptualising the term middle-class as a "classification-in-the-making" (Spronk, 2018, p. 316). This allows for a "multiplicity of [wine] stories and [wine] experiences" (Daya, 2022a, p. 2) to be captured, showing the cultural, emotional, and ethical aspects of wine in the everyday lives of people who identify (or reject) different elements of a middle-class life in the post-apartheid city.

Chapter 3. The Centrality of Wine to the Identities of the Western Cape

3.1.   Introduction

In interviews with industry respondents, it was often recommended that I should extend this study to examine wine consumer trends in Gauteng – often described as the "economic hub of the nation" (STATS SA, 2017, p. 7). It was regularly stated that if I wanted to speak with middle-class wine consumers, Johannesburg would be the ideal research location. As market researchers note, Gauteng is a critical wine market for the South African wine industry, particularly in relation to middle-class consumers (de Kock, 2020). Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2, middle classness is often assumed to be a prerequisite for the growth of wine consumption in emerging economies (Banks and Overton, 2010; Overton and Murray, 2013). Industry respondents cautioned that wine-oriented market dynamics in the Western Cape differed significantly to those in Gauteng and other South African provinces. I could not, it was stated, assume that my study findings were representative of market dynamics in other provinces. Cape Town, I was told, was "different". It was never explicitly stated what "different" meant; however, I inferred this referred to the racialised social and economic disparities evident in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands. In 2016, the Western Cape had a higher-than average white population compared to the national average (16% vs. 8%, respectively) and a lower-than-average black population (36% vs. 81%, respectively) (2016 data) (Wazimap, 2022). Furthermore, market researchers state that white South Africans represent the biggest proportion of premium wine consumers in the Western Cape (58%) compared to black consumers (10%) (de Kock, 2020). This trend is reversed in Gauteng, with black consumers representing the biggest proportion of the premium wine market compared to white consumers (55% vs. 40%, respectively) (de Kock, 2020).

The consistent reiteration of this recommendation highlighted an important point of difference between the goals of this study and the strategic objectives of industry respondents. My decision to situate the study in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands was not made arbitrarily based on the number of people defined as middle-class based on indices such as the LSM and income. Nor was the decision driven by the convenience of access to those working in the South African wine industry. Instead, my determination to focus the study within the Western Cape was driven by the centrality of wine to its cultural, economic, social, and historical identities.

In this, Chapter 3, I aim to provide the additional information necessary to understanding the significance and centrality of the Western Cape to this study on wine. Providing this background information is critical in understanding the complexities of the ethics in consumption, particularly in relation to research findings discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. This chapter is composed of two sections. In the first section, I explain the histories and economies of winemaking in the Western Cape. I argue that the history of winemaking in the Western Cape is inseparable from processes of European settler colonialism and white supremacy. In the second section, I detail the histories of three crucial periods of wine and/or alcohol consumption in the Western Cape. These are: 1) the establishment of the Dutch Cape Colony as the first market for Cape-produced wines; 2) efforts to enact racialised prohibition, in which wine became legally designated as a white and/or European alcohol product; 3) the entrenchment of the dop system on wine farms. Within all three examples, I call attention to the ways in which the ability (or not) to consume wine has been restricted, regulated, and/or controlled according to the enforcement of racial classifications on all those living and working in the Western Cape.

3.2.   Winemaking in the Western Cape

The Western Cape is defined by the geographies of winemaking. At present, there are 2,613 primary grape producers and 536 wine cellars, 95% of which are located in the Western Cape and within 100–200 km of Cape Town (Bruwer, 2003; SAWIS, 2021). It is as a result of this that an extensive Wine of Origin scheme has developed in the Western Cape. Established in 1973, the Wine of Origin Scheme demarcates the Western Cape into distinct wine regions and districts, each with its own unique wine identity (Figure 3). Stellenbosch, one of the oldest wine-producing areas in the country, is famous for its Cabernet Sauvignon; in the Swartland, a new group of award-winning winemakers have received international acclaim for their innovative approaches to winemaking; in Elgin, the cool climate is said to favour the production of lighter wines such as Pinot Noir. With 90,512 hectares of vineyards (SAWIS, 2021), the materialities of winemaking are the backdrop against which many people in the Western Cape experience their everyday lives.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Source: WOSA (2022b).

Figure 3. Winegrowing areas of the Western Cape

3.2.1. The settler colonial histories of wine in the Western Cape

For as long as wine has been produced in the Western Cape, its benefits have never been equitably distributed (Fourie and von Fintel, 2011). The free burgher system[16] established by the VOC in the 17th century was pivotal in forming an intergenerational dynasty of agricultural elites composed mainly of wine and wheat farmers (Dooling, 2007). The consolidation of this wealth was reliant on the dispossession of land from Khoekhoe and San peoples – alongside their labour as indentured labourers – and a production model dependent on the labour of imported enslaved peoples from places which included Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar, and VOC-controlled territories across South East Asia (Fourie and von Fintel, 2011; Groenewald, 2012; Worden, 2016; Williams, 2016; Olsson, 2018; Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020; Harris and Sankowski, 2022). In South Africa, winemaking is therefore bound up with (and is a product of) European settler colonial expansion from the 17th century onwards (Regan-Lefebvre, 2019; Regan-Lefebvre, 2022). Connections to the colonial metropole emphasise these entanglements. Under British rule, for example, wines

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[16] The Dutch Cape Colony was initially intended to act as a refreshment station for passing VOC ships. The free burgher system created a group of people who were no longer formally employed by the VOC. They were instead allowed to become farmers with access to land with the understanding they would produce the goods necessary to supply ships. They were required to operate within a monopoly system within which they could only sell their products to the VOC at prices set by the VOC (Groenewald, 2012).

produced in South Africa were, alongside wines made in Australia and New Zealand, imported into Britain under the umbrella of 'imperial', 'colonial', and/or 'empire' products (McIntyre, 2011; McIntyre, Brady and Barnes, 2019; Regan-Lefebvre, 2022). In the early 20th century, such products were enveloped in campaigns of moral consumerism that sought to "serve the imperialist project" through the consumption of empire goods (e.g., the 'Buy Empire Goods' campaign) (Trentmann, 2007, p. 1086).

Hence, wines have "distinct political biographies" and the emphasis on geography, as terroir, "exemplifies their complicity in the history of nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism" (Monterescu and Handel, 2020, p. 251). From the 16th century onwards, viticulture was critical to Spanish settler colonial expansion in the Americas, including Chile, Peru, and the western USA (Meloni and Swinnen, 2022). In the 19th and 20th centuries, the French empire sought to expand viticulture in Algeria and Tunisia; by 1960, Algeria was the biggest wine exporter globally (Banks and Overton, 2010; White, 2021; Meloni and Swinnen, 2022). The dynamics between wine production and settler colonial expansion continue into the 21st century. In Israel and Palestine, the "cultural politics of wine is quickly becoming a bitter struggle between rival claims over national territory and cultural heritage" (Monterescu and Handel, 2020, p. 223). The occupied Golan Heights and West Bank, for example, are the site of an extensive viticultural operation (Monterescu and Handel, 2020). Handel, Rand and Allegra (2015) deploy the concept of 'wine-washing' to describe the marketing strategies used by the wine industry in these places, including a focus on sophisticated geography-based languages (e.g., terroir) that normalise – and hence, legitimise – settlement.

To return to South Africa; the origins of winemaking in the Western Cape are directly connected to the establishment of the free burgher system in the 17th century in which former VOC employees were given hectares of land in exchange for the production of goods (such as wine) deemed necessary to meet the aims of the Dutch Cape Colony settlement (Dooling, 2007). Hence, in the Western Cape, the dispossession of land intended for viticulture transcends racist legislation such as The Natives Land Act of 1913 and The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 (Hamman and Ewert, 1999; Lemke and Jansen van Rensburg, 2014). This is in part why the land associated with the wine industry remains heavily skewed towards white producers and owners; as Hamman and Ewert (1999, p. 449) note, the dispossession of land used for winemaking "took place long before the cut-off date of 1913

[as] stipulated in the Restitution of Land Rights Act." In contrast, most wine farm labourers are people of colour who are often employed in precarious and low-paid work.

Selective aspects of the South African wine industry's European settler colonial heritages continue to be centred within contemporary viticultural mythmaking. On February 2nd 1659, Jan van Riebeeck (first Commander of the Dutch Cape Colony) recorded a now infamous diary extract: "Today, praise be to God, wine was made for the first time from Cape grapes" (van Riebeeck, 1659 quoted in Demhardt, 2003, p. 114). Now, 364 years later, the South African wine industry continues to celebrate this date as its "official birthday" with an exclusive annual event held at Groot Constantia Wine Estate (the oldest wine farm in South Africa) that includes a blessing of the harvest and an awards ceremony in honour of industry trailblazers (SA Wine Harvest Commemorative Event, 2022). Elsewhere, the oldest operating wine farms trace their heritages to the elites of the Dutch Cape Colony some three centuries prior (e.g., Vergelegen) and to the establishment of the free burgher system that was instrumental in creating a wealthy and powerful rural landed gentry (Guelke and Shell, 1983; Ross, 1983). The origins of Vergelegen, for example, are connected to Willem Adriaan van der Stel (son of Simon van der Stel and second Governor of the Dutch Cape Colony) who "claimed a modest 30,000-hectare piece of land for himself" near the so-called Hottentots-Holland Mountains (Vergelegen, 2021). Steenberg, the oldest farm in the Western Cape and now a wine estate, centres Catherina Ustings Ras in its origin story, a woman settler who found the Cape to be "no land of milk and honey [but] a fierce, wild place" and whose free burgher husband had a "penchant for female slaves" (Steenberg, 2021).[17] In the region demarcated as the Cape Winelands Municipal District, the oldest towns in South Africa such as Stellenbosch (founded in 1679), Paarl (1687), and Franschhoek (1687/88) centre the settler colonial heritages of wine in their regional identities. In apartheid South Africa, these connections were made particularly explicit. In 1952, for example, the industry-sponsored National Vine Festival, hosted in celebration of the tercentenary of the first grape vine plantings at the Cape, organised events in regional towns and sought to place "wine at the centre of the history of the Afrikaner *volk*" (Nugent, 2012, pp. 26-27). This supported the apartheid government's conceptualisation of van Riebeeck as the founding father of South Africa who, post-World War Two, had been increasingly symbolised as a representation of

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[17] This wording has been removed from the 'About Us' section of the Steenberg website (November 2022). The original wording remains available to view on various websites e.g., wine.co.za (2022b) and Steenberg Golf Club (2022).

undisputed white settler power (Rassool and Witz, 1993). The 1967 Simon van der Stel Festival, organised by Stellenbosch residents, was equally as critical in constructing and celebrating ideas of European settler heritages within southern Africa, of which wine was an integral component (Hanekom, 2013).

Today, while change is slowly taking place in the South African wine industry, questions around ownership remain highly political, morally contested, and emotionally fraught. The industry is irrevocably haunted by its entanglements with the European setter colonial project that took root from the mid-17th century and would culminate in state-sanctioned apartheid in the 20th century. In apartheid South Africa, the wine industry would act "as a microcosm of the country's violent racial, social and economic divisions" (Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020, p. 147) where it was notorious for having the "worst working conditions" of the era (Brown, du Toit and Jacobs, 2004 quoted in McEwan and Bek, 2009a, p. 724). While many white wine farmers received particularly favourable treatment from the apartheid state and were notable champions of, and MPs for, the Nationalist Party (Charney, 1984),[18] people of colour working and living on wine farms often experienced "harsh, unsafe and grim conditions" – a stark contrast to the "industry's profile of genteel opulence" (Du Toit, 2002, p. 361). In 2012/2013, a demand for better pay and working conditions resulted in the Farm Worker Strikes. Beginning in De Doorns and quickly spreading to other towns in the Western Cape, workers called for several changes including a new daily minimum wage of R150 (from R69), improved housing, and access to land. Three people were killed by the police and many more were injured and/or arrested. In February 2013, the Ministry of Labour announced a new sector-specific daily minimum wage of R105. However, workers have reported a subsequent increase in salary deductions (e.g., for housing, transport, utilities etc.) (Eriksson, 2017).

3.2.2. The whiteness of winemaking in the 21st century

Intersectional dynamics pertaining to the social locations of race, gender, and class are central to understanding ongoing tensions and inequalities in the global world of winemaking. The lack of racial and gendered diversity in wine, specifically in positions of seniority, is not unique to the South African context and from around 2018 onwards has been increasingly discussed in international news publications (Robinson, 2020c). In the

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[18] It is reported that in the early 1980s, 12 Cape Nationalist MPs were wine farmers and four were directors of the KWV Co-operative (Charney, 1984).

USA, for example, an estimated 1% of wineries are Black-owned (Bell, 2020). In 2020, sommelier Tahiirah Habibi (founder of The Hue Society) criticised the Court of Master Sommeliers, Americas, for appropriating her organisation to demonstrate its inclusiveness (McIntyre, 2020). In Canada, the first indigenous winery in North America opened in 2002 (Senese, Wilson and Momer, 2012).

In 2015, it was estimated that 1.5–2.5% of vines were under Black ownership in South Africa, increasing to 3% in 2019 (Vinpro, 2016; FTI Consulting, 2021). At present, there are approximately 67 Black-owned wine brands and wine farms,[19] many of which are in the early (and therefore, vulnerable) stages of business development (Robinson, 2020a; Robinson, 2020b). In July 2021, following consistent government-led alcohol bans in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, industry research involving 549 respondents suggested that 84% of Black-owned brands and farms were highly likely to cease operations if no domestic trade was allowed in the following nine weeks (compared to 65% of all respondents) (Vinpro, 2021b).

Increasingly, more people of colour have gained qualifications in wine and often work for wine-producing companies in more senior positions (e.g., as winemakers, managers etc.) and/or gaining international prominence as sommeliers and wine stewards (see the 2021 documentary "Blind Ambition"). Anecdotal evidence, however, highlights the difficulties in gaining these positions and achieving career progression (Fridjhon, 2017; Robinson, 2020b). For example, most of the executive management team at Distell (one of the biggest alcohol producing companies in both South Africa and Africa) are white men. Between 2018 and 2019, the number of Black employees at this level of seniority increased from 8% to 27% and the number of women decreased from 25% to 18% (Distell, 2021).[20] While change may be taking place, therefore, it is often not without difficulty and is most often seen within individual existing companies rather than in relation to land and/or business ownership.

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[19] There is no set definition of a 'Black-owned' wine brand or wine farm. This term encompasses several distinct business models, for example, shared partnership ventures, privately owned wine estates, independent winemakers, and wine brand owners.
[20] Distell is one of the few wine-producing companies in South Africa to provide publicly available information on the racial and gender composition of its senior management teams. In 2022, 20% of its executive management team were Black and 20% were women (Distell, 2022). It is unclear if these statistics represent the industry norm.

3.3. Wine Drinking in the Western Cape

South Africa is the 8th biggest producer of wine globally, producing 10.6 mhl in 2021 (OIV, 2022b). Despite this, capita per consumption in South Africa is low (11 litres) and is considerably lower than other wine-producing countries such as Portugal (59 litres), France (51 litres), Italy (44 litres), and Australia (30 litres) (Wesgro, 2021). In terms of overall wine volumes consumed, South Africa ranks fifteenth (4.0 mhl in 2021) behind Romania, Brazil, and Canada (OIV, 2022b). Export markets in Europe, for example, the UK and Germany – both in the top five of wine consumption countries globally in terms of volume (OIV, 2022b) – have represented the primary focus for the South African wine industry for nearly 30 years (Wesgro, 2021). As later chapters will explain, a multitude of factors are believed to explain low wine sales in South Africa. Of importance here, however, is the recognition of a self-fulfilling prophetic cycle in which continually low wine sales in South Africa further justify the strategic allocation of resources for export markets in which there remains high demand for South African wines.

3.3.1. The Dutch Cape Colony

The consumption of wine was no less critical to the expansion of European settler colonies in the Western Cape as its production. In the Dutch Cape Colony, power and wealth were connected to the right to sell wine. As Groenewald (2009) demonstrates, the alcohol pachten (or leasing) system in operation in 17th and 18th century Cape Town, of which the 'Cape Wines' pacht was the most profitable, was critical in establishing an urban elite of wealthy entrepreneurs. As Groenewald (2009) further argues, networks of marriage and kinship between rural and urban elites in the Cape Colony were instrumental in the consolidation of intergenerational wealth and power.

For as long as alcoholic products have been made and sold in the Western Cape, however, there have been the seemingly contradictory ambitions to both restrict access and maximise revenue. For example, van Riebeeck deliberately kept alcohol prices high to discourage Company employees from "wasting too much money" (Groenewald, 2012, p. 4) in taverns and prohibited the sale of wine in any place other than a licensed tavern, albeit with some small exceptions for personal use (Groenewald, 2012; Williams, 2016). Company officials justified attempts to limit the number of licensed taverns by arguing they were a pollutant, would have a detrimental impact on the Cape Colony's inhabitants, and lead to a "lazy, wild life" (Groenewald, 2012, p. 16). While the evolution of the pacht system softened the

Company's stance somewhat, at least in the eyes of the authorities who received pacht payments, Cape elites were nonetheless ambivalent about allowing its labour force unmitigated access to alcohol. Ambivalence was particularly reserved for those individuals and groups for whom the Dutch Cape Colony was particularly reliant upon; namely, enslaved peoples (Groenewald, 2012).

It is evident that, from the 17th century onwards, successive colonial and apartheid states sought to control the primary labour force – people of colour – through alcohol. In 1669, just 17 years after the establishment of the Dutch Cape Colony, the Political Council of the VOC forbade the sale of alcohol to enslaved and Indigenous peoples, declaring the Colony could not "tolerate such scandalous drunkenness" (Williams, 2016, p. 897). Until this point, enslaved peoples working on farms and in the Cape urban settlement had been able to frequent taverns, with some receiving money to purchase wine (Williams, 2016). Taverns offered shared spaces of consumption for both transient sailors and people residing permanently within the Cape Colony, including European settlers, soldiers, 'free blacks', enslaved peoples, and Indigenous peoples (Ross, 1999). Such restrictions, however, were unsuccessful. 17th century crime records, for example, accuse enslaved peoples of "getting drunk at the master's expense and without permission when the harvest is in" (Ross, 1984 quoted in Williams, 2016, p. 898). Despite this, alcohol consumption remained a key justification for the increased import of enslaved peoples. In 1717, the Cape Governor restricted European immigration to the Cape (which was considered to be "overflowing with drunkards") and increased the 'import' of enslaved peoples, the latter being considered "cheaper" and "less troublesome" (Williams, 2016, p. 897).

3.3.2. Racialised prohibition

By the 19th century, European attitudes to alcohol – including those in the metropoles and the colonies – had become increasingly negative and shaped by internationally connected, powerful, and vocal temperance movements (Ambler and Crush, 1992; Cobley, 1994). Such attitudes were increasingly entangled with racist and so-called 'scientific' discourses which portrayed people of colour as having an inherent dispensation for drinking and drunkenness (Nugent, 2014). As Ross (1999) notes, a number of European artists and authors increasingly portrayed enslaved men and women in the Cape as drunken and debauched, propagating this idea in the wider Cape Colony community.

Temperance movements in South Africa campaigned for racial prohibition with the argument that alcohol was harmful. They emphasised this was particularly so for black South Africans who were considered to be more susceptible compared to their white and European counterparts (Cobley, 1994). As Martens (2001) observes, the ambition to control drinking was directly connected to various political and economic ambitions. Increasingly vocal anxieties about public drunkenness (particularly in relation to people of colour) from the 1870s onwards could not be detangled from the desire to control the labour force and its movements (la Hausse, 1984; Martens, 2001). la Hausse (1984) further suggests that white anxieties associated with beer drinking within black communities lay both in the insinuation that this indicated agricultural surplus, hence, increasing people's capacity to resist labour on white-occupied farms, and that it could risk the availability of a reliable and efficient labour supply. As Martens (2001) notes, while prohibitionists argued they were acting in the interests of people who were incapable of protecting themselves, the reality was that prohibition would allow greater state control over black South Africans, giving police the power to search people and their homes on the suspicion of possessing alcohol.

By the mid-to-late 1800s, black South Africans increasingly had their legal drinking rights diminished – both in terms of what they could drink and where they could drink. Racial prohibition remained, however, hotly contested at the legislative level and particularly so for those representing the interests of the wine industry (Martens, 2001). The 1890 Liquor Laws Commission saw Jan Hendrik Hofmeyer – a founding member of a wine producers' co-operative in the late 1870s who had previously acted in the interests of farmers within a parliamentary capacity – argue against the majority report that advocated prohibition. Hofmeyer argued that the consumption of "light colonial wines and beers … be encouraged" (Cape of Good Hope, 1890 quoted in Martens, 2001, p. 319). This argument was unsuccessful and by 1918, such debates were no longer under consideration. Black South Africans in rural areas were only allowed to produce and consume sorghum beers and black South Africans in urban areas were only allowed to obtain sorghum beer from state-controlled outlets or employers.   There was therefore a prohibition on the purchase and consumption of wine – it being designated a white and/or European alcoholic product (Martens, 2001). Again, such prohibitions and restrictions were connected to the state's economic ambitions, demonstrated in the proliferation of municipal beer monopolies across the country which were financially lucrative for local governments (la Hausse, 1984).

Throughout all debates on prohibition, the most vocal opponents were those representing the wine industry who argued that prohibition would reduce alcohol sales (Martens, 2001). In the 1928 Liquor Bill, JHH De Waal, a wine farmer's son representing several wine farmers in his Piquetberg constituency, argued that the "best way to teach the nation moderation [was] to accustom the children to small quantities of drink during youth. They will not then go to excess when they are older" (Martens, 2001, p. 329). So too, were arguments made that the drinking of alcohol was a "positive, relaxing and refreshing activity" to be enjoyed by all South Africans (Martens, 2001, p. 329).

Such arguments did not convince the majority, with the committee recommending that the sale of off-licence alcohol to coloured people at canteens be prohibited and that women be prevented from entering or being served in any canteen or bar. As Nugent (2011) observes, however, full prohibition was unlikely given the vested interested of municipalities in the generation of income from beer halls. This partial prohibition therefore represented some modicum of compromise between temperance groups and wine industry actors – black and coloured South Africans would be (legally, at least) unable to purchase white and/or European alcohol and would be encouraged to drink in specific forms of "controlled sociability" (Nugent, 2011, p. 342).

It would be a disservice to say that South African's citizens did not resist decades of alcohol-related restrictions – the flourishing of shebeens in townships is a testament to this (Foxcroft, 2009). Hyslop (2014) observes that many British and Irish nationals were deported from South African for suppling alcohol to black and coloured South Africans in the 1920s and 1930s. du Toit (2016) shows that, in 1938, the "Verslag van die Kommisie van Ondersoeke Insake die Kaapse"[21] indicated that 819 coloured men and women were tried in court for selling alcohol to other coloured people (compared to 244 people in the previous decade). So too, were thousands of black men and women living in urban areas arrested for infractions of various alcohol regulations, exceeding 200,000 in 1960 (Ambler and Crush, 1992). As Ambler and Crush (1992, p. 3) state, "it was through the application of alcohol regulation that very many of the black residents of urban areas in southern Africa most often and directly experienced the state".

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[21] "Report of the Commission of Investigations Regarding the Cape Coloured Population of the Union".

In 1961, partial prohibition would end as heavily lobbied for by an increasingly powerful Koöperatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Suid-Afrika (KWV)[22] which had close ties to the Nationalist Party (Nugent, 2011). It was also recognised that effective enforcement of the existing legislation was untenable; by the 1950s, the wine industry had a thriving trade in the sales of brandy, sherry, and cheap wines in urban townships (Nugent, 2014). By 1965, the majority of alcohol-related restrictions had ended, and all South Africans would legally be able to buy and drink wine (Nugent, 2011). The KWV, energised to increase sales within the local market, began several marketing campaigns designed to promote its offering to all South Africans. As Mager (2004) argues, however, at the time in which the KWV sought to expand local markets, it did not fully recognise the complex set of practices, habits, and meanings that were created around alcohol during the era of prohibition (Mager, 2004).

3.3.3. *The dop system*

The attentions and anxieties of white elites have long been projected onto the drinking habits of coloured people in the Western Cape. This is shown by the publication of the 1918 report from the parliamentary select committee appointed to investigate drunkenness in the western districts of the Cape Province (Martens, 2001). As with debates discussed in the section above, arguments for prohibition were justified "amongst certain classes of the coloured people" (South Africa, 1918 quoted in Martens, 2001, p. 301). In contrast, educated coloured people were not considered to have problematic drinking patterns based on their perceived similarity to Europeans of a similar social class (Martens, 2001, p. 301).

In this context, debates on prohibition were directly connected to the dop system, a practice historically associated with 17th century wine farms but continuing in some iteration until at least the late 1990s (McIntyre, Brady and Barnes, 2019). Under this system, farm workers were provided with large volumes of poor-quality alcohol throughout the working day (Williams, 2016). Legislative reforms to this system, however, were rejected by wine industry representatives. The dop system was legal in two provinces before 1890 (the Cape and the Orange Free State) and, prior to the Ross Act, it was customary for farmers in the Western Cape to give coloured labourers at least two bottles of wine per day (Martens 2001). At the 1890 session, prohibitionists arguing for change were met with counter

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[22] The KWV was founded in 1918 and operated as a cooperative until its privatisation in 1997. It regulated and coordinated the wine industry with most grape farmers required to sell to cooperatives. The KWV operated a quota system from 1965 onwards, setting prices for grapes based on volume (Moerdyk, 2004; Hira, 2013).

responses. CJ Krige, for example, argued that the wine industry was one of South Africa's "oldest and most honourable industries" (Martens, 2001 p. 18), further arguing against restrictions in the dop with a view that "our wine farmers do not merit this serious interference in the affairs of governing their wine farms" (ibid). In the 1918 hearing, MPs representing wine interests in parliament again argued against proposals that the system be regulated by age (over 16 years) and volume, suggesting instead that farmers themselves be responsible for regulating the quantity of wine and to whom it was given (Martens, 2001). At the 1928 committee hearing, Nationalist Party member JHH De Waal described the tot as a pick me up: "just as office folk require a mental stimulant morning and afternoon in the form of tea and coffee, so workmen require strong drink for their physical powers" (Martens, 2001, p. 14). Others described the dop as a "foodstuff" and "strengthener", arguing again that, given the farmers' need for a sober workforce, they could be trusted to give drink "to their people" with labourers themselves trusted to drink in moderation (Martens, 2001, p. 14). The eventual compromise was the restriction in daily volumes of the tot (1.5 pints of unfortified wine in the Cape; 1/4 of a pint of spirits in the Orange Free State) consumed at intervals over the course of the day, and only for male employees (over the age of 21 in the Cape; over the age of 18 in the Orange Free State) (Martens, 2001).

Such rhetoric, taking place over decades, is deeply entwined with the paternalistic culture on farms, and speaks to the desire to be able to control a racialised labour force. It also speaks to the inherent contradictions of the colonial, and later, apartheid state; while enacting legislation to partially restrict the consumption of alcohol in some circumstances, the provision of alcohol to labourers was also enacted and justified (Ambler and Crush, 1992). Furthermore, it calls attention to the spatially contingent attitudes of slavers (and later, farmers) towards drinking and drunkenness amongst enslaved people and, above all, a desire to control. For example, when the VOC auctioned a pacht to 'tap' wine and brandy in Stellenbosch in 1714, leading slave owners complained this would prevent events from taking place in private homes, where wine was kept and sold to slaves for "great revelries" (Williams, 2016, p. 897). Seemingly, therefore, complaints about alcohol consumption and inebriation amongst enslaved people and farm labourers were not necessarily an issue when taking place under the slaver's/farmer's immediate supervision. What mattered was the public nature of this consumption, beyond the control of the farmer. In a tavern, an enslaved person was a patron and retained some control over their alcohol consumption.

On the farm, enslaved peoples were reliant on the provision of alcohol through the farmer – namely though the dop system.

In the immediate post-apartheid era, Williams (2016) notes a reticence amongst wine industry elites to outright condemn the dop system; for example, in 1995, the KWV sought to distinguish between 'damaging' and 'acceptable' practices of providing wine to employees. Such rationale was based on the perceived difference between farmers providing the stereotypical tot of cheap, poor-quality wine several times per day compared to "those who make a bottle of wine available on a daily basis to their workers and put them in the position to take part in a normal and civilised custom" (Williams, 2016, p. 893). Attempts to distinguish these practices through the language of civility and benevolence again speak to attempts to justify elite contradictions around the dop system, and performances of alcohol consumption constructed as respectable. In time, however, recognising the implications for international markets, the wine industry reframed its tone, calling for the ban of certain wine products such as the papsak[23] and working with several alcohol-related NGOs to promote more 'responsible' alcohol consumption practices. The damage was evident, however. The Western Cape now has one of the highest rates of foetal alcohol syndrome in the world and is often associated with wine farm labouring communities (Lubbe, Van Walbeek and Vellios, 2017).

3.4.   Conclusion

The histories of wine in the Western Cape are inseparable from processes of settler colonialism. Today, many of the oldest wine estates still in operation showcase the materiality of these histories. Slave bells remain in place (Malan, 2004) with former slave quarters converted in restaurants. The establishment of wine farms, in conjunction with a lucrative wine market, allowed for the formation of an intergenerational dynasty of elites.

In this chapter, I outline some of the contextual information necessary to understanding the histories of wine consumption in the Western. This is critical to understanding the ethics in consumption in the post-apartheid context. I argue this by calling attention to three different examples of the racialisation of wine and/or in the Western Cape. Firstly, in relation to the Dutch Cape Colony, in which enslaved and racialised peoples increasingly

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[23] The papsak was a foil bag containing poor-quality, low-cost wine. Selling wine in foil bags was made illegal in South Africa in 2007.

found their access to alcohol restricted. Secondly, racialised prohibition in place between the 19th and mid-20th centuries. It was through the criminalisation of alcohol consumption, specifically for Black South Africans consuming alcoholic products designated as white and/or European, through which generations experienced the weight of the apartheid state. Finally, through the dop system, in which large volumes of cheap wine were provided to wine farm labourers on farms across the Western Cape, the ramifications of which continue to be seen today.

Chapter 4. Methodological Reflections: The Ethical and Emotional Mobilities of Fieldwork

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the methodologies and associated critical and ethical reflections that have shaped my approaches to the development of this study. The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, I explain my preliminary fieldwork plans and centre some of the pragmatic considerations influencing the research process. Next, I elaborate on the methodological design of the study, including my justification for the semi-structured interview as a core method of data collection aligned with a feminist-oriented ethics of care (McEwan and Goodman, 2010). I go on to outline the plurality of methods utilised for participant recruitment and my approaches to data analysis. Throughout, I explain the ethical considerations which shaped my decision-making in relation to the study design, development, data collection, and analysis. However, it is in the final section of this chapter in which I delve more explicitly into the ethics of research in a transnational, transcultural, and postcolonial context. I do so through a reflexive analysis of my mobilities in relation to the following: firstly, the navigation of "fear (of crime plus)" (Lemanski, 2006a, p. 789) in the post-apartheid city; secondly, as a mixed-race and ethnically ambiguous researcher navigating movement amidst the entrenched binaries and "legacies of an unequal and racialised urban landscape" (Rink, 2022, p. 4).

Data collection for this study formally began on the 8th of October 2019, aligned with the arrival of Emirates flight EK771 at Cape Town International Airport. It formally ended on the 17th of March 2020, the day I unexpectedly returned to the UK due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This demarcation of time and space insinuates an orderliness, neatness, and linearity to fieldwork that belies its messy, blurry, and complicated realities (three years on from my visit to the Western Cape, for example, the temptation to gather data remains). Exhausted and exhilarated, I purposively observed my surroundings – and scrutinised my reactions to these surroundings – in a greater level of depth than I had ever done so previously. I was acutely aware that Cape Town International Airport had twice before represented my entryway to South Africa's Western Cape; first in 2015 as an intern with WFP and second in 2016 as tourist travelling to Namibia. I recognised, however, that my previous familiarity with this place was shallow and fleeting. Moving at pace and in haste,

eager for fresh air and a change of clothing, I had before never taken the time to slow down and to critically evaluate my environment. I had instead passively and unquestioningly absorbed the most novel of experiences, storing them as dormant packages of information for later examination during the fieldwork phase of the study.

Disembarking from the aeroplane, I intentionally embodied the researcher role: observing, assessing, reflecting, analysing. These skills were called upon sooner than expected. Entering the connecting corridor of the airport, I was greeted with a seemingly infinite panorama of advertisements for wine; poster upon poster of different wine brands and viticultural vistas, all welcoming me to the "Republic of Pinotage". Clearly, wine was essential to the visual imaginaries of the Western Cape and a notable point of difference compared to South Africa's eight other provinces. The emphasis on Pinotage – described as a "uniquely South African grape varietal" (Pinotage Association, 2022) having been created in 1925 in Stellenbosch by Abraham Izak Perold (a cross of Pinot Noir and Cinsault) – further entangled the imaginaries of wine in the Western Cape. Later, sat in the back of a prebooked car transfer service that transported me along the N2 highway to my new home in Green Point, I hurriedly typed ideas into my phone, sacrificing spelling in an eagerness to add materiality to my nebulous thoughts. As this chapter will detail, such practices were to continue throughout my six months of fieldwork in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands.

4.2.   Preliminary Fieldwork Plan

I began work on a preliminary research plan in early 2018, more than one year prior to my anticipated six months of fieldwork in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands. Given restrictions in time and budget, I felt it important to pragmatically identify factors which could impact the achievement of my study goals. In this phase, therefore, I evaluated the practical measures I could take to increase the likelihood of successfully recruiting people to take part in this study.

During the Covid-19 crisis, restrictions in mobilities and in-person gatherings significantly affected the ability of qualitative researchers to conduct face-to-face research (Watson and Lupton, 2022). While this has highlighted the plethora of creative and digital methods available to researchers (Lupton, 2021), it has also called attention to the unique challenges associated with online and/or remote methods in terms of inclusivity and accessibility (e.g., internet access) (Roberts, Pavlakis and Richards, 2021; Watson and Lupton, 2022). Although fieldwork for this study took place in the months prior to the social and spatial restrictions

associated with the Covid-19 pandemic, an important factor justifying the need for in-person and face-to-face research was the unpredictability of local infrastructure in South Africa. From 2007 onwards, South African citizens have experienced rolling energy blackouts across the country (load shedding), justified by the need to ration electricity supplies in response to unachievable demand. At the local level, this is normally experienced as four phases of severity ('one' being the least severe: two-hour electricity cuts, up to three times, over four days; 'four' being the most severe: two-hour cuts, up to twelve times, over four days). Each province, municipality, and city area/ward has its own load shedding schedule making it difficult to organise, attend, and reschedule meetings and events. My instinct to centre in-person research in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands was confirmed in December 2019 when Eskom (the national energy provider) implemented phase six load shedding (four-hour cuts, up to eighteen times, over four days). From January 2020 onwards, everyday research decisions had to account for the possible impact of load shedding. This unpredictability made it even more important to retain a degree of flexibility and mobility that could only be achieved through in-person fieldwork. In recognising that research participants had busy schedules, I understood there was no guarantee that interviews could be rescheduled should they be unable to take place in the first instance.

Next, I understood that the summer/seasonal holidays in Cape Town are typically one month long, from December to January, with most people (specifically, those with a corporate role in the wine industry) on annual leave during this time. I knew that the wine harvest is all-encompassing, typically beginning in January and finishing in March, which would limit the availability of wine producers. I also knew that this period represented the peak holiday season for Cape Town and the Cape Winelands, notably, for inter- and intra-provincial travellers. I therefore planned for fieldwork to take place from October 2019 to April 2020. This would, in theory, account for the reduced availability of some industry participants from December/January onwards and, during the same time, facilitate opportunities to speak with wine consumers.

Finally, I considered how my living arrangements might affect the research process. While I sought to speak with wine consumers who lived and/or worked in Cape Town, I anticipated I would also be spending a considerable amount of time in the Cape Winelands given that most wine industry-related organisations and operational business units are based in Stellenbosch and Paarl. Through a former work colleague, I was made aware of rental

accommodation in Green Point, an area close to the centre of Cape Town with good transport connections. I anticipated that living in Green Point would allow for a more immersive, flexible, and mobile research approach. Cape Town is reported to be the most congested city in South Africa with car journey times more than doubled during peak travel hours (Feikie, Das and Mostafa Hassan, 2018). As I would use a hire car to drive between different towns and cities (walking, public transport, university shuttle services, and e-hailing taxi services were generally reserved for travel within Cape Town itself), I felt it sensible to account for the impact that constricted mobilities might have on everyday research goals. Living in Cape Town and driving to the Cape Winelands would hopefully ensure that the worst of the congestion could be avoided. As will be discussed in section 4.6, however, these decisions, expectations, and considerations are loaded with ethical questions around power, position, and privilege and require further reflexive consideration and recognition.

The anticipated timeline for fieldwork was divided into three phases (Table 1): phase one (October 2019 to January 2020) broadly focused on the recruitment of, and semi-structured interviews with, industry participants. During this time, I also sought to expand my social networks within Cape Town in anticipation of phase two. Phase two (January 2020 to April 2020) focused on consumer respondents and involved semi-structured interviews. Phase three (October 2019 to April 2020) involved ethnographic practices of observation and reflection and was an ongoing and continuous process throughout fieldwork. This included my attendance at wine events, wine festivals, and social gatherings in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands.

Between February and March 2020, iterative and pre-emptive adjustments were made to the fieldwork schedule due to growing concerns and uncertainties about the possible impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. This included stopping the recruitment of interviews involving industry respondents (while, technically, this phase ended in January 2020, I had continued to arrange a small number of interviews where appropriate to the aims of the study), prioritising recruitment for phase two, and arranging interviews on an ongoing biweekly basis. Although originally scheduled to end in April 2020, a decision was made to finish fieldwork earlier than intended because of growing health and safety concerns connected to the Covid-19 pandemic. Central to my concerns were questions related to a feminist-oriented ethics of care (McEwan and Goodman, 2010). This included my responsibilities towards those around me, recognition of the wider global context and its anxieties and

uncertainties, and the importance of making decisions that prioritised physical and emotional wellbeing.

Research phase	October 2019	November 2019	December 2019	January 2020	February 2020	March 2020	April 2020
Phase one	🟩	🟩	🟩	🟩			⬛
Phase two	🟧	🟧	🟧	🟩	🟩	🟩	⬛
Phase three	🟩	🟩	🟩	🟩	🟩	🟩	⬛

Fieldwork ended early in March 2020 due to growing concerns around the health and safety impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. Colour code: orange, in development; green, in progress; grey, cancelled.

Table 1. Fieldwork timeline, October 2019 to April 2020

4.3. Methodological Design

Feminist theories of care ethics – in which "caring is not so much an activity as a way of relating to others" (McEwan and Goodman, 2010, p. 103) – were central to the methodological design of the study including methods of data collection, participant recruitment, and data analysis. Relationships were centred throughout the research process, emphasising emotions, connections, and care – all of which are critical to feminist methodologies (Sharp, 2005; Dickson-Swift *et al.*, 2009; Burgess-Proctor, 2015). In centring care, emotion, and affect, the methodological design for the study aimed to celebrate the "embodied, messy and complex" aspects of fieldwork (Sharp, 2005, p. 305) focusing, primarily, on the importance of relationships and connections. This approach was particularly important given the empirical context for the study. As Lawhon, Herrick and Daya (2014, p. 15) state, "alcohol, the experiences of drinking and the harms associated with alcohol" are "highly sensitive aspect[s] of the everyday in African cities". Further, they argue:

> Undertaking research to understand the lived experiences of alcohol […] raises complex ethical and methodological challenges. Experiences of alcohol can be personal and intimate, carry significant stigma, or be influenced by inter-personal or broader power relations. Questions of access, confidentiality, shared cultural norms, researcher–researched distanciation, linguistic tropes, researcher views and gender dynamics are all issues that are rendered both visible and intensely problematic.
>
> Lawhon, Herrick and Daya (2014, pp. 15-16).

The complexities and ethicalities of alcohol in relation to middle-class consumption practices are often neutralised and underexplored (Jayne, Valentine and Holloway, 2008; Holloway, Jayne and Valentine, 2008). Lawhon, Herrick and Daya (2014) note that middle-class practices of alcohol consumption are often fetishized and framed as aspirational, measured, and antithetical to drinking practices that are seen as unsavoury (e.g., binge drinking and drunkenness). Further, as Wilton and Moreno (2012) argue, it is practices such as drunkenness that are typically moralised and critiqued as problematic, irresponsible, and removed from the middle-class experience. Indeed, binge drinking is often associated *specifically* and *solely* within the working-class alcohol consumption experience (Wilton and Moreno, 2012). This is particularly evident in the case of wine, a product that is often associated with luxury, status, and aspiration (Holloway, Jayne and Valentine, 2008; Wright *et al.*, 2022). As discussed in Chapter 2, the growth of wine consumption in emerging economies is often interpreted as a marker of middle-class growth and, in turn, is seen to signal a healthy and stable economy. In this context, wine consumption can be easily romanticised as something enjoyable, joyful, and celebratory. In Cape Town, however, the need for a nuanced, complex, and ethical approach to wine was emphasised in everyday conversations. On at least two occasions, people expressed concerns that my focus on middle-class wine consumption might minimise the ethics, politics, and pain of wine including its association with the dop system and racialised prohibition. For example:

> *On Wednesday evening, I met with a friend for a wine tasting at Grub and Vine [a restaurant in Cape Town that had free wine tasting events hosted by a local winemaker] … Later, I was speaking with two people [at the event]: a younger black woman and an older black man from Johannesburg. I told them about my research, and he wanted to know if I was only looking at middle class wine drinking or the "dark underside" of wine. "Because you know", he said, "wine has a very bad underside; people are too sensitive to talk about it."*

> Researcher diary entry (07/02/2020).

Nobantu, a consumer participant, expressed similar ambivalences. Before consenting to take part in the study, she sought to ensure I understood the racialised ethics of alcohol consumption in South Africa. It was important to Nobantu that the study would not position the wine consumption practices associated with middle-class consumers as apolitical. Here, I explained my understanding of the complexities and sensitivities of wine in South Africa. I emphasised that I did not share the same lived experiences as South African citizens and I

reiterated that an important goal of the study was to centre a diversity of perspectives. I also recognised that middle-class wine consumption is often associated with hedonism, pleasure, health, and wellbeing, all of which could intensify negative emotional feelings towards the product. Elder and Mohr (2020, p. 1), for example, note the concept of "guilty displeasures" wherein consumers feel guilty because they feel they *should* enjoy certain experiences but *do not*. Again, I reiterated that my goal was not to frame wine consumption solely through aspiration, status, and pleasure, but to better understand, participants' thoughts and feelings on the subject matter.

In what follows, I explain the methods of data collection employed for this study. As Lawhon, Herrick and Daya (2014) argue, methods of data collection applied within research on alcohol consumption have a crucial role in determining what people might share, how data may be analysed, and what conclusions might be drawn. Hence, as will be discussed further, the choice of data collection methods used were informed by my determination to centre participant comfort and wellbeing when discussing potentially sensitive topics.

4.3.1. *Method of data collection #1: semi-structured interview*

It has been previously argued that geographers have overly relied on the semi-structured interview method, alongside focus groups and shorter-term ethnographies, at the expense of methods considered to be more creative and participatory (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). However, I chose to use the semi-structured interview method because I felt it allowed for an ethics of care to be infused into the research space that accounted for discussion of potentially sensitive topics. Further, I felt the one-on-one interview format would help to facilitate an enriching, engaging, and emotional conversation in which participants' perspectives were centred. In addition, I felt this format would allow for greater reciprocity of insights, with participants encouraged to ask me questions as they saw appropriate. Of course, the very construction of the interview space and the encounter between the researcher and the research participant are laden with a plurality of power differentials (Pascoe Leahy, 2022). For example, while I sought to ensure participants felt comfortable within the interview space, it was evident that some were anxious about the ways in which their insights might be analysed post-interview (e.g., within the thesis and in conference papers) – i.e., the 'afterlives' of the interview (Pascoe Leahy, 2022). Although all participants consented to their interviews being audio recorded, there were occasions in which it was requested that insights should be understood as off-the-record and remain unpublished.

Othman and Hamid (2018) describe their initial ambivalence on whether to adhere to such requests based on the perceived importance of the data within their overall research findings. Ultimately, much like the scenario I describe above, Othman and Hamid (2018) agree that the ethical responsibility towards research participants must take precedence, accounting for the disparities in power within this context. As Tuck and Yang (2014, p. 813) argue, this speaks to an ethics of refusal within qualitative research, within which the movement of "stories and experiences" is prevented from entering the academy, as justified by an ethos of recognition and respect.

<u>Industry participants</u>

Various scales and types of power were evident in interviews with industry respondents. From my perspective, I was conscious that a negative interview experience – for example, in terms of perceptions of myself, the types of questions asked, the quality of the interview etc. – could hinder access to other people I hoped to speak with. This was particularly important because my recruitment methods were largely reliant on snowballing methodologies. This speaks to the power dynamics often associated with so-called elite interviews, that is, interviews with people in senior positions of authority and/or prestige in which "the interviewee [has the capacity] to make or resist certain outcomes, with regard to responses to questions" (Boucher, 2017, pp. 99-100). This had relevance for interviews with industry respondents, many of whom were in senior positions of authority within the wine industry. As discussed later in this chapter, there was a high degree of interconnectivity between industry respondents, and I was conscious that each interviewee had the power to support or reject the study. I am not the first European researcher to study ethics and the South African wine industry – for example, see Bek, McEwan and Binns (2012), Herman (2018), and Howson, Murray and Overton (2020) – and this was a topic of particular sensitivity to industry respondents. Further, considering the recent release of "Bitter Grapes", I was concerned that my presence might be viewed with suspicion given that several industry respondents stated the documentary had significantly impacted the wine industry's international reputation. On the documentary website, for example, is a copy of an email that circulated between wine producers warning of an "international man and woman doing their rounds on the farms [and] asking unethical questions to workers" (Heinemann, 2016b). While my study was deliberately focused on middle-class wine consumers and was, from that perspective, relatively aligned with wine industry strategies, I remained concerned that

my presence would create an untenable situation, one in which some industry respondents did not necessarily want to speak with me but felt obliged to amidst the broader political circumstances. Simultaneously, I was conscious that some industry respondents might feel that the study could act as an opportunity to improve the reputation of the wine industry in response to recent international criticism. As my study goals were not necessarily to denigrate nor to praise (rather, to seek the ethics in consumption), I saw the semi-structured interview method as a way of engendering trust through an ethos of ethical transparency. Providing some structure to the interview, through themes and questions, demonstrated my knowledge of the subject matter while also making it clear the types of topics that might be covered (see Appendix A). Several industry participants requested a copy of the proposed interview questions in advance of meeting – questions were tailored according to the role of the respondent when required – and wanted to know more about me and my motivations for the study before consenting to an interview. In introductory emails and messages, I explained the research objectives, my university affiliations, and welcomed any additional questions. In addition, I provided written information detailing the broad aims and goals of the study. When meeting for the interview, I encouraged industry participants to ask me further questions; often these revolved around the reasons for my interest in wine in South Africa and I contextualised this through a combination of my personal and academic motivations. Where appropriate (e.g., in interviews with representatives from ethical certification organisations), I disclosed my prior involvement with WFP to emphasise my previous experience in this area.

Power differentials were further shaped by the choice of interview location. Several interviews took place in corporate headquarters; on reflection, the implicit enforcement of formality and professionalism shaped my experiences of power in space. I partly connected this to disparities connected to time, space, and mobility between myself and industry respondents. For example, I often drove to industry participants at their place of work and was conscious of the importance of arriving on time. I was often unfamiliar with routes, places, and buildings which exacerbated feelings of uncertainty and nervousness. I sought to mitigate this through consideration of the aesthetic. Others, for example, Bergman Blix and Wettergren (2015), have spoken about the aesthetic labour of elite interviewing, as performed by women. Brown (2017, p. 154) argues that this includes the pressure to conform to "normative expectations of professionalism and 'acceptable appearance'". In

addition, it includes the recognition of (and often conformity to) "social expectations about (acceptable) femininity, the female body, professionalism and what it means to be a good researcher" (Brown, 2017, p. 150). For Brown (2017, p. 150) this included wearing specific clothing and makeup, learning to speak and interact in different ways, and concealing traits that made her "unsuitable for professional environments". This is understood as an "embodied practice" in which "professionalism [is] achieved as part of a full bodily performance" (Brown, 2017, p. 150). Such dynamics are seen in academia and in other sectors (Witz, Warhurst and Nickson, 2003; Warhurst and Nickson, 2007; Lipton, 2021) and I recognise similarities in the ways in which I performed in interviews with industry respondents. For example, I reserved a small number of outfits I deemed suitably professional for these interviews, made attempts to wear makeup, adopted a straighter posture, maintained a relatively reserved demeanour, and softened my accent and spoke more slowly. Regarding the latter, this was only something I recognised when listening back to interview recordings.

My major concerns, however, mainly focused on managing and masking the visceral. I often drove to industry interviews, at times for one hour or more. My car, while functional, struggled to provide air conditioning and simultaneously maintain any sort of upward momentum (when tackling hills, my solution would be to change gears, increase speed and, keeping my eyes on the road, press various buttons with the hope that one controlled the air conditioning). As most interviews took place at the height of summer, my efforts were normally in vain; I would arrive sweaty, flushed, and flustered. Often, I would be affected by hay fever, complete with runny nose and streaming eyes; listening back to interviews, I can hear a near constant sniffing as I try to manage my various afflictions. One day, moments before I was to leave the house for an interview, I noticed my shins were covered in bruises – a result of attempts to hike/crawl up Table Mountain the day prior. A reflection from my researcher diaries calls attention to my visceral anxieties during this time:

> *I have not yet found a way to drive to an interview looking cool, calm, and professional. The car has quite a weak engine which means use of the air conditioning feature – especially when going uphill – is quite literally impossible. This is not helpful, particularly when I am already extremely nervous and driving in hot temperatures. And so, I find myself arriving 30 minutes early to interviews, parked on roads close to the [interview] location, trying to mitigate the disaster that is myself – hair flat, face sweaty and pink and shiny, clothes creased. I hope nobody I am going to*

meet can see me – the strange researcher who sits in a car for 30 minutes making herself presentable. I am confident this strategy is the way to go – until the receptionist at the front desk discourages me from parking on the side roads and gets me to run back, get the car, and park outside the office in the secure parking area. With two minutes to go before the interview begins. Any attempt to look professional is gone in an instant.

Researcher diary entry (25/11/2019).

It should be stated that most of these anxieties, as evident by the date above, transpired earlier in the fieldwork timeline. Towards the end, when I felt greater confidence in my role as researcher and, more importantly, when I became increasingly concerned about more existential crises (e.g., the Covid-19 pandemic), I placed less emphasis on ascribing to the professional through aesthetic labour. In my final industry interview, this was made evident when I realised that I had toothpaste mark on my black t-shirt, which I only noticed when the interviewee glanced briefly at the stain before inviting me to sit down.

My attempts at aesthetic labour did not, to the best of my knowledge, impact access to industry participants. Security guards accepted my I.D. when entering secure sites and I was not turned away from an interview for having bruised shins, watery eyes, or sweaty skin. Therefore, in a country within which mobilities and spatial access continue to be heavily constrained by race and class (Rink, 2016; Rink, 2022), there is a need to reflexively and ethically evaluate my own position further (see section 4.6). This does not necessarily negate the importance of considering aesthetic labour within the context of power and elite interviewing; as demonstrated, my internalisation of a "gross bodies" narrative often permeates "women's understanding of their own and others' bodies" and resulted in my determination to regulate and discipline my "always-failing, always-in-need-of-maintenance, always-problematic" body (Fahs, 2017, p. 93). For me, for example, this included the management of runny eyes and sweaty skin. As Waitt and Stanes (2015) recognise, bodily fluids such as sweat are critical to feminist understandings of embodied performances including those of the professional. Sweat is "entangled with gender to reveal the ways in which some bodies still remain privileged […] a privilege attributed to natural, 'in-built' biological differences" (Waitt and Stanes, 2015, p. 30). As Adams-Hutcheson and Smith (2020) state:

Sweaty bodies can be sites of shame or pride, with the fit sweaty body often revered while the fat sweaty body is reviled. Sweat leaks from the

> body, it smells and exposes the fragility of bodily spatial boundaries.
> Sweaty bodies are central in continuing to pay attention to the messy,
> fleshy material body often omitted from mainstream geography.
>
> Adams-Hutcheson and Smith (2020, p. 82).

Importantly, Adams-Hutcheson and Smith (2020, p. 82) argue, this offers a "stark glimpse into how emotion and affect structure spatial relationships that expose the dominant discourses of acceptability and Otherness and how place plays a central role." Hence, while sweat is accepted in some places (e.g., the gym) it is out-of-place in other spaces and can raise anxieties around perceived professionalism. For me, attending an interview in a corporate setting exacerbated such feelings and fed into my understanding of the power differentials within the semi-structured interview involving industry respondents.

On reflection, I have come to the realisation that my implicit acceptance of these perceived power disparities, based on the aesthetic, was in part a consequence of the internalisation of messaging from qualitative methodological literature that, to an extent, makes it difficult to centre the humanity of elite research participants amidst the centring of status. Empson (2017, p. 59) states that researchers need to be aware of the "subtle distinctions of reputation, ranking, and status" amongst individuals and organisations while emphasising the importance of appropriately preparing for an interview to demonstrate professionalism (including the choice of outfit). In addition, Bergman Blix and Wettergren (2015, p. 692) note that while the literature on elite interviewing "lacks an emotion theoretical framing", it is recognised that that some scholars incorporate emotions within their writings. Empson (2017) discusses nervousness, intimidation, anger, and cynicism, and irritation. Harvey (2011) examines discomfort and loss of confidence. Conti and O'Neil (2007) speak on feelings of despondency, inadequacy, and self-doubt. Bergman Blix and Wettergren (2015) describe the emotional dissonance involved with developing multiple researcher personas tailored to individual interviewees, alongside feelings of embarrassment, fatigue, and disappointment.

My point is not to dismiss the emotions experienced by scholars within the context of elite interviewing; as demonstrated, I often shared similar feelings. My aim is to recognise that the centring of certain types of emotions within the methodological literature might themselves inadvertently feed into the implicit acceptance of power disparities between elite participants and researchers. Before I had even contacted possible industry

participants, for example, I had subconsciously absorbed the message that elite interviewing demanded both professionalism and the development of a strategic persona. In time, I came to realise this was unhelpful with regards to my specific interviewing techniques within which I sought to establish a relationship with participants. I did so, for example, by making jokes about my hay fever, discussing my recent engagement (when asked), and in one bemusing encounter, staying for 20 minutes after an interview had ended while a participant took me through me his holiday photographs. While I may have had experiences similar to those expressed by Empson (2017) (etc.) I also experienced other, more positive, emotions which were directly connected to my determination to centre relationships, care, and connections within elite interviewing spaces.

Consumer participants

In interviews with consumer participants, considerations of power, emotion, and affect were similarly present and visible. Again, I felt the semi-structured interview method to be suitable given possible sensitivities around the discussion of alcohol consumption (Lawhon, Herrick and Daya, 2014). This method ensured a structure would be in place that allowed me to discuss broad themes in advance of the interview (see Appendix B). This meant that participants broadly understood what they could expect to speak about during the interview and could make an informed decision about taking part in the study. In explaining the interview themes and structure, I also sought to account for the emotional pressures participants might feel within a research setting. Bahn and Barratt-Pugh (2013, p. 189) note that, within an interview, the "participant is confronted by a stranger and is expected to provide quality information" which can exacerbate feelings of fear and insecurity. In the case of my study, for example, several consumer respondents expressed feelings of surprise that they had been able to speak at length on the topic of wine. When speaking with friends prior to the interview, they had expressed concerns that they were not wine connoisseurs and, as such, might fail to be 'good' research participants. By providing some structure to the interview and explaining the broad conversational themes, I sought to ensure these concerns were alleviated. Having a structure provided some sense of security to the interview space, with the shared knowledge that I could help to steer the conversation if desired.

The semi-structured approach also allows for a flexible and dynamic interview approach within which participants can take an active role in shaping the conversation. I encouraged

participants to shape the parameters of the conversation in ways that they deemed appropriate and were comfortable with. In this way, conversations could meander and deviate as determined by consumer respondents. In one interview, for example, most of the conversation was dedicated to issues a participant was having with a work colleague. Given the sensitivities of the discussion, I checked if the participant wanted me to continue recording. They did, confiding it was helpful to discuss emotional issues to a person they would never likely see again. Against the pressures of the neoliberal institution to extract, collect, analyse, and produce data (Oliver, 2022) I felt it particularly important for the flow of the interview to be shaped by what the participant wanted to speak about. In doing so, I sought to contribute to a space that resisted these pressures and centred people, emotions, and relationships. Hence, the semi-structured interview method allowed for a flexible research process. Interviews took place in spaces suggested by respondents to ensure their convenience and comfort. This included bars, cafes, restaurants and, on a small number of occasions, people's homes. Regarding the latter, this only occurred if I had an established relationship with the research participant. Finally, a one-on-one semi-structured interview method allowed for a diversity of varied experiences to be expressed. Lawhon, Herrick and Daya (2014) note that discussing sensitive subjects, such as alcohol, in wider group settings (e.g., focus groups) can create tensions between participants, particularly those who are familiar with one another. It was important to me that participants could express their perspectives anonymously without risking peer-based judgements.

4.3.2. *Method of data collection #2: Ethnographic observations and reflections*

Green (2020, pp. 119-120) states that ethnographic research methodologies are "intended to uncover an individual or groups' way of thinking, being, and making meaning of their worlds." Sources of ethnographic data can include interviews, observations, fieldnotes, documentation, and pieces of media (Green, 2020). Over six months of fieldwork in Cape Town, I found myself instinctively and unconsciously collating data. Complementing semi-structured interviews, I scribbled ideas throughout each day, later bemoaning my past self as I tried to type up a typographical descent into illegibility. In the quiet and private spaces of the car and the bedroom I turned to audio notes, all the better for being able to speak aloud and at speed in instances when an aching wrist slowed down reflective processes. On the encrypted social media platform, WhatsApp, I sent long and rambling audio messages to trusted friends, at times voicing frustrations with aspects of my everyday life (both as a

resident of, and a researcher in, Cape Town) and welcomed their thoughtful messages in return. Downloading city-specific apps, reading newspapers, magazines, websites, and books, and listening to local radio stations, I paid attention to the minutiae of life in Cape Town and beyond, keen to embed my research findings within this broader context. Such processes of observation and reflection were applied as much to myself as they were to my external environment. I recognised, however, an intangibility to some of my thoughts that could never fully translate into the words, images, and sounds so often needed for data analysis: the sense of peace I felt looking towards the vista at sunset, a panorama of mountains shimmeringly hazy and limitless and unknowable; the distress I felt while driving, my vision battling against an alliance of sunscreen, sweat, and hay fever while simultaneously navigating various road hazards; the joy of socialising, of finding a spark of connection with a stranger who would later become a close friend. In this way, ethnographic practices allowed me the tools to continuously try and make meaning within the context of fieldwork.

In addition to making general observations throughout each working day, I engaged in practices of overt researcher participant observation. These took place at semi-public wine festivals, private wine tastings and parties, and bars and restaurants. As Williams *et al.* (2015, p. 159) note, overt observation methods are useful in allowing one to "document impressions" amidst the bustle of festivals and events. While also engaging in these spaces socially, I ensured those around me were made aware my work was ethnographic and qualitative and that I intended to make reflexive and anonymised notes following encounters. As Uldam and McCurdy (2013, p. 946) state, overt research "in its idealised form, is research whereby everyone who comes into contact with the researcher or the research site is aware that research is being conducted." This is something I could not necessarily guarantee, particularly within the context of large-scale and public spaces and events. Reflecting on the ethical ramifications of this, I adopted the following strategies. In instances where I was unable to disclose my researcher status, I made generalised observations on the context, the space, and the ambience of the event. Should I be in a position to disclose my status, I made more detailed observations. However, the decision on whether or not to include these insights within the study represents a crucial site of ethical scrutiny. As Tuck and Yang (2014) argue, methods of ethnographic observation are implicitly infused with power disparities between the observer and the observed:

Methods that rely upon a researcher's observations already make a claim about knowledge, how it is acquired, and who is in the position to acquire it. That is, observation itself is making an epistemological claim, rooted in the dynamics of gaze, space, and power.

Tuck and Yang (2014, p. 815).

I am deeply conscious of the "colonial histories" (Green, 2020, p. 117) embedded within commonly used ethnographic observational research methodologies. The genealogies of ethnographic research methodologies are entwined with the discipline of anthropology which "arose from imperialism and cultural hegemony" (Pels, 2008, p. 281). Hence, ethnographic practices "provided the conditions of possibility for [anthropology's] classifications of colonisers and colonised" (Pels, 2008, p. 282). So too does this have implications for the discipline of geography, equally as complicit in its entanglements with European colonial expansion (Raghuram and Madge, 2006).

Conscious of the possible power dynamics between myself – a Northern researcher – in relation to Southern research participants and a transcultural research context, I sought to adopt an "autoethnographic sensibility" – that is, "an attentiveness to the autoethnographic characteristics of things that are going on in […] research settings" (Butz and Besio, 2004, p. 354). This largely centred a critically reflexive approach to observations. Here, I was particularly inspired by the Double Dutch observational methodology as delineated by Green (2014). As Green (2020, p. 118) argues, this involves the critical "exploration of researcher positionalit(ies)" – both in terms of the "intersecting identities [brought] to the researcher context" and in terms of the "multiple roles and shifting orientations that a researcher may experience during the research process" (ibid). It also requires the following: firstly, a reflection on the theories and concepts that frame positionality – both in terms of the researcher and the study; secondly, ways of learning, specifically when negotiating and navigating participant observation (Green, 2014). This requires recognition of the multi-faceted position of the researcher including the ways in which they engage "as participant observer at times, an observer at other times, and a participant at still other times" (Paris, 2011 quoted in Green, 2014, p. 4). When attending wine tastings, for example, my position varied between being a participant (learning about wines along with my friends), an observer (reflecting on the possibilities of interviewing the winemaker), and a participant observer (tasting wines and understanding more about the wine values expressed by other

attendees). Throughout, and as described in later sections of this chapter, I sought to centre relationships, care, and consideration towards those around me.

4.4.   Participant Recruitment

The recruitment goals of this study were largely realised by the sociability, generosity, and kindness of strangers, acquaintances, and friends. As I began to develop and grow social networks in Cape Town, friends would increasingly recommend people within their own networks to take part in this study. While I retained ultimate control over the recruitment process (e.g., in terms of recommendations I followed up on), it cannot be emphasised enough the extent to which participant recruitment was driven by the efforts of those around me, making suggestions, facilitating introductions, and inviting me to spaces within which I might socialise and expand my networks.

Below, I divide recruitment methods into those associated with industry and consumer respondents, respectively. In doing so, I aim to add a measure of tidiness to fieldwork processes when in fact, the recruitment of industry respondents and consumer respondents required a blurring of these arbitrary divisions. As my social networks expanded in Cape Town, so too did serendipitous moments arise which demanded the acceptance of a messy approach to recruitment. Often, it seemed that everybody I spoke with had a connection to somebody working in the South African wine industry. While waiting for drinks at an overly crowded bar on Long Street, I met and quickly moved away from a stranger who told me his job involved selling "shit wine to poor people". A friend's roommate happened to have a friend working with WFP – the NGO I had previously worked with. A friend in Green Point counted wine journalists amongst her closest friends. Another friend in Stellenbosch was friends with several winemakers. At times, these unexpected connections would be hugely beneficial to the research process.

4.4.1. Industry participants

Preliminary research

There are more than 2,613 grape producers and 536 wine cellars in South Africa, most of which are situated in the Cape Winelands (SAWIS, 2021). The scale of operation and market focus differs significantly between wine producers; some wine estates, for example, are better viewed as resorts with sophisticated sales departments, events coordinators, and communications strategists (Ferreira, 2020). Beyond this, the value chain for wine in the

Western Cape is particularly complex given the sheer number of ways in which consumers can engage with the product. Some forms of engagement are ubiquitous, particularly in urban spaces (e.g., supermarkets, wine merchants, restaurants, bars etc.); however, living in the Western Cape affords a myriad of other options including wine estates, festivals, events, auctions, awards ceremonies, private groups, tasting sessions, and more.

Given the complexity of the South African wine industry value chain in the Western Cape (including grape growers, wine and brandy producers, brand owners, wholesalers, distributors etc.), the main purpose of this phase of work was to identify strategic points of alignment between my research objectives and ongoing work within the wine industry. Through this, I sought to facilitate opportunities for snowball sampling. Broadly, snowball sampling focuses on processes of network and referral and is often associated with hard-to-reach groups (Parker, Scott and Geddes, 2019). There are some risks to this approach, including a failure to roll, an initial dependency on personal resources and contacts, and a potential reliance on gatekeepers (Parker, Scott and Geddes, 2019; Li, 2021). However, I anticipated snowballing would represent one – but not the only – approach to participant recruitment. I also envisaged snowballing as a pluralised technique, involving not one but many snowballs rolling simultaneously. Despite possible risks, therefore, I felt this to be the most suitable approach to recruitment.

I initially focused my recruitment strategy on industry professionals involved with the Wine Industry Strategic Exercise (WISE). An evaluation of WISE will be presented in Chapter 6, however, to briefly summarise: the goal of WISE is to create a more sustainable business strategy for the South African wine industry. Two of its goals are specifically focused on wine markets in South Africa by: 1) growing the number of wine drinkers and 2) growing the number of wine tourists. WISE was spearheaded by wine industry institutions and operational business units and was supported by a task team of representatives from leading wine producer and/or wholesaler companies. Centring an industry-focused recruitment strategy through WISE represented a suitable initial entry point into the field. While allowing for a broad evaluation of industry perspectives on wine consumer markets, I also speculated that these connections could facilitate an extensive snowballing recruitment approach. To confirm this, I conducted a network mapping exercise of all stakeholders involved in WISE based on their primary and secondary professional affiliations and, in addition, their connections to ethical and/or sustainable programmes in the wine industry

(e.g., Fairtrade). This was an exploratory exercise, a temporal snapshot that relied on the accuracy of information on institutional websites and did not account for personal and/or previous work connections. This exercise demonstrated a high degree of interconnectivity between WISE members (Figure 4). Several people involved with WISE were involved in several wine industry institutions and operational business units. To further confirm this, I tabulated publicly available information on those involved in WISE including professional role, institutional employer, secondary affiliations, and contact information (email and/or telephone). A brief examination of LinkedIn (which can provide information on work history) confirmed that many of those involved in WISE had extensive experience focused on wine in South Africa.
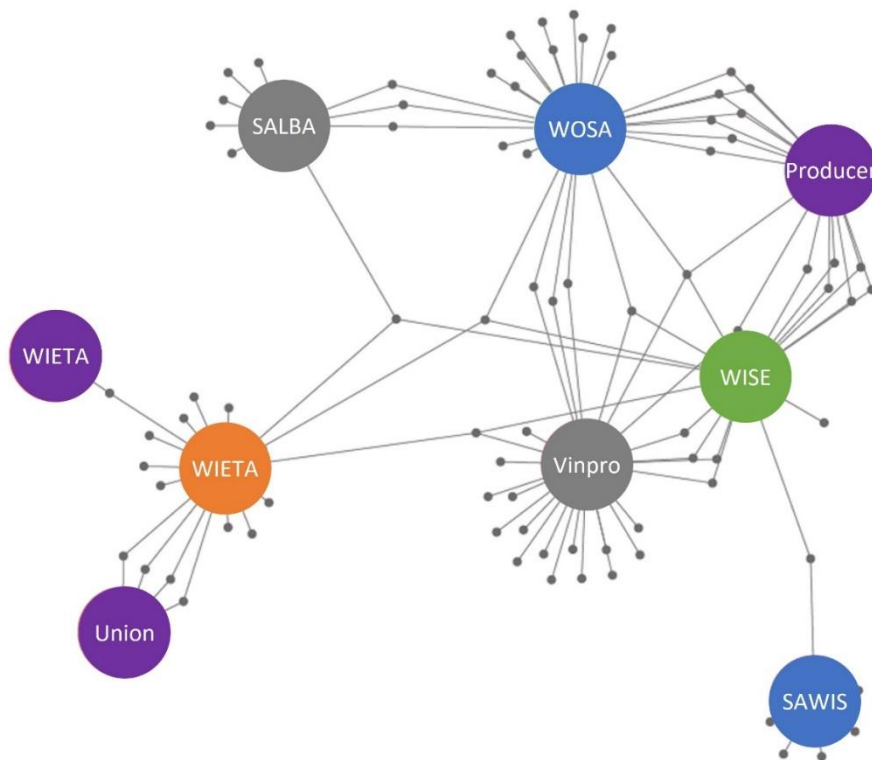
SALBA, South African Liquor Brand Owners Association; SAWIS, South African Wine Industry Information and Systems; WOSA, Wines of South Africa; WISE, Wine Industry Strategic Exercise.
The small grey nodes each represent a single individual and the straight lines represent their involvement with different wine industry organisations and/or operational business units. Accurate as of October 2019.
Source: author's image built using Microsoft Power BI. Version 2.11.603.0.
Figure 4. Institutional network mapping: WISE and its connections to industry organisations and/or operational business units

Recognising this approach could centre institutional perspectives amidst the complexity of wine value chains in South Africa, I identified additional actors whose perspectives would be

beneficial to this research. Through desk-based research, I mapped individuals and organisations with a role connected to the production, distribution, and consumption of wine in the Western Cape. Sources included company websites and social media pages and roles of interest included those involved in on-trade consumption (e.g., sommeliers and other actors involved in hospitality) and off-trade consumption (e.g., wine buyers working for major retailers). This also included industries adjacent to the wine sector including event management, tourism, marketing, and social media.

Finally, ahead of arriving in Cape Town, I evaluated my existing social networks with people and organisations in the Western Cape to determine if introductions could be made through a mutual connection. I understood the most direct connection would be through WFP, the NGO I worked with in 2015. However, given my research was not affiliated with WFP (and given the objectives of the research were not directly connected to the objectives of WFP) I preferred, if possible, to establish connections via alternative contacts. Three possible avenues were identified: firstly, through a friend who introduced me to their former colleague now working at a UK-based ethical tourism company. Through this, I was invited to join a daytrip the tour group had organised to a Fairtrade wine grape farm in Wellington. Secondly, as a visiting academic to the department of Environmental & Geographical Science at UCT where I understood there might be alignment between my work and the research interests of scholars at the university. Thirdly, via a close friend whose extended family lived in Cape Town and owned a wine estate. Should these connections not help facilitate participant recruitment, I also planned to attend the 2020 Vinpro conference, hosted each January at the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC) in Cape Town. With a specific segment dedicated to wine markets in South Africa, this would present a good opportunity to both learn more about wine industry perspectives and to network.

In-person recruitment

In phase one of this research (October 2019 to January 2020), 44 interviews were conducted involving 47 participants (two interviews consisted of two or more participants; one participant was interviewed on two separate occasions). Those interviewed in a professional capacity had wide ranging experience and expertise in the wine sector, including its operational business units, tourism, sales, marketing, and production. Collectively, their insights were critical in providing the important context needed to understand the complexities of wine markets in South Africa. Two interviews were conducted by telephone

and a video communications platform; the remainder were conducted in person. All participants, excluding three, gave informed written consent to take part in an audio recorded interview for the study. The three remaining participants gave verbal informed consent to take part in an audio recorded interview and confirmed the use of their data in this thesis and any other related publications. Three participants requested access to the interview transcript before data analysis; following this, one participant withdrew from the study and instead gave written responses to questions sent via email. One participant made minor edits to their transcript for clarity.

Table 2 presents information on industry participants. All participants were anonymised, with a researcher-assigned pseudonym assigned accordingly. This reflects a minor limitation of the data collection process in that I did not verbally ask participants to provide a pseudonym. Instead, I suggested participants might like to write a pseudonym down as part of written consent processes. More often than not, participants did not complete this section of the form. As a result, the names chosen are reflective of each participant's given name in terms of its gendered, cultural and/or religious connotations. Of note here is a focus on the given name of the participant and not on the gender, culture, and/or religion of the participant themselves. The decision of how best to anonymise research participants was complex and challenging from both a practical and ethical perspective. As Allen and Wiles (2016, p. 5) argue, the use of pseudonyms reflects a "nuanced act of research, affected by issues of power and voice, methodological and epistemological standpoint" which requires a respectful and ethical approach to naming. Given the "small connected communities" (Damianakis and Woodford, 2012, p. 708) of professionals in the South African wine industry, I was concerned that the information informed by the provision of a pseudonym could risk the confidentiality of research participants. In contrast, the use of an alphanumeric code (another possibility for anonymising participants) risked a reductive and impersonal framing of research participants. Such considerations speak to the "balancing act" (Saunders, Kitzinger and Kitzinger, 2015, p. 617) of anonymising data generated from qualitative research. For example, while Saunders, Kitzinger and Kitzinger (2015) recognise that the adoption of an alphanumeric-style code is sometimes preferred by research participants, they also argue that this risks an impersonal approach to the delivery of research findings which, pragmatically, may also create difficulties in following individual narratives. Saunders, Kitzinger and Kitzinger (2015) also recognise that there are several

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additional considerations to account for when seeking to maintain confidentiality including, for example, disclosure of occupation. Hence, to ensure anonymity was maintained, the specific role and organisation of each participant has not been disclosed. Instead, industry participants have been categorised according to their professional involvement in the wine industry value chain, with some information provided on their general role in within the organisation of their employment.

Pseudonym	Code	Role	Date of interview
Wine retail			
John	I1	Sales & Marketing	29/10/2019
Amelia	I2	Management	04/11/2019
Joel	I3	Management	06/11/2019
Andrew	I4	Business owner	27/11/2019
Siziwe	I5	Business owner	28/01/2020
Emma	I6	Sales & Marketing	17/02/2020
Sylvia	I7	Business owner	10/03/2020
Wine production			
Lila	I8	Sales & Marketing	30/10/2019
Ivy	I9	Sales & Marketing	01/11/2019
Violet	I10	Business owner	13/11/2019
Rebecca	I11	Business owner	26/11/2019
Luca	I12	Management	03/12/2019
Petrus	I13	Producer	03/12/2019
Elena	I14	Sales & Marketing	03/12/2019
Lindiwe	I15	Business owner	14/01/2020
Simon	I16	Marketing	04/02/2020
Evelyn	I17	Business owner	06/02/2020
Amelia	I18	Sales & Marketing	19/02/2020
Elizabeth	I19	Management	21/02/2020
Jacob	I20	Producer	24/02/2020
Johan	I21	Management	05/03/2020
Dennis	I22	Sales & Marketing	09/03/2020
Hamish	I23	Business owner	09/03/2020
Wine industry			
Emma	I24	Management	05/11/2019
Helen	I25	Management	16/01/2020
Alice	I26	Management	22/01/2020
Beatrice	I27	Management	22/01/2020
Sipho	I28	Management	23/01/2020
Willem	I29	Management	29/01/2020

Pseudonym	Code	Role	Date of interview
Wine events			
Fiona	I30	Management	14/11/2019
Ruby	I31	Organiser	04/03/2020
Ethical/sustainable trade			
Caroline	I32	Management	05/11/2019
Abigail	I33	Management	16/01/2020
Isabel	I34	Management	22/01/2020
Lily	I35	Management	22/01/2020
Richard	I36	Management	23/01/2020
Hospitality			
Tatenda	I37	Sommelier	22/11/2019
Henry	I38	Sommelier	27/11/2019
Amir	I39	Sommelier	15/01/2020
Jonathan	I40	Sommelier	25/02/2020
Public relations			
Albert	I41	Management	13/01/2020
Edward	I42	Management	15/01/2020
Charlotte	I43	Marketing	24/01/2020
Sophia	I44	Marketing	27/01/2020
Social media			
Carolie	I45	Blogger	26/02/2020
Eve	I46	Blogger	01/03/2020
Rosy	I47	Blogger	05/03/2020

Table 2. Industry respondent information

Two modes of outreach were adopted when contacting industry participants: cold call emailing and snowballing. Of the 44 interviews conducted, 19 were achieved by sending direct emails without reference to a mutual connection. In these instances, I explained who I was and why I would like to speak to them. I explained that I was a visiting academic at UCT and that I would be in South Africa until April 2020. The remaining 25 interviews took place either through: 1) a mutual connection organising an introductory email; 2) a mutual connection providing relevant contact details, with permission to explain to the recipient had recommended I speak to them; 3) meeting people in person at events, explaining my research, confirming their willingness to speak with me, and following up later to arrange the interview. While all avenues were effective, the cold call approach was typically a lengthier process with participants chased for a maximum of three times should they not respond.

In reality, despite the detail paid to this recruitment strategy, the most impactful networks were built serendipitously; this is an important characteristic and strength of slower ethnographic methodologies (Rivoal and Salazar, 2013). I considered these to be serendipitous because they took place spontaneously, unexpectedly, and informally. Over coffee, a former work colleague (who had helped arrange my accommodation in Green Point) offered to introduce me to a member of her family, an alcohol buyer for a supermarket chain in South Africa. Attending a meal hosted by a friend, I was introduced to a guest with a close friend in wine marketing. Finally, while I did not follow up on this, my landlady had connections in the wine industry having worked previously in the UCT Graduate School of Business, specifically, for their Business of Wine programme. The most fortuitous of meetings, however, involved my attendance on a daytrip to the Fairtrade wine grape farm in Wellington. Speaking with the tour guide leading the trip, it became evident that she had extensive connections within the wine industry. In the days and weeks to follow, she would go to great lengths to facilitate introductions with many people in the wine industry, several of whom I had originally identified in my preliminary recruitment plans.

4.4.2. Consumer participants

Preliminary research

Simultaneous to the implementation of the phase one recruitment strategy, I began to develop recruitment methods focused on consumer participants. As will be discussed further in Chapter 6, WISE outputs include the identification of new wine consumer archetypes based on a combination of ethnographic data, demographic information, LSM groupings, geographies, education, and employment status. While I was aware of these archetypes and found them helpful in determining who might represent a new wine consumer my recruitment approaches were not prescriptively defined. Nonetheless, as the consumer archetypes accounted for a diversity of middle-class consumers based on age, race, gender, employment, and income, they were helpful in ensuring the study represented a diverse group of people.

In-person recruitment

In phase two of this research, 28 interviews were conducted involving 31 participants (three interviews involved two participants). This allowed for a diverse group of participants in terms of age, race, gender, profession, and income. Participants gave written informed consent to take part in the interview. As a thank you for participation in this study,

participants received a R100 gift voucher to the V&A Waterfront Mall or the Canal Walk Shopping Centre. Both malls offered a variety of amenities including supermarkets, cinemas, clothing stores, and restaurants which I felt would help ensure participants were afforded flexibility in spending options.

Initially, I intended to adopt a neighbourhood approach to recruitment, delivering flyers to homes and posting them in shared social spaces such as supermarkets, bars, and cafes. However, this approach was strongly discouraged by friends in Cape Town as they felt it would be unsafe for me to be alone and working in unfamiliar places. From my perspective, my sense of safety was directly connected to the inaccessibility and inhospitableness of certain neighbourhoods, with homes that were heavily securitised including perimeter walls, electric wire fencing, private security guards, and guard dogs. Such spaces were inconducive to a sense of safety; working in isolation in quiet and unfamiliar streets, within which homes represented fortresses, fostered a heightened sense of vulnerability and fear. Often, I wondered what I would do if I required help and could not knock on a door for assistance. My rejection of this recruitment approach was directly connected to my own sense of safety. Inadvertently, this speaks to wider and problematic understandings of fieldwork. Amidst the demands of the neoliberal university, in conjunction with a masculinist understanding of fieldwork, there is:

> An expectation that fieldworkers should be bold enough to turn up anywhere, and confident in their right to be there, often working alone and in unfamiliar places […] In its traditional forms, fieldwork encourages (if not requires) researchers to throw themselves into their work at the expense of everything else.
>
> Oliver (2022, p. 83).

Centring emotions and feelings within the fieldwork process, and not presuming a right to be anywhere, were critical to participant recruitment. My approaches, therefore, did not focus on approaching people in their homes and neighbourhoods but on instead understanding where people socialised. I recognised that wealthier people living in Cape Town often navigate space through enclaves – moving from fortified homes to semi-public events/spaces via private modes of transport (e.g., by car). I understood that while there were few public spaces available to allow for truly spontaneous encounters, I might therefore achieve this by engaging in shared activities and experiences in spaces of

hospitality and leisure. I recognise that these spaces are both exclusive and exclusionary.
While attendees of these events were diverse from the social location of race, this
undoubtedly intersected with class. Many of the events framed as open to the public (e.g.,
food markets) also had an extensive private security presence. Other events had high entry
fees. Others still were in remote locations, accessible only by private transport. Spaces such
as these are undoubtedly problematic in terms of the socio-spatial exclusion of lower
income South African people. They were also some of the few spaces in Cape Town in which
middle-class strangers came together to socialise; in post-apartheid South Africa, Daya
(2016, p. 133. author emphasis) argues, "the few public spaces that enable some sense of a
shared culture, *matter*". While my recruitment approach was imperfect and involved
pseudo-public spaces, they were nonetheless oriented around conviviality and sociability.
This approach also worked for my own sense of sociability; fieldwork can be lonely, isolating,
unenjoyable and, to a certain extent, is often framed as a test of the 'true' researcher
(England, 1994; Caretta and Jokinen, 2017; Oliver, 2022). Amidst ongoing pressures to
justify the allocation of funding and to demonstrate progress through data collection are
numerous accounts of researchers working amidst extreme sickness, poor mental health,
bereavements, assaults, and illness (Kloß, 2017; Pollard, 2009). Reports of loneliness,
shame, desperation, regret, stress, and discomfort are in part connected to a perceived
failure to do research, as defined through narrow parameters of success (Pollard, 2009;
Harrowell, Davies and Disney, 2018) within which fieldwork is understood as a "rite of
passage" (Billo and Hiemstra, 2013, p. 318). In centring emotions and feelings in the
research process, I strove to decentre the pressures connected to the data collection
process. Obviously, my goals in Cape Town were oriented towards the study, but
emphasising the social – to view encounters and meetings as everyday rather than an
opportunity to collect – reduced these pressures. As Billo and Hiemstra (2013, p. 322) state,
"a researcher must be better at reconciling any fieldwork ideal with the reality of what you
can personally do and what is sustainable for you". I understood that one of my strengths
was to socialise, to build relationships with people, and to listen. Rather than viewing this as
secondary to the research process, I centred and embraced it.

For this phase of the study, my intention was to recruit participants for interview through
informal conversations – the challenge, therefore, would be to identify spaces within which
informal conversations might be able to take place. In the first three months of fieldwork, I

attended several events and activities through which I sought to socialise with people and make meaningful connections. I joined groups hosted via the social platform, Meetup, attended events hosted by the post-doctoral community at UCT, and attended invite-only wine tastings and events. I identified places where I might hope to make connections through a shared interest in sports, academia, and food. The underlying approach for this partly involved what I conceptualised as an 'intensive conviviality', immersing myself within the social scenes of Cape Town, attending parties, events, and festivals in the hope that I would meet people whose company I enjoyed and secondary to that, who might be interested in speaking with me for the study. Events were often small and offered opportunities for spontaneous conversations. As part of the conversation, I was often asked my reasons for being in Cape Town; in response, I discussed my research aims, goals, and motivations. Regularly attending the same groups over time led to the development of friendships, and I eventually felt comfortable asking people if they might like to take part in the research. It should be said that there were some events where I purposely avoided making connections, particularly where attendees expressed uncomfortable and upsetting opinions. Throughout, I considered the ethical implications of this recruitment approach, and ensured other attendees were aware about both myself as a researcher and my work in Cape Town.

In addition to this approach, I tapped into digital social networks. I developed a poster that could be shared easily via WhatsApp, a commonly used messaging service in South Africa, and asked friends if they might share this amongst their own networks (Appendix C). This approach was less successful than making in-person connections – of the 31 people interviewed, two were recruited via this method. The remaining participants were recruited via my attendance at private and/or semi-private events. As my wine-related networks grew, I was increasingly invited to attend wine-specific events and celebrations. These included my attendance at a private event in the Swartland, attending events hosted by wine brand owners, and attending private wine tastings.

I began recruitment for phase two of the study in January 2020, at which point I felt I had a sufficiently broad social network. I had been engaging in processes of intensive conviviality from October 2019. When inviting people to take part, I explained the purpose of the project and followed up with an email containing a project information sheet. If respondents were still amenable to speaking with me, we arranged a time and place to

speak that would be the most convenient for them. Often, having met previously or having a shared connection, we were able to create an interview space that was relatively informal and conversational. Following the interview, many participants invited me to other social events; I felt this to be a positive sign that our relationship went beyond the confines of researcher-participant dynamics and the spaces of the interview encounter.

The group of participants who were interviewed were diverse in terms of age (from 26 to 66 years of age), race, ethnicity, and gender. They lived in various suburbs and townships in Cape Town (one participant lived in Stellenbosch) and were employed in a variety of professions, in education, or retired. Before the interview commenced, participants were asked to complete a demographic sheet although it was emphasised that participant did not have to answer the questions. The questions were open ended rather than closed, allowing participants the opportunity to describe their identities in ways in which they were most comfortable (Table 3). To ensure confidentiality, individual professional information is not disclosed – given the diversity of unique roles, it is likely these could be used to identify participants. However, demographic information such as gender, ethnicity and/or race are provided. Unlike with industry respondents, the provision of this information is unlikely to lead to participant identification.

Participants were encouraged to cross out any question they did not want to answer. This was particularly important to me; from a personal perspective, I have often found demographic forms problematic in the ways in which "mixed-race individuals are often forced to 'choose one' racial or ethnic identity" (Townsend, Markus and Bergsieker, 2009, p. 186). Often, data collection in this regard "people belonged in separate and mutually exclusive racial/ethnic categories" (Aspinall, 2018, p. 1990). In a South African context, in which the official census forms continue to ascribe to racial classifications legalised under the apartheid state, this discomfort was particularly acute and would not account for the nuances between different perspectives. This led to a range of responses. While some people ascribed to legal/census-related racial classifications, others took the opportunity for greater creativity and nuance. Cara (C8), for example, described herself as coloured but also noted it was a sensitive term. Bongani (C27) described herself as "God's Creation Black / Beautiful". Ale (C2) described in detail his parental heritage while recognising these were easily constrained within the labels of 'coloured' and 'other'. Elsewhere, other participants sought to define their class status – some contextualised this within South Africa (e.g.,

Rachel; C13) others through LSM, or privilege. Others still expressed an ambivalence to

describing themselves by class at all, choosing not to disclose this information.

Pseudonym	Code	Age	Nationality	Gender	Race and/or ethnicity	Class	Monthly income
Donna	C1	60	South African	Female	White	Middle-class	Not disclosed
Ale	C2	29	South African	Male	Egyptian heritage (mom's side); a touch of Dutch & Russian on dad's side. "Coloured" or "other" depending on circumstances	Middle-class	R10,000–R14,999
Callum	C3	42	South African	Male	White	Middle-class	R20,000–R24,999
Katherine	C4	56	South African	Female	White	Middle-class	R35,000–R39,999
Graham	C5	27	South African	Male	White	Privileged	R25,000–R29,999
Simosihle	C6	33	South African	Female	Black	Middle-class	R20,000–R24,999
Camille	C7	36	South African	Female	Caucasian	Professional	R35,000–R39,999
Cara	C8	31	South African	Female	Coloured – although this is a sensitive term	Not disclosed	Not disclosed
Nobantu	C9	29	South African	Female	Black African	Lower-middle class	R25,000–R29,999

Pseudonym	Code	Age	Nationality	Gender	Race and/or ethnicity	Class	Monthly income
Violent	C10	52	South African	Female	White	Middle-class	R20,000–R24,999
Amanda	C11	56	South African	Female	White	Middle-class	R30,000–R34,999
Emily	C12	29	South African	Woman	White	Middle-class	R0–R4,999
Rachel	C13	28	South African	Female	White	Upper (in context of South Africa)	R15,000–R19,999
Yasmine	C14	34	South African	Female	Asian	Middle-class	R25,000–R29,999
Jonathan	C15	32	South African	Male	White	LSM 8 (?)	≥R40,000
Jared	C16	26	South African	Male	Coloured	Medium	R30,000–R34,999
Samuel	C17	66	South African	Male	Coloured	Middle-class	R25,000–R29,999
Margaret	C18	34	South African	Female	White	Middle-class	R15,000–R19,999
Buhle	C19	47	South African	Male	Black	No comment	R25,000–R29,999
Cherice	C20	42	South African	Female	Coloured	Middle-class	R30,000–R34,999
Sizwe	C21	62	South African	Male	African	Middle-class	R20,000–R24,999
Tony	C22	37	South African	Male	White	Middle class	R15,000–R19,999

Pseudonym	Code	Age	Nationality	Gender	Race and/or ethnicity	Class	Monthly income
Silondile	C23	29	South African	Female	Black (African)	Middle class	R35,000–R34,999
Lloyd	C24	37	Zimbabwean	Male	African	Not disclosed	R10,000–R14,999
Fiona	C25	45	South African	Female	Coloured	Middle class	≥R40,000
Andile	C26	38	South African	Female	Black / African	Middle-class	R25,000–R29,999
Bongani	C27	40	South African	Female	God's Creation Black / Beautiful	Poverty	R5,000–R9,999
Stefan	C28	62	South African	Male	White	Upper middle class	≥R40,000
Catherine	C29	59	South African	Female	White	Upper middle class	≥R40,000
Nonhle	C30	34	South African	Female	Black	Not disclosed	R30,000–R34,999
Sarah	C31	40	South African	Female	Coloured / mixed	Middle	≥R40,000

Table 3. Consumer participant information (self-described)

4.5.   Data Analysis

The methods used in this study generated a wealth of data. Primary data included interviews, photographs, fieldnotes, and diaries. In addition, I collated items of relevance to the study, including books, newspaper clippings, website articles, radio interviews, and institutional materials. I sought to ensure a methodological approach was taken to data management processes. This was a particular priority given the importance of ensuring the confidentiality of research materials involving industry and consumer respondents. Hence, after each interview, I transferred the audio file to a password-protected USB stick (stored in a padlocked safe) and a password-protected OneDrive folder as recommended by the data management team at Newcastle University. Following this, the audio file stored on the audio recording device was deleted. A similar process was followed for interview notes and researcher diaries – written notes and personal audio files were typed up and transferred to a password-protected OneNote file organised by day and week (this was also stored on OneDrive).

Data analysis was understood as an iterative process of reflexivity (Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009). As Srivastava and Hopwood (2009, p. 77) argue, "the role of iteration, not as a repetitive mechanical task but as a deeply reflexive process, is key to sparking insight and developing meaning." Throughout the six months of fieldwork (and continuing well after), I constantly listened and relistened to interviews and compared these to my original interview questions. Initially, I sought to better understand if my questions required revision based on the respondents provided in interviews. I also sought to identify emergent themes between and within interviews, in conjunction with my personal research diaries and observations.

Interviews were transcribed using the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo. This was again iterative and required reflexivity. As I worked through the transcription process, I continued to identify emerging themes and ideas between and within transcripts (Bird, 2005).   Further, in transforming sounds into text, I recognised the selectivity inherent within these processes which, as has been noted by Davidson (2009), warrants critical reflection. For example, while I sought to make note of interruptions within various interviews (which, at times, disrupted the flow of conversation and at others, contributed to discussions), I actively avoided incorporating everyday background noises. I included pauses, non-verbal vocalisations, and verbal repetitions in the transcript but edited excerpts for clarity when included in the thesis. This is not to say background noise was a hindrance, despite it often

being framed this way in the literature, with recommendations for interviews to take place in quiet spaces (Easton, McComish and Greenberg, 2000; Lapadat, 2000; MacLean, Meyer and Estable, 2004). I instead found background noise to be critical in retaining my memories of encounters with participants. The noise of people, cars, and crockery in coffee shops were crucial in my retaining memories of events. In contrast, while interviews in quiet spaces were undoubtedly easier to transcribe, I struggled to locate memorable moments from the interview context. There was also an emotional aspect to this. As I transcribed and analysed several interviews during the Covid-19 lockdown of 2020, relistening to the noisiness of an earlier Cape Town was comforting.

I followed this with data coding and analysis. As Srivastava and Hopwood (2009) argue, within the context of qualitative data analysis:

> Patterns, themes, and categories do not emerge on their own. They are driven by what the inquirer wants to know and how the inquirer interprets what the data are telling [them] according to subscribed theoretical frameworks, subjective perspectives, ontological and epistemological positions, and intuitive field understandings.

> Srivastava and Hopwood (2009, p. 77).

Data analysis was therefore an iterative and reflexive process initially mediated around two elements of consideration: firstly, the themes arising from the data; secondly, the information I sought within the context of the research questions (Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009). To expand on this further, I found the Iterative Thematic Inquiry (ITI) method of data analysis helpful in allowing for an iterative and reflexive framework which, at its core, values tentativeness (Morgan and Nica, 2020). I found this to be a gentle approach to data analysis and coding that ensured a fluid approach could be maintained within the writing process. Broadly, ITI consists of the following: 1) a reflexive examination of researcher subjectivities; 2) the development of themes; 3) the production of a tentative list of themes; and 4) the evaluation of themes through processes of coding (Morgan and Nica, 2020). Hence, themes acted as the "organizing principle" throughout; they began the data analysis process and "revising them [drove] further analytic activities" (Morgan and Nica, 2020, p. 10), eventually culminating in the study findings as presented in this thesis.

4.6.   Ethical Reflections: Critical Mobilities and Fieldwork

When completing relevant risk assignments, as required by my academic institution, I soon became aware that most of the risk (as perceived by my institution) related to my mobilities during fieldwork. To meet institutional ethical approval requirements, I would be required to keep people informed of my routes, destinations, and timings. I could not drive alone after dark and, if this did happen, I had to be vigilant at traffic lights and junctions, both being associated with greater risk of robbery and carjacking. I would be required to adopt strategies of avoidance in relation to specific modes and spaces of transport (e.g., trains and train stations) alongside specific areas of Cape Town (e.g., the townships located on the Cape Flats).

The implications of this were evident in my carefully curated arrival into Cape Town. Various practices – driving, walking, flying – assured the potentialities of transcontinental mobility. For example, I intentionally purchased a ticket for a flight that would land at Cape Town International Airport in the daytime, avoiding travel on the N2 highway after dark. Now, facing a border control agent at Cape Town International Airport and explaining the purpose of my visit to South Africa, I nervously awaited the requisite stamp that would guarantee my first 90 days of (theoretically) unencumbered travel within the country. Later, a prebooked private car transfer service would shuttle me from the confines of the airport to my new home in Green Point, a relatively wealthy suburb situated advantageously between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront, both of which were accessible on foot. I deliberately chose accommodation in Green Point, a suburb often recommended to tourists visiting the city, to drive against the painfully slow crawl of traffic heading into the city in the mornings. These actions were all designed to mitigate the perceived risk of harm while working as a researcher in Cape Town and, to do so, required a considerable reliance on institutional funding. This calls attention to the ethics of fieldwork in transnational and transcultural spaces. The institutional requirements required by my university were in direct contrast to the experiences of most people living and working in Cape Town.

Despite this, I recognised that my methodological approaches would not be dictated by a neatly delineated risk assessment written months in advance of fieldwork. Methodologies would be instead shaped by the legacies of apartheid and its purposively discriminatory and racially driven policies of spatial segregation which continue to shape the social, economic, and material lives of people (Parry and van Eeden, 2015). In post-apartheid Cape Town, this

is demonstrated by high levels of economic inequality which is itself exacerbated by fragmented and spatially uneven residential patterns and magnified by rapidly changing property and labour markets (Scheba, Turok and Visagie, 2021). Experiences of these inequalities remain shaped by intersections of race, class, and gender with racialised poverty ingrained in the post-apartheid city (Southall, 2014b; Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015; Daya, 2022b).

It would be an understanding of, and sensitivity to, the everyday lived realities of post-apartheid Cape Town that would be most critical to the methodological design of this research. Far from viewing this from the perspective of a clinical and distanced researcher, I critically reflected on my own positionality, taking the time to consider how my own everyday experiences – as a researcher in, and a resident of, Cape Town – were themselves irrefutably entangled the legacies of settler colonialism and apartheid. For example, the space I made for myself speaks to the tensions inherent within Global North–Global South dynamics that continue to frame the institutions of the former as spaces of knowledge production and the sites of the latter as sources of data collection (Daya, 2022b). Simultaneously to, and embedded within, these dynamics also existed my recognition of my position as a *British* researcher, working within spaces that continue to bear the material and intangible consequences of Britain's expansive colonial project.

These structural advantages speak to the relations of power which operated at multiple scales within this research. As identified by critical mobility scholars, both mobility and (im)mobility are crucial in shaping social, political, and economic modes of organisation (Leese and Wittendorp, 2018). Further, as Sheller (2018) states:

> Freedom of mobility may be considered a universal human right, yet in practice it exists in relation to class, race, sexuality, gender, and ability exclusions from public space, from national citizenship, from access to resources, and from the means of mobility at all scales.
>
> Sheller (2018).

As argued by Cresswell (2012, p. 650), mobilities (and their ongoing transformation in technique and technology) have a role "in the constitution of power." Moreover, the temporality and durational characteristics of mobility – allowing for speed, for slowness, for immobility – "are all related in ways that are thoroughly infused with power and its distribution" (Cresswell, 2010, p. 21). Through a consideration of mobility in the field, I

understood, as stated by Leese and Wittendorp (2018, p. 174) that "power manifests in the capacities to slow down or accelerate, in the authority to keep flows going or to make them stop, and in all the distributed techniques and technologies that assist in doing so". Moreover, as identified by Cresswell (2010), these mobilities have a historical component – in post-apartheid Cape Town, my mobilities could not be disentangled from apartheid planning that, for decades, sought to restrict the mobilities of nearly all South Africans based on racial classifications (Daya, 2022b). As Daya (2022b) recognises, I do not share the same inequalities experienced by those working in Southern academic institutions, for example, inequitable relations in global academic publishing. Unlike many of South Africa's youth, I had fee-free (albeit partial) access to UCT, a space that is a site of contestation for many of South Africa's youth (Daya, 2022b).

While the practical and logistical aspects of mobility, integral to the methodological process, were facilitated by structural advantages specifically connected to my UK status, there nonetheless existed complexities that complicated the concept. These were both literal, within the day-to-day minutiae of fieldwork, and figuratively, with an understanding of mobility as progress, requiring unidirectional momentum amidst the temporal linearity of the research timeline. I arrived at Cape Town International Airport with the financial support and security of a UK-based academic institution, the economic benefits of a British currency and the relative freedoms afforded by a UK passport. This did not mean I could expect to have (nor should I ever expect to receive) unmitigated, unrestrained access to space. Throughout the data collection process, the ways in which I moved, how I moved, and where I moved were aligned with the quotidian rhythms of the city that were themselves governed by the lingering pestilence of apartheid. In the following sections, I reflect on this further, paying specific attention to the emotional trauma that governs mobility in post-apartheid Cape Town through the emotion of fear.

4.6.1. Fear

I introduced this chapter with an anecdote describing my early attempts at data collection while still at Cape Town International Airport, making observations and constructing reflective notes for later analysis. What is lacking, perhaps, was an analysis of my emotions in these early moments; my nervousness explaining the purpose of my visit to the border control agent; my impatience waiting for my luggage; my anxiety as we drove along the N2 highway, passing a sign overhead that warned of risk of death. Yet, as feminist geographers

have long argued, emotions are crucial to examining the complexity and messiness of the research process and to challenge notions of knowledge production as objective and rational (Sharp, 2005; Sharp, 2009). As is also recognised, reflecting on the intersection between emotions and relationships is a critical and ethical element of the research process, including those established within researcher-participant dynamics (Sharp, 2005; Sharp, 2009). Furthermore, a consideration of emotion also gives avenue to explore the relationality and fluidity of power relations within the field – which are not necessarily always mediated or controlled by the researcher themselves (Sharp, 2005).

Feminist geographers have long examined the spatiality and temporality of fear; increasingly, this work has also inspired urban geographers to consider the power of fear in shaping both the city and the experiences of its residents, with discourses of fear mapping onto perceptions of social difference (England and Simon, 2010, p. 204). As stated by England and Simon (2010, p. 204) "fear discourses are power-laden as they work to define and maintain the shifting boundaries between deviance and belonging, order and disorder that are instrumental to the ways in which cities are lived and built". Across six months of ethnographic research, fear increasingly dominated my thinking for the methodological design of this research. It did so primarily by entangling itself within mobilities – not just my own, but the mobilities of those around me. Fear, I would come to find, followed. Fear travelled. As a result, fear both shaped and was shaped by the everchanging temporal, spatial, and imaginative dynamics of fieldwork. Schuermans (2016, p. 189) notes that, in post-apartheid Cape Town, white South Africans often rely on privatised modes of transport (e.g., the car) to "minimize their confrontations with poor strangers in between enclaves". Lemanski (2006a, p. 789) argues this is often connected to the management of "fear (of crime plus)" – that is, the ways in which "fear of crime is often a euphemism for broader fears" such as proximity to poor and racialised peoples. In Cape Town, fear is often connected to racialised spaces. For example, in a blog post for the motoring website Women on Wheels ("How to survive the notorious Cape Town N2") readers are advised to "NEVER EVER STOP on the side of the road" and to "keep driving!" regardless of a smoking car or flat tyre (Durand, 2019). The implication is that proximity to the hypothetical township space invites the threat of harm.

I would come to understand fear as one of the most critical factors in shaping the temporal and spatial dynamics of mobility and, as a result, the methodological design of this research.

Fear was not solely individual but structural, the mortar bonding the bricks of the urban environment. Fear was simultaneously dangerous, disempowering, discriminatory, unevenly applied and lingering on the liminal spaces of the imagination. In post-apartheid Cape Town, the expression of fear has become increasingly more prevalent and is perhaps loudest amongst those most protected under the apartheid regime (Lemanski, 2006b). To demonstrate this, I return to the anecdote introducing this chapter, jumping ahead to my arrival in Green Point. My new home, a two-storey house, sat snugly in the connecting arm of a H-shaped set of roads and was surrounded by a tall, concrete perimeter wall decorated with signs for a private security company offering rapid armed response and the local Neighbourhood Watch organisation. Entering the carport area via a padlocked steel gate, accessible via the interconnecting side road, I noticed security lights (to be manually switched on each evening). Dragging my luggage up the stairs, I accessed the main house via another steel gate, a concertina-style security gate and, finally, the front door. Walking into the kitchen from the front door I noticed the windows dressed in burglar bars. Taking the stairs to my room I was notified of two panic alarms hanging off a hook near a painting of the Virgin Mary, used to notify a private security company should it be required. Months later, I would be given one of the panic alarms to attach to the wrought iron headboard of my bed. Upon entering my bedroom, I saw two windows and a set of patio doors, all of which were barred by security gates and/or burglar bars. The entire tour was complete with the family dog; while I understood the dog to be soft and friendly to those she knew, her incessant barking at my unknown person underpinned her primary role as an additional form of securitisation. As I was given a tour of the house, it was recommended I keep expensive items out of sight of the windows. I was told I should not walk in the area when it was dark (alone or otherwise), I should avoid certain spaces, and I should ensure no items were left on display in my car.

This remit of fear extended beyond the private spaces of the home. For example, a local Neighbourhood Watch group was regularly in operation, its members using walkie talkies to notify residents should an 'opportunist' be seen walking in the area. Private security companies, while technically employed to monitor homes, were often called out to forcibly move unknown people from outside of the area. At other times, informal security arrangements were made; following a spate of smashed car windows on the road near my

home, a group of residents paid a local man R250 to sit alone on a street corner throughout the night and keep watch for potential damage.

Over time, a cacophony of voices would add to these first experience of life living in a middle-class and predominately white suburb of Cape Town, all of which sought to provide (what they thought was) helpful guidance on my mobilities: how I should move, where I should move, when I should move. Shared minibus taxis and trains, I was warned, should be avoided at all costs. Uber was acceptable, but the license plate and the name of the driver should be confirmed in advance. Driving was ideal, but specific roads and spaces were to be avoided. Walking in urban spaces was, overall, discouraged especially after dark – if I were to walk, I was told, I should move purposefully and avoid making eye contact with people around me. If driving, the doors were to remain locked, the windows to remain up, and all items to be hidden from view. The outside world was to be ignored.

These modifications – not just to the securitisation of living, but to changes in mobility – speak to what is described as the "architecture of fear" (Agbola, 1997 quoted in Lemanski, 2004, p. 102). Lemanski (2004) uses this concept to describe how residents in Cape Town seek to alleviate their fear of crime, and mitigate the incidence of crime, by finding ways of generating feelings of safety and protection. This includes making changes to the urban environment –in the case above, fortifications – and changes in lifestyle, including restricting spatial movement and limiting opportunities for social interaction (Lemanski, 2004). Describing how a "climate of fear pervades everyday life" in Cape Town, Lemanski (2004, p. 102) also argues that the ways in which private citizens seek to mitigate fear themselves perpetuate the very emotions they so wish to minimise. She describes how the fortifications and enclaves of the Cape Town suburbs limit the "natural surveillance" (Lemanski, 2004, p. 107) of public space which both increases fear and deepens segregation – both physically and symbolically. Importantly, however, Lemanski (2006b, p. 787) also recognises that while fears are expressed in relation to crime, the actuality is a "fear (of crime plus)". Here, fear is not solely in relation to perceptions of crime but is unevenly distributed, both spatially, and along lines of race, gender, and class. In post-apartheid South Africa, fear (of crime plus) speaks not only to fear of crime, but to fear of economic, social, cultural, and political change, with the result of increasingly privatised space that intentionally facilitates exclusion (Lemanski, 2006b). It was for this reason I focused on spaces of sociability when seeking to recruit people to the study.

4.6.2. Ethnicity

There are an increasing number of scholars who have reflected on the ways in which readings of race and ethnicity mark encounters within the research context (Faria and Mollett, 2016; Fisher, 2015). Nonetheless, as Faria and Mollett (2016, p. 80) argue, "sustained feminist geographic attention to race as it shapes the research process remains limited". In this section, I aim to critically reflect on how progress in data collection was both aided and inhibited through readings of my ethnicity. My mobilities in fieldwork were undoubtedly shaped by readings of my ethnicity, gender, and class. While fieldwork literature often frames this around negotiations of insider-outsider status, I often encountered a reversal of these dynamics based on my perceived ethnicity and, therefore, nationality. I am a mixed-race woman of Iranian and white British heritage. As I discuss, I found myself in the complex conundrum of being accepted as South African but not as British.

I initially understood my ability to be mobile to be connected to my proximity to whiteness – the "structural advantages, standpoint, and set of historical and cultural practices" that speak to ideas of success and wealth (Faria and Mollett, 2016, p. 81). In post-apartheid South Africa, where, as Ndlovu (2022, p. 385) argues, there remains a "strong link between identity and consumption", I understood I maintained the structural advantages afforded to a proximity to whiteness. However, I was not read as white by many research participants, and this had implications for my mobilities. As a person who identifies as mixed-race, some of these experiences were similar with those I have had in the UK. Of difference, however, was the extent to which these readings meant my acceptance or rejection in imaginaries of both South Africa and the UK.

Three vignettes shape this experience. In January 2020, I attended an outdoor wine tasting event in Stellenbosch. Hosted on a closed off segment of Church Street, the road had been transformed with live music, hay bales for seating, and various representatives from wine estates. A woman of similar age to me sat beside me; speaking at length and sharing my wine tasting tokens, we learnt more about each other. She was currently studying and working at the University of Stellenbosch, one of the few black women to do so. It took her some time to realise I was not South African. She expressed surprise – she had read me as South African although with an ethnic ambiguity that could not be ascribed to any specific racialised label. A fellow researcher, she astutely noted that this would gain me privileges in

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mobility that most white British researchers would not be able to achieve in their own work in South Africa. Similar conversations happened elsewhere. Taking an Uber home one evening, the driver asked me if I was from Durban – he assumed I was because "that was where Indian people lived". Taking an Uber to a wine estate in Franschhoek, the driver again expressed surprise I was from the UK, commenting on my ethnic ambiguity being a superpower (allowing me, in his eyes, to move where I wanted in space). It is possible that all three contexts happened under the guise of politeness – speaking with a different Uber driver, he commented that he always asked the question, "where are you from in South Africa?" so as not to cause offense.

What I took away from these encounters was an understanding that, while I was presumed to be South African, I was also assumed *not* to be British.

An example of this is demonstrated below:

> Jonathan: "But you were born in England?"
>
> Zara: "Yeah"
>
> Jonathan: "All your parents are from England?"
>
> Zara: "No, my dad is Iranian"
>
> Jonathan: "That's why I'm asking because I don't see much of, facially, the English side in you. I don't know which country but not England definitely."
>
> Jonathan (I40); industry respondent (25/02/2020).

It should be emphasised that the conversation above was with a friend and during the interview, I had spoken about my Iranian background. Nonetheless, it is of relevance that my facial contours clashed with imaginations of Britain as a white space, speaking to the ongoing "racialisation of Britishness as white" (Clarke, 2021, p. 749). What was surprising to me, however, were the ways in which this ambiguity led to acceptance within the context of South Africa, in which my ethnicity was assimilated into one of four racial classifications.

It is important to recognise all those who saw power in my ethnic ambiguity were themselves black South Africans, living and working in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands, spaces which are often imagined as white, and within which mobilities remain controlled and contested. The recognition of my perceived freedom to move, guided (but not defined

by) a proximity to whiteness is an advantage that many black South Africans do not have, particularly in spaces within the Cape Winelands. This is not to say my mobilities were not constrained by my ethnicity. On two separate occasions, participants told me they did not initially respond to my interview requests because of suspicions over my surname. For example:

> Zara: "Thanks so much for taking a chance on my 'spam name' [referring to a previous part of the interview]"
>
> Eve: "I was just like your name and your surname was like, ah"
>
> Zara: "No, it's, you know, it's a funny name"
>
> Eve: "Because I was like, if you South African, oh, you said you were UK you said, yeah you studying from you coming you're-"
>
> Zara: "I'm at UCT while I'm here as a visiting-"
>
> Eve: "Yes so I was like, UCT, and you've got a name and a surname like that, woah, woah, woah."
>
> Eve (I46); industry respondent (01/03/2020).
>
> Rosy: "Yeah, your surname threw me all the way off"
>
> Zara: "Yeah"
>
> Rosy: "Okay. This girl says she's from the UK but okay alright"
>
> Zara: "I spoke to someone the other day, I met up with her, they were like, 'I ignored your email for a while because I thought you were a spam'"
>
> Rosy: "Thought you were a spammer! I hear that."
>
> Rosy (I47); industry respondent (05/03/2020).

Despite having a fully up-to-date online presence (e.g., on my funding provider's website) and official university email address, suspicions were connected to my name were deemed sufficient to warrant my being ignored. Somewhat ironically, while Eve read my name as *not* South Africa, Rosy read it as *not* British.

In summary, readings of my ethnicity had a considerable impact on my mobilities in fieldwork. Understood, at various times, as British, not-British, South African, and not-South African – albeit with proximity to whiteness – I saw that the spaces in which I moved, and my modalities, could not be separated from the ways in which I was perceived. In some contexts, this acted as my being understood as an insider – that is, a person of colour in

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South Africa. At other moments, this led to suspicion, for example, when connected to signifiers such as names.

4.7.   Conclusion

When first developing the methodologies for this study, I was familiar with the model of ethics applied to biomedical research. I was grossly unfamiliar, however, with the meaning of ethics in relation to social science research. I would soon come to understand that, beyond institutional ethical review processes (shaped by a biomedical ethical framework – see Dyer and Demeritt (2009)), the ethics of fieldwork would require a far more careful, nuanced, and reflexive approach. It would require, as Fisher and Anushko (2008, p. 106) state, a "commitment and lifelong [effort] to act ethically." For me, this started with the critical reflection of my positionalities. Central to this was a feminist-inspired ethics of care which materialised in several ways, including my refusal to engage in certain methods of data collection and participant recruitment at the expense of my own (and other people's) health and wellbeing (Tuck and Yang, 2014).

Hence, in this chapter, I outlined the methods used to achieve the overarching study objectives. I initially paid attention to some of the more practical and pragmatic considerations before fieldwork began. Next, I discussed methods of data collection, namely semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations and reflections. Crucially, I explained the ways in which these methods were grounded in an ethics of care and responsibility. This included, for example, ensuring interviews were one-on-one and confidential, accounting for the possible impact of its 'afterlives' (Pascoe Leahy, 2022). Within the context of a feminist-inspired understanding of ethics, I evaluated the ways in which my methodologies were guided by my mobilities as understood through fear. I argued that emotions are critical to methods of data collection, evaluation, and analysis. Fear, for example, led to a direct change in my methods of participant recruitment. Finally, I reflected on mobilities connected to my ethnicities. There is limited literature on the experiences of mixed-race people conducting transnational, transcultural fieldwork (Fisher, 2015) and I added to this by examining the ways in which readings of my race and/or ethnicity were both seen to aid and hinder fieldwork.

Chapter 5. Imagining the Wine Consumer of Post-Apartheid South Africa

5.1.   Introduction

For most of the 20th century, South African consumers represented the main market for the South African wine industry, largely consisting of wines produced via cooperative cellars as regulated by the KWV (Williams *et al.*, 1998; Nugent, 2012; Vink, 2019). In 1964, for example, exports accounted for 5.1% of total outputs and were primarily controlled by the KWV through its export monopolies (Ponte and Ewert, 2009). By 1988, exports as a percentage of total output declined even further (0.8%), in part a consequence of international anti-apartheid sanctions implemented from the 1970s onwards (Ewert, 2005; Ponte and Ewert, 2009; Vink, 2019). As had been the case for decades, wine sales in South Africa remained low (Anderson, Nelgen and Pinilla, 2017).

Hope and optimism for the wine industry, therefore, came with renewed access to international markets post-1994 and the surge in South African wine exports, mainly to Europe (Esterhuizen and van Rooyen, 2006; Van Rooyen, Esterhuizen and Stroebel, 2011). Ponte and Ewert (2009), for example, note that 72 million litres of wine were exported in 1995, increasing to 272 million litres by 2006. This export-oriented focus was supported by the establishment of the operational business unit, WOSA, in 1999 with a remit to promote a generic marketing strategy for the South African wine industry in key international markets (WOSA, 2022a). As Ponte and Ewert (2009) note, its 2004 motto, "Variety is in our Nature", sat uncomfortably with the homogeneity of wine in South Africa, both in terms of the product (a monoculture threatening the biodiversity of the Western Cape) and the politics of ownership (primarily white-owned).

By the early-to-mid 2000s, the optimism of the early 1990s had waned, with growing concerns around the competitiveness of the South African wine industry in global markets. Such concerns included fluctuations in exchange rates, the strength of the Rand, and political uncertainties both within South Africa and in key export markets (Esterhuizen and van Rooyen, 2006; Van Rooyen, Esterhuizen and Stroebel, 2011). By 2006, the industry saw a reduction in wine exports, an increase in bankruptcies, and a decline in profits (Ponte and Ewert, 2009). These concerns were exacerbated by the growing recognition that the size and growth of wine markets in South Africa had remained stagnant post-1994 (Esterhuizen and van Rooyen, 2006; Van Rooyen, Esterhuizen and Stroebel, 2011), making the wine

industry increasingly vulnerable to the growing unpredictability of international markets. Against this backdrop, industry attention once again turned to the South African wine consumer and the revaluation of local wine markets.

In this, the first of four analytical chapters, I place these insights in dialogue with the analysis of data from interviews with consumer and industry respondents. In doing so, I aim to better understand how wine markets in South Africa have been understood and interpreted in the first two decades of the 21st century. Hence, I seek to answer the following research question: *How are contemporary wine trends and patterns interpreted by people working within the value chain for wine in South Africa, and/or wine consumers?* Answering this question is critical to understanding recent strategies to grow the number of wine consumers in South Africa (Chapter 6) and to understand the materialisation of these strategies in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands (Chapters 7 and 8). Paying attention to the ethics in consumption, I seek to critically assess the racialised and classed assumptions made about wine consumers in post-apartheid South Africa including perceptions around who they are, what they drink, why they drink, and how they drink.

This chapter is composed of two sections. In the first section, I present quantitative data which help to broadly explain alcohol markets in South Africa. These include market share information for wine, spending trends, and popular wine styles. I then evaluate the extent to which the opinions shared by consumer and industry respondents corroborate or challenge these data. In section two, I assess industry perspectives to better understand imaginations of the ideal South African wine consumer. I argue, based on these data, that imaginations of the middle-class wine consumer centre a proximity to whiteness. White South Africans are imagined as *the* premium wine consumer with racialised peoples noticeably absent. I argue that these imaginations, while often presented as objective and factual, speak to the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 167) propagated in apartheid South Africa which sought to naturalise the relationship between whiteness and wealth and blackness and poverty.

5.2.   Wine Markets in South Africa

5.2.1. *Market share*

Most wines that are purchased and consumed in South Africa are made by producers in South Africa. In 2021, approximately 390 million litres of wine were sold in the country of

which an estimated 2.4 million litres were imported (mainly sparkling wines), representing 1% of total sales (SAWIS, 2022a). These figures are aligned with sales data from previous years indicating that South African wine producers largely control in-country wine markets (FTI Consulting, 2021). Wine producer-wholesaler[24] companies account for 55% of sales compared to 14% of private cellars[25] and 23% of producer cellars[26] (SAWIS, 2022a). For example, Distell (a producer-wholesaler) is estimated to control 31% of wine markets in South Africa with popular brands including Nederburg, Durbanville Hills, and 4th Street (Vink, 2019). To achieve this, Distell reportedly purchases 35% of South Africa's grape volumes annually with less than 4% of grapes sourced from its own wine farms (wine.co.za, 2020).

While recognising uneven market access between different South African wine-producing companies, it is evident that competition is not generally exacerbated by wine imports from other producer countries.[27] Arguably, this should facilitate the development of a wine consumption culture that centres South African wines. This unofficially taps into the country's 'Proudly South African' national marketing strategy which seeks to encourage consumers to purchase goods made locally (Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015). It is also aligned with the Western Cape's lucrative wine tourism market which relies heavily on intra- and inter-provincial travellers (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019a). As Overton and Banks (2015, p. 475) state, locally produced wine products are often presumed to "fulfil a form of status attachment" in new wine consumer cultures that is believed to be connected to a "parochial loyalty" to wine estates that can be readily visited and have reputations for quality, sophistication, and/or celebrity connections.

This has been recognised previously by the wine industry; in 2004, the South African Wine and Brandy Company (SAWB)[28] funded a position paper to determine if a generic wine

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[24] Wine producer-wholesaler: Buys bulk/packaged wine from wineries/retailers and buys grapes for wine production (SAWIS, 2021).
[25] Private wine cellar: Enterprise belonging to an individual/group; grapes are received and processed into bulk/packaged wine products (SAWIS, 2021).
[26] Producer wine cellar: Member-based enterprise; grapes are received and processed into bulk/packaged wine products (SAWIS, 2021).
[27] A notable exception would be the sparkling wine market: in recent years, champagne sales have increased year-on-year in South Africa. In 2016, sales grew by 15.1%; in 2018, sales passed the 1-million mark with growth of 38.4%. In 2021, South Africa was reported to be the biggest importer of champagne in Africa, ranking 20th globally (Comité Champagne, 2017; Comité Champagne, 2019; How we made it in Africa, 2022).
[28] SAWB was created in 2002. Designed to govern and represent the wine industry, its stakeholders included wine farmers, cooperatives, wine-producing companies, and labour/farm community representatives. In 2006, the South African Wine Industry Council was established to take over SAWB functions – this was disbanded in 2008 (Williams, 2005; Hira, 2013; wine.co.za, no date).

marketing strategy should be developed to encourage more South African people to consume wine (Campbell, 2007; Foxcroft, 2009). The South African Wine Industry Council again emphasised this in its founding document, calling for the "facilitation and promotion of generic local marketing and education of wine as a lifestyle, whilst focusing on responsible alcohol consumption" through the establishment of a "local market development agency" (wine.co.za, no date). In 2009, WOSA was given a mandate to locally promote wine as a lifestyle product (Campbell, 2007; Foxcroft, 2009). Such recommendations, however, were neglected (Campbell, 2007; Foxcroft, 2009).[29] WOSA, for example, retains an export-oriented mandate for marketing wine in longstanding markets in Europe alongside newer markets that include Angola, China, Ghana, Japan, Mozambique, and the USA (SAWIS & BER, 2017; WOSA, 2022a). As several industry respondents confirmed in interviews, there is no single role or institution responsible for the generic marketing of South African wines to South African consumers. Following the privatisation of the KWV in 1997, marketing responsibilities have largely fallen to individual wine-producing companies with additional support provided via membership to official Wine Routes and varietal-specific organisations (e.g., the Pinotage Association) alongside collaborations with social media content producers and industry-complementary sectors (e.g., restaurants). This historical lack of expertise is a key reason that several industry respondents (notably, those involved in wine marketing) felt that many wine producers struggled to understand contemporary wine markets in South Africa and develop marketing strategies that could appeal to a broader consumer base.[30]

The near monopoly of the South African wine industry in-country also means that wine consumption trends can be broadly interpreted as a reflection of its successes and challenges over time. From the 1960s onwards, the market share for wine has decreased in contrast to the growing demand for beer (Figure 5) (Anderson, Nelgen and Pinilla, 2017).

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[29] WOSA is a not-for-profit operational business unit funded by a statutory export levy. Based on insights from interviews with industry respondents, it is likely that insufficient funds were available to support a national marketing strategy in addition to work in core export markets (Pretorius, 2019).
[30] For much of the 20th century, the KWV and various cooperatives were responsible for wine marketing activities.
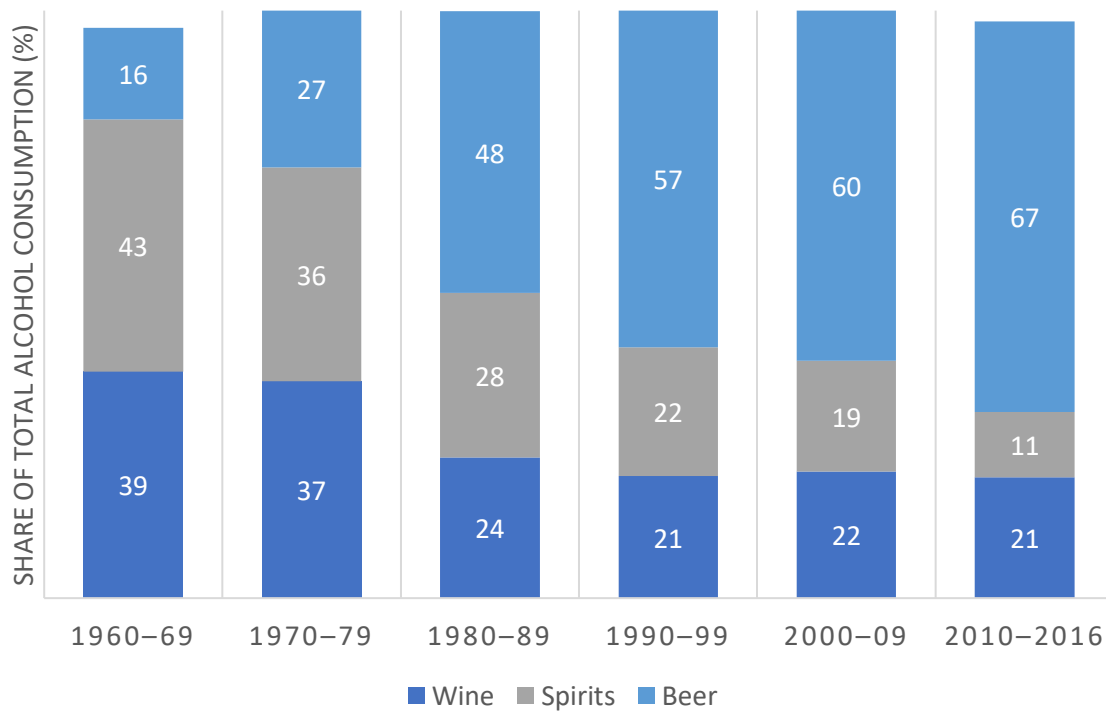
Source: adapted from Anderson, Nelgen and Pinilla (2017).

Figure 5. Market share (%) of total alcohol consumption for wine, beer, and spirits in South Africa (1960–2016)

Certain caveats should be applied to these data. For example, Anderson, Nelgen and Pinilla (2017) do not specify if the data account for alcohol purchased and consumed via the informal economy and associated drinking spaces (e.g., shebeens).[31] Additionally, the data do not show the extent to which people consume different types of alcohol. Finally, the data do not account for the spatial restrictions enforced on Black South Africans during apartheid that, regardless of the lifting of racialised prohibition in 1961/1962, restricted where people could buy and consume alcohol (Posel, 2010). Nonetheless, the data in Figure 5 are aligned with SAWIS' annual statistics on wine consumption in South Africa (SAWIS, 2021). As such, these data are powerful. They both solidify pre-conceived notions about wine consumption in South Africa and provide the rationale needed to justify market-focused strategies. As Buxton (2010, p. 10) states, despite variations in approaches to wine marketing in South Africa, most approaches are "shaped by industry held beliefs about consumer behaviour and market segment groups" as supported by long-term quantitative data.

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[31] It has been previously estimated that there are between 190,000 and 265,000 shebeens in South Africa; while most shebeens sell legally manufactured alcohol products, many are believed to operate without a license (Charman, Petersen and Piper, 2013).

Wine sales have remained low for decades and, by the early 2000s, looked to remain this way, outpaced by a thriving market for beer (Conningarth Consultants, 2009; Conningarth Consultants, 2001; Anderson, Nelgen and Pinilla, 2017). There has been some change in recent years. Between 2013 and 2017, the volume of wine consumed in South Africa increased from 353 million litres to 435 million litres, representing a compound annual growth rate [CAGR] of 5.4% (FTI Consulting, 2021). Since then, however, it has declined; in 2019, 388 million litres of wine were consumed representing 9% of total alcohol consumption in South Africa; in contrast, beer accounted for 76% of total consumption (FTI Consulting, 2021). These statistics are also corroborated by academic research examining the trajectory of beer drinking in South Africa from the mid-20th century onwards. Rogerson (1986) notes that municipal sorghum beer monopolies reached their apex in the 1960s with a significant increase in production volumes.[32] In Johannesburg, for example, the municipal sorghum beer industry was worth R3 million in 1961 (Mager, 1999). Rogerson (1986, p. 18) note that, in 1966, the "world's largest brewing operation" was built in Johannesburg, costing R3.5 million with forecasted annual profits of R7 million. This growth was not to last; by the 1970s, the demand for sorghum beer was in a noticeable decline. This was in part connected to the growth of malt beer markets from the 1960s onwards, driven by intensive and targeted marketing strategies from South African Breweries (SAB) and presumed to be connected to a growing affluence in urban areas (Mager, 1999; Mager, 2004; Mager, 2005; Rogerson, 2019). The decline of sorghum beer was also connected to its poor reputation; municipal beerhalls had long been viewed by the majority black population as "symbols of apartheid repression" (Rogerson, 2019, p. 258) and were the site of anti-apartheid demonstrations particularly during the 1970s.

In contrast to the growth of the malt beer market (itself similarly classified as a white and/or European alcohol product) South Africa's wine markets have consistently struggled to grow for decades. This may be partly connected to shifting industry priorities; as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, producers largely assumed that their renewed access to export markets would represent the best opportunity for economic growth post-1994. Between 1997 and 1999, exports grew by 29% in terms of volume (largely to European markets) representing a value-based growth of R133%; by 2008, exports accounted for 54% of local

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[32] The 1928 Liquor Act prohibited the majority of black South Africans from legally purchasing white and/or European alcohol products. From 1937 until 1962 (the year in which racialised prohibition ended), the only option legally available to black South Africans was sorghum beer (Mager, 1999).

production (Conningarth Consultants, 2001; Conningarth Consultants, 2009). All the while, the growth of wine markets in South Africa continued to stall.

5.2.2. *Wine tastes and preferences*

Quantitative data from SAWIS show that most wines sold between 2000 and 2010 in South Africa were 'standard priced' (less than R22 per 750ml), typically sold in large volumes (e.g., three to five litres), and packaged in plastic, bag-in-box, or foil bags (SAWIS, 2019). Following the recategorization of pricing tiers in 2018, the majority of wines sold in South Africa are now classified as 'low priced' (less than R30 retail selling price [RSP] per litre) or 'Basic' (R30–48 RSP per litre) (Figure 6) (FTI Consulting, 2021). A considerably smaller segment of the market is dedicated to wines defined as 'premium' (R48–72 RSP per litre), 'super premium' (R72–108 RSP per litre), or 'ultra premium' (more than R108 RSP per litre) (FTI Consulting, 2021) – hereafter referred to as 'premium-plus'.
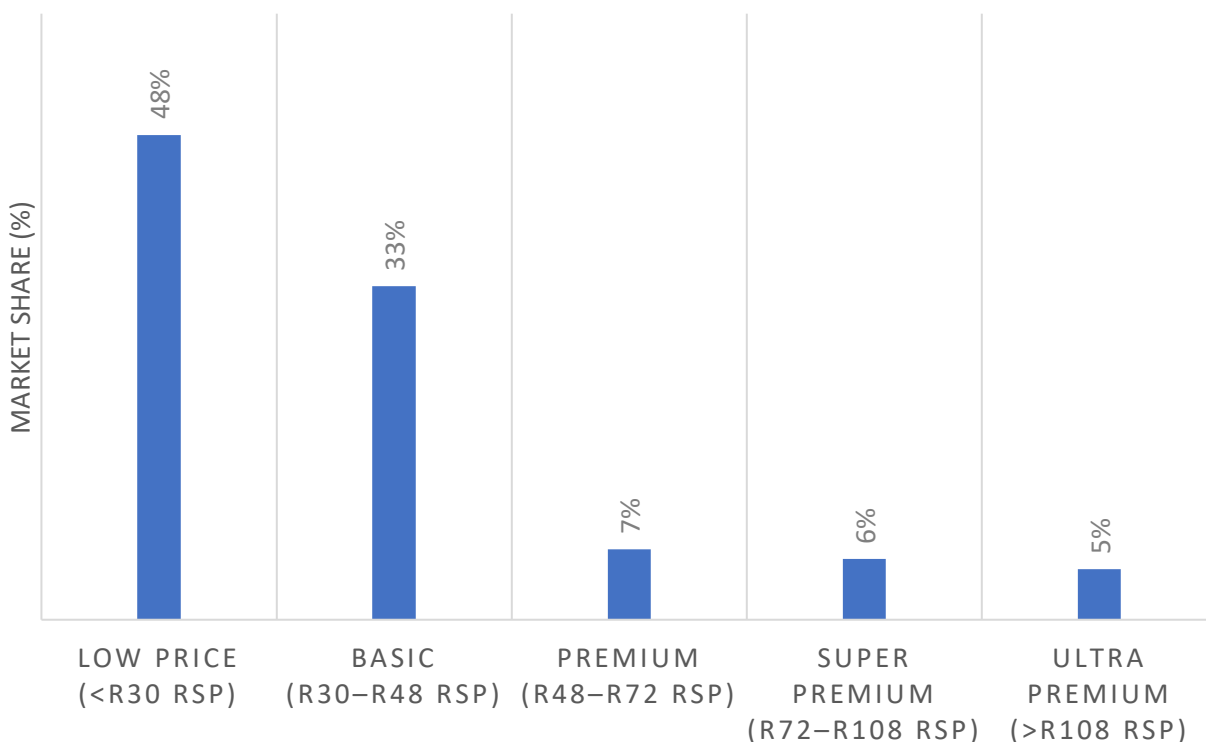
RSP, retail selling price.
Source: adapted from FTI Consulting (2021).
Figure 6. Percentage market share for wine, RSP per litre (2019)

It is notable that the types of wines purchased in South Africa, based on pricing tiers, are seen to correlate with South Africa's wider social and economic inequalities. In South Africa, 86% of aggregate wealth is concentrated in the richest 10% of the population (in the top 0.1%, this is approximately one-third) (Chatterjee, Czajka and Gethin, 2021). In contrast, the

average wealth of the remaining 90% of the South African population is four times lower than the national average (in the top 10%, it is nine times higher) (Chatterjee, Czajka and Gethin, 2021). One industry respondent (with expertise in market research) describes these dynamics as follows:

> "At the very top end, it's [wine] a snobby drink. It's, you know, it was only for white people. It was only […] drunk by a certain type or it was the – I'm sure you've heard the term 'papsak' […] the cheaper, nasty stuff at the bottom end of the market that, you know, with people being paid in wine, dop system. So, you kind of have the two ends, at opposing ends, and nothing in the middle."

> Sophia (I44); industry respondent (27/01/2020).

The price of a wine cannot be used to explain who a consumer is nor their motivations for drinking wine. However, in the above extract, wine is seen to act as a microcosm for post-apartheid South Africa's ongoing racialised economic inequalities. At one end of the spectrum, wine is prestigious and is associated with white and wealthy consumers; at the opposing end, wine is assumed to be (based on its price) low-quality and is associated with a disenfranchised labouring class who are presumed to consume cheap wine in large volumes and in atypical packaging (e.g., the papsak).[33] Yet it is evident that while lower priced wines account for the majority of market sales in South Africa, the wine industry has strategically prioritised the growth of premium-plus products, not just in South Africa but in newer markets across Africa, China, and the USA (SAWIS & BER, 2017; Feilden, 2022; Eedes, 2022). This is in part based on the determination to correct for the limitations of post-1994 export strategies, notably to Europe. For example:

> "Within these markets [Africa, Asia, USA] we see we get really fair pricing for our wines whereas traditionally in Europe that's a big challenge, we've not really [been] receiving fair pricing for our wines and we need to work there to change the general perception of the consumer from that of South African wines being cheap and cheerful to South African wine is a really good quality product and really maybe I should consider paying a little bit more for a bottle of South African wine."

> Emma (I24); industry respondent (05/11/2019).

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[33] The sale of low-quality and inexpensive wine packaged in foil bags (papsak) was banned in South Africa in 2007 (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2013).

Several industry respondents expressed frustration that the strategies used to access international markets post-1994, generally aiming for entry into lower pricing tiers, has led to a long-lasting international reputation for so-called 'cheap and cheerful' products. As a result, South Africa's wines have generally struggled to attain higher prices despite considerable improvements in winemaking, an increasing number of internationally recognised winemakers (e.g., Eben Sadie, Chris and Andrea Mullineux, and Adi Badenhorst), the development of secondary wine markets for South African wines, and the establishment of professional organisations dedicated to the promotion of a fine wine culture in South Africa (e.g., SASA). In newer wine markets, which have not previously been subject to the same cheap and cheerful strategies, the aspiration is to build consumption cultures oriented around premium-plus South African wines. While this has some economic benefits, it also presents the South African wine industry as a producer of high-quality products. Given the middle classes of emerging economies are presumed to aspire for more expensive wines in order to demonstrate status (Ho, 2021b), gaining traction in these markets is clearly an important strategy for the premiumisation of the South African wine industry (SAWIS & BER, 2017).

In 2019, most wines sold in South Africa were natural sweet or semi-sweet styles (SAWIS, 2020). This follows trends in previous years with the introduction of sweet red and rosé wines contributing significantly to the growth of the category (Holtzkampf, 2012; Holtzkampf, 2014; Holtzkampf and SAWIS, 2015). A handful of wine companies have triumphed in this space with brands including Four Cousins (Van Loveren) and 4th Street (Distell) (Holtzkampf and SAWIS, 2015). In 2014, sales of 4th Street (a sweet rosé) grew by 150% and commanded 66% of the sweet red and rosé market in South Africa (Holtzkampf and SAWIS, 2015). In 2015 and 2016, 4th Street was ranked as the top growth brand internationally by International Wine and Spirit Research (IWSR); this is notable given that 90% of its distribution is in South Africa with the remaining 10% exported to other markets in Africa (4th Street, 2017; Distell, 2017; IWSR, 2022). A preference for sweeter wine styles continues; between 2019 and 2020, for example, the sale of semi-sweet reds increased exponentially in South Africa, doubling from 2.5 million litres to 5 million litres (SAWIS, 2020).

While these trends are largely viewed positively by industry respondents, a preference for sweeter wine styles is often assumed to be indicative of an inexperienced and/or immature wine consumer. For example:

> "People [who] don't have a wine drinking culture, they often start with very entry level wines, sweet stuff, but they automatically graduate and migrate to the next level, so premiumisation kicks in at that level because the more people, knowledge, knowledgeable they are, the more they want to get to know more."
>
> Sipho (I28); industry respondent (23/01/2020).

> "There's been so much research around the world around […] progression of palates, you know. Entry level starts with a sweeter palate. Even age wise, you start with the sweeter palate and then the more sophisticated and the older you get the, you know, the more advanced your palate becomes, the more obscure taste it's prepared to take on."
>
> Sophia (I44); industry respondent (27/01/2020).

Sweetness is deeply entangled in social relations and its entwinement with the senses means that everyday practices of consumption are "invested with meaning, emotion, memory and value" (Zivkovic *et al.*, 2015, p. 110). However, the consumption of sugar is also a site of ethical contestation and moralisation, particularly within the context of public health discourses, in which judgements are often made in relation to the social locations of race, class, and gender (Zivkovic *et al.*, 2015). Zivkovic *et al.* (2015), for example, demonstrate that while socially disadvantaged families in South Australia express an ethics of care through the consumption of high-sugar products (e.g., sharing pleasure, managing stress), such practices take place against a broader societal context in which sugar is viewed as synonymous with sin. Hence, in the case of Zivkovic *et al.* (2015), while sugar and sweetness are associated with an ethics of care and pleasure, they are simultaneously understood as shameful, requiring covert and secretive consumption practices.

The notion that the enjoyment of sweet products is both a hidden and shameful pleasure is evident in the case of wine. Tiu Wright, Nancarrow and Brace (2000) observe that while consumers prefer sweeter wines in blind taste tests, they are likely to describe sweetness as a negative wine attribute, stating a preference for dry styles. Repressing a preference for sweeter wines, it is suggested, is understood to be required "in the interests of social acceptance and acquiring cultural capital" (Tiu Wright, Nancarrow and Brace, 2000, p. 436).

Hence, an aspirational wine is implicitly understood to be associated with a specific set of tastes and flavours. This is understood as a global phenomenon and is not restricted to the South African context. A consumer who prefers sweeter wines is presumed to be at the start of a wine journey that will eventually transition into more sophisticated and premium products. In contrast, dry wines are presumed to be indicative of sophistication, premiumisation, education, and complexity of palate. These views call attention to researcher perspectives on premium and/or luxury wines who ground their arguments in Bordieuan theorisations of taste as a means of both expressing social class and distinguishing between social classes (Bourdieu, 1984). Dodd, Kolyesnikova and Wilcox (2010) separate sweet and semi-sweet wines from the luxury category, asserting that these "mass produced" (p. 3) products – within which the grape varietal is presumed to be unimportant – are accessible to "inexperienced consumers" (p. 3). Continuing, Dodd, Kolyesnikova and Wilcox (2010) state that consumers of sweeter wine styles are typically younger, generally less involved with wine, and "certainly less informed about it" (p. 6). An initial preference for sweeter wine styles is characterised by "less wine knowledge, importance and consumer experience" (Dodd, Kolyesnikova and Wilcox, 2010, p. 6). In time, these tastes change as consumers "gain experience and knowledge" with a shift to dry wine styles (Dodd, Kolyesnikova and Wilcox, 2010, p. 6). While the concept of a premium wine is subjective and includes interpretations of quality, brand status, provenance, and production methods (amongst many other characteristics) (Burger *et al.*, 2015a), it is evident that sweeter styles of wine are typically excluded from consideration in this space without question. This model of consumption, centred on a hierarchy of taste, calls attention to the aspirations of industry respondents to foster and sustain a wine consumption culture that centres premium-plus wines. While a transient encounter with sweeter wine styles is encouraged, as this will grow the total number of entry level wine drinkers, consumers are not expected to remain in this phase for a sustained period. The expectation is of a linear taste transition; as consumers progress into more premium categories a new cohort of consumers will enter the sweet stage, with the process continuing indefinitely. A growing market for premium-plus products, based on pricing tiers, offers several benefits for the South African wine industry. Firstly, the growth of premium-plus markets has implications for the economic sustainability of wine producers; in a 2019 Vinpro survey, 28% of participating wine grape farmers made a profit (defined as >R34,000 net farm income per hectare) while 30% made a loss (Winetech,

2020).[34] Secondly, the democratisation of a premium wine consumption culture has implications for how South African wines are perceived by consumers in-country, contributing to the development of a wine lifestyle. Thirdly, a premium approach to wine in South Africa aligns with the industry's strategic ambitions to showcase its international reputation as a producer of high-quality products.

As discussed above, the perspectives shared by industry respondents illustrate the connections between wine, consumption, and social locations of class. Dodd, Kolyesnikova and Wilcox (2010) suggest that a shift in tastes from sweet to dry wines is shaped by a societal pressure that frames wine choices as a marker of status. Beckert, Rössel and Schenk (2017, p. 211) state that it is "mostly the inexperienced consumer, often young and of low social status who will (favour) sweet wines". In contrast, it is the "experienced wine consumer" specifically, those with "a higher social status" that will favour dry wine styles (Beckert, Rössel and Schenk, 2017, pp. 211-212). Beckert, Rössel and Schenk (2017, p. 211) argue that "social differentiation" is made visible in the subjectivity of wine tastes, notably, the preference for sweet or dry wines. Connecting this to Bourdieu (1984) and the theory of habitus, Beckert, Rössel and Schenk (2017, p. 212) argue that the consumption of wine acts as a "signifier for the lifestyle and class position of an individual". It is noteworthy that several consumer respondents also felt that wine acts as a marker for class in post-apartheid South Africa, demonstrating the internalisation of globalised wine discourses. For example:

> "But what I've realized about alcohol in South Africa is that it's a mark of class, even in poor backgrounds, I remember there were certain beer brands that people would be like 'Oh no, you don't drink that. That's like super low class'. Or wine that's made fun of. I don't know if it qualifies to even be called a wine, it's called Autumn Harvest. It's, like, known, like, beggars drink it, or homeless people, or like it's associated with alcoholics, who are just desperate to get drunk and it's like, a, it's an unofficial rule, but it's like no one drinks Autumn Harvest, you do not drink Autumn Harvest and this is from low income families, high income, it's like 'We don't do this' you know what I mean? You could have someone from the ghettos being like, 'I'm not drinking Autumn Harvest'. But in the township context, the box wines were fine, or the sweet wines like your Four Cousins, that was not judged, or your J.C. Le Rouxs [sic], where I come from that was not judged at all. It was only when I found myself in this world [Cape Town], in this world now, in that fancy law firm [in Sandton],

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[34] This is an improvement compared to previous years' data – in 2015, 15% of wine grape farmers were profitable (>R34,000 net farm income per hectare) and 30% made a loss (Winetech, 2020).

now moving to Cape Town, then that, all of that is now looked down upon; 'Who drinks Four Cousins?!" or like, 'Who drinks J.C. Le Roux?!'"

<div align="right">Silondile (C23); consumer respondent (10/03/2020).</div>

The insights shared by Silondile show the ways in which wine consumption is a site of ethical contestation ready for weaponization, with judgements on taste transposed onto assumptions about people's characters and social positions. For Silondile, a seemingly universal opinion on, for example, distaste for the wine brand Autumn Harvest (a "friendly sociable drink [consumed by people] of all races" – see (wine.co.za, 2022a)) cements the identities of those who consume it as "beggars", "homeless people", and "alcoholics" who are presumed to consume wine solely to achieve a state of drunkenness. However, the perceived connections between taste and class are also understood as relational. For example, while Silondile states that sweet wine brands (e.g., Four Cousins) are acceptable in the township in which she was raised, she also perceives that, in elite spaces of consumption, these are the object of scorn and derision. There is also a racialised aspect to consider within this – as Chapter 7 will discuss in further detail, South Africa's townships were deliberately designed by the apartheid state to be segregated residential spaces for Black South African people. It is therefore critical to ethically reflect on the seemingly universal assumption that a sweet wine is indicative of an unsophisticated wine consumer. In the South African context, in which sweeter wine tastes are associated with – and presumed to be enjoyed by – township residents (who remain largely people of colour in a post-apartheid context), this risks the perpetuation of harmful stereotypes at the nexus of race, class, and taste.

In summary, the market share for wine in South Africa is small and most wines sold are lower priced and sweeter in style. These trends are mapped onto wine consumers who are presumed to be inexperienced and unsophisticated. Based on a hierarchy of taste, in which dry wines are associated with social status, it is presumed that consumers will eventually transition to more sophisticated products. It is evident that a preference for sweeter wines is enmeshed with presumptions about who wine consumers are both in terms of race and class. The seemingly ordinary practice of wine consumption, therefore, is emmeshed with ethical tensions in which tastes are mapped onto intersecting race and class dynamics within post-colonial and post-apartheid urban spaces.

5.3.   Interpretations of Alcohol Consumers

5.3.1. Who consumes wine?

In several interviews, industry respondents reflected on the factors they felt had contributed to the relatively small market share for wine in South Africa compared to other alcohol products. A common theme emerged: in South Africa, wine has long been imagined to be a product consumed exclusively by white people. It was striking that most industry respondents felt it important to contextualise wine consumption in post-apartheid South Africa through this racialised lens, showing the continued "power *and* ambivalence of race in everyday life" (Hammett, 2010, p. 252, author emphasis). These perspectives are not restricted to the interview setting and can also be found in industry reports. For example, in the 2015 iteration of the SAWIS report, "Macro-Economic Impact of the Wine Industry on the South African Economy", the reduction in per capita wine consumption between 1998 and 2013 is partly attributed to the "estimated 1 million whites that emigrated" (Conningarth Consultants, 2015, p. 3). The implication is that the migration of white South Africans post-1994 partly explains the decrease in per capita wine consumption over the 15-year timeframe. Low wine consumption is therefore mapped onto a minority white demographic with the relationship viewed as causative and consequential.

This explanation of the market was reflected in perspectives shared by a wide array of industry respondents including independent winemakers, brand representatives, and wine bloggers. Of importance, however, is the historicization of the white consumer with connections made to apartheid-era regulations and restrictions, for example:

> "If you look back to apartheid, in apartheid years, wine was pretty much seen as the white man's drink."

> Dennis (I22); industry respondent (09/03/2020).

Dennis's application of a temporal caveat calls attention to the ways in which the apartheid state sought to control and restrict the lives of Black South Africans, including through practices of alcohol consumption (Posel, 2010). These restrictions were in themselves preceded by decades of colonial legislation applied across the African continent (e.g., the Brussels Act of 1890) that sought to restrict "African consumption" of white and/or European alcohol across different colonial states (Willis, 2001, p. 57) including Northern Nigeria, Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, and Ghana (West, 1992; Olukoju, 1996; Akyeampong,

1996; Willis, 2001). Such restrictions were also debated in the four colonies of the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal prior to their unification in 1910 (London, 1999; Martens, 2001). Post-unification, the 1928 Liquor Act (designed to unify pre-Union legislation) prohibited the majority of black South Africans from legally purchasing and consuming alcohol. This was modified in 1937 to allow black South Africans the right to purchase and consume sorghum beer; however, this was restricted to municipal beerhalls with white and/or European alcohol prohibited (Mager, 1999; Martens, 2001; Tomer, 2020). In the Cape and Natal, an exemption to this (in the form of a permit) was granted to "African men deemed to have attained a certain 'standard of civilisation'" such as a 'western' education (Mager, 1999, p. 369). A permit was contingent on adherence to several criteria including "two years of good behaviour under the Liquor Act, a clean criminal record and permanent employment" (Mager, 1999, p. 359). Those with permits were restricted in how much white and/or European alcohol products they could purchase (four bottles of still wine or two bottles of fortified wine per month) (Mager, 1999). They were also restricted in where they could buy and consume such products, for example, permit holders could not enter 'white' bars and pubs, and could not drink privately in a friend's home (Mager, 1999).

Despite these histories of government sanctioned racial prohibition, the relationship between wine and white consumers is often naturalised and understood through the concept of tradition. For example:

> "So traditionally, wines were bought by Caucasians. And, and that's just how it always was."
>
> Emma (I24); industry respondent (05/11/2019).

Most white consumer respondents (ranging in age from 27 to 60 years) interviewed for this study stated that they had been raised in wine drinking households, that it was often consumed with family members as part of a daily meal, and that they considered this to be a part of their everyday consumption habits. For example:

> "Okay, so I'm Italian. I come from [an] Italian family so we've always had wine in the house, ever since I can remember. It was always freely available on the table when we ate, so I associate wine a lot with food. As we get older and whatever you know you get to a stage where you actually just drink a glass of wine, which we didn't do as a family. It wasn't like you just drank wine, you know. You drank other things but didn't just drink wine, you only drank wine when you ate. So it still has that kind of

connotation for me but as you know […] things changed. Society changed.
It was popular to drink a glass of wine, like to choose a glass of wine to
drink as a drink."

Donna (C1); consumer respondent (22/01/2020).

Understood as a traditional and cultural practice, the consumption of wine at home with a meal is framed as normal, neutral, and apolitical. Yet as Ramirez (2015, p. 352) argues, tradition is a "semantic marker" of whiteness, alongside concepts such as 'neutrality', and 'objectivity'. These consumption practices, therefore, act as the "base from which all else is judged" (Bergerson, 2003, p. 59). Drinking wine with a meal, in the home, with friends and family is deemed to be a respectable and responsible consumption practice. I infer this based on the types of wine drinking practices that consumer respondents told me they engaged in (e.g., drinking wine socially and as part of a meal) compared to those they felt were problematic (e.g., drinking at home alone and drinking to achieve drunkenness). It is highly possible that consumer respondents engaged in a myriad of drinking practices, but it is notable that they felt the need to emphasise (within the interview setting) those they considered to be more appropriate and respectable. This again speaks to the sensitivities associated with research on alcohol consumption and the need to account for what respondents may feel comfortable discussing within this context (Lawhon, Herrick and Daya, 2014).

The perceived whiteness of wine consumers is not unique to the South African context but can instead be understood as a global phenomenon (Inglis and Kei Ho, 2022). Wine consumption is presumed to be connected to a "cultural 'whiteness'" (Ahmed, 2007 quoted in Inglis and Kei Ho, 2022, p. 419). As Inglis and Kei Ho (2022, p. 415) state, wine is "is intimately bound up with ethnicity". This may be in part connected to the presumed Europeanness of wine. Harvey, Frost and White (2014, p. 2) state, for example, that not only did wine develop in the "Old World of Europe" but that there is a "strong sense that the best wines [come] from Europe – a product of tradition and experience". In turn, Europeanness is itself conflated with whiteness which, as Bonnett (1998, p. 1030) argues, is often understood as an "exclusively European attribute". As illustrated in the interview extract above, the traditional relationship between wine and white consumers is understood as engrained, implicit, and habitual. It is also framed as aspirational and, in doing so, replicates

colonial discourses that European alcohol and consumption lifestyles are superior to indigenous alcohol consumption cultures (Mager, 1999).

Invoking tradition gives little space to ethically reflect on the ways in which the relationship between white consumers and wine has been actively constructed and reinforced over time, both through successive government policies and measures enacted by the wine industry itself. Inglis and Kei Ho (2022, p. 418) state that wine marketing often presents "attractive, affluent, young, white people as the supposedly typical drinkers of wine" and in South Africa, this is particularly evident from the mid-20th century onwards. The technological advancements of the semi-sweet white wine brand, Lieberstein (launched in 1959), made wine accessible to more South Africans – presumed to be white – across the country beyond the Western Cape (Nugent, 2012; Holtzkampf and SAWIS, 2015). As van Niekerk and Burke (2009) state:

> This [Lieberstein] simple, sweet Chenin Blanc certainly taught us to drink wine and suddenly, there was wine all over. You could have it with soda at breakfast, well chilled at lunchtime and party with it all night long. But as a committed braai nation, we must have struggled desperately to drink 'stein' with the wors en tjops.
>
> van Niekerk and Burke (2009).

Marketed as a "wine for everyday sociability" (Nugent, 2012, p. 28), Lieberstein was the world's bestselling bottled wine brand by 1964. Elsewhere, the KWV sought to "reposition wine as a respectable and wholesome commodity" (Nugent, 2011, p. 362) within which its "association with food (presented) wine-drinking as a social lubricant" (ibid) for white men and women. KWV-produced books such as "Entertaining with Wines of the Cape" (first published in 1959) sought to educate white readers on the history of wine ("the hand-maiden of civilisation"), South African wine regions, wine and food pairings, and the language of wine (Public Relations Department of the KWV, 1962, p. 8). In doing so, the KWV sought to present wine as an "integral part of a healthy lifestyle when associated with the intake of food" (Nugent, 2012, p. 25). The visuals of this book, however, including white men and women socialising while attended to by a black server, call attention to the intended and presumed audiences (Figure 7). As Nugent (2014, p. 138) states, producers sought to promote higher quality and more expensive wines to white South African consumers, framing wine as a "lifestyle product for young people, especially couples, who

might enjoy sharing a glass around the braai". Importantly, as Nugent (2014, p. 138) also suggests, wine advertising focused on white consumers was "sensitive to perceived shifts in consumer preferences" including, from the 1970s onwards, a movement away from sweet wines and a preference for dry red and white wines; the very same palate unquestionably accepted as a marker of status, sophistication, and refinement (Dodd, Kolyesnikova and Wilcox, 2010; Beckert, Rössel and Schenk, 2017).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Source: Public Relations Department of the KWV (1962).
Figure 7. Visual imagery of wine consumers in 1950/60s South Africa

Other industry innovations of the 20th century have encouraged the perceived entanglements between wine, tradition, sociability, and white consumers. The development of the Stellenbosch Wine Route in 1971, the first wine route in South Africa, and the 1976 Stellenbosch Wine Festival created new spaces for white consumers to engage in a wine lifestyle that remained prohibited to Black South Africans (Nugent, 2012). Therefore, while wine may still be understood as an implicit part of a white and/or European culture, it is evident that white consumers have been heavily influenced, and favoured, by governmental and marketing forces. These knowledges, however, remain hidden in contemporary perspectives of wine in South Africa including assumptions around who consumers are and their motivations for drinking wine. Burton (2009b) argues that the whiteness in consumption is often framed as an invisible norm but as Smit (2022, p. 396) argues, in a South African context, the normalisation of the "spectacular whiteness" of consumption is highly visible and is connected to wealth and the gatekeeping of luxury consumption. Hence while the connections between wine and white consumers are understood as the norm, the

relationship is also highly visible. This may in part be connected to the "'intermediate' form of settler colonialism" (Gordon and Ram, 2016, p. 20) seen in South Africa prior to the end of white minority rule that "is impossible to normalize due to a series of contradictions stemming from the presence of the 'indigenous other'" (ibid). Hence, while the "'refined'" (Gordon and Ram, 2016, p. 20) form of settler colonialism seen in Australia and North America renders the violence of the settler colonial project as normalized and invisible, the consequences of this egregiousness remain centred and present in contemporary South Africa. It is these dynamics that ensure the assumed whiteness of wine consumers is visible in the post-apartheid context.

5.3.2. *What is a premium wine consumption culture?*

Wine is often argued to be a marker of status, particularly in the luxury and/or premium space (Overton and Banks, 2015). Furthermore, geographical knowledges are assumed to be central to status (e.g., terroir), particularly for middle-class consumers (Howland, 2013). It is important to recognise, however, that this wine culture can also be infused with racialised assumptions that require further examination through the lens of ethics. Wine consumers in South Africa are assumed to be white and it is also evident that industry and consumer respondents associate white consumers with a premium wine consumption culture oriented around beauty, appreciation, and discernment. For example:

> "There was this beautiful projection of wine in the media by white people
> you know, holding a wine glass in a certain way, swirling the wine, and
> sniffing it. Drinking it and pairing it with food."

> Lindewe (I15); industry respondent (14/01/2020).

For Lindiwe, a black South African woman who owns a wine brand, the wine culture communicated by white South Africans is one in which the performances and practices of wine – for example, holding a glass and swirling and sniffing a wine – is intimately connected to articulations of beauty. This beauty is reliant on an authentic performance of wine consumption that, in turn, is understood to demonstrate knowledge and status. Lindiwe calls attention to a wine consumption culture which, while technically democratised, retains "the mechanisms and hierarchies of elite distinction based on connoisseurship" (Howland, 2013, p. 326). This performance of wine is understood as a "structuring of middle-class distinction" (Howland, 2013, p. 326), with connoisseurship requiring the confident application of wine-related knowledges such as geography, terroir, varietal, vintage, and

production techniques (etc.). As discussed in section 5.2.2, different wine styles, and the ways in which they are consumed, are associated with "notions of class" and "processes of class formation" (Overton and Murray, 2013, p. 702). In South Africa, this is also connected to the presumed symbiosis between whiteness and wealth.

It is notable that Lindiwe associates the "symbolic prestige value" of wine with white consumers (Overton and Murray, 2013, p. 702) given the efforts of successive apartheid governments to uplift white South Africans, "redeeming their racial purity" by strategically "eliminating their poverty" and aligning their education with "racially appropriate modes and standards of dress, domesticity, disciplined work and family life" (Posel, 2010, p. 167). As Posel (2010, p. 167) states, "the workings of race" and the "performance of social standing – in turn closely linked to regimes of consumption" were deeply ingrained in South Africa before state-sanctioned apartheid. During apartheid, the category of whiteness was informed by "economic opportunities [...] upward mobility and social sophistication" (Posel, 2010, p. 167). As discussed in section 5.3.1, for example, a "racially differentiated" (Nugent, 2014, p. 138) approach to wine advertising for white consumers centred its role in sophistication, sociability, and (given the alcohol content) the "discipline of 'European' lifestyles" (Mager, 1999, p. 367).

The presumption that a connoisseurship-style wine culture is associated with white and presumably wealthy consumers also calls attention to the ways in which industry respondents perceived a premium wine consumption culture as exclusive. For example:

> "Wine for the longest time has been this exclusive thing, especially the wine culture in the Western Cape."
>
> Rosy (I47); industry respondent (05/03/2020).

The perceived exclusivity of the wine culture in the Western Cape, as described by Rosy, is connected to its entanglement with whiteness, wealth, and status. The Western Cape, the epicentre of the wine industry, has a higher-than-average white population (16% vs. 8% national average, respectively; 2016 data) and a lower-than-average black population (36% vs. 81% national average, respectively; 2016 data) (Wazimap, 2022). The Western Cape is one of only two provinces (the other being Gauteng) to have an annual average household income higher than the national average (R222,959 vs. R138,168, respectively; 2014/2015 data) (STATS SA, 2017). These data are further skewed when considering race, with those

self-identifying as 'White' having a significantly higher average annual income (R444,446) compared with self-identified 'Black African' (R92,983), 'Coloured' (R172,765) and 'Indian/Asian' (R271,621) South Africans (STATS SA, 2017).

Moreover, a premium wine consumption culture is also associated with the status attained by being in closer proximity to the epicentre of winemaking in South Africa – the Western Cape. Several industry respondents stated that recent years had seen an increasing number of wealthy investors purchasing wine estates for pleasure rather than profit. As Edward (I42) states, for example, wine estates are "essentially a very expensive hobby – it's either buying yourself a mega yacht or you're buying yourself a vineyard". Overton and Banks (2015, p. 479) connect this to the concept of conspicuous production which they summarise as investment in a "productive enterprise" to "confer status or utility value" rather than to maximise profits. Aligned with industry respondent perspectives, Ferreira (2020) notes that an increasing number of wealthy and/or famous people (both South African and non-South African) are purchasing "return on ego estates" (p. 218) in the Western Cape – home to some of the most expensive wine property in the world, valued at more than USD 75,000 per hectare in 2014.

Viewing a premium wine consumption culture through a racialised lens speaks to the perceived "unspoken privileges" of whiteness (Nayak, 2007, p. 738) that act as a "marker against which other cultures, the 'other,' are measured according to a racial and ethnic hierarchy" (Burton, 2009a, p. 349). A premium wine consumption culture is framed through the exclusive normativity of whiteness. Several industry respondents – notably, people of colour – describe the practices and spaces of a premium wine consumption culture as exclusionary. For example:

> "When they [black South African people] were getting into the restaurants they would try to order a bottle of wine they can like, really think that it's really made for a certain race to enjoy, however, that's so wrong. That's what they were told, you see."
>
> Jonathan (I40); industry respondent (25/02/2020).

The insights shared by Jonathan illustrate the perceived anxieties of black diners in relation to practices and spaces of consumption associated with whiteness. Jonathan is a black Zimbabwean sommelier who, at the time of interview, worked at a fine-dining restaurant in Cape Town. His insights are aligned with research from Ndlovu (2022) who examined the

dining experiences of two black middle-class South African writers, Ndumiso Ngcobo and Fred Khumalo, in upmarket restaurants in Cape Town. While restaurant dining is often framed as an uncomplicated and universal practice for a global middle-class, Ndlovu (2022, p. 382) argues it is a "loaded consumption practice" for black South African people who, up until 1994, could not legally dine in "whites only restaurants as equal citizens" (ibid). The "marketplace exclusion" of black South African people was critical in enforcing a regime of consumption "that naturalised black poverty and white wealth" (Ndlovu, 2022, p. 386). In apartheid South Africa, wealth, urban spaces, and luxury were all features attributed to whiteness and, as a result, framed as antithetical with blackness (Ndlovu, 2022). In post-apartheid South Africa these entanglements linger with black people aspiring towards luxury viewed as "transgressors in need of discipline" (Ndlovu, 2022, p. 386). Jonathan's insights, calling attention to the perceived anxieties of black middle-class diners, illustrate the internalisation of narratives that premium wines, consumed in luxury spaces, are for the exclusive enjoyment of white diners. Moreover, it also demonstrates the concerns black patrons may feel about appropriately conforming to the unspoken rules of luxury wine consumption, for example, choosing a wine based on specific characteristics such as varietal, vintage, geography etc.

The perceived association between wine, wealth, and whiteness is not restricted to insights shared by Jonathan. In an interview with Caroline, I described my experiences of attending a two-day champagne festival that had been recommended by other industry respondents as an example of an increasingly inclusive event.[35] Several industry respondents had noted the increasing number of wealthy black South African people flying to the Western Cape from Johannesburg to attend the annual festival. At the festival itself, other (notably, white) attendees shared similar – albeit surprised – sentiments. For example, when speaking with me about the diversity of the event, a white British migrant woman consistently emphasised that other attendees were "not Cape blacks" but instead people who had flown in from Johannesburg – a city often used as shorthand to refer to black wealth and luxury. Of importance were the ways in which this perspective was aligned with those shared by some

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[35] The festival had an extensive police presence; while it is possible this was to monitor for drink driving, it is just as likely the purpose of their presence was to act as a deterrent to those who were unwelcome in the space (i.e., visibly poor South African people). Seemingly public spaces in Cape Town (e.g., food markets) can be heavily monitored, fortified, and securitised spaces (Watt and Dubbeld, 2016), often justified by the desire of wealthy visitors to avoid "a feared, poor and racialized other" (Timan, 2021, p. 152) associated with the perceived threat of crime in the post-apartheid city.

white industry respondents, with the presence of wealthy black attendees eliciting feelings of suspicion and scrutiny. For example:

> Caroline: "Yes, ja, ja but that's [wine festival] a whole different type of festival. So that, the festival used to be quite nice and classy, and now it's just ja, especially if you go on a Saturday, it's a bit of a drunk [inaudible]."
>
> Zara: "Yeah, that summarises my experience."
>
> Caroline: "Ja, no it's not nice, it used to be really nice, but the thing is, the tickets are very expensive so for South Africans it's like 350 Rand entry or something [inaudible]."
>
> Zara: "Yeah, it's a lot of money."
>
> Caroline: "Which you would think would keep, ja, which you think would keep the locals out, if you wanna put it that way, but it does [inaudible], it attracts the locals because they want to show that they can afford to go to an event like this."
>
> Zara: "Hm."
>
> Caroline: "Yeah so its huge."
>
> Zara: "When you mean 'locals', like people within the town [Franschhoek]? Or-"
>
> Caroline: "No, as in like demographic."
>
> Caroline (I45); industry respondent (26/02/2020).

The phrase 'the locals' was often deployed in interviews and in everyday conversations with white people I interacted with in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands. Within the context of the interview with Caroline, I interpreted this to mean black South African people and other people of colour based on three factors. Firstly, the recognition by other industry respondents that more people of colour had begun to attend this festival (more so than any other wine festival in the Western Cape). Secondly, Caroline's reference that the term 'the locals' should not be understood literally (i.e., people living in the town of Franschhoek, the centre of which is majority white (Frith, no date). Thirdly, Caroline's distinction between herself – a white South African woman – and 'the locals', thereby establishing an us/them binary. This phrasing shares uncomfortable and dehumanising similarities to the binaries established through application of the label 'native' in apartheid South Africa, who in contrast to those labelled 'European', were barred from educational opportunities, denied freedom of movement, and South African citizenship (Coullie, 2014). It is also aligned with

the problematic phrasing 'you people' which, as Smit (2022) argues, is often deployed by white South Africans to propagate racial stereotypes.

Aligned with Ndlovu (2022), who argues that whiteness remains synonymous with wealth in post-apartheid South Africa and blackness with poverty, Caroline expresses surprise that 'the locals' have the income and inclination to attend a wine festival in the Cape Winelands. The presumption is that this demographic would be disincentivised from attending based on the price of entry. The inclination to attend is primarily assumed to be motivated by a desire to demonstrate status and to be seen as wealthy rather than (or perhaps, in addition) to simply enjoy an event with friends and family. Importantly, attendees of the festival are described as engaging in consumption behaviours viewed as problematic (e.g., drunkenness) compared to the previous consumption culture which is imagined as sophisticated. In a scenario where the price of entry is no longer a guaranteed barrier to entry, Caroline had chosen to remove herself from the space entirely, visiting wine festivals with a smaller number of tickets that maintained exclusivity through restricted entry.

The critique of 'the locals' illustrates the ways in which people of colour are othered, dehumanised, and made hypervisible in wine spaces understood as white and wealthy – that is, "recognized for their 'otherness' or deviance from the norm" and experiencing "heightened scrutiny and surveillance" within which "failures are magnified" with people lacking "control over how they are perceived by others" (Settles, Buchanan and Dotson, 2019, p. 63). In post-apartheid South Africa, black South African people continue to be held under a gaze of white suspicion, with "their being perceived as deviant" and under "the focus of increased surveillance from others" (Buchanan and Settles, 2019, p. 2). Such racist stereotypes are deep rooted, with people of colour scrutinised, moralised, and criminalised in colonial and apartheid South Africa, particularly in relation to practices of alcohol consumption considered to be inappropriate and illicit (Viljoen, 2008).

A sense of hypervisibility connected to participation in exclusive wine consumption cultures is articulated by several industry respondents, notably, people of colour. For example:

> "I know that in other spaces like wealth here, white spaces, sometimes I feel like I'm a show pony, almost like 'Oh look, it's a black girl who drinks wine, tell them stuff' you know. I do. I do feel like that, I feel that sometimes. And it's like, I'm a regular person with other interests and just happened. This is one of the things I do. I also write really well, bitches, read my blog."

Wine is connected to a whiteness that is understood as synonymous with wealthiness (Ndlovu, 2022). For Rosy, her articulation of hypervisibility is connected to her being a black woman engaging in white and wealthy spaces of wine consumption in Cape Town. Rosy describes herself as a show pony, an exhibit for the bemused observation of white consumers who share the space with her. While Rosy asserts her own humanity, her observations illustrate the extent to which she is made to feel a spectacle when engaging in an exclusive wine consumption culture often associated with white consumers. Her perspective is illustrative of the argument from Alweendo and Dosekun (2020, p. 131) who state that "when it comes to consumption, lifestyle and other material concerns, black arrival, or what some might still deem 'unexpected' black presence, is highly contested and moralized". In South Africa, black consumers are framed as hypervisible in spaces of wine and as a result face increased scrutiny and surveillance when engaging in everyday consumption practices (Buchanan and Settles, 2019).

The perceived exclusivity of the wine culture associated with white consumers is also connected to its more intangible and sensorial qualities including the language and concepts used to describe different tasting notes. As wine professional Miguel de Leon argues, "traditional wine tasting grids and wheels are biased to Eurocentric [flavours]" with "crucial wine vocabularies" centring foods less familiar to his palate (de Leon, 2020 quoted in Inglis and Kei Ho, 2022, p. 419). This sentiment was shared by several industry respondents – primarily, people of colour – who articulate a sense of exclusion mediated by the presumed norms of taste in a premium wine consuming culture. For example:

> "Some people would say that 'I'm smelling cut grass' or and it wasn't my
> vocabulary. We were brought up with a different, in different conditions
> to what the standard was and it was really difficult. So, their 'green grass'
> was something else for me, 'earthiness' was [inaudible] they simply ja, was
> daddy long legs for me. But it's different types of, and even for black
> consumers that's even further distance away from the South African wine
> industry, their vocabulary and their assumptions of wine extends even
> further."

<div align="right">Alice (I26); industry respondent (22/01/2020).</div>

> "There's [sic] some challenges I found, especially from a non-drinking
> culture and from where I was raised and grew up like, I grew up in
> Zimbabwe and I found that most wine speak was European. You know I,

even now I struggle to pick up raspberries and strawberries and blueberries. They don't come second nature, so it was a challenge. When I started the wine journey, because now I had to like, I literally had to go in supermarkets and smell a blueberry or smell a cranberry or, I'd never seen a cranberry before."

Tatenda (I37); industry respondent (22/11/2019).

Alice does not explicitly refer to the wine culture she experienced as a white consumption culture, but it can be interpreted through her reference to an imagined collective (e.g., "we were brought up") who were raised with "different conditions to what the standard was". As a woman of colour raised in apartheid South Africa, it can be understood that Alice's understanding of the "standard" is a wine culture associated with white consumers. The "different conditions" of Alice's youth are presented as antithetical to, or in deficit of, this standard. Alice describes difficulties when first working in the wine industry several years ago (in product development for a wine company) of relating to a wine vocabulary presented as objective, universal, and neutral. Participation in this wine culture demands assimilation regardless of the subjectivities, pluralities, and vocabularies of taste. As a coloured South African woman, Alice suggests this conceptual distance is even greater for black South African people who, she recognises, have not only been historically excluded from participating in wine consumption but also excluded from participation in the wine industry itself beyond the level of farm labourer. These insights, and those shared by Tatenda (a black sommelier from Zimbabwe), speak to the Eurocentrism of wine tasting notes. Highly specific flavours are universalised, centred, and presented as normative. For Tatenda, professional success as a sommelier was reliant upon him methodologically learning the meanings of these notes and accepting these as *the* language of wine. To facilitate this, Tatenda had developed his own wine vocabulary using indigenous fruits and flavours, cross-referencing this to the norm where appropriate.

In summary, consumers participating in the practices and spaces of a premium wine culture in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands are often assumed to be white and wealthy. This wine culture centres Eurocentric conceptualisations of taste and aligns status with wine knowledges, expertise, and connoisseurship. While understood as exclusive, this wine consumption culture is also viewed as exclusionary, primarily for people of colour of regardless of wealth, class, or immersion in wine.

5.3.3. Who does not consume wine?

All of the black consumer respondents interviewed for this study stated that they were not raised in households that, in general, consumed wine and/or any other type of alcohol product. Instead, most respondents said that they began to drink wine as young adults, often at university or through work-based experiences. Such voices are lost, however, in industry interpretations of market dynamics. By imagining consumers of premium wines as white and wealthy, the perspectives shared by industry respondents highlight a binary that differentiates alcohol consumers according to social locations of race and class. Industry-sponsored research emphasises these perspectives further. In the 2015 report "Macro-Economic Impact of the Wine Industry on the South African Economy" commissioned by SAWIS, it is suggested that low wine consumption is not only due to the migration of white South Africans but because "the black consumer does not regard wine consumption with such high priority" (Conningarth Consultants, 2015, p. 3). It can be understood, therefore, that industry assumptions are two-fold: firstly, that white South Africans are the majority wine consuming demographic; secondly, that black South African people do not have a wine consuming culture nor are interested in drinking wine.

In several interviews, white industry respondents, including representatives for wine industry organisations and operational business units, and wine producing companies, suggested that wine consumption is low amongst black South Africans because it is not perceived to be a traditional component of a black culture (regardless of ethnicity). For example:

> "So Africa, what is important to note is wine is not traditionally drunk by African people, even here in South Africa."
>
> Emma (I24); industry respondent (05/11/2019).

> "Wine was never part of that [black] culture."
>
> Elena (I14); industry respondent (03/12/2019).

Explaining the low market share for wine in South Africa solely through the perceived traditions and cultures of black South African people calls attention to the essentialisation of consumption practices along social locations of race. Where wine is understood to be a traditional element of a white consumption culture (section 5.3.1), the opposite is understood to be the case for black South Africans. This is problematic given that, in

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different settler colonial contexts, viticulture, vinification, and wine consumption have been celebrated for supposedly bringing a European civilisation and identity to peoples in places around the world (Dunstan and McIntyre, 2014; Howland, 2019; Studer, 2021). Within many European settler colonial states, wine was actively situated at the apex of an alcohol-based hierarchy in which indigenous alcoholic beverages were viewed as inferior (Mager, 2004). In South Africa, this was seen in the case of sorghum beer, whose production and consumption were controlled via municipal beerhalls monopolies for much of the 20th century (Mager, 1999; Mager, 2004; Mager, 2005).

In South Africa, access to wine has long been strategically mediated to fulfil various economic and political ambitions of successive colonial and apartheid governments (Mager, 1999). Mager (1999) notes that a central motivation for the end of racialised prohibition in 1962 was the loss of a "preferential trade status in the Commonwealth" (p. 368) that posed a "major threat to wine and spirits exports" (ibid). Importantly, the opening of the European alcohol market to black South African people would "enable wine farmers, an important Nationalist Party constituency, to build the power of Afrikaner capital" (Mager, 1999, p. 369). For apartheid officials, revenues could be gained from taxes on alcohol production and profits from the sale of white and/or European alcohol to black South Africans, adding to profits generated from the sale of sorghum beer in municipal beerhalls (Mager, 1999). Moreover, as Mager (1999) further argues, the liberalisation of white and/or European alcohol occurred in tandem with "political repression", the "closure of political space [...] replaced by the opening of drinking spaces" (p. 368).

Invoking the concept of tradition in this context shows an ethical insensitivity to the ways in which spaces and practices of wine consumption for black South African people, and other people of colour, have been historically restricted and regulated alongside the market prioritisation of white consumers based on racialised assumptions of taste. For example, while the end of prohibition might have allowed for black South Africans to legally purchase white and/or European alcohol from 'non-European' bottle store entrances, they were restricted in where they could consume it, specifically, government-owned outlets (Mager, 1999). It is notable that the concept of tradition is also used to explain assumptions of the types of alcohol products that black South African people are perceived to consume without full recognition of market strategies specifically focused on this demographic. For example:

"Black people don't really drink wine, they will drink a beer, and that's a whole other conversation."

Rosy (I47); industry respondent (05/03/2020).

"It's not only wine, but of course wine is at the most disadvantaged because beer is big, it's in there and it's traditionally been in there, and spirits are big and they traditionally been in there."

Ivy (I9); industry respondent (01/11/2019).

"It's not a culture of drinking wine, it's beer. Even the females. They consume beer."

Elena (I14); industry respondent (03/12/2019).

The home-based production of sorghum beer has been, and remains, an important part of many cultures across southern Africa (Rogerson, 2019). It is also recognised as an important gendered economy; up until the 1980s, domestic beer brewing was understood to be a significant source of employment for women (Rogerson, 2019). In apartheid South Africa, women were instrumental in leading the resistance against municipal beerhalls, including mass organised boycotts and demonstrations (Rogerson, 1986; Tomer, 2020).

Rogerson (1986, p. 15) states that, in colonial and apartheid South Africa, the "traditional drinking practice" of sorghum beer was co-opted, appropriated, and reworked into "one of the cornerstone institutions of ruling-class domination and urban control". A system of municipal monopolies of sorghum beer production, first introduced in Durban in 1908 and eventually expanding throughout South Africa, generated the revenues needed to maintain and establish "barrack-like hostels, beer halls […] additional breweries […and] the costs of policing urban areas", propagating a model for "ruling class domination, white hegemony and urban social control" (Rogerson, 1986, p. 17). As Tomer (2020, p. 184) states, "The beer halls symbolized the impossibility of black South African lives under apartheid." For much of the 20th century, they would represent "symbols of apartheid oppression" and act as a critical site of anti-apartheid protest (Rogerson, 2019, p. 258).

It can be presumed that the industry respondents above are not only referring to histories of sorghum beer consumption, but beers once categorised as white and/or European. To do otherwise negates the ways in alcohol markets have been strategically shaped and controlled, particularly for people of colour. For example, Mager (2005) shows that the beer division of SAB worked directly with shebeens in the 1960s, avoiding embargoes to supply

malt bottled beer to people living in townships and developing marketing campaigns specifically targeted towards black South African people, thereby encouraging a "'taste transfer' process and the trading-up of a segment of more affluent urban consumers" (Rogerson, 2019, p. 258).

While many industry respondents provided similar explanations as those discussed above, the strategic decision-making of alcohol industries in shaping racialised consumer markets were recognised by some. For example:

> "Brandy and beer was more aimed at the blacks."
>
> Evelyn (I17); industry respondent (06/02/2020).

> "And they [wine company] had made a decision that generally beer drinkers are not going to drink wine, right or wrong, they made that decision at the time."
>
> Ivy (I9); industry respondent (01/11/2019).

Foxcroft (2009) highlights that despite tavern owners in townships reporting an increasing demand for wine, sales representatives from wine producer and/or distribution companies are "unreliable and disinterested in promoting their wines to township customers" (p. 33). This is connected to observations that "a surprising number of small and medium sized producers [think] that blacks don't drink wine" and, as a result, do not see "why they should promote their wines in townships" (Foxcroft, 2009, p. 39). Despite understandings that the wine industry has favoured white consumers and neglected people of colour, while also prioritising exports from the 1990s onwards, there is a tendency to defer to entrenched and essentialist understandings of the relationship between race, taste, and consumption. Studer (2020, p. 20) states that, particularly in a post-colonial context, drinking habits are "viewed as markers of cultural difference" and the perspectives shared in interviews with industry respondents illustrate this. In post-apartheid South Africa, assumptions around alcohol consumers are entangled with, and haunted by, colonial- and apartheid-era racial categories and the restrictions and regulations applied to people that controlled spaces and practice of alcohol consumption. A reliance on racial stereotypes, that were in themselves propagated by successive colonial and apartheid governments and settler societies, fails to recognise market-oriented strategies that have focused on different demographics across South Africa – in the case of wine, the white and presumed-to-be wealthy consumer.

5.3.4. The peripheries of wine consumption

In section 5.2, I introduced quantitative data showing wine market trends in South Africa over time. I demonstrated that, overall, wine is a small segment of the alcohol market. I also recognised that most of the wine sold in South Africa is relatively low priced and sweet. These data inadvertently illuminate fallacies in racialised assumptions about wine drinkers in South Africa. In sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, I called attention to perspectives from industry respondents who assumed that wine consumers are generally white and engage in a premium and/or luxury wine consumption culture that is typically associated with more expensive products. As demonstrated, however, the premium-plus wine market is relatively small in South Africa and while price does not define quality it nonetheless acts as a marker for luxury. Framing alcohol consumption through a racialised binary that centres white and black consumers – and, within this, assuming a premium wine consumption culture is *the* white consumption culture – masks a plurality of racialised wine consumption cultures in South Africa. It has never been the case that wine consumption in South Africa has been the domain of white consumers. As will be discussed further, the histories of these pluralised and racialised consumption cultures are highly contentious, morally questionable, and intrinsically connected to the ethical tensions at the heart of the South African wine industry.

Despite ongoing, and at times successful campaigns to racially prohibit white and/or European alcohol (Mager, 1999), people of colour have long represented the main wine market (in terms of volume) in the Western Cape (Olsson, 2018). In the late-19th century, the primary markets for wine (notably, poor quality wines) were cattle and agricultural farmers who "used dop wine to secure labourers" (Olsson, 2018, p. 43) and canteens catering to "the underclasses" (Scully, 1987, p. 79). In colonial South Africa, these consumers were portrayed by European settlers as "habitual drunkards, addicts, social misfits and scandalous characters" (Viljoen, 2008, p. 190). These racist stereotypes continued into the 20th century. The white consumer base was relatively narrow in apartheid South Africa and Nugent (2012, p. 31) recognises that wine firms "survived largely on the sale of cheap wine to Coloured consumers at the bottom end of the market". This was entangled with racial stereotypes of coloured consumers, namely, a "weakness for wine" (Adhikari, 2006, p. 156). The sale of low-priced wines to this consumer segment, Nugent (2012, p. 37) states, allowed wine companies to "sustain the balance sheet" albeit "undercut by cooperatives that were able to dump large volumes of cheap wine in bulk

containers by virtue of a legal loophole". In contrast to wine marketing focused on white consumers, that paid attention to changing tastes and preferences, marketing strategies towards coloured consumers (e.g., the wine brand, Oom Tas, a dry white wine told in 4.5 litre kegs and launched in 1952) emphasised continuity, with advertising focused on homesteads, vines, and mountain vistas (Nugent, 2014). With coloured consumers understood as the "principal consumers of cheap bottled wine" within which wine "was not sold as a lifestyle product, but as almost a need" (Nugent, 2014, p. 144) the demographic was racially stereotyped for a "habitual drunkenness" that relied on the "consumption of cheap wines that could not otherwise form a marketable outlet" (Nugent, 2014, p. 137). This speaks to the argument from Overton and Murray (2013, p. 707) that the consumption and production of wine is not always associated with "conspicuous displays of affluence or social status". Just as some might gain status, others are just as likely to be "marginalised and impoverished" (Overton and Murray, 2013, p. 702). This is particularly evident in South Africa, where winemaking remains largely associated with a racialised hierarchy of production involving white producers and a coloured labouring class. In turn, this is mirrored in practices of consumption that remain entrenched within farm labouring communities and are connected to the now-banned practices of the dop system.

One of the most egregious practices evident on farms in the Western Cape is the dop system (Scully, 1987; Williams, 2016). The dop system is connected to practices documented in the Cape Colony from the 17th century onwards wherein enslaved peoples would receive rations of poor-quality wine throughout the day. During VOC rule, enslaved peoples were given daily rations of low-quality alcohol (two pints, distributed four to six times per day) made from the husks of pressed grapes and water (Williams, 2016). Following emancipation in the 1800s, wine farmers justified the use of the dop in incentivising formerly enslaved peoples to continue living and working on farms (Dooling, 2007; Williams, 2016). In the late-20th century, the dop system model shifted, with farm labourers no longer receiving wine throughout the day but instead the provision of a bottle of wine each evening with the cost deducted from weekly wages (regardless of whether the bottle was taken or not) (SAHRC, 2003). Hence, as de Kock (2002, p. 1) argues, the use of alcohol amongst farm workers "is embedded in processes of labour control that have their origins in the European colonisation of the Cape" that worked to create a highly vulnerable, impoverished, and exploitable workforce. Jan van Riebeeck, for example, recommended enslaved people be given daily

rations of brandy and tobacco "to animate their lessons and to make them really hear the Christian prayers" (quoted in Ambler and Crush, 1992, p. 12).

The dop system was technically made illegal in 1961 and the Liquor Act of 1989 specifically prohibited the supply of alcohol as part of a wage (although employers could technically provide wine in addition to wages) (de Kock, 2002). Similarly, the Liquor Act of 2003 prohibited the provision of alcohol (in terms of wages, remuneration, and deductions) within the context of those employed in the alcohol industry (Government Gazette, 2004b). However, while the dop system was an illegal practice, in reality, this did not necessarily alter highly embedded drinking practices; instead, farm workers began to purchase their own alcohol, often from stores, the farmer, or from the smokkelhuise (de Kock, 2002). Research suggests that, in the early 2000s, access to alcohol was facilitated by mobile shebeens (vehicles driving to farms to sell alcohol on credit) selling five-litre volumes of papsak from as little as R14 to as much as R60 during the week and R75 at the weekends (SAHRC, 2003). In 1987, 54% of farms were reported to operate the dop system in the Western Cape, allegedly reduced to 14% in 1989 and 1% in 1995 (SAHRC, 2003). The latter conflicts with a 1995 survey of farms in Stellenbosch that reported 9.5% of farms still used the dop system (although believed to be an underestimate), and that on ten of these farms, workers did not have any choice in substituting wine for cash as part payment for work done (McLoughlin, 2007). As stated in "Bitter Grapes", a model of the dop system remains, with farmers selling cheap alcohol to labourers on credit (Heinemann, 2016a). The consequences of the dop system are severe, including high rates of alcoholism in farm labouring communities, violence, malnutrition, and foetal alcohol syndrome (SAHRC, 2003).

The reputational legacy of the South African wine industry – in particular, its association with the dop system and the sale of cheap and poor-quality wines (such as papsak) to a large segment of South African society – has lingered in contemporary imaginations. In interviews with industry respondents, many recognised that the dop system was a problematic part of the wine industry's history; however, it was emphasised that such practices no longer exist. For example:

> "So we had the dop system in the past, there's still some stupid idiots who refer to that, it's something that isn't – it's not happening at all and if we as industry had to find out that it happens, we would come down on that producer like a tonne of bricks. They will have all their licenses revoked, it cannot happen. And we, there's a zero tolerance for something like that."

Despite industry respondents framing the dop system as a now-defunct historical practice, several consumer respondents – including those who felt they did not have much knowledge of wine nor of the South African wine industry – were familiar with the concept of the dop system. Importantly, the consequences of the dop system are understood as both embodied and emotional. For example:

> "Well, you know about the whole fass stuff, the dop system [Zara: "I do"] and all of that stuff, so I mean, I have family members, you know not me, previous generations who lived that sort of life. So yeah, I don't really have fond memories of certain farm owners, but okay."

> [Later in the interview]

> "Yeah, I just know like not first-hand, but I know about people who had gone through the whole dop system and foetal alcohol syndrome, all of that stuff, so I know about that stuff."

> Fiona (C25); consumer respondent (11/03/2020).

> "But like, ja, the dop system is real. Like if you go to Paarl or Stellenbosch or Franschhoek, all those areas, and you look at the- if you go into like the town and you go to the Spar or the shops of the town. You will see that the people there, like the brown people, they have like flat faces. They have like the wide eyes, they have the like, they have these features that are associated with foetal alcohol syndrome."

> Sarah (C31); consumer respondent (13/03/2020).

Knowledge about the dop system forms part of the everyday lived experience for South African citizens living in the Western Cape. For Fiona, the dop system forms part of her family's history with wine, with previous generations working on farms impacted by this practice. These familial memories impact Fiona's perceptions of the wine industry while also demonstrating that, for middle-class consumers, the consumption of wine is infused with ethical tensions beyond the desire to demonstrate status. For both Fiona and Sarah, the dop system is mapped onto the faces of those who continue to live and work on farms in the Cape Winelands. Whilst the legacies of the dop system often form an important part of ethical consumption campaigns, it is evident that an awareness of this system continues to inform the everyday and ethical perspectives of wine consumers in the Western Cape.

5.4.   Conclusion

On the last Friday of January 2020, I attended a Meetup event hosted by a friend at a vegan restaurant in Cape Town's Central Business District. Introducing myself to a younger white woman and her partner, we discussed our respective plans for the weekend. I told them I planned to attend a wine and lifestyle festival in Langa, a township approximately 15 minutes' drive from the centre of Cape Town. The woman scoffed. She questioned why I would choose to visit such a place; nobody (i.e., white people) would *ever* go to Langa. Confidently and assuredly, she told me that the festival was clearly a gimmick intended to incentivise international tourists to visit Langa given that "black people don't drink wine … only beer." Quickly correcting herself, she conceded that some black South African people *did* in fact drink wine – specifically, the "cheaper, nastier stuff" most often associated with the dop system. I challenged her claims and, surprisingly, her partner agreed with me. He told her that black people, specifically the middle classes of Johannesburg did, in fact, drink expensive and quality wines – he had seen witnessed it with his own eyes. She remained unconvinced. Disgusted with the conversation and its aura of dissection and essentialisation, I left soon the event soon after.

I use this vignette to illustrate some of the core findings from this chapter. The purpose of this chapter was to examine industry and consumer perspectives on contemporary wine markets in South Africa. In doing so, I sought to better understand how trends in wine consumption in recent years have been interpreted and understood by those involved in the production, distribution, marketing of wine. Importantly, a key goal of this chapter was to examine the assumptions underpinning these perspectives which, as evidenced throughout the chapter, are infused with racialised and classed judgements on consumers and their consumption practices. It is through the everyday consumption of wine that these assumptions become visible. As typified in the vignette above, these assumptions are absorbed and normalised in the everyday of post-apartheid Cape Town.

Amidst a decades long trend of low wine sales in South Africa, I argue that these assumptions are as follows: firstly, that wine is associated with white consumers and, specifically, a premium wine consumption culture focused on high-quality products. Secondly, that black South Africans are less likely to drink wine (and instead consume beer, ciders, and spirits) because of their so-called traditional consumption practices. Finally, that the wine consumption culture that is widely considered to be most emblematic of the

ethical tensions in wine – the dop system – is a historicised practice. The rationale put forward to explain these assumptions, such as a deference to tradition, fails to account for the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 167) enforced by successive settler colonial and apartheid states in which the types of alcoholic products people could legally consume were governed by their racial classification. Furthermore, it fails to account for the ways in which previous iterations of the South African wine industry developed different and racially distinct marketing strategies. Therefore, while white consumers were encouraged to consider wine consumption as part of a middle-class lifestyle, black consumers were largely ignored. In consequence, many people of colour continue to feel excluded from spaces and practices of premium wine consumption that remain associated with white and wealthy consumers.

The everyday consumption of wine is therefore emmeshed with ethical tensions directly connected to collective and individual memories of racialised consumption regimes enforced by the apartheid state. For some consumer respondents, this was connected to their understandings of the dop system, the consequences of which they read in the faces of family members who once worked on wine farms. For others, it was connected to their sense of exclusion in wine spaces understood as white.

Chapter 6. Strategizing the Growth of Wine Consumption in Post-Apartheid South Africa

6.1.   Introduction

Having set the scene for wine consumption in South Africa over the past two decades, the aim of this chapter is to examine recent industry strategies to grow the number of wine consumers in the country. I do so through the analysis of data from interviews with industry respondents alongside publicly available strategic and institutional materials. Post-1994, a growing number of wine industry institutions (some now defunct) have called for a revaluation of local wine markets and the development of strategies targeted towards the development and growth of new consumer segments (South African Wine Council, 2007; wine.co.za, no date). However, these calls have largely failed to materialise into tangible recommendations. As briefly discussed in Chapter 5, renewed access to international markets meant that exports were prioritised for much of the 1990s and early 2000s. An increase in exports at this time, however, coincided with a decline in wine sales locally from 360 million litres in 1996 to 301 million litres in 2006 (Ponte and Ewert, 2009). As I called attention to in the previous chapter, these trends have often been interpreted through racialised and classed assumptions of wine consumers. The emigration of white South Africans, for example, has been posited as a key driver of reduced wine consumption post-1994 (Conningarth Consultants, 2015).

Renewed enthusiasm for an industry-wide wine strategy, with demonstrable targets and goals for wine sales in South Africa, is evident from 2014/2015 onwards with the development of WISE. Importantly, and for the first time post-1994, this strategy seeks to identify new wine consumer groups. Given the entrenched racialised and classed assumptions guiding industry interpretations of wine consumers, the possibility of a shift in perspectives is significant and warrants closer examination. Hence, in this, the second of four analytical chapters, I aim to examine wine industry strategies to grow a premium wine consuming culture amongst a broader demographic of South Africans beyond the heavily centred white consumer. Within this, I interrogate the racialised and classed assumptions that unpin these strategies, specifically as they relate to the identification and construction of new consumer groups. In doing so, I aim to answer the first part of question 2: *What are the assumptions underpinning strategies to grow middle-class wine consumption?*

This chapter is composed of three main sections. In the first section, I examine strategies to grow wine in South Africa with a specific focus on WISE. WISE was first developed in 2014/2015 with a multistakeholder team of industry institutions, operational business units, and representations from wine producer companies. It is the first pan-industry strategy post-1994 that sets clear goals and targets focused on the growth of middle-class wine consumption in South Africa. Here, I evaluate the ambitions, objectives, and outputs of WISE with specific focus on the growth of new middle-class wine consumer markets in South Africa. Following this, I explore the assumptions that underpin these strategies as they relate to the motivations and aspirations of new wine consumers. Finally, I explore the assumed barriers to growing new wine consumer markets in South Africa. I argue that the ways in which black middle-class wine consumers are conceptualised results in the problematic centring of a discourse of materialism, status, and conspicuous consumption that is understood as antithetical to consumption practices accepted as ethical.

6.2.   Building New Wine Consumer Groups in Post-Apartheid South Africa

In Chapter 5, I called attention to the racialised and classed imaginaries of the wine consumer in post-apartheid South Africa. I argued that a commonly-held assumption – shared by industry and consumer respondents alike – is that wine consumers are generally white and wealthy. In turn, these consumers are presumed to engage in wine consumption cultures that include luxury and/or premium products.

Despite the entrenchment of this position, the wider wine industry has increasingly accepted that black middle-class consumers represent the main opportunity for growth, particularly in premium-plus pricing tiers (Joseph, 1988; Saunderson, 2005; Newton, 2010). As discussed in Chapter 2, the growth of the black middle classes in post-apartheid South Africa has led to considerable interest from the retail and hospitality sectors. However, the wine industry has historically struggled to articulate a strategy for increasing the number of wine drinkers in South Africa beyond a white minority (Ngwako Sefoko and Van Rooyen, 2008). For example, while SAWB and the South African Wine Industry Council recommended the development of a generic wine marketing strategy for the South African market in the early-to-mid 2000s, no actions were taken to develop this further (Campbell, 2007; Foxcroft, 2009; wine.co.za, no date).

Wine journalists have expressed frustrations over the wine industry's strategic inertia in this regard (Saunderson, 2005; Rangaka, 2005; IOL, 2006). In a 2005 article, Saunderson (2005)

argued that while the wine industry believed that black consumers represented the only opportunity for wine growth the call for wine marketing innovations was driven by journalists. Wine marketers, Saunderson (2005) stated, had "no idea who domestic consumers are and what they want". Rangaka (2005) drew attention to younger, wealthier, black South African men and women living in urban areas who were "attracted by the sophistication and refinement that surrounds responsible wine use". However, he argued, they are "repulsed and intimidated by the snob factor that goes with the drink" in particular, the ways in which "intimate knowledge of its culture and origin [are] a prerequisite for enjoyment" (Rangaka, 2005). While some larger wine producers have subsequently developed sophisticated sales and marketing departments and/or consulted with marketing experts to grow their brands,[36] Gevers (2019) confirms that, in general, wine producers struggle to understand South African consumers beyond the imagined white middle-class demographic.

Despite a lack of strategic consensus in the early-to-mid 2000s, it is evident that some wine companies and organisations have experienced considerable market success with black South African consumers. This includes the Soweto Wine Festival, first held in 2005 and held on an annual basis thereafter, and a small number of wine brands such as Four Cousins (launched in 2005) and 4th Street (launched in 2009) (Foxcroft, 2009; Holtzkampf and SAWIS, 2015; Distell, 2017). However, the general opinion remains that wine producers have been slow to engage with black consumers (Foxcroft, 2009; Holtzkampf and SAWIS, 2015). This disconnect is illustrated below in an extract from an interview with an industry respondent who worked for a wine producing company during the early-to-mid 2000s:

> "I remember having a discussion in 2006 […] about a [wine brand] advert
> […] and one of the whole debates was about 'Should we have black people
> in the advert?' And we talk about 2006, okay? 'Should we have black
> people in the advert because there's a whole bunch of white people
> around a dinner table.' And then there was 'Yes, we should work', 'What
> […] well, okay, how many? How many black people should we have?' I'm
> just giving you a kind of idea of the discussions that happened, 'How many
> black people should we have?' 'Well, if we have one and then they're
> going to be seen as the token black but if we have five, if we make it
> representative of our population and have say one white person, two
> coloured people, and five black people, we're going to be alienating our
> existing consumers who are all white.' And those were the kind of debates
> we were having in 2007 […] in [description of the wine company]. And

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[36] Based on insights from an interview with Charlotte (I43); industry respondent (24/01/2020).

that, I mean I was in that discussion. So yeah, I mean, those are the kind of issues that they were having around – because they'd never targeted black people, now they were wanting to get into that market, but how do they do it? And when, there was no talk at that time, because obviously the whole thing was […] somebody suggested 'Why don't you have different advert for the black community? And why don't you have a different advert for the white community?' And the thing was around budget […] there was no possibility of having two separate adverts to target two markets."

Ivy (I9); industry respondent (01/11/2019).

Ivy is keen to emphasise this recollection is not verbatim; nonetheless, her understanding of the racialised frictions surrounding the development of an advertisement for a wine brand speak to the ethical tensions entangled in discussions of race, class, and wine consumption in post-apartheid South Africa. Firstly, Ivy recognises the company she worked for had never previously viewed black South African people as wine consumers (at least, for the specific wine brand discussed above) and had found itself unsure and uncertain about how to dismantle long held racialised assumptions about its wine consumers. Secondly, it is evident that much of the concern lay in managing the perceived threat that the visibility of black consumers (within an advertisement) might represent to the presumed white audience (understood to be the norm). Rather than meaningfully addressing the exclusion of black consumers to date, the ideal strategy is to substitute white actors with black replacements while suggesting that this could alienate white consumers. While some time after, this speaks to the advertising strategies adopted by some brands in southern Africa in the mid-20th century that sought to transpose black men and women directly into images that initially featured white subjects, presuming an aspiration to mimic white consumers and consumption practices (Burke, 2002, p. 49). Within the context of wine, this is demonstrated through the case of Lieberstein, a very popular wine brand in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. As seen in Figure 8, there are notable similarities between two racially segregated advertisements for the Lieberstein wine brand including the context (young and smartly-dressed friends and couples socialising, playing music, eating food, and drinking wine), the positioning of the models, and the messaging.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Rough translation from Zulu to English: "Meet Lieberstein. It is a wine for everyone. Lieberstein is a good wine, as it is made only from select wine grapes. So, Lieberstein times are always fun times. That is what everyone agrees on – it is the good wine that makes gatherings fun. That is why everyone says: 'Let's be there! With Lieberstein!'"

Rough translation from Afrikaans to English: "Get along with Lieberstein! It's a good wine, time and time again. Lieberstein is the wine for gatherings, fun and pleasure. It's a good wine because it's only made from good wine grapes. And you can taste it, time and time again. That's why everyone agrees: 'Lieberstein makes for fun times.' And therefore, to all: 'Here's to Lieberstein! Here's to Lieberstein!'"

Source: Centre of African Studies (2021).

Figure 8. Advertisements for the wine brand, Lieberstein (1976)

It is not possible to find more information about the development of these two advertisements, but the strategy is eerily similar to Ivy's ideal solution of the construction of two advertisements made distinct by race. This is discomforting because it shows the impact of apartheid-era racial thinking on contemporary perspectives. The advertisements for Lieberstein advertisement were developed during a period of legal racial discrimination and segregation; the discussions in which Ivy was involved in took place more than ten years after the end of apartheid. Still, the concerns expressed regarding the alienation of white consumers, the need to reach new and desirable consumer demographics, and the solutions presented (two separate advertisements) demonstrates the ways in race continues to remain "central to everyday life" (Hammett, 2010, p. 247).

6.2.1. The Wine Industry Strategic Exercise

Since at least 2010, the wine industry business unit, SAWIS, has provided wine producing companies with strategic insights into local markets in South Africa with a particular focus on black middle-class consumers (VinIntell, 2010; VinIntell, 2011; VinIntell, 2013). However, the launch of WISE in 2014 represents the first institutional strategy with clearly defined targets

to grow wine consumption in South Africa. WISE is led by five wine industry organisations/operational business units – Vinpro, SALBA, SAWIS, WOSA, and Winetech – with a purpose to stimulate long-term change across the industry, making it more profitable, globally competitive, and economically sustainable (South African Wine & Brandy Portal, no date). Supported by a task team of facilitators including representatives from wine producing companies, WISE has identified 11 key targets to be achieved by 2025 that includes an increase in local wine sales (Table 4).

Target	2015 baseline	2019 data	2025 target
Return on interest (producers)	2%	4.8%	CPI + 5%
Business model	Production driven	Not available	Market and value-chain driven
Black-owned land and water	1.5%	3%	20%
Local wine sales	330 million litres	387 million litres	430 million litres
Exports _Bulk_ _Packaged_	60% 40%	55% 45%	40% 60%
Ethical accredited volume	20%	61%	100%
Market focus	Two free trade agreements	Not available	Agreements for key markets
Export markets _USA_ _China_ _Africa_	1% 2% 5%	Not available	7% 7% 10%
Wine tourism (domestic and international)	R6 billion	R7.2 billion	R15 billion
Levies _Industry_ _Government_	R80 million R11 million	Not available	Matched funding
Employment	275,000 people	Not available	375,000 people

CPI, Consumer Prices Index; USA, United States of America.
Sources: Baseline data (2015) and targets (2025) available from South African Wine & Brandy Portal (no date); 2019 data published in 2021 and prepared for SAWIS by FTI Consulting (2021).
Table 4. WISE baseline values (2015) and 2025 targets

The WISE target to increase wine sales in South Africa from 330 million litres in 2015 to 430 million litres in 2025 is connected to the "Brand South Africa Local Marketing Strategy" that is defined as a gamechanger project i.e., it is anticipated that it will "change the landscape for wine in South Africa" (Appendix D) (South African Wine & Brandy Portal, no date). Led by WOSA, the objective is to "re-energise and revitalise the local wine market" (South African

Wine & Brandy Portal, no date). To reach the project's objectives, several goals have been identified that include (South African Wine & Brandy Portal, no date):

- Building new consumer target groups and conceptualising wine as a 'lifestyle choice'
- Making wine more 'accessible' to consumers
- Taking a greater share of the alcohol beverage market
- Improving profitability and driving entrepreneurship.

These objectives do not make explicit reference to who the "new consumer target groups" are. However, the consumer segmentation tool used to inform the project (developed by the Consumer Insights Agency) takes an ethnographic approach and incorporates demographic information (e.g., race, age, income, employment), LSM group, consumer motivations, and social outlooks. Four consumer archetypes (of eleven possible options) were chosen that were seen to "offer massive opportunity in sheer numbers and alcohol spend" (The Moss Group, 2016): 'Loxion Dreamer', 'Go-Geta', Bouj-Wa', and 'Striving Suburban' (Figure 9).[37] Collectively, the four consumer archetypes are believed to represent nearly 40% of the South African population and are varied in terms of age, race, education, employment, aspirations, and motivations (Table 5). Importantly, the consumer segmentation tool was later updated in 2020/2021 to consolidate the eleven original archetypes into six: 'Loxion Dreamer', 'Township Ma & Pa', 'Go-Geta', 'Comfortably Suburban', 'New Age Boujee', and 'Well-To-Do'. While the 2014 iteration significantly informed WISE activities, the consolidation of archetypes calls attention to ongoing societal changes in South Africa, notably, around the intersections of race and class.

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[37] See Appendix E for additional information on each consumer archetype developed by the CIA for the 2014 version of the NOW Segmentation Tool; see Appendix F for updated version (accessed in 2021). The NOW Segmentation Tool is no longer available to view on the CIA website.

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LSM, Living Standards Measure.

Consumer archetypes highlighted in a grey circle represent new target markets for wine as identified through WISE.

Source: adapted from The Moss Group (2016); CIA (no date-a).

Figure 9. The Consumer Insights Agency's NOW Segmentation Tool (2014 version)

Consumer archetype	Characteristics (2014 version)	Social outlook (2014 version)	WISE interpretations (based on 2014 version)	Characteristics (updated version)*
Loxion Dreamer	• LSM 4–6 • Black • 18–28 years • Urban • Part-time employment • 21% of South African population	"Share an intensity of ambition to achieve material success against the odds. But the post-1994 boom has come to a standstill and desirable jobs are scarce. The reality of everyday is killing time in the township, putting life on hold until their big break."	Description • Who: big dreamers, averse to hard work, status and class-conscious, bored • Drivers: affiliation and status • Where: trendy township bars Wine motivations • Talk: cool, relaxed, everyday language based on flavour not cultivar • Tell: the versatility of wine, celebrities drinking wine, trendy wine • Show: clear, simple messages, free samples, tastings disguised as cool get-togethers	Attributes • LSM <6 • 16–28 years Description • Big dreamers • Frustrated by reality • Image conscious • No plan to get there • Social camouflage • Maintaining belief and fuelling dream • Relieving boredom
Go-Geta	• LSM 7–10 • All races • 18–24 years • Suburbs, township • Tertiary education • First career	"Share a confidence that they are going to succeed materially in life because they have the necessary kick start of a good education. They have all come from lower-to-	Description • Who: dreamers of material success, hardworking, status- and class-conscious, driven	Attributes • LSM 5–10 • 16–28 years Description • Young & hungry to succeed • Finding self

Consumer archetype	Characteristics (2014 version)	Social outlook (2014 version)	WISE interpretations (based on 2014 version)	Characteristics (updated version)*
	• 3% of South African population	middle-class backgrounds and are in the spotlight. As a result – there is enormous pressure to succeed."	• Drivers: affiliation, status, contentment, and discernment • Where: wine and food markets, events for new kids on the block Wine motivations • Talk: trendy, relaxed, everyday language based on flavour not cultivar • Tell: inspirational wine stories, new trends in wine and food, shopping and serving tips • Show: in-store screens, wine apps and online courses and tastings hosted by new innovative winemakers	• Challenge tradition • Curating image • Explore/experiment • Woke/conscience
Bouj-Wa	• LSM 7–10 • All races, • 25–39 years • Urban • Employed • 7% of South African population	"Grew up desiring material success – each shouldered the responsibility of realising their ambitions. Life is about achieving your dreams – take responsibility for your life & make a significant material success	Description • Who: ambitious, materially driven, financially free, status-seeking, and class-conscious	Category no longer exists

Consumer archetype	Characteristics (2014 version)	Social outlook (2014 version)	WISE interpretations (based on 2014 version)	Characteristics (updated version)*
		of it. Status-seeking and class-conscious. Material possessions are tangible evidence of the dream being realised."	• Drivers: affiliation, status, contentment, care, and discernment • Where: trendy wine lounges, wine clubs, by-invitation-only tastings, and talks <u>Wine motivations</u> • Talk: trendy, relaxed, everyday language based on flavour not cultivar • Tell: brands, award-winning wines, pairing, shopping, and serving tips • Show: tastings by recognised wine personalities, in-store screens, wine apps and online courses	
Striving Suburban	• LSM 7–10 • All races • 35+ years • Township, suburban • Middle-class, renovators • 8% of South African population	"Working hard to provide a better life for their families. They live a similar quality of life to 'True Blue' but bring with them the hard working traits from their 'TOWNSHIP MA & PA' backgrounds. They have	<u>Description</u> • Who: respectful and proud, seeking stability and quality of life, prioritising their children	Category no longer exists

Consumer archetype	Characteristics (2014 version)	Social outlook (2014 version)	WISE interpretations (based on 2014 version)	Characteristics (updated version)*
		achieved and aspire for more, making big sacrifices to give their kids a good education."	• Drivers: affiliation, status, contentment, discernment • Where: private tastings, talks by tavern owners or stokvel leaders at home <u>Wine motivations</u> • Talk: relaxed, respectful yet fun language based on flavour not cultivar • Tell: storing, shopping, and serving tips, food pairing, finding their style preference and linking it to value for money • Show: tastings led by trusted wine personalities, clear, simple packaging, and in-store messages	

LSM, Living Standards Measure; WISE, Wine Industry Strategic Exercise.

*The NOW consumer segmentation tool has been updated between 2014 and 2021 and the information provided above is no longer freely available online. The 2014 consumer segmentation tool was adapted for WISE and includes wine-specific descriptors and motivations.

Sources: adapted from Loots (2016); The Moss Group (2016); CIA (no date-a); CIA (no date-b).

Table 5. Consumer archetypes identified for WISE

The archetypes identified ('Loxion-Dreamer', 'Go-Geta', 'Bouj-wa', and 'Striving Suburban') are unified primarily by geography (i.e., people residing in urban areas of South Africa including townships and suburbs) and LSM groupings (three of the four consumer archetypes are categorised as LSM 7–10). From this, it is evident the goal of WISE is to increase the number of wine consumers whose characteristics most emulate those associated with a middle-class lifestyle in South Africa. As discussed in Chapter 2, this includes urban living, an aspirational and ambitious outlook, and a comfortable standard of living (AfDB, 2011).

Despite the broad scope of WISE – encompassing nearly 40% of adult South Africans – it is noteworthy that the archetype associated with the greatest number of people ('Loxion Dreamer'; 21% of South Africans) was initially rejected by some in the wine industry. This is connected to racialised and classed assumptions of this archetype based on apartheid-era spatial restrictions and the racial segregation of consumption practices and spaces. For example:

> "I'm not saying all of them [wine industry affiliates] resisted it [the 'Loxion Dreamer'], but it was definitely a […] there was a strong resistance to particularly believing that your Loxion Dreamers are drinking things like Heineken and Johnnie Walker Black. It just won't be. Would not believe […] But it's that, 'I don't believe you because I've got a picture of these poor people sitting in shacks or sitting at shebeens on beer crates. I don't have an image of them in a nightclub on Long Street', which is where they actually are some of the time. So. That was where a lot of resistance came."

> Sophia (I44); industry respondent (27/01/2020).

It is important to note that Sophia's perspective is relatively unique given their role and area of expertise; hence, detailed consumer archetype information were not discussed in-depth with other industry respondents and it has not been possible to confirm if industry affiliates did indeed react as described. During the interview, Sophia contextualised the Loxion Dreamer as a person with social camouflage (aligned with the updated NOW consumer segmentation tool; CIA (no date-b)) who authentically replicates the aesthetics of wealthier consumer archetypes (e.g., the New Age Yuppie) and socialises in cosmopolitan urban spaces such as bars and nightclubs. The Loxion Dreamer may be precariously employed and may, presumably, have a lower income than those in higher LSM groupings, but they are also assumed to be status-driven and image conscious, with a skill for aesthetic adaptation and

assimilation. Rejecting the Loxion Dreamer archetype is a rejection of the possibility that a lower income black South African person, who is middle-class if understood in terms of their being in the middle majority income band – see Visagie and Posel (2013), might share similarities with people in a higher LSM group, including practices of consumption and spaces of sociability. It illustrates views that are deeply entrenched in post-apartheid South Africa around social locations of race and class and connected to this, the assumptions held about what people consume and where. As Ndlovu (2022) argues, the concept of whiteness, when understood in relation to Posel's (2010, p. 172) "regimes of consumption":

> … Helps [us] to understand why the idea that not all black people are poor seems to take more time to settle meaningfully in some people's imaginations. By extension, such a view makes us understand how apartheid's raced spatial zoning created the myth that black bodies belong to the township, and have limited ambition, proved by the endemic poverty there.
>
> Ndlovu (2022, p. 387).

Noting the relationship between the concept of whiteness and power, normativity, and privileges (Green, Sonn and Matsebula, 2007) calls attention, as Ndlovu (2022, p. 386) argues to "the racial stereotypes used to naturalise the marketplace exclusion of blacks [which] have continued post-apartheid" and impact strategic decisions focused on consumer growth. By the early 1990s, representations of black consumption continued to speak to imaginaries constructed for, and palatable to, a white understanding of South African society, restricting black South Africans to stereotypical practices and spaces of consumption (e.g., the consumption of beer in township shebeens) (Posel, 2014; Ndlovu, 2022). Invoking this rhetoric calls attention to the determination of the apartheid state to regulate, restrict, and police black consumption. This included monitoring the movements of black South Africans, restricting their entry into white spaces of consumption as consumers in their own right (but not, importantly, as labourers), and deliberately distinguishing black and white practices of consumption as separate, distinct, and different (Alweendo and Dosekun, 2020). The sense of disbelief conveyed by Sophia is directly connected to a clash in worldviews; one in which deeply felt racialised and classed stereotypes, which imaginatively restrict lower income black South African people to the shebeen and the township, are challenged by the realities of a democratic South Africa in which people of all races can socialise in spaces once associated only with white consumers.

It should be noted that industry affiliates allegedly resisted other archetypes, for example, Striving Suburbans (described as "mainly black and coloured consumers" by Sophia). Here, however, while affiliates could accept the archetype based on their LSM group (7–10) resistance is connected to the practices of wine consumption associated with this group. For example:

> "The other thing that absolutely horrified the industry, I mean beyond horrified, was even. It was [...] your Striving Suburbans. They mixed wine with Coke, with cream soda, with Sprite because it tastes awful to them, they haven't grown up with wine, it is an acquired taste. So they drink it but they mix it. And when you tell somebody who's crafted this product that their product's been mixed with Coke or even worse, cream soda. They're absolutely horrified and they think that it's, you know it's massacring their product."

> Sophia (I44); industry respondent (27/01/2020).

This perspective, while specific to the South African context, is strikingly similar to the reflections shared by Ho (2021b). Ho (2021b, p. 249) notes that wine consumers in China have been criticised by European winemakers for a "lack [of] knowledge and appreciation of wine" alongside consumption practices that are supposedly incorrect – as in, those "which do not follow Western norms". Despite different contexts and geographies, there is a shared sentiment that newer wine consumers in emerging economies are consuming wines incorrectly and not following the standards agreed upon by the broader wine community. Of importance are the racialised dynamics between the wine elite, who are presumed to be largely white and/or of European descent, and the wine consumer. In the South African context, newer wine consumers are typically presumed to be people of colour. While the industry may seek to grow the number of wine drinkers in South Africa, there is also an expectation that new consumers are expected to engage in (supposedly) correct wine practices as valued by winemakers and wine connoisseurs (Burton, 2009a; Burton, 2009b). As Ho (2021b) argues, this centres Eurocentric practices and values and this, in conjunction with the general assumption that wine consumers are white (Davidson *et al.*, 2009), has implications for the automatic exclusion of racialised peoples based on their seemingly incorrect consumption practices.

6.3.   Black Middle-Class Wine Consumers

The years following South Africa's transition to a democratic state has seen an increasing number of black South Africans labelled as a new and/or emerging middle-class with the legal right to goods, services, and consumer spaces previously restricted to most people under decades of white-minority rule. In a report published by STATS SA, the percentage of urban black households with a middle-class standard of living rose from 15% (1998–2006) to 22% (2004–2006) (STATS SA, 2009).[38] As discussed in Chapter 2, the growth of South Africa's black middle classes post-1994 has seen them heralded as the saviours of a neoliberal economy through their spending and consumption habits (Musyoka, 2022).

Although the consumer archetypes identified in WISE are racially diverse, several industry respondents described the black middle classes as the main opportunity for building and sustaining a premium wine consumption culture in South Africa. This is in part due to the growth of the black middle classes post-1994 which, as demonstrated by various scholars, are greater in number compared to the white middle-class population (Pollock, 2007; Visagie, 2015). A focus on black middle-class consumers is not unique to the South African wine industry; several different business sectors seek to follow this demographic segment, understand its consumption practices, and grow markets for products, tapping into the growth of an economic class supported by the policies of the post-apartheid state (Burger *et al.*, 2015a; Iqani, 2017; de Coninck, 2018; Alweendo and Dosekun, 2020).

Of importance, however, are the ways in which black middle-class wine drinkers are understood to be a new and/or emerging phenomenon in contemporary South Africa, demonstrating an implicit assumption that a growing interest in wine for black consumers is connected to their class position within a post-1994 context. For example:

> "We're seeing in South Africa there's an emerging wine market of middle-
> to-upper-class black people who have never really been exposed to wine.
> So there's a hunger and a thirst, literally, for knowledge."
>
>   Fiona (I30); industry respondent (14/11/2019).

> "The middle-class are starting to drink wine and the black middle-class
> specifically. We are looking very much at women […] no more drinking

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[38] This report defines a "middle class standard of living" as the following: living in formal housing with a water tap, a flush toilet, a lighting source powered by electricity, a cooking source powered electricity and/or gas, and a telephone landline and/or mobile phone (STATS SA, 2009, p. 1).

beer and sweet pop drinks. You know, glass of wine. Very reasonable.
Have it with your meal."

<div align="right">Rebecca (I11); industry respondent (26/11/2019).</div>

"Our middle-class consumer has been very much exposed to really to
drinks, beer, ciders. And now we tried to educate or evolve them into beer
[sic] drinking because they are now, you know, earning higher domestic
wages, and so they're moving up with this standard in in lifestyle standard
and for them to be educated."

<div align="right">Beatrice (I27); industry respondent (22/01/2020).</div>

Nugent (2014, p. 144) states that it is only in recent years "that an emergent Black middle
class is beginning to discover the pleasures of wine – less as a means of getting drunk and
rather more as a way of displaying wealth". This viewpoint, and those expressed above, call
attention to several assumptions. Firstly, that black middle-class consumers are new to
premium wine consuming cultures that, it is assumed, are distinct from practices of
drunkenness. Secondly, that an increased engagement with wine is connected to an
aspiration to consolidate a middle-class position within South African society. Thirdly, that
certain wine consumption practices are an unequivocable component of a middle-class
lifestyle, for example, when enjoyed with a meal and when consumed in moderation.
Finally, that an authentic engagement with a premium wine consumption culture requires,
by necessity, education and knowledge. Collectively, and as discussed in Chapter 5, the
implicit assumption is that the intersection between wine, class, and culture is linear,
hierarchical, and universal. Luxury and/or premium wines are inherently understood to
belong to a middle-class lifestyle, and it is assumed that the growing middle classes are
motivated to consume such products on this basis (Wright *et al.*, 2022).

While many industry respondents discussed black middle-class South African consumers in
terms of income, it is important to recognise that an increasing interest in wine is also
understood to be connected to the westernisation of middle-class consumers in emerging
markets within the broader context of Africa. For example:

"This picture [that wine consumers are white] is definitely starting to
change. As our black people are becoming educated in wine and really
enjoying wine and seeing kind of the pleasures of wine and something that
is produced in our very own beautiful country. So, the picture is changing,
not only here in South Africa, but also throughout the rest of Africa.
There's westernisation, I think has a lot to do with that and we definitely,

certainly see in certain African countries how the impact of wealth, western wealth, influences the decision-making down the line."

<div align="right">Emma (I24); industry respondent (05/11/2019).</div>

Aligned with this is the presumption that the so-called 'new' black middle classes in South Africa, alongside similar demographics in other African countries, increasingly seek to be "wealthy in consumer aspirations" and therefore represent the "'new frontier' for luxury consumer markets" (Iqani, 2019, p. 229). This is a significant transition away from apartheid-era marketing strategies that represented black South Africans as a homogenous mass market in need of low-cost goods and services (Southall, 2014b; Iqani, 2017). Of importance are the ways in which black middle-class people with an interest in wine are framed as westernised. Westernisation is often understood as synonymous with whiteness which in itself is "used as the standard against which blackness is judged" (Green, Sonn and Matsebula, 2007, pp. 395-396). This has led to the proliferation of labels that seek to position the black middle classes in proximity to whiteness. For example, Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007) state that:

> Discourses of whiteness as spoken by black people transcend the colour boundary to give meanings to affluence, lifestyle, and changes in traditional African behaviour. Often black people would talk of abalungu abamnyama or 'white black persons' to relocate westernised, educated (izifundiswa) and affluent Africans into the white category, albeit imaginary.

<div align="right">Green, Sonn and Matsebula (2007, p. 395).</div>

This highlights the ways in which consumption practices, including those associated with alcohol, have long been weaponised to differentiate and separate black South Africans based on the interpretation and labelling of middle-classness. Such labelling practices are evident in both apartheid- and post-apartheid South Africa. In a 1962 essay, Lewis Nkosi defined the "Situation" as a "term of abuse for members of the African middle classes trying to 'situate' themselves above the masses" with a presumed proximity to whiteness (Nkosi, 2005 quoted in Smith, 2020, p. 173). Much like the identities described above, the work of Wilson and Mafeje (1963),[39] as discussed by Mabandla (2013, p. 24), draws attention to the

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[39] Wilson, M. and Mafeje, A. (1963) *Langa. A study of social groups in a South African township*. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

distinguishment of Langa's apartheid-era middle classes as the 'ooscuse me's', named as such "because of their haughty ways and their preference for the use of English [that were also defined by] education and occupation" alongside practices of conspicuous consumption that centred the "general embrace of the many trappings of a 'western civilisation'". This framing of the black middle classes as aspirational for the attributes of whiteness continues in post-apartheid South Africa and can be seen in the use of labels such as 'buppies' and 'coconuts' that speak to the alleged entanglements between the black middle classes and their supposed desire to emulate whiteness (Phiri, 2013; de Coninck, 2018; Dimitris Kitis, Milani and Levon, 2018). Again, this framing can be traced to dynamics evident in colonial regimes of white supremacy (Southall, 2014a; Iqani, 2017) with the black middle classes accused of making themselves "less black" (Iqani, 2017, p. 112) and "selfishly imitating white privilege" through the embrace of a western lifestyle (de Coninck, 2018, p. 159).

The presumed connections between alcohol consumption, whiteness, and westernisation are deeply embed in South Africa and other post-colonial African states. In colonial Zimbabwe, West (1992, p. 377) calls attention to elite black men who argued for their right to consume European alcohol products (such as wine) based on their attainment of "a level of 'civilisation' comparable to that of the white settlers". In these contexts, Mager (1999, p. 367) argues that wine and other European alcohols were framed as superior products to "be aspired to" in contrast to the "indigenous brews of lower alcoholic content that were pronounced to be uncivilised and primitive". As discussed previously, this speaks to a hierarchy of taste that is connected to whiteness, westernisation, and wealth.

The presumptions concerning South Africa's black middle classes, and their seemingly 'new' relationship with wine, are antithetical to colonial and apartheid histories of alcohol consumption in South Africa (Nugent, 2009). Nugent (2009) argues that targeted advertising aimed towards middle-class black South Africans in the 1960s sought to "persuade affluent blacks that drinking wine amongst friends of the same social status was something they ought to aspire to". In a 1988 article published in WINE magazine, Joseph (1988) states that "while wine drinking has been a white pastime" the "development of a growing black middle class" is allowing wine to "genuinely [find] a new market". The conceptualisation of the black middle classes as new (i.e., a post-1994 phenomenon) masks these histories and the attempts of some in the wine industry to grow wine consumption within this demographic. Again, however, is the uncomfortable presumption that it is only through a middle-class

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position that black South Africans might have an interest in wine. This both negates and ignores the majority of South African citizens while scrutinising the black middle classes based on their presumed aspiration for symbols of whiteness – including wine.

6.4.   Wine Consumption Motivations

6.4.1. *Status*

When consumer respondents for this study were asked why they drank wine, they offered a myriad of reasons. For some, it contributed to a sense of relaxation, for example, enjoying a glass of wine in their home at the end of the working day. For others, wine drinking was a pleasurable and relaxing way to spend time with family and friends and included blind tastings, wine events, dining, parties, and more. For a small number of consumer respondents, wine was a hobby, and this involved taking a measured and considered approach to wine tasting and making methodological notes. For others still, wine was important in offering a sense of hospitality and care for guests, choosing wines carefully to complement a meal. A myriad of different wine consumption practices, therefore, were associated with both ordinary and special moments. Several examples are presented below to demonstrate this plurality:

> "It's [drinking wine] very social. It's a social thing [and] I think different forms of alcohol do different things to you, you know. And wine for me does nothing except just make me relaxed to the point where at some point it's just like on the Fridays [socialising with friends], I'm always threatening to just not leave, to just like sleep there because now you know. So then I just, I threaten to just sleep there half the time yeah, I'm very relaxed when I drink wine, but it's normally a social thing."
>
> Simosihle (C6); consumer respondent (05/02/2020).

> "I find with wine, if you just like, if I come from work and I've just had like a rough day, I would rather pour a glass of wine than a glass of gin and tonic, I don't know why. I think it's more like [a] way of life, I don't know what. I'm always also wondering if I didn't meet this group of friends I've had, what would the chances be that I drink wine? Because I know people, from areas where I used to grow up, who don't drink wine at all."
>
> Fiona (C25); consumer respondent (11/03/2020).

> "[I probably drink wine] to unwind, I also enjoy the experience of the wine glass, aesthetics, that's nice. And like, when I'm drinking a beer or any other kind of alcohol with wine, there's a level, there's something romantic about drinking wine. [There's] something aesthetically pleasing about drinking wine, it feels like a treat, […] I like that versus other forms of alcohol where it's like I'm quenching a thirst, where it's got a very practical,

like a cider, it's got a very practical sort of function: it's hot. I'm thirsty. Whereas with wine. It's more, 'Let me relax, let me unwind, oh what a beautiful glass, water, ooh what a beautiful bottle, oh the smell, the texture' its yeah, it feels that. So, I think I drink wine as a treat."

<div align="right">Silondile (C23); consumer respondent (10/03/2020).</div>

As consumer respondents continued to share a growing diversity of insights, I became increasingly perplexed by the explanations provided by industry participants as to why they felt more black middle-class consumers were beginning to drink wine. A growing interest in wine consumption was primarily presumed to be connected to an aspiration for social status as demonstrated through a connection to high value goods, products, and services. Several industry respondents stated that the main driver of wine consumption growth in South Africa was its association with status. For example:

> "There's no limitation in terms of pricing, because wine is perceived in that market [black middle classes] much as beautiful watches, beautiful leather shoes, as a symbol of status. We are seeing some of the [wine events] where generally sort of the middle of the range, a 100 to 100 Rand [sic] bottle of wine would sell, there's a demand for the higher priced wines, there's very little understand of the quality and why it's priced at that, but it's just. It's a status, it's expensive, it must be good."

<div align="right">Fiona (I30); industry respondent (14/11/2019).</div>

Overton and Banks (2015, p. 475) state that a commonly held assumption about the emerging middle classes is that they regard wine "as a higher status product, akin to a favoured automobile marque or a brand of designer clothing, and associated with modern and western fashions and lifestyles". Continuing, Overton and Banks (2015, p. 475) suggest that wine acts as "a market of new wealth and worldliness, and its consumption is conspicuous as a way of advertising the rising economic and social status of the consumer." It is therefore presumed that engagement with wine is primarily motivated by an aspiration to demonstrate wealth and status which is seen as antithetical to the authentic desire to delve into the intrinsic qualities of wine, as valued by connoisseurs. In the context of a fine wine culture, which often connects status to geographical knowledges, the centring of price as the most valuable attribute of status is perceived to demonstrate a lack of consumer knowledge and awareness.

This is aligned with the limited research available that examines the relationships between wine, consumption, and black middle-class people in post-apartheid South Africa. Here, there is a tendency to echo mainstream discourses that continue to frame black middle-class consumers as aspirational, status-driven, and lifestyle-oriented – aligned with mainstream discourses that frame black consumption as conspicuous and materialist. Ndanga, Louw and van Rooyen (2010, p. 294) suggest an opportunity to grow domestic wine markets "by targeting the growing, increasingly affluent, black consumer market" focusing on women and the 'start-me-up' segment (a younger cohort supposedly consisting of 'buppies' – black urban professionals). Ndanga, Louw and van Rooyen (2009, p. 13) suggest there is a "yearning" amongst black middle-class consumers to understand more about wine as an "aspirational lifestyle beverage" due to a "desire for access to a lifestyle they believe is their right" (ibid).

Similarly, in a study of emerging wine consumers in South Africa, Foxcroft (2009, p. 2) frames South Africa's growing black middle-class population as "status and lifestyle oriented" and, as a result, "ripe for an increase in wine consumption". They characterise this group by a "future focus mindset" with a drive for "visible signs of success" (Foxcroft, 2009, p. 32). Both studies are guided by two implicit assumptions related to wine consumption, race, and class. The first is the uncontested relationship between wine and status. Wine is understood to be a symbol of status and a signifier of economic, social, and cultural capital. The second is a conceptualisation of the new black middle classes that contorts their consumption practices through a lens of materialism and conspicuousness, driven by a sense of entitlement for a lifestyle that was historically denied to them. The connections, therefore, between wine, status, and black middle-class aspirations appear temporally immutable. Yet both conceptualisations represent decades of work to strategically reimagine the relationships between wine, race, and class in post-apartheid South Africa. This includes the restriction of consumption practices deemed reputationally harmful to the South African wine industry (e.g., the papsak) alongside the promotion of South African wines as a symbol of lifestyle, aspiration, and status, supported by a shift towards a model of wine production driven by quality over volume. In Chapter 5, this was demonstrated in the sheer number of industry respondents who felt that black South Africans did not consume wine.

There are ethical tensions connected to the ways in which black middle-class wine consumers are characterised in relation to wine, and other luxury products, in South Africa.

This is part connected to the entanglements between wine, whiteness, and power in this context. It intensifies what Meghji (2017, p. 8) describes as the presentation of the black middle classes "as ostentatious consumers, who mimic the lifestyles of Whites and proudly flaunt their achieved 'White' lifestyles to all others". As illustrated by the interview extract above, black middle-class people are not presumed to engage in wine consumption because they enjoy it, but because they wish to demonstrate the achievement of a lifestyle associated with white consumers. In the case of wine, the presumed inauthenticity of engagement is connected to a perceived lack of interest or knowledge about the properties valued by wine connoisseurs. As Harvey (2002, p. 100) states, "knowledge of wines and 'proper' appreciation is often [seen as] a sign of class." The perception, then, that new wine consumers may possibly value different wine properties is presented in conflict to this and is understood as a practice in need of correction. Consumers are presented as "materialistic and status-driven" – both seen as negative characteristics – which as Meghji (2017, p. 8) states, "essentially [criticises] Black people with money for spending their money".

This conceptualisation of South Africa's black middle classes represents the culmination of more than 20 years of mainstream discourse that has framed this demographic as materialistic and greedy (Iqani, 2017). The aspiration to be seen and accepted as wealthy (e.g., by purchasing expensive wines or well-known wine brands) is framed as unethical and is set against a societal context of extreme social and economic inequality (Iqani, 2017). Against this backdrop, such desires are viewed as distasteful, unethical, and immoral (Iqani, 2017). Black middle-class consumers are also framed as immature with a desire to voraciously consume (Iqani, 2017) without consideration of the more intrinsic qualities of wine valued by connoisseurs – or indeed, enjoyment of the wine itself. For example:

> "So not to say that there aren't a handful of people that may really enjoy it [wine]. But really, what it is, it's actually a status symbol. It's a, and the vast majority of [black middle-class] consumers in that space don't drink wine because they enjoy it. They drink wine because it shows that they're sophisticated."

> Sophia (I44); industry respondent (27/01/2020).

There is a presumption that the connections between wine and status are immutable. However, in being presumed to actively seek status through wine, black middle-class wine consumers are accused of unethical transgressions against socially accepted practices of

consumption (Musyoka, 2022). Status is assumed to be the primary motivation for black middle-class consumers to engage in premium wine consumption cultures – regardless of personal consumption preferences which might not include wine. Yet this also calls attention to what Meghji (2017, p. 4) argues is the "identity work" black middle-class consumers feel they need to do to "convince Whites of their class status". Part of this, Meghji (2017, p. 4) suggests, is the curation of "public identities to overcome [a presumed] class deficit" which might include consuming products associated with status. What is accepted as a traditional and everyday part of white consumer cultures – a premium wine drinking culture – is only ever viewed in terms of suspicion in relation to black consumers. As Posel (2010, p. 161) argues, consumption – and the regulation and restriction of consumption – was central in the "making of the racial order" in colonial and apartheid South Africa. This "racial order" Posel (2010, p. 161) continues, represented just one way of "regulating people's aspirations, interests and powers as consumers". As Posel (2014, p. 48) further argues, "it comes as no surprise that as Black consumerism [has become] more visible and socially assertive, mainstream media coverage of this phenomenon reflect[s] a habit of White suspicion". Burger *et al.* (2015a) identifies a tendency for consumer market researchers to assume that the consumption practices of black middle-class South Africans are unchanging, with an emphasis on conspicuous practices that are reflective of ambitious and aspirational values. This is aligned with research from Chevalier (2015) who identifies similar perspectives when interviewing marketing and advertising experts in South Africa in the mid-2000s. This perspective is entrenched, demonstrated by Iqani (2017) in an examination of English-language newspapers in 1990s South Africa. Iqani (2017) shows a moralisation and politicisation of new black middle-class South Africans and their supposedly new consumption practices. While they are lauded for helping to create and maintain a thriving national economy they are simultaneously criticised for their alleged allegiance to "a 'new' set of ethics: materialism, greed and rapacious consumption" (Iqani, 2017, p. 114). Similarly contradictory media discourses continue well into the 21st century, with black middle-class South Africans portrayed positively as the source of the country's economic growth while also denigrated for being "self-serving and materialistic" in their aspirations (Dimitris Kitis, Milani and Levon, 2018, p. 157). These constructions are closely connected to the pejorative 'Black Diamond', a label first publicly used in 2007 by the UCT Unilever Institute and TNS Research Surveys to refer to South Africa's 'new' black middle classes and constructed using the LSM tool which supposedly did not make explicit reference to race

(UCT Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing, 2007; Chevalier, 2015). As de Coninck (2018) argues, the label 'Black Diamond' works to constrict the conceptual heterogeneity of South Africa's black middle classes into *a* middle-class that is portrayed as immature, greedy, and consumerist, eager to portray a materially lavish and lascivious lifestyle that is symbolic of wealth and success. As is argued by Alweendo and Dosekun (2020, p. 131) a focus on conspicuous and materialist consumption practices demonstrates the ways in which the supposed arrival of the black middle classes is "highly contested and moralised" and framed as distasteful in a country-wide context of extreme and visible social inequalities.

6.4.2. Visibility

If wine is understood as a symbol of status, and black middle-class consumers are assumed to seek status through consumption, then it presumably follows that an important and connected motivation is to be seen engaging in wine consumption. This visibility – essentially, a form of conspicuous consumption – is deeply embedded in social science research and is often ascribed to the aspirational motivations of the middle classes (Clingingsmith and Sheremeta, 2018). It has also been understood through a racialised lens although it is recognised that differences in visible consumption differ between different racial groups are negligible when accounting for mean own reference group income (Charles, Hurst and Roussanov, 2009; Kaus, 2013).

In an interview with Albert who, at the time of interview was involved in wine communications, we discussed my experiences of attending the 2019 Champagne & MCC Festival in Franschhoek. As discussed in Chapter 5, this festival is increasingly associated with wealthy black South Africans travelling from Johannesburg for the weekend. Of importance, however, were the presumed motivations of attendees – namely, to be strategically seen consuming high-status wines (e.g., champagne). For example:

> "And what you'll see like you'll notice even when you look closely what's going at those little groups [of black consumers]. They all have a few bottles of everything, so there'll be champagne, there'll be MCC, all amongst things and they'll, but they'll want to be seen with the champagne glass in the picture and then tuck into the other stuff amongst."
>
> Albert (I41); industry respondent (13/01/2020).

The theory of conspicuous consumption proposes that certain goods, activities, and services are accepted as markers of social status (Trigg, 2001; Burger *et al.*, 2015a). Therefore, by engaging in conspicuous consumption – that is, to be visibly seen consuming these goods, activities, and services – it is argued that individuals seek to demonstrate their status (often, in the form of wealth) for the purview of others, in part connected to their ability to "waste time, effort and money" (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 43). This is also understood as relational and relative; for example, for very wealthy people, the need to signal wealth is presumed to be less connected to material consumption but to the signal of wealth "through a distinct set of habits and tastes which they acquired tacitly through their social upbringing" (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 44). The latter is understood as central to the work of Bourdieu (1984), in particular, the ways in which "tastes and preferences can signal and entrench class" (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 44). What people enjoy, in terms of tastes and preferences, are understood in terms of markers of class that can "distinguish and legitimise privilege" (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 44). Within this is the presumed aspiration to "mimic the tastes and consumption patterns of those above it" with the middle classes most keen to do this in order to distinguish themselves from the working classes (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 44).

The ethical issue within this is that this framing contributes to the ways in which South Africa's black middle classes are increasingly and "incorrectly painted as greedy and consumerist, resulting in what is seen as a simplistic, patronising and inaccurate representation of reality" (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 43). It suggests that "membership of a specific subgroup is the most important explanation for observed consumer patterns" (Burger *et al.*, 2015a, p. 43). In post-apartheid South Africa, this framing (notably, within mainstream media discourse) is often connected to a critique of irresponsible spending through credit, for example:

> At least part of black middle class consumption in South Africa is fuelled by out-of-control money lending – a fact that is all too often ignored. Under apartheid, the black middle class had very limited access to credit. This situation changed quickly after 1994. Aspirations centred on consumerism, social pressure to buy what the 'middle class' buys, and the desire to live where the middle class lives, became paired with easy access to credit – albeit with criminally high interest rates. Many people are now trapped in a vicious circle of indebtedness. The salaried, black middle class has become the most indebted section of South African society.

> Scharrer, O'Kane and Kroeker (2018, p. 22).

The presumption that the black middle classes can be understood only through conspicuous consumption "erroneously suggests that blacks as members of this class consume for the sake of consumption" (Khunou, 2015, p. 91). Furthermore, the emphasis on consumption, at the expense of all other meanings and values, is itself a "result of the racialisation of the meaning of middle-classness" (Khunou, 2015, p. 91). In the above interview extract with Albert, it is presumed the black festival attendees are photographed with glasses and bottles of champagne to demonstrate status. Regardless of the popularity of champagne in markets around the world, when understood in the context of black consumption it is framed as materialist and is motivated not by personal tastes, preferences, and appreciation for a product, but a desire to be seen with items indicative of wealth and status. Importantly, such perspectives frame the desire to be visible through consumption as an inherently unethical and immoral act.

Yet this position fails to account for the ways in which the apartheid state restricted, regulated, and controlled the consumption practices of black South Africans (Posel, 2010). In the case of white and/or European alcohol, for example, tens of thousands of Black South Africans were criminalised for purchasing, distributing, and/or consuming these products (Ambler and Crush, 1992). Therefore, the signal of wealth and status through conspicuous consumption "symbolizes belonging and freedom from apartheid" (Dawson, 2023, p. 145). In the apartheid era, a person's consumption practices could be used by government officials to evidence their official racial classification (Posel, 2001a; Posel, 2001b). Further, Black South Africans were regulated and restricted in terms of what they could consume, where, and with whom (Posel, 2010; Posel, 2001a; Posel, 2001b). In post-apartheid South Africa, the freedom to be consume and, through this, to disrupt the perceived binaries between race and wealth (Ndlovu, 2022) can be understood as both a radical and ethical act. Yet, as Dawson (2023, p. 146) argues, and as demonstrated in this section, performances of racialised conspicuous consumption "are always subject to interpretation, and can be judged as more or less authentic or legitimate." This is seen, for example, in the context of premium wine consumption cultures, in which status is attached to knowledge and expertise rather than those products which symbolise wealth (e.g., champagne).

In some ways, the desire to be seen consuming specific products speaks to the expectations and pressures that consumers internalise regarding the acceptability (or not) of personal taste. While some wine consumption practices might be actively visible, others are hidden.

In the case of black middle classes, their hypervisibility in white spaces and practices of consumption leads to readings solely through visibility and, in consequence, conspicuousness. A desire to be seen is not just connected to the consumption of wine, but being visible in wine spaces that are associated with beauty, luxury, and presumably status. For example:

> "You can kind of dress up when you have it [wine] so you can make yourself really pretty for wine. And then of course, if you look at just the Western Cape space. The scenery, farms that you go to, so you wanna look good. You wanna feel good. You wanna be seen and sitting and drinking a lovely glass of wine in the Winelands and with the picturesque views. So that is that is definitely it and you can see a lot of the new entrants when they start drinking wine. It's pretty much whenever they go and drink wine or a particular party or at a wine estate. They will Tweet about it, they will Facebook it, they will Instagram it, and so it's fed by the status driven sort of quality to it."

> Dennis (I22); industry respondent (09/03/2020).

Wine is understood to be beautiful by Dennis – not just in relation to the product, but to the spaces and landscapes associated with its production, including the scenery of the Cape Winelands, the architecture of the wine farms, and the accoutrements of wine (e.g., the wine glass). From the perspective of Dennis, who works as a brand ambassador for a wine estate, the status viewed as implicit in wine inspires consumers who also seek to match the beauty of wine, to plausibly perform the role of wine consumer and in doing so make oneself "really pretty for wine … look good […] and feel good". Looking and feeling good in spaces of status is translated into digital spaces – for example, sharing images on social media platforms. Yet, this might also be read as an expectation (or pressure) for consumers to make themselves beautiful according to societal expectations and pressures. Access to wine, and wine spaces, demands a particular classed performance, and what might be read as societal desire to be visible or conspicuous might also be understood as a desire to assimilate into spaces implicitly understood as white. To "look good" may not only speak to a desire to feel legitimate in white spaces, but to be read as legitimate by others in these spaces too and, as a result, to not have ones' presence debated, questioned, or monitored. While black middle-class consumers consume, they are themselves consumed by the gaze of wider society. This aspiration is reflected not just in how people perform in wine spaces

(e.g., by adapting their appearance) but in the types of wines people might be seen consuming in such spaces too.

6.5.   Barriers to Growing Wine Consumption

6.5.1. Intimidation

Several industry respondents expressed opinions that wine, as a category, was difficult, complicated, and intimidating. This was connected to the geographies of wine and the knowledges required about, for example, price, varietal, region, volume, brand, and label. Some spaces of wine (e.g., wine merchants) were themselves seen as intimidating, particularly for consumers who are not immersed in a wine culture. Several industry respondents felt that this complexity, amidst uncertainties in the wider economy, made it difficult for people to spend money on a product they were unfamiliar with.

Industry respondents also felt that the culture of wine was intimidating and acknowledged that this had been driven by people in the global wine industry with an understanding that engagement and knowledge added to the perceived value of the product. A consequence of this is that wine was understood as generally intimidating; of particular interest, however, is the perception that this is particularly intimidating for black middle-class South Africans. For example:

> "So what I've noticed is that black people generally are afraid or intimidated by wine."
>
> > Rosy (I47); industry respondent (05/03/2020).

> "You know, just for a black person in this country to enter a wine estate, you know, big gates, long driveway and a, it's just, they're intimidated."
>
> > Edward (I42); industry respondent (15/01/2020).

> "And also that [is] then the cultural aspect. It makes wine intimidating for us [black consumers] as a people. You know that wine have associations, I remember at one point I think [I] was tasting Sauvignon Blanc and people are like, 'Wow typical Sauvignon Blanc, they have passion, the greenness ooh I'm picking up asparagus.' And I was like, 'Everybody. What is this asparagus picking up, what I have?' I've never heard of asparagus in my entire life, and I was 39 years old."
>
> > Lindiwe (I15); industry respondent (14/01/2020).

The respondents above suggest that wine (as a product), the spaces of wine, and the cultures of wine are intimidating for people of colour, in particular, black South African

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consumers. A sense of intimidation could be partly connected to the presumed lack of familiarity with wine (e.g., the geographies of its production) and to the sheer volume of different products available. However, by specifically focusing on black consumers, it can be understood that respondents believe race to play an important role in shaping these dynamics. Edward, for example, applies this to the materiality of wine production, for example, the wine estate. As Dooling (2007, p. 2) argues, the wine estates of the Western Cape represent the "material remnants" of a highly specific culture, namely, the Cape landed gentry composed of generations of white settlers. It is the continued reading of the wine estate as a space of whiteness that is understood to intensify feelings of intimidation. This is also directly connected to experiences of racism and exclusion in spaces understood as normal and everyday for white and wealthy consumers – for example:

> "A very basic racist scenario, where I remember [black friend/colleague] saying he'd already become a sommelier and he was doing well for himself, and I think he bought himself a second-hand Audi. So he had all of the right look and he would rock up at a wine estate and people would kind of look, the security guard would look into the window peering – 'Why is there a black man driving a German car' kind of thing? 'Why is he here?' 'What is the reason?' And he would, you know I remember him sending a funny Tweet about it."

> Edward (I42); industry respondent (15/01/2020).

As I called attention to in Chapter 5, spaces of premium wine consumption in the Western Cape are implicitly understood as exclusive and exclusionary, particularly for people of colour. Ndlovu (2022) demonstrated this in relation to fine dining in Cape Town and connected this to the ways in which whiteness continues to be understood as synonymous with wealth and blackness with poverty. In the anecdote shared by Edward, his friend (a black sommelier) immediately found himself under the lens of suspicion simply for visiting a wine estate in a luxury vehicle. Intimidation could also be understood in terms of anxiety which, as consumption scholars argue, is deeply connected to spaces and practices of consumption (Warde, 1994; Woodward, 2006; Jackson, 2010; Evans, 2019). In the examples above, the perceived intimidation and/or anxiety black consumers are perceived to feel is directly connected to the ways in which the spaces, practices, and cultures of consumption remain entwined with whiteness.

6.5.2. *Mistakes*

While several industry respondents felt that wine was generally an intimidating product, they also felt that black middle-class consumers had specific barriers that inhibited their potential engagement with wine. This included concerns around making mistakes in wine, for example:

> "I think for the middle-class it is the idea of not making a mistake. And if I buy that brand, I haven't made a mistake. I'm not going to look like a fool. And no-one's gonna rip me off. So possibly wine is like that […] you don't want to seem like fool or not knowledgeable, but you- also it's expensive, [you] don't want to make a mistake […] So I think, yeah, I think that's the emerging middle-class for us, and I specifically mean the black middle-class has also has this kind of barrier to entry of what is acceptable."

> Rebecca (I11); industry respondent (26/11/2019).

The "established Eurocentric hierarchies of wine value" have led to "the near universal acceptance" of specific wine characteristics understood to represent good taste (Fitzmaurice, 2021, p. 363). As Smith Maguire (2018, p. 15) argues, "the case of fine wine suggests that European culture retains its master status in terms of cultural cachet and the power to legitimate." In the case of Rebecca, it is evident that wine cultures are associated with correct and incorrect practices of consumption and those who are new to wine must navigate these unspoken rules. Above, the focus on well-known brands is presumed to mitigate any room for mistakes, not only in the tastes of what people enjoy, spending money on a luxury and not enjoying it, but in engaging with a product and a culture that has long been associated with white and wealthy consumers.

Seeking to mitigate potential mistakes again calls attention to the hypervisibility of black middle-class South Africans in relation to practices of premium wine consumption. As has been discussed previously, people of colour engaging in spaces and practices of consumption associated with white consumers are watched for mistakes. The "barrier to entry of what is acceptable" can be interpreted through a white gaze, which, as Canham and Williams (2017) argue, speaks to the ways in which blackness is monitored and essentialised in post-apartheid South Africa. Here, the white gaze works to inscribe "racialised discourses that control, inferiorise and negate blackness" (Canham and Williams, 2017, p. 28) and, in doing so, seeks to:

Discipline black people reminding them that, despite democracy and increasing black mobility, people have in fact not really escaped white contestation. It is the controlling white gaze that is the constant reminder that the previous terms of marginalisation are not easy to erase. (Canham and Williams, 2017, p. 28).

It is evident that wealthier black South African people remain under the scrutiny of wider society including the perceived mistakes connected to practices of consumption. For example:

"We are a new nation still of just, it doesn't all have to be about flash. You can. There's a more subtle way to show that you have, that you wealthy or whatever, you wanting to show off. You could order a bottle of bush yard pinot noir at 600 Rand a bottle or more and subtly know, and be, you're subtly symbolizing almost that you know your wine and you've got the money to spend on it rather than just looking down the wine list, looking for the one that has three zeros on and going 'I'll take that' […] and if you had a [name] 30 year old brandy on the table, you actually saying more about what you know and what you enjoying than a 2- [or] 3,000 Rand Hennessey."

Edward (I42); industry respondent (15/01/2020).

Edward describes in detail his shock at the consumption practices of a group of fellow black diners who ordered expensive premium brandies and mixed them with soft drinks. The desire to choose the most expensive wines without appreciation for the characteristics most valued by wine connoisseurs (e.g., its geographies) is understood only in terms of the desire to demonstrate status through the purchase of the most expensive wines. Interestingly, however, the issue is not that people seek to demonstrate status but that they do so in a way deemed incorrect. For people immersed in wine, status is not arbitrarily connected to price, but to the relationship between price and the intrinsic properties of wine, for example, its geographies, region, vintage etc.

Iqani (2017) suggests that it is the supposed demonstration of a western and/or white lifestyle that is considered particularly egregious and transgressive within mainstream discourses of black middle-class consumption practices. Here, a western lifestyle, imagined as affluent and lifestyle-driven, is understood as a marker of whiteness and is the measure against which blackness is judged (Green, Sonn and Matsebula, 2007). The performance of (and aspiration for) a western lifestyle, mediated by 'new' values is framed as being disloyal to 'older' and, presumably, more ethical values (Iqani, 2017). Chevalier (2015, p. 127)

recognises that these reservations are also connected to an "ostentatious display of wealth" that is seen as distasteful amidst a backdrop of extreme nationwide poverty. And yet, this lifestyle represents the everyday for millions of people around the world (including many white South Africans) (Iqani, 2017). The difference, it is argued, is in its disruption of racial stereotypes; a western lifestyle in conjunction with blackness, she suggests, results in its framing as spectacular and egregious (Iqani, 2017). As Ndlovu (2022) argues, the entanglement of identity and consumption in post-apartheid South Africa is mediated by what Posel (2010, p. 167) describes as "regimes of consumption" created through apartheid. Understood through exclusion by Ndlovu (2022), such regimes simultaneously frame and fix poverty as synonymous with blackness and wealth with whiteness. It is this construction of blackness – as incompatible with attributes of whiteness (such as wealth) – that criminalises "black aspiration", blocks a desire for the luxury, and instead views black middle-class South Africans as "transgressors in need of discipline" (Ndlovu, 2022, p. 386).

Canham and Williams (2017, p. 29) describe this scrutiny as one component of a "double dimension of expectations" for black middle-class South Africans who are monitored for transgressions against the boundaries of class and "established and accepted norms of behaviour" regarding race. From one perspective, the 'black gaze' "seeks black uniformity and loyalty to black disadvantage or a black working-class identity" (Canham and Williams, 2017, p. 29). It is the "deviance from blackness" Ndlovu (2022, p. 392) argues, that frames the black middle classes as "imposters" in spaces to which "they do not belong". Simultaneously, the 'white gaze' – one of "clear or covert […] disgust" – strips the dignity of black middle-class people and prevents their enjoyment of privileges that are taken for granted by white South Africans (Ndlovu, 2022, p. 392). Instead, the black middle classes are policed for "'defects' of race" in order to maintain a construction of privilege and power as synonymous with whiteness (Ndlovu, 2022, p. 386).

Using insights from interviews, I demonstrated that black middle-class consumers remain hypervisible in relation to wine – which has long been imagined as a white product consumed in white spaces. This has led to black consumers understood as imposters in these spaces, practicing a type of consumption that is seen as unacceptable to the white gaze. But while the presumptions about wine, race, and class in South Africa are viewed as fixed – i.e., black middle-class South Africans desire wine as a symbol of status and aspiration

– they are fragile and have only recently been constructed through the strategic work of the South African wine industry over the past 20 years.

6.6.   Conclusion

Towards the end of November 2019, I attended the annual Champagne and MCC festival in Franschhoek, a small and wealthy wine town in the Cape Winelands with a distinctly French historical identity. Several industry respondents had suggested I visit the festival as an example of the ways in which wine consumer demographics were changing in South Africa. I decided to attend the festival primarily because of my curiosity around the motivations of industry respondents in showcasing this event to me as a symbol of change.

While at the festival, I began speaking with the group of people sat at my table, mainly older white migrants from the UK, Canada, and the USA who had lived in South Africa for several years. I told them about my study and the recommendations made by industry respondents to attend and observe the champagne festival. Unprompted, several members of the group began to make recommendations about what *they* felt I should pay attention to at the festival, namely, the wine consumption practices of black attendees. One woman told me that black attendees could mainly be found at the champagne stalls because they sought an association with status; something she found to be distasteful. A British member of the group voiced her astonishment at the number of black attendees, confiding that she "had never seen anything like it" in Cape Town. Later, speaking with an older coloured man who joined the table, champagne and oysters in hand, he expressed his suspicions about black attendees: "I don't want to get political, but the blacks get money and show it off." Never did I tell this group of attendees that my focus was on black middle-class wine consumers. In fact, I reiterated several times that the study was broader than any one racialised demographic. What this vignette demonstrates, and as evidenced throughout this chapter, is that black middle-class South African people continue to be scrutinised under a lens of moralised suspicion, particularly in relation to practices of consumption.

In this chapter, I aimed to understand the strategies employed by key actors within the South African wine industry to grow the number of wine consumers in the country. As discussed in Chapter 5, the presumption that wine is primarily consumed by white South Africans (a minority demographic) leaves little room for volume-based growth. The strategic decision to focus on black middle-class consumers is as much pragmatic, therefore, as it is connected to a myriad of racialised and classed assumptions around wine consumption.

Given the entrenched perspectives expressed in Chapter 5, in which black South Africans were presumed to not drink wine, it is significant the extent to which industry respondents naturalised the relationship between black middle-class consumers and wine. In this chapter, I argued that the black middle-class consumers are presumed to be seek wine due to its association with status and wealth. In some respondents, this is similar to arguments within the literature, for example, Ho (2021b). Yet this position fails to account for the ways in which black consumers, through their middle-class status, are elevated based on their presumed proximity to westernisation.

Despite efforts to grow the number of black middle-class consumers, it is significant that the wine consumption practices of this demographic are moralised and framed as unethical. The stereotype for black consumption centres conspicuous consumption, status, and aspiration – all of which are understood as problematic. This approach fails to account for the ways in which visibility represents a deeply powerful and ethical act, particularly given the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 167) which strove to ensure blackness and poverty were assumed as synonymous.

Chapter 7. The Middle-Class Wine Enclave and the Cape Town Township

7.1.   Introduction

The core goal of the previous two chapters was, broadly, to explore how racialised and classed assumptions have shaped contemporary perspectives on who wine consumers are imagined to be (white) and hopes for who wine consumers could be (black and middle-class). In doing so, I invoked the concept of Posel's (2010, p. 167) "regimes of consumption to show the ways in which the contemporary context for wine consumption is entangled with racialised and classed stereotypes historically propagated by the apartheid state.

In this, Chapter 7, I aim to understand the ways in which strategies to grow the number of wine consumers in South Africa materialise in space. Here, I examine the development of luxury wine festivals within Cape Town's urban townships. As Ndlovu (2020, p. 576) states, "enduring stereotypes about blackness and the township" remain in post-apartheid South Africa in which townships are assumed to act as "zone[s] of poverty" in contrast to the affluent and formerly 'whites only' suburbs (ibid., p. 569). It is these dichotomies, Ndlovu (2020, p. 572) argues, which call attention to the "pervasive nature of racialized consumption in South Africa and its massive impact on quotidian reality." Within this context, the development of wine festivals – which centre premium wines and aspirational lifestyles – warrants critical analysis. Hence, in this chapter I aim to answer the following questions: *How do assumptions underpinning strategies to grow middle-class wine consumption materialise in space?* And, *In what ways do middle-class consumers experience wine in the Western Cape, and how do they articulate these experiences within a register of ethics?*

As this chapter will demonstrate, there is very limited research on wine festivals in South Africa and there is even less research critically examining the meanings of wine festivals which take place in townships. Within the literature, the township wine festival often represents the backdrop for other research aims but is never the central focus. For example, for their master's dissertation, Ndanga (2009) interviewed attendees of the Soweto Wine to provide recommendations to the South African wine industry on growing middle-class wine consumption. Phadi and Ceruti (2011) interviewed attendees of the Soweto Wine Festival to examine meanings of middle classness; however, the event represented the backdrop rather than the focal point, with the site chosen because of its being "marketed explicitly as a

middle-class affair" (Alexander *et al.*, 2013, p. 249). As part of her master's dissertation, Duff (2013, p. 25) recorded footage from the 2012/2013 Gugulethu Wine Festival, noting a key goal was to educate attendees not "to get intoxicated but rather to learn about wine." Finally, in a report for the Institute of Developing Economies-Japan External Trade Organization, Chizuko (2013) examined township wine festivals as an opportunity to connect black consumers with black producers. A key goal of this chapter, therefore, is to address this gap in the literature.

This chapter is composed of two core sections. In section one, I analyse data from interviews with consumer and industry respondents to understand the ways in which wine consumption is perceived within the context of the imagined township. I argue wine is perceived to have a problematic history in this space, in part connected to the stereotype of the township wine consumer as poor and drunk. The centring of this stereotype is understood in relation to the wider post-apartheid city, in which formerly 'whites only' spaces retain a pseudo-aura of responsibility and respectability in relation to wine drinking. In the second section, I argue that the construction of the township wine festival is designed to shift black middle-class perceptions of wine within the context of the township. However, this is loaded with ethical and moral questions around inclusivity, exclusion, and demands on so-called 'respectable' and 'responsible' consumption practices.

7.2. Biographies of Wine in the South African Township

The determination of the apartheid state to create and maintain a racially segregated South Africa is materially, spatially, and socially evidenced through the township (Mabin and Smit, 1997; Berrisford, 2011). Under apartheid legislation, a township was defined as a residential space designated for the occupation of racialised peoples classified as Black African, Coloured, or Indian. Townships were deliberately situated on the periphery of white suburbs and economic urban centres (Abner Ellapen, 2007; Hunter, 2010; Donaldson, 2014). Through this, local authorities sought to segregate the residential lives of racialised peoples while maintaining access to a labour force that could be monitored, restricted, and controlled (Maylam, 1990; Abner Ellapen, 2007). Abner Ellapen (2007, pp. 115-116) argues that the intentional framing of the township space as a peripheral "zone of otherness" – relative to the centring of white spaces – worked to dehumanise and distance racialised peoples, acting as a "space of containment" for "undifferentiated black South Africans that were supposedly a threat to the hegemony of Afrikaner Nationalism". As Maylam (1990, p.

70) recognises, the inherent tensions within this system arose from the contradictory and "unattainable objective of trying to secure the labour-power of Africans while minimizing their presence as people".

Successive pieces of legislation, including The Land Act of 1913, The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, and The Group Areas Act of 1950, legalised the racial segregation of generations of Black South Africans throughout the 20th century (Maharaj, 2020). Those living in Cape Town – allegedly unique in its being considered one of the more racially integrated cities in the country in the years prior to apartheid – were not exempt (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Timan, 2021).[40] The implementation of The Group Areas Act of 1950 (in the form of newly designated zones of residential racial segregation) allowed for the destruction of Cape Town's District Six and the forced relocation of racialised peoples to newly built townships on the outskirts of the city, mainly on the Cape Flats (Turok, 2001; Maharaj, 2020). Ongoing practices such as these would mean that, as the dawn of democracy drew near, Cape Town would be one of the most racially segregated cities in South Africa (Timan, 2021).

Census data show that the demographic composition of post-apartheid Cape Town continues to mirror Nationalist ambitions for the racial segregation of South Africa's urban spaces (City of Cape Town, 2022). The City of Cape Town was the fourth most segregated municipality in South Africa in 1996 and the sixth most segregated in 2011 (STATS SA, 2016a).[41] While some formerly 'whites only' suburbs are increasingly portrayed as spaces of residential desegregation (although, not necessarily, integration – see Lemanski (2006b)), the racial composition of Cape Town's townships have not significantly changed from their inception in the mid-20th century (Hunter, 2010; Donaldson *et al.*, 2013). In Cape Town's oldest township, Langa (established in 1927), 99% of residents identified as 'Black African' in 2011 and in Mitchell's Plain, 96% of residents identified as 'Coloured' (Information and Knowledge Management Department; City of Cape Town, 2013a; Information and Knowledge Management Department; City of Cape Town, 2013c). In contrast, in Ward 77 – incorporating Cape Town City Centre, Green Point, Gardens, and Vredehoek etc. – 25% of

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[40] This is not to say racially segregated residential areas did not exist in Cape Town during this time; for example, in 1901 up to 7,000 black South Africans were forcibly displaced to the 'location' of Uitvlugt on the Cape Flats (later renamed Ndabeni). Authorities justified this based on the need to manage a bubonic plague outbreak; as Swanson (1977, p. 393) notes, however, "It was the merest step of logic to proceed from the isolation of plague victims to the creation of a permanent location for the black labouring class."
[41] STATS SA conduct a national census once every ten years. The most recent census took place between February to March 2022, the results of which are currently unavailable (SA, 2018).

residents identified as 'Black African', 53% identified as 'White', and 15% identified as 'Coloured' (Figure 10) (Information and Knowledge Management Department; City of Cape Town, 2013b; STATS SA, 2016b).[42] As can be seen in Figure 10 however, this is clearly an outlier relative to the racial homogeneity seen in other, formerly 'whites only', suburbs.

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Source: STATS SA (2016b).
Figure 10. The spatialisation of race in Cape Town (2011 census data)

7.2.1. Wine, drunkenness, and poverty

In interviews with black research participants – both industry and consumer respondents – several stated that they had been raised in townships in Cape Town or Gauteng. Of all those who explicitly stated they had been raised in a township (five consumer respondents and two industry respondents), the majority continued to live, work, and/or socialise in townships in Cape Town including Langa, Gugulethu, and Khayelitsha. Collectively, these respondents stated that they had not been raised in wine-drinking households and had been introduced to the product while attending university and/or through work, for example, working in bars or restaurants, and/or attending work functions etc. This often, but not always, began with the consumption of sweet style boxed wines. For those attending university, this was both a practical decision (given limited disposable income) and a personal preference for sweeter wines. Over time (and as touched upon in Chapter 5), respondents felt that their palates had become increasingly more refined; this was typically

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[42] The 2011 census included five racial categories: Black African, Coloured, Asian, White, Other (STATS SA, 2012).

evidenced by a fondness for red wine varietals and blends. Indeed, Simosihle, who began her wine drinking journey with premium red wines, having been introduced to these while employed as a performer at events held at wine estates across the Cape Winelands, consistently reiterated that she had never tasted sweet style boxed wines having started with, and stuck with, "the good stuff".

When explaining these dynamics, black industry and consumer respondents felt their current appreciation for wine (and/or investment in a wine business) was significant because of the extremely negative perceptions they had once had of the product. This was directly connected to the ways in which they associated wine with drunkenness in the respective townships in which they had been raised. For example:

> "So, I've known wine as an alcoholic beverage that we did not want to be associated with because of the image we had in the townships. It was an alcoholic drink that gets you into a drunken stupor in no time, there were certain brands that were distributed. Wine brands. I can vividly remember [inaudible] is one of them and Oom Tas, and my brother was a victim of those two brands. So, most people just hated wine, disassociated themselves with wine."

> Lindiwe (I15); industry respondent (14/01/2020).

> "I think also it's because growing up in a township, there was kind of like cheap wine that gets sold out, you know, and shebeens – informal bars – you know, and that was wine that comes from grapes that have been over, you know, used. And everyone who drank white wine, that cheap white wine, was associated in the township as a drunk. So I suppose also I didn't want to get to have that label of being seen as a, you know. That."

> Buhle (C19); consumer (02/03/2020).

For the respondents above, the biography of wine in the township is one in which the products consumed are inexpensive and poor quality. Wine is understood as a delivery vessel for alcohol and the facilitation of drunkenness, both of which are often perceived as distasteful and antithetical to middle-class alcohol consumption practices (Jayne, 2006; Jayne, Valentine and Holloway, 2008). Further, this understanding of wine is understood to conflict with premium consumption cultures that are assumed to value the intrinsic and unique qualities of the product (e.g., its geographies). This negative perception of wine, specifically within a township setting, has connections to the observation made by Mager (1999) that, following the end of prohibition in the early 1960s, wine was not considered to

be a status-oriented product. Instead, the "favourite elite drink" (Mager, 1999, p. 380) was brandy – the dominant wine industry product at this time (Ponte and Ewert, 2009). Hence, "cheap wine" was "the 'European liquor' of last resort, consumed for its cheapness rather than taste" when funds were running low (Mager, 1999, p. 382). As discussed in Chapter 5, the wine industry generally maintained a racially differentiated marketing strategy for its products in apartheid South Africa with better quality and more expensive products geared towards white consumers (Nugent, 2014). It is therefore unsurprising that black consumer respondents, many of whom lived through apartheid, grew up with an understanding that wine was a poor quality and cheap product. Within this, there is an emotional aspect to consider. Lindiwe is a black wine brand owner who lives in a township in Cape Town. She began to develop her business in her mid-thirties, and she emphasised that she had never previously drank wine before this time because she felt it was both a hateful and harmful product. Her position shifted when she became more aware of the premium wine consumption cultures that she associated with white consumers. The distinctive contrast between these two understandings of wine is evident; when understood in relation to the township, wine was understood to be hateful and ugly. When associated with white consumers outside of the township, it was understood in terms of beauty and enjoyment.

The perspectives shared by the respondents above also call attention to the ways in which drunkenness is understood as a problematic and unethical consumption practice, particularly in relation to poorer people of colour living in townships. However, while Lindiwe understands wine in terms of consumer victimisation (implying an insidious and active outsider agent), Buhle infers a sense of wilful negligence. People who consume low-quality and inexpensive wines in, for example, shebeens are presumed to be driven solely by the desire to be drunk (with shebeen owners equally as complicit and negligent). Within this framing, there is no room to consider the ways in which people might find value in wine, or alcohol more generally, for any other purpose than to achieve a state of drunkenness presumed synonymous with carelessness. Importantly, this negates the very important role drunkenness has played in resistance to the settler colonial project in southern Africa. As Williams (2016, p. 894) notes, it is not coincidental that the Cape Colony of the late-19th century felt that solving the "liquor question" was critical in addressing the "labour question." Such anxieties were expressed by government officials across pre-Union South

Africa and were connected to the desire to ensure the maximum extraction of value from a racialised and sober labour force (Scully, 1992).

The perceived connections between wine, drunkenness, and the hypothetical township are also in conflict with the wine consumption culture both valued by, and understood to be the norm for, connoisseurs. For Buhle, avoiding the types of wines he associated with other people living in the township was pivotal in not being labelled "a drunk" by his peers. However, it could also be inferred that Buhle sought to avoid the stigma of poverty he equated with certain wine consumers. It is clear, for example, that consumer respondents associate lower income township residents with drunkenness and the consumption of poor-quality wines:

> "Yeah you find that, like, especially in the townships in the poorer com- in like the poor communities, the poorer communities, wine is for drinking because it's the cheapest. People buy in quantity over quality because for about [R]120 you get like five litres of red wine. You see like a sweet red wine, a dry red wine, but they get like a box, like five litres of that. So people are likely to be inclined towards that because all they wanna do is get drunk, they're not, they're more, they don't want to enjoy the taste or the flavours or anything. It's just about getting smashed."
>
> Lloyd (C24); consumer respondent (11/03/2020).

> "I think also, like, just black people in the townships specifically aren't necessarily wine fans, they don't understand it and they do- it's like really cheap wine because that's just what you can afford and what you used to."
>
> Nonhle (C30); consumer respondent (13/03/2020).

In the context of the township, consumer respondents associate seemingly problematic consumption practices with lower income residents. The wines consumed are judged as being poor quality, inexpensive, and consumed in sufficient volumes to achieve a state of drunkenness. These perspectives call attention to the internalisation of deeply embedded narratives that problematise and moralise the consumption of alcohol in spaces associated with poverty. Mager (2010) (quoted in Herrick and Parnell (2014, p. 2) states that despite the end of racialised prohibition in 1961/62, "black sociability [in the township] continued to be constructed within the frame of illicit drinking" in apartheid South Africa. This also calls attention to colonial-era discourses in which the perceived inability to consume European alcohol 'appropriately' was used to evidence the supposedly deleterious character of Black South Africans (Mager, 2004):

A commission of inquiry in the late nineteenth century declared that while drunkenness carried 'a stigma of disgrace' for Europeans serving to moderate their behaviour, intemperance among Africans generated 'no feeling of shame'. The report concluded that 'this condition of the native mind,' was 'the necessary result of a low state of civilization'. The report added 'drunkard' to the already established categories of 'thieving' and 'idle' in descriptions of the 'native character'.

Cape of Good Hope Liquor Laws Commission, 1890

As quoted in Mager (2004, p. 736).

It is evident that this colonial-era discourse, expressed more than 130 years ago, continues to have ramifications for the ways in which black South Africans – in particular, those who are assumed to be low income – are judged in relation to practices of alcohol consumption. As will be discussed in the following section, it is also evident that such judgements are unevenly applied across the post-apartheid city.

7.2.2. Spatialising 'problematic' practices of alcohol consumption

Herrick and Parnell (2014) note that, in post-apartheid South Africa, spatial binaries are established in which 'problematic' neighbourhoods are framed as spaces of illicit and deviant consumption practices. In contrast, in 'unproblematic' neighbourhoods, alcohol consumption is understood as aspirational, responsible, and luxurious (Herrick and Parnell, 2014). These spatial binaries are typically understood in terms of the intersection between race and class (Herrick and Parnell, 2014). Hence, within the context of the township, seemingly problematic drinking practices (e.g., drunkenness) are centred, magnified, and amplified. In contrast, the suburbs – formerly 'whites only' spaces – are understood in terms of respectability and responsibility. It is only in the former, Herrick and Parnell (2014, p. 5) argue, that alcohol consumption is "discursively cast as a 'problem' despite the supply of alcohol most often sharing common political economic provenances across city spaces." This is a legacy of apartheid in which "alcohol dependence and alcohol abuse were tied to ideas about racial difference" wherein race and class were assumed to be synonymous (Mager, 2010 quoted in Herrick and Parnell, 2014, p. 5). Hence, as Herrick and Parnell (2014, p. 6) state, in "discussing alcohol in South Africa, the fact that you are also talking about race and poverty is assumed." As discussed in Chapter 6, this helps to better explain why some in the wine industry rejected the Loxion Dreamer archetype. So entrenched is the notion that "when the poor drink, they do so in an uncontrolled, lawless and immoral manner" (Herrick

and Parnell, 2014, p. 7) – and within this, that blackness and poverty are one and the same (Ndlovu, 2022) – that perspectives counter to this are rebuffed in their entirety.

In the case of Cape Town, outsider imaginations of the township as a space of racialised poverty, and hence, a space of problematic consumption, are evident. In interviews with white middle-class Cape Town residents, Schuermans (2016, p. 190) notes that "a drive along the informal settlements and townships [provides many with] their only experience of such places". The perceived connections between poverty and the township are made explicit by Schuermans (2017, p. 48) who amalgamates Cape Town's "informal settlement[s]" with its "poor township[s]". Elsewhere, Schuermans (2016, p. 191) merges "domestic workers, homeless people, squatters, township dwellers [and] black residents" in one homogenous group and compares them with the "privileged whites" residing in the wealthy suburbs. In doing so, a binary is created in which township residents are *only* viewed as poor and black while suburb residents are viewed *only* as wealthy and white. Consumption practices are mapped onto these binaries and materialise within the licit and illicit, the acceptable and unacceptable, and the deviant and normal (Herrick and Parnell, 2014).

Often, participants who had been raised in townships in South Africa established a juxtaposition between wine consumption practices in townships and practices of wine consumption outside of these spaces. Of note, are the ways in which binaries are again established between wealth and poverty, responsibility and irresponsibility, and joy and despair. For example:

> "I always used to see people in magazines sitting somewhere in greenery with wine and laughing like this. Like there's, they always laughing like somebody is always […] and I was like, 'Why am I only seeing like the bad things that wine [does]?' I only see drunk uncles and I only see people fighting after they drink or women claiming that men don't give their money, like they don't, [leave] their money, they get paid on a Friday and then you see him again on Sunday because they go binge drinking and so for me, I was like, 'No but like maybe we're doing something wrong'".

> Eve (I46); industry respondent (01/03/2020).

In the above, a dichotomy is established between the types of wine consumption cultures associated with people living and/or socialising in townships compared to the types of consumption cultures experiences outside of this space. Eve, for example, found her

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experiences of wine to conflict with the imaginaries put forward in more premium consumption spaces (e.g., wine estates). In the above, she describes the wine consumption habits of extended family members as problematic and associated with dishonestly, irresponsibility, and violence. It is through the visual imagery of wine consumption – in a hypothetical space of greenery, peace, and beauty – that allowed Eve to see it as a pleasant, enjoyable, and happy experience. It is this that spurred her to visit wine estates in person and develop her relationship with wine further, including through the development and evolution of her wine blog.

The awakening to a plurality of different wine consumption cultures is similarly described by Silondile. Of importance are the ways in which Silondile understood these cultures through lenses of race and class, with wealthy spaces outside of the township associated with seemingly more sophisticated practices of wine consumption. For example:

> "Look, I co-exist in very different economic spaces. I was raised in a township area, I'm not sure if you know what that is, in the South African context, because of apartheid, spatial planning, black people were put in cramped spaces far from economic spaces. So that's where I grew up. And then I went to university. Then I started working at a large law firm in Sandton, which is like the richest square mile in South Africa. So that's when I got introduced to drinking habits in two very different worlds. This, you know, this world this, when you walked in here [I had commented on the luxurious design of the shopping mall in which the interview took place] and you say, 'Jeez what is this, this is so fancy'. And also drinking in the township space."

> Silondile (C23); consumer respondent (10/03/2020).

Some of Silondile's first experiences with wine outside of the township in which she was raised involved a holiday with her friends to Cape Town and a visit to Groot Constantia, the oldest wine estate in South Africa. Prior to this, she had experienced luxury wines while working for a law firm in Sandton, Johannesburg. Both Eve and Silondile spatialised their experience of wine as a luxurious, responsible, and enjoyable consumption practice when viewed as distinct to the townships in which they had been raised. In contrast, the types of wines they associated with townships are those which facilitate drunkenness, poverty, and violence. This calls attention to the shifting class position of consumer respondents as understood in relation to their consumption practices. While not all those interviewed for this study were comfortable in labelling themselves as 'middle-class', they nonetheless

engaged in wine consumption practices they equated with a middle-class lifestyle. Many consumer respondents engaged in premium and luxury spaces of wine consumption (e.g., wine estates, private wine tastings, fine-dining restaurants etc.) which, as explored in Chapter 5, were once synonymous with white and wealthy consumers. To a certain extent, this calls attention to the ways in which post-apartheid assimilation projects are often understood to represent a "one-way street" which have "always encouraged non-whites to acquire behaviors previously reserved for Whites at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy" (Timan, 2021, p. 156). The consumer respondents here all developed a taste for premium wines in a myriad of places across Cape Town, none of which included the township. This included, for example, working at fine-dining restaurants, attending art gallery openings in the centre of Cape Town, and visiting wine estates. Hence, for the industry and consumer respondents above, the pressure to assimilate within a premium wine consumption culture requires the simultaneous disconnection from behaviours and practices associated with spaces of poverty and drunkenness.

Importantly, however, far from the "one-way street" of assimilation described by Timan (2021, p. 156), many consumer and industry respondents expressed a desire to introduce a premium wine consumption culture into the townships in which they lived and/or socialised – for all residents. This calls attention to the astute observation from Ndlovu (2020) that black middle-class South Africans do not implicitly aspire to assimilate into formerly 'whites only' spaces within the post-apartheid city (as presumed within mainstream discourses that frame whiteness as wealth). Ndlovu (2020) invokes the concept of 'shuttling' to describe these processes, in which black middle-class South Africans move between the suburbs and the townships. To return to wine, therefore, integration into spaces of premium wine consumption does not automatically equate with the desire to avoid and/or ignore township consumers. For example, Lloyd worked as a waiter in a restaurant and private members club in Cape Town and aspired to build a career in the wine industry specifically focused on making premium wine consumption cultures accessible to township residents. Similarly, Nonhle, a media professional, aspired to develop a wine experience that could connect black middle-class South Africans with premium black-owned wine brands.

The focus on the township as a space of poverty calls attention to the moralisation of so-called problematic practices of alcohol consumption. This is not restricted to the South African context. For example, in Britain, practices of binge drinking have long been

contrasted with seemingly civilised European alcohol consumption cultures (Jayne, Valentine and Holloway, 2008). This is also evident within different drinking cultures in Britain; for example, in interviews with real ale enthusiasts, Thurnell-Read (2017, p. 94) notes the ways in which the hypothetical stereotype of the "implicitly working-class binge drinker" is used to contrast against seemingly "sociable and civilised" drinking practices (Thurnell-Read, 2017, p. 94). As Thurnell-Read (2013, p. 1) argues elsewhere, "drinking alcohol and becoming drunk is an inherently and inescapably embodied action." Therefore, he states, it should come as no surprise that "various norms and prejudices about bodies [are] played out through an arrangement of perceptions of and responses to drinking bodies (Thurnell-Read, 2013, pp. 1-2). In the post-apartheid South African city, these norms and prejudices are mapped onto the bodies of lower income black township residents. While alcohol is "not only a problem of poverty […], poverty has become a de facto explanation for many of the problems associated with drink, drinkers and drinking places in the Global South" (Herrick and Parnell, 2014, p. 3). In South Africa, it is the urban township that is most often framed as synonymous with poverty, particularly (although not exclusively, as interview extracts call attention to) for outsider audiences (e.g., tourists and/or white South Africans) (Watt *et al.*, 2012; Frenzel, 2020). This has shaped policy debates which increasingly portray alcohol consumption in townships in terms of public health concerns and the morality of consumers (Lawhon and Herrick, 2013). As observed by Herrick and Parnell (2014):

> A culture of excessive, hazardous drinking is not just [seen as] immoral (for the accidents, injuries and crimes it causes) but represents a particular immorality of the poor who should (or so the moralising goes) be more concerned with addressing basic needs than buying alcohol.
>
> Herrick and Parnell (2014, p. 7).

The apartheid state portrayed Black African townships as spaces of poverty, crime, and violence and were intentionally spatialised to allow for both white surveillance and avoidance (Coetzer, 2009). Such portrayals encouraged an imagination of fear that continues to impact everyday experiences of life in South Africa (Lemanski, 2004; Lemanski, 2006a). This is not to say that the dynamics that take place in townships are without critique; for example, Cape Town's townships have high rates of violent crime including murder and assault (Smit *et al.*, 2016; Brown-Luthango, Reyes and Gubevu, 2017; Martin-Howard, 2022). Martin-Howard (2022) reports that in interviews with black and coloured

women living in townships in Cape Town, 52% had been victimised within their communities, including theft and break-ins, and were left fearful of leaving their families and their homes. All women, irrespective of direct experiences of crime, were fearful. Importantly, alcohol is often presumed to be associated with experiences of violent crime (Shaw and Gastrow, 2001) demonstrating the very real concerns connected to excessive consumption.

Viewing the relationship between township residents and alcohol consumption solely through the moralised lens of public health, however, further erases the histories and nuances of class-mediated alcohol consumption as understood through space. In interviews with young Black men living in Zandspruit, an informal settlement on the outskirts of north Johannesburg, Dawson (2023) notes that the popular restaurant Motswako is known for selling the "more expensive brands of alcohol that are a prominent marker of social class in the community" (p. 152). This, therefore, continues class-mediated dynamics seen in townships for decades. For example, Mpofu (2014) connects the growth of shebeens in apartheid South Africa and Zimbabwe to middle-class black men in professional working roles who desired a space separate to the "working class" municipal beerhall with a "proletariat flavour" (p. 483). The shebeen was known for providing an "atmosphere of congenial companionship" in contrast to the "crowded, impersonal municipal beerhalls" that were suggested to have "more in common with prisons than places of conviviality" (Mager, 1999, p. 370). Moreover, the beverage available in municipal beerhalls – sorghum beer – was associated with the "elderly, the less educated and those in the lowest income groups" (Rogerson, 1986, p. 20). Mabandla (2013) argues that shebeens created opportunities for the performance of middle-classness, notably, through practices of consumption. For example, more luxurious and middle-class shebeens provided chilled European alcohol (e.g., wine, spirits, and malt beer), music, snacks, and food aligned with "the more affluent expressing a preference for purchases of 'White' liquor" (Ndabandaba and Schurink, 1990, p. 161). Rogerson (1986) notes that market researchers in the 1980s, focused on shebeens, associated the consumption of European alcohol with "younger, more educated and higher-income" (p. 20) black consumers. Importantly, such spaces drew the attention of the wine industry; for example, in a 1984 article published in 'Wynboer', it is noted that a 'five star' shebeen in Soweto stocked a variety of chilled wines (Wynboer, 1984 cited in Ndabandaba and Schurink, 1990). Elsewhere, Joseph (1988) recounts an encounter with a KWV executive who sought to grow wine consumption in townships with black middle-class consumers.

Finally, reading alcohol consumption in townships solely through drunkenness does not account for the problematic practices of consumption that exist outside of these spaces, notably, in areas understood as emblematic of a premium wine consumption culture such as the Cape Winelands. For example:

> "But what I've found is that people in the [wine] industry, they actually tend to throw it out the window they're like, 'I don't care if I'm drinking [and driving]' kind of thing, they kind of don't have responsibility, but then again, I think it's because they don't leave the [wine] area […] [There is] a little bit of the unspoken rule. People don't really talk about it, and it's like an agreement with the tourism and the police, is if you're wine tasting in an area, say for instance you go to Franschhoek, and you're wine tasting in that area, you will never get a roadblock in Franschhoek going from farm to farm to farm. But once you leave Franschhoek, that's when the cops catch you, because Franschhoek is trying to promote, you know, you can taste the wines etc. and you probably will be over [inaudible], one glass of wine is already over the limit, but if you staying in Franschhoek it's not so bad kind of thing, but if you leave, Franschhoek that's when they catch you. So it's a little bit of a of a unspoken rule and the same applies to you know, certain areas in Stellenbosch, but once you leave the area that's when the cops catch you. So it's also just being clever about where the potential road blocks would be."

> Caroline (I45); industry respondent (26/02/2020).

It is not possible to verify if the above account is correct, whether in relation to Franschhoek or to any other town in the Cape Winelands. Although there are allusions to police flexibility on online forums, specifically in relation to tourists visiting wine estates (Tripadvisor, 2010), it cannot be confirmed if this "unspoken rule" is true. What is evident is that drink driving is an endemic issue across South Africa despite an alcohol drink driving limit of 0.05% (SAPS, no date). In 2019, for example, there were 12,561 recorded instances of people driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs in the Western Cape (CrimeStats, no date). At the institutional level, the South African wine industry is heavily involved in supporting organisations such as AWARE, which seeks to "drive the responsible consumption and use of alcohol" (AWARE, 2023) and within the Cape Winelands, the Stellenbosch Wine Route's 2019 #SoberStellies campaign sought to incentivise safe driving through the provision of free snacks and non-alcoholic drinks to designated drivers visiting wine estates (wine.co.za, 2019).

Yet, in interviews with consumer respondents, and in everyday conversations with friends, many confirmed they engaged in practices drink driving when visiting wine estates, restaurants, and bars (etc.). This was accepted as problematic but necessary given the perceived lack of access to other modes of transport. Indeed, consumer and industry respondents alike emphasised my mobility-related privileges in the UK, highlighting the freedom I had to use public transport with a certain expectation of safety. As several consumer respondents asked me not to quote them directly on their drink driving practices, I have not included their insights in this thesis. Below, however, I present part of a researcher diary extract to demonstrate the seemingly ordinariness of drink driving:

> *After work, I took the bus to meet a friend at the gin bar on Wale St and from there we went to a Meetup group held at a restaurant in CBD [Central Business District]. The restaurant offered free boxed wine to diners, so I switched from gin to an unidentifiable red wine. Later, I shared an Uber with a woman I had met at the event – she lived close to me in Green Point. I spoke a little about my day, driving to and from interviews, and she seemed surprised to know that I had a car. "Why aren't you driving now if you have a car?" she asked. "Because I knew I'd be drinking" I say. "That's what's normal to me." "Yes, that's good," she responded. "We aren't very good at that."*

> Researcher diary entry (31/01/2020).

The point here is not to position myself and the woman I spoke with within binaries of morality in which I am the responsible and ethical alcohol consumer. As mentioned in Chapter 3, living in Green Point afforded a myriad of safe and affordable transport options which meant I could maintain a degree of mobility not dissimilar to that experienced within various UK cities. Moreover, car driving was not an engrained practice for me – in fact, I sought to avoid it as much as possible. Indeed, it should be noted that many consumer respondents increasingly relied on Uber to move around Cape Town and considered it to be a safe and affordable alternative to driving. This is aligned with findings from Giddy (2019) in which 81% of 308 survey respondents living in Johannesburg stated that they now used Uber to avoid drinking and driving.

Here, I seek to call attention to the unevenness of moralisation as it applies to so-called problematic drinking practices in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands. In Cape Town's townships, alcohol consumption is understood as a problematic and moralised practice which requires scrutiny and action. In contrast, in the wealthy and white suburbs, alcohol

consumption remains associated with responsibility and consideration. Yet it is evident, as seen in the case of drink driving, that problematic practices of alcohol consumption cannot be mapped solely onto the hypothetical township. They exist in a myriad of spaces, including those associated with responsible consumption practices.

7.3.   Class, Consumption, and the Township Wine Festival

7.3.1.   The growth of middle-class consumption spaces

Post-1994, South Africa's retail sector has invested significantly in townships particularly through the development of consumption-oriented malls and shopping centres (Mashaba and Wiese, 2016). This investment is explicitly understood to be connected to the growth of the black middle classes in post-apartheid South Africa, many of whom continue to live, work, and/or socialise in townships (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013; Mashaba and Wiese, 2016; Ndlovu, 2020). Mashaba and Wiese (2016, p. 37) note, for example, that South Africa's black middle classes are likely to be "township dwellers, either living in a developed and affluent township such as Soweto in Johannesburg, or a developing township such as Langa in Cape Town". The growing recognition that South Africa's townships require nuance and should not be discursively constructed solely through the lens of poverty speaks to the ways in which these spaces continue to be reimagined, reinterpreted, and redefined in the post-apartheid context (Abner Ellapen, 2007). As mentioned, this is often understood in relation to the consumption practices of black middle-class township residents. Journalists, for example, provide detailed analyses of the gentrification processed taking place in Soweto and evidence this through the growth of restaurants and independent breweries (Mhlongo, 2019b; Kingsley, 2019).

The assumed connections between class position and consumption practices are similarly seen in townships across the City of Cape Town. In Khayelitsha, The Milk Restaurant offers a rooftop champagne bar and gourmet dining and is located in close proximity to The Spade (a boutique hotel and spa) (Thukwana, 2022). Nearby, Rands (an "outdoor lifestyle space") provides a music and dining experience for visitors from across the city (Rands Cape Town, 2022). Elsewhere, Kwa-Aace (a "premium club experience") offers both VIP and VVIP exclusivity to select patrons (Kwa Ace, 2022). In 2017, The Test Kitchen (a fine-dining restaurant) hosted a four-course menu at the Guga S'Thebe Cultural Centre in Langa (news24, 2017). In 2019, the restaurant 4Roomed Ekasi in Khayelitsha was named one of the world's best restaurants by food critic, Besha Rodell (Rodell *et al.*, 2020). These

examples, alongside other activities associated with leisure, culture, and tourism are often associated with the application of "catch-all" cultural policies that, local governments often presume, will "improve the living conditions of township residents and lead to urban regeneration" through processes of gentrification (Montanini, 2020, p. 791). However, these developments also show the ways in which different spaces and practices of consumption are presumed to act as a powerful tool for changing negative attitudes to townships. On the website for The Spade, for example, the business owners describe an ambition to change "the narrative and [challenge] the status quo" of how townships are perceived, calling themselves "an unrefined gem where you wouldn't associate luxury within a township" (The Spade, 2021). Centring luxurious practices of consumption, therefore, is aligned with ambitions to reimagine the hypothetical Cape Town township beyond stereotypes of poverty, crime, and violence. As Abner Ellapen (2007) argues, fixing imaginations of the South African township (and its residents) solely through a lens of poverty and crime belies the fluidity, plurality, and heterogeneity of identities and experiences within such spaces.

Recent change, however, is not without contestation nor moralisation. In a 2019 article published by the New York Times, for example, Soweto was suggested to embody "the social and class divisions within South Africa's black majority. It is a place of flashy cars and grand mansions, but also of shanty towns and high unemployment" (Kingsley, 2019). As noted by Iqani (2017), there is a tendency within a mainstream media discourse to scrutinise the everyday consumption practices of black middle-class South Africans through the lens of ethics. Within the context of the township, this scrutiny is heightened based on the perceived proximity to the materialities of poverty. Here, consumption practices that are typically considered to be relatively apolitical and ordinary in a global context (e.g., visiting a restaurant) are understood to be in conflict with a view of the township solely as a space of poverty. It is this juxtaposition that underpins accusations that black middle-class South Africans engage in egregious and unethical consumption practices. However, as lower-income township residents are themselves scrutinised and moralised, particularly with regards to alcohol consumption (see section 7.2), it is evident that, regardless of class position, Black South Africans are hypervisible and, as such, are viewed under a lens of irrespective of what they consume, how they consume, and why they consume. As Posel (2010) states:

Strategies of African township development were intended to ensure that township life remained sparse; that these would not become spaces of longing or aspiration, because that would bring floods of unwanted people from rural areas to town.

Posel (2010, p. 169).

The growth of premium consumption spaces in Cape Town's townships, notably in Khayelitsha in which aspirational values are celebrated, is remarkable given the efforts of successive apartheid governments to enforce a stereotype of racialised poverty. These changes have occurred in tandem with an increasing number of township entrepreneurs focused on building an everyday wine consumption culture oriented around premium wines. In Langa, Nomhle Zondani operates The Wine Shaq and Lathitha Wine Shop, both promoting premium wines from black winemakers and brand owners. The entrepreneur, Nondumiso Pikashe, a woman born and raised in Gugulethu, established Ses'fikile Wines in the 2000s (Ses'fikile Wines, 2022). In 2018, Lindile Ndzaba established the brand Khayelitsha's Finest Wines and has now seen success in international markets such as the USA (Chetty, 2022). Across four townships, Gugulethu, Mikpunt, Khayelitsha, Philippi, the community wine project The Township Winery grows wine grapes and produces premium wines for sale across the city (The Township Winery, 2021). Although a relatively small number of entrepreneurs and business owners, they are united in their focus on growing democratising a premium and/or fine wine consumption culture by supporting its accessibility in Cape Town's townships. As described by one industry respondent:

"With that guy [Lindile Ndzaba, owner of the wine brand, Khayelitsha's Finest Wines] people are connecting with him. You know he's bringing wine, he's doing education, he's doing tastings that the bigger brands you know, are not literally doing it. Yeah, because they're afraid of going into Khayelitsha. And I said to [name], 'Did you know that Khayelitsha is growing, it's actually going to be a suburb before we even know it.'"

Siziwe (I5); industry respondent (28/01/2021).

In post-apartheid Cape Town, the formerly 'whites only' suburbs remain known for their affluence, whiteness, and privilege (Lemanski, 2004; Lemanski, 2006a; Schuermans, 2016). Hence, in describing Khayelitsha as a suburb, Siziwe (a black business owner) both recognises the increasing wealth of its residents and conflates this with the opportunity to grow a premium wine consumption culture therein. As Siziwe further states, Ndzaba is achieving this through his premium wine brand: providing wine education, offering tastings,

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and meeting with people directly. In contrast, bigger wine producing companies are felt to be noticeably absent. Siziwe attributes this to fear – fear of visiting townships and fear of engaging with township residents.

7.3.2. *The township wine festival*

The concept of the wine festival – that is, a space for attendees to engage in an "interest in wine and/or for the entertainment made available by other leisure activities" (Yuan *et al.*, 2005, p. 43) – is well-established in the Western Cape. The first took place in Stellenbosch in 1976 (Sperling, 2005) and the concept has expanded exponentially since then. It has been previously estimated that there are more than 120 festivals held each year in South Africa with the majority in the Western Cape followed by Gauteng (Kruger and Viljoen, 2021; Top Wine SA, 2022). The format is typically as follows; for the price of entry, attendees receive tokens to sample a variety of wines; often a representative is available from the wine producing company to explain the wines to attendees. Wines can be purchased for on- and off-consumption, and there is often food and other leisure activities available (e.g., music). Wine festivals are often oriented around specific wine regions and/or varietals. As wine festivals are typically understood as one aspect of wine tourism, there is little research on wine festivals in themselves. However, what research is available suggests wine festivals offer economic benefits to local areas and provide an experiential wine encounter for attendees (Saayman, Marais and Krugell, 2010; Kruger, Rootenberg and Ellis, 2013; Saayman, Saayman and Joubert, 2013; Kruger and Viljoen, 2021).

In the introduction to this chapter, I recognised that wine festivals have taken place in townships for nearly 20 years. However, the Soweto Wine Festival is the only festival with any sort of longevity and is now in its 17th year. While there have been wine festivals in Cape Town's townships, these tend to be one-offs and/or organised by large-scale wine producing companies. As one consumer respondent suggested, this limited presence is connected to the perceived inability of a hypothetical black township resident to sufficiently appreciate wine in the ways in which it is intended by a white producer group. For example:

> [Wine producers] complain that locals, you know, don't appreciate good
> varietals, when they actually don't make it available in ways that they
> could. For instance, [name] can tell you that there have been many
> attempts to create wine festivals, local wine festivals, like Langa Wine
> Festival, Gugulethu Wine Festival, etc. and that's always a struggle to get

things going, but they'll easily set something up in Durbanville[43] or whatever you know. And there's an assumption that for instance your black population, are less appreciative of the wine and that feels a little pretentious, you know."

<div align="right">Sizwe (C21); consumer respondent (06/03/2020).</div>

The perceived assumption that black consumers living in townships will not sufficiently appreciate wines in the ways intended by white producers speaks to the spatialisation of racialised and classed consumer stereotypes. As discussed in previous chapters, the notion that black consumers could be interested in premium wines is a relatively new revelation for actors in the South African wine industry and is specifically only accepted within the context of the black middle classes. It is likely therefore that the perceived lack of engagement in townships is connected to the ways in which these spaces continue to be imagined as spaces of poverty. In contrast, it is clear that wine festivals are inherently understood as middle-class spaces of consumption, speaking to the ways in which wine continues to be understood as a symbol of class and status (Overton and Murray, 2013). For example:

"All of our marketing efforts are aimed at adults upper LSM 8 to 10, we need people with disposable income. If you cannot afford to buy a ticket, we don't want you at the show. Because ultimately, we want you to buy wine, we don't want you to just scrape your money together for a ticket so that you can wander around and get plastered on all the wine."

<div align="right">Fiona (I30); industry respondent (14/11/2019).</div>

The resources needed to attend a wine festival, for example, in terms of spending, transport, time etc., indicate that they are intended for wealthier South Africans and/or those with sufficient disposable income. There is an implicit assumption that social locations of class dictate consumer behaviours in relation to alcohol. Attendees who cannot easily afford to purchase a ticket, it is presumed, will seek to drink for the sake of drinking. Those who can afford the ticket, it is understood, will take a more considered approach to wine consumption. It is for this reason that, while there are a small number of wine festivals taking place in townships, the focus is undoubtedly on appealing to middle-class attendees. For example:

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[43] Cape Town's Northern Suburbs, within which Durbanville is included, are often suggested to be divided from the rest of the city by the "Boerewors Curtain" – i.e., a separation of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans from those who speak primarily speak English as a first language.

Ruby: "Ah I mean, our event, it sort of caters to, not to sound snobbish but like it caters to sort of the higher LSM of township consumer so yeah."

Zara: "Which-"

Ruby: "[Interrupts] Not necessarily your cider drinkers."

Ruby (I31); industry respondent (04/03/2020).

As part of her role in the organisation of a wine festival in a township in Cape Town, Ruby's remit was to connect middle-class black South Africans with a premium wine consumption experience. Given the historically poor perception of wine in townships, premium and luxury events are understood as an important way to change perceptions about the product with a specific focus on the black middle classes. It is telling that the social position of the target market is determined by what they do, or in this case, do not, drink. This speaks to findings explored in section 5.3.3 in which the assumed class status of black South Africans was seemingly evidenced by a preference for beers, ciders, and spirits. It shows, once again, that the ideas behind the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 167) through which Black South Africans were forced to adhere to in apartheid South Africa remain entrenched within contemporary society.

This also calls attention to the ways in which wine festivals held in South African townships continue to be viewed as spaces of consumption solely for the black attendees who reach an appropriate threshold of middle classness. The specific purpose of the Soweto Wine Festival, for example, was to appeal to black middle-class South Africans (Clayton, 2005; Foxcroft, 2009; Liquorish, 2020) and to demonstrate that wine was not only "for white South African's [sic] to enjoy" but could instead by viewed as "a way of life for *all* South Africans" (Quann, 2008 quoted in Foxcroft, 2009, p. 43, author emphasis). Research conducted by wine.co.za at the 2006, 2007, and 2008 festivals demonstrates the industry's growing interest in black consumers at this time and show that the festival successfully reached its target demographics, namely, black middle-class people aged between 20 and 40 years of age (Foxcroft, 2009). In the Western Cape, similar aspirations were central in the founding of the Gugulethu Wine Festival. First held in 2011 on the rooftop of the Gugulethu Square Mall and co-organised by Mzoli Ngcawuzele and Lungile Mbalo (with support from Marilyn Cooper), the festival specifically aimed to bring wine to black consumers (Chizuko, 2013) and connect consumers with a "wine producing fraternity who would like to trade to [black consumers] but don't really know how" (Gugulethu Wine Festival, 2011). With 40 wineries

attending and allegedly more than 10,000 people attending the festival over two days, plans were quickly made to ensure the event could take place on an annual basis (Chizuko, 2013). Again, the festival was specifically framed by Ngcawuzele as a "glamorous affair of middle-class residents, top business people and celebrities in Gugulethu and Cape Town" (Brand South Africa, 2011). The middle classness of the event was emphasised by attendees of the festival, including Africa Melane, Gugulethu resident and CapeTalk radio personality (Daniels, 2011).

It is this focus on black middle-class consumers that has drawn considerable international media interest on township wine festivals (Clayton, 2005; Decanter, 2005; Ngubane, 2009). For example, in an article published by the UN-iLibrary titled "A Toast To South Africa's Black Middle Class", opportunities for the South African wine industry are connected to events such as the Soweto Wine Festival which allow a "rising black middle-class market" to show "flashes of a middle class life" including the "love [of] a good wine" (Düerr, 2013, p. 26). Such events are also framed as antithetical to the township as a space of poverty and crime. As stated by journalist Diana Mjojo:

> We have been conditioned as a society to consider the townships as forgotten land. We are bombarded with imagery of violence and crime ridden areas in places where it seems culture and harmony struggle to thrive. Wine Festivals seem part of another world, an idyllic world, with rolling mountains and cascading vineyards. They are the epitome of sophistication, class and culture. Townships and Wine Festivals seem almost opposite.

> Mjojo (2013).

In this context, the wine festival acts as a middle-class enclave within which the broader township space continues to be imagined as poor and violent. Those involved in organising township wine festivals emphasised the importance of ensuring the festival location was safe, secure, and enclosed. Lemanski (2004, p. 108) argues that the spatial implications of fear in post-apartheid South Africa materialise themselves in "fortified enclaves" that "spatially segregate social difference by physical separation […] symbolic exclusion […] private security, inward-facing self-containment […] and social homogeneity". This is also applicable to semi-public events throughout Cape Town which, as Timan (2021, p. 158) observes, are heavily fortified spaces that allow for "very particular and classed behaviours" away from "racialized or poor bodies".

As Abner Ellapen (2007, pp. 115-116) argues, this perspective speaks to the legacy of 'othering' associated with the township that propagates its imagining as "any other black ghetto in the world", strengthening the vision of successive apartheid governments to stereotype the township space as one "associated with poverty, the underclass, [and] overpopulation […] as well as being characterised by violence, criminality and decay". In contrast, wine spaces imagined as white (e.g., wine estates and restaurants) continue to be imagined as uncontested places of wealth, (relative) safety, and civility (Ndlovu, 2020). This binary, between poor black consumers and wealthy white consumers, speaks to some of the perspectives touched on in Chapters 5 and 6. For example, strategists understood that industry rejection of the 'Loxion Dreamer' was connected to problematic stereotypes, within which the concept of 'blackness' was made synonymous with poverty and 'undesirable' consumption practices connected to different township spaces (e.g., the shebeen).

7.3.3. *"Going into the townships"*

In Chapter 6, I called attention to strategies focused on growing wine in South Africa with particular focus on black middle-class consumers. Despite Siziwe's perspective that wine producing companies were afraid to work in townships such as Khayelitsha, several industry respondents (those working for wine producer companies) confirmed their business strategies had increasingly centred townships as an opportunity for growth. Given the lack of publicly available information, it is difficult to determine if this is unique to those interviewed for this study or if their perspectives are emblematic of industry-wide change. Noting, however, that in the mid-2000s some wine producing companies had only just begun to recognise the existence of black consumers (see Chapter 5), it is significant the extent to which this position had shifted over time.

The motivation to focus on townships as a space of wine growth is connected to the assumption that these represent spaces of consumption for black South African people. Several interviewees, for example, used the terms 'township drinker' and 'black consumer' somewhat interchangeably, showing the extent to ways in which the geographies of Cape Town continue to be understood through a deeply racialised lens. For example:

> "I think literally only over the last max four to five years have they [wine producer companies] really started to show real interest in going into the townships, and so the bigger wine estates are throwing money quite significantly at that audience because as you'll know, the black middle-class is growing, because their spending power is greater. And obviously

the wine estates want to tap into this new pie that is suddenly [be]coming a bit larger, because slowly but surely the black people are learning about wine."

Edward (I42); industry respondent (15/01/2020).

As Ndabandaba and Schurink (1990) observe, the wine industry has long been interested in premium wine consumption cultures in townships, since at least from the 1970s onwards. Further, as discussed in section 7.2, several industry and consumer respondents described vivid memories of wine in the townships they were raised in during this era. It is therefore of interest that the respondents above understand industry interest as a relatively new phenomenon. It is possible this can be understood in two ways: firstly, a growing interest amongst *premium* wine producers, given that the wines sold in townships were historically known for being cheap and low quality. Secondly, an increase in the number of producers who are interested in growing wine consumption amongst township residents.

It is difficult to determine the scale and scope of industry interest in growing wine specifically in South Africa's townships. To date, only a handful of wine companies have had demonstrable market success over the past two decades. This is typically in the context of sparkling wines and sweet style wines. In 2020/2021, the sparkling wine brand J.C. Le Roux was voted the winner of the Ask Afrika Kasi Star Brand[44] Champagne/Sparkling Wine category, having won previously in 2014, 2015, 2017, and 2019 (J.C. Le Roux, 2019; askafrika, 2021). In 2009, Four Cousins was reported to outsell Coca-Cola in a Soweto supermarket (Amorim, 2009). The brand, 4th Street, is also suggested to be leading a trend of sweet wines "especially those in urban townships" (Distell, 2017) with taverns in "urban & township areas" a key priority (wine.co.za, 2018). In general, however, it can be accepted that the scale and scope of engagement is limited. Over a decade ago, for example, Foxcroft (2009, p. 33) highlighted tavern owners saw an increasing demand for wine but struggled to fulfil this because wine producer and/or distribution companies were "unreliable and disinterested in promoting their wines to township customers". The lack of general engagement with township residents was made particularly evident to me when I attended the Nedbank Vinpro Information Day 2020. In a session titled "The South African Consumer

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[44] Ask Afrika Kasi Star Brands is an annual survey involving thousands of township consumers across South Africa. The survey asks respondents about their favourite products and brands. Interestingly, the survey does not have a category for still wines ('Beer', 'Cider', 'Spirits', and 'Champagne/sparkling wine') (askafrika, 2021).

Landscape: Guess Who's Really Drinking Your Wine!" Brandon de Kock (Whyfive) argued that South Africa's middle classes had been neglected, particularly younger adults living, working, and/or socialising in townships who were aspirational, eager for guidance, and status oriented (de Kock, 2020). This group, de Kock suggested, sought to attain status through wine consumption and were eager to gain the knowledges they felt were needed to demonstrate their engagement. De Kock recognised this was a relatively new shift in his own worldview, describing his initial surprise when learning that some people living and/or working in Khayelitsha were spending up to R120 on premium-plus wines. Initially, he was sceptical that expensive wines could find a market with township consumers, demonstrating his underlying assumption that those living and/or working in these places could not afford nor were interested in more expensive wine products.

In some ways, the increasing focus on black middle-class consumers speaks to the argument put forward by Ndlovu (2020, p. 582) that "the stereotypes of townships and blackness need unsettling". South Africa's townships have been, and continue to be, important spaces for the residential, working, and social lives of black middle-class people (Ndlovu, 2020). In Langa, for example, 2011 census data show that 17.8% of households earned between R6,401 and R51,200 per month (Information and Knowledge Management Department; City of Cape Town, 2013a), surpassing the 'middle-income' threshold defined by Visagie and Posel (2013) of between R5,600 and R40,000 per month (total household income after tax for a household of four; 2008 data). Certain caveats should be applied. For example, this threshold does not account for financial commitments beyond a household of four (i.e., 'Black Tax' – see Mhlongo (2019a)); nonetheless, the data speak to the presence of a sizeable middle-class population. This in itself should not be surprising given that all Black South Africans, regardless of class, were segregated into townships, albeit with class-mediated divisions within the township itself. As Coetzer (2009) and Sipokazi (2010) both demonstrate, the conceptual foundations of Langa, under both colonial and apartheid states, focused on class-based divisions. These divisions were made visible not only in the materiality of the township (e.g., the construction of different types of housing dependent on class status) but in the different ways people experienced the township, including different spaces and practices of consumption.

The notion of wine producing companies "going into the townships" is telling in terms of the ways in which Cape Town's townships have been historically perceived in relation to the city

at large. It implies a hitherto unknown and mysterious world ready for exploration by outsiders – in this case, those working for wine producing companies. South Africa's townships were deliberately designed as peripheral spaces of segregation on the outskirts of white economic centres (Maylam, 1990; Abner Ellapen, 2007). For outsiders (i.e., white South Africans), townships have long been understood in terms of distance and avoidance (Schuermans, 2016; Schuermans, 2017). Indeed, townships represented spaces of containment for a racialised labour force who were required to, via a myriad of mobilities, engage in long daily commutes from townships to white homes and businesses across the apartheid city (and return accordingly) (Rink, 2016). Amidst this, the strategic decision to 'go into' townships is therefore understood as significant. Of importance, however, is the specific focus on middle-class township residents. There is a desire to improve the perception of wine amongst middle-class residents *only*, implying a desire to avoid the most stereotyped aspects of the township – i.e., poor residents. It is *despite* the township, and not *because* of it, that wine producing companies seek to 'go in'. This speaks again to the assumption that, beyond the ability to afford more premium products, black middle-class South Africans have long been considered as elevated as evidenced through seemingly westernised practices of consumption (Green, Sonn and Matsebula, 2007, p. 395). Within this, it was of interest that industry respondents felt that, through wine festivals, they were bringing premium wines to middle-class township residents, in part to reduce the perceived intimidation of the product. For example:

> "There's all this perception you know of [wine] being very intimidating, and that was what we were trying to break [...] We were trying to break away from only getting black people to wine estates but also bringing the wines into the townships and making it more accessible and more comfortable for them.
>
> Edward (I42); industry respondent (15/01/2020).

Edward seeks to bring the cultures of the wine estate to black consumers through the township wine festival. In doing so, this is seen to make wine less intimidating and more accessible for black consumers; as discussed in Chapter 6, industry respondents understood this to be a key factor limiting the growth of wine consumption. This fails to account, however, for the mobilities of township residents in post-apartheid South Africa. No longer legally bound to racially segregated spaces, black South Africans can and do visit wine estates. However, as Kamaloni (2019, p. 86) states, so entrenched are the entanglements

between space, race, and consumption that she "instinctively [knew where she] could go and the spaces [she should] avoid" within everyday life. There is an implication, therefore, that the wine estate – a bastion of historical white supremacy in the Western Cape – remains inhospitable to middle-class people of colour.

7.3.4. Middle-class consumption practices

At the opening of the Soweto Wino Festival in 2005, Thoko Didiza (Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs) delivered the following speech:

> I am happy that the chairman of the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT) Gavin Pieterse said in his letter addressed to me, that they as SAWIT, have embarked on a local marketing strategy to introduce and educate particularly black South Africans to the virtues of responsible wine consumption.
>
> Department of Agriculture (2005).

The purpose of the township wine festival is not only to create an enclave of premium and luxury wines for black middle-class consumers. The purpose of the wine festival is to encourage attendees to assimilate into a very specific wine consumption culture that is generally understood as antithetical to imaginations of the township. For example:

> "They [wine estates] knew that [they] hit the mark. Because people were interested and they stayed sober [most of] the day, they most of them, and they tasted responsibly nobody was falling about drunk. It was great atmosphere. Everyone felt comfortable and safe. And ultimately, wine won the day."
>
> Albert (I41); industry respondent (13/01/2020).

For Albert, a critical purpose of the wine festival is to educate attendees on how wine can be consumed as part of respectable and responsible consumption practices. Within the enclave of the wine festival, attendees are encouraged to appreciate wines and limit drunkenness. This is connected, as demonstrated below, to the ambition to educate attendees on how to consume 'responsibly'. For example:

> "So, I mean the whole idea was to teach people to sort of pair it with food. Not to just drink for the sake of drinking, you know what I mean, to actually get to know what you are drinking. And learn about it."
>
> Ruby (I31); industry respondent (04/03/2020).

Ruby's ambitions call attention to the presumed connections between wine knowledges, consumption, and status. Harvey (2002, p. 100) states, for example, that "knowledge of wine and 'proper' appreciation is often a sign of class". The implication in both these excerpts, however, is that black consumers require education on how to consume wine 'properly' through an ethos of education and appreciation. In contrast to wine festivals across the Western Cape, which many consumer respondents associated with unproblematic drunkenness, the expectation is that attendees of the township wine festival must adhere to a very specific set of consumption practices. To do otherwise – for example, engaging in practices of drunkenness – risks being associated with racist and classist stereotypes focusing on the dynamics between alcohol, consumption, and township residents.

Yet there is an additional ethical aspect to consider. Given the histories of wine in townships, in which the wine industry sought to only sell cheap and poor-quality products, it is understood as a moral imperative to introduce a consumption culture focused on education and appreciation. For example:

> "If you want to get into this new market and change the consumer, you
> have to introduce the culture. You know, not sell wine as wine, sell the
> experience; 'This wine has to be enjoyed with food' […] not just, 'Okay
> dump black wine like a commodity' people [are] not gonna understand it
> […] They [wine producers] were marketing the wines to people like us
> [black consumers] as a commodity like, 'Drink this wine' and they never
> marketed as an experience. Whereas on the other side, we have
> Constantia Fresh."

> Tatenda (I37); industry respondent (22/11/2019).

For Tatenda, the introduction of wine education and cultures is an ethical imperative given the historicised and negative perception of wine in the township. Tatenda felt that the wines served should be paired with foods and shaped as an experience, with the same care and attention that would be inherently expected at any other exclusive event, for example, Constantia Fresh.[45] While questions remain around the accessibility of events such as these, it can be understood that the care and effort taken to create a township wine event focused

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[45] Constantia Fresh is an annual fine wine and paired food event hosted in Constantia, an exclusive and wealthy suburb of Cape Town.

on providing attendees with a quality, cultural experience is understood by Tatenda to be revolutionary.

7.4.   Conclusion

At the end of January 2020, I attended a wine festival hosted at the Guga S'thebe Cultural Centre in the township of Langa. Telling a friend of my plans, she immediately expressed her fears for my safety and listed a plethora of health and safety measures including: a plan for friends to contact the police if I did not return home, GPS tracking, and granting a friend remote access to my phone should it be required. I had never been given this advice when attending any other event in Cape Town or the Cape Winelands. The difference was my intention to visit a township. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, this speaks to the ways in which townships continue to be understood as spaces of poverty and violence. The notion of luxury – in the form of a wine festival – is therefore understood in terms of disbelief.

In this chapter, I aimed to understand how strategies to grow the number of middle-class wine consumers materialise in space. I chose the case of the township wine festival to call attention to the perceived dichotomies between luxury wine consumption and the township. The township is understood as space of poverty with its problems exacerbated by alcohol consumption. As my findings show, wine has a historically poor reputation in South Africa's townships, and this had discouraged many consumer respondents from drinking it for several years. The goal of the township wine festival, therefore, is both to change middle-class perspectives about wine while introducing a wine consumption culture focused on respectability and responsibility. Notably, access to the township wine festival is dictated by class, calling attention to the ways in which it remains – like many other semi-public events in Cape Town – a "fortified experience" (Timan, 2021, p. 157). Hence, the wine festival acts as a middle-class enclave within the township. Whereas townships are stereotyped as spaces of problematic and moralised wine consumption, the festival is understood to act as a discrete space within which a select few are encouraged to assimilate into a highly specific consumption culture associated with "behaviors previously reserved for Whites at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy" (Timan, 2021, p. 156).

Chapter 8. The Middle-Class Utopia and the Western Cape Wine Estate

8.1. Introduction

For centuries, the wine estates of the Western Cape have aroused feelings of curiosity in those travelling to South Africa. Visitor accounts from the early-19th century are testament to this, for example:

> Every stranger who arrives at the Cape, if his time and other circumstances
> will allow of it, makes a point of visiting the village of Constantia, and those
> famous wine plantations; for these, with the Table Mountain, are looked
> upon as the great and first objects of curiosity at the Cape.

<div align="right">Captain Robert Percival, 1804 quoted in Leipoldt (1974, p. 53).</div>

Over 200 years later, the pilgrimage to the "famous wine plantations" (Leipoldt, 1974, p. 53) of Constantia continues. Groot Constantia – established in 1685 by Simon van der Stel and the oldest wine farm in South Africa – received over 400,000 visitors in 2015 alone (Groot Constantia, 2016). The only wine farm to be included in Cape Town's 'Big Six' attractions,[46] Groot Constantia offers an increasingly diverse and dizzying array of amenities and facilities including wine tastings, museums, guided walking tours, a gift shop, and restaurants.

If the South African township is framed in the mainstream discourse as a place to avoid, the wine estate is understood as a place to visit. Over the past 50 years, more and more wine estates across the Western Cape have opened their farm gates to the public, inviting people to consume and buy wines at the cellar door, engage the senses, and create experiences and memories through the medium of wine (Back, 2016; Ferreira and Hunter, 2017; Back, Tasci and Milman, 2020). These changes have gained in speed from the early 2000s but have intensified from 2014/2015 onwards, as aligned with the WISE objective of increasing the economic value of wine tourism from R6 billion in 2015 to R15 billion by 2025 (South African Wine & Brandy Portal, no date). For example, an increasing number of wine estates have joined Wine Routes, the primary means by which wine estates collectively organise and market themselves and their wine region (Vinpro, 2019a).[47] Additionally, many wine estates are now understood as resorts within their own right, encompassing "luxury hotels with spa

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[46] Cape Point, Groot Constantia, Kirstenbosch National Botanical Garden, Robben Island Museum, Table Mountain Aerial Cableway, the V&A Waterfront.

[47] Of the 533 wine cellars that crushed grapes in 2019 (i.e., grow and/or source wine grapes, and produce and sell wines), 452 were members of a Wine Route. There are 23 official Wine Routes most of which are in the Western Cape (Vinpro, 2019a).

facilities, more than one restaurant and excellent art collections" (Ferreira and Hunter, 2017, p. 688). This calls attention to the heterogeneity of wine estates across the Western Cape, not only in terms of design, scale, and business model, but also in terms of ownership. For example, it is estimated that the majority of wine estates across the Western Cape (65%) can be defined as 'micro-sized' with a total turnover of less than R10 million (Vinpro, 2022). In contrast, only 2% of wine estates are defined as 'mega' with a total turnover of >R300 million (Vinpro, 2022). While some wine estates continue to be inherited within individual families, others are just as likely to be owned by celebrities, private investors, and multinational companies (Ferreira, 2020). Vergelegen, for example, is owned by Anglo American and as Ferreira (2020) notes, many of the most exclusive wine estates across the Western Cape are owned by South African and non-South African investors whose wealth originates from sources that include retail, banking, sports, mining, pharmaceuticals, and more. Others still operate business models centred around shared ownership practices, notably with farm labourers (e.g., Solms Delta and Bosman Family Vineyard). Finally, farming practices may differ considerably across wine estates (e.g., organic, biodynamic) which often has implications for visitor-oriented marketing strategies.

All of this is to say that there is a significant amount of variation between the wine estates of the Western Cape. Nonetheless, as will be discussed in this chapter, wine estates may often share a number of experiential commonalities that collectively shape visitor motivations, experiences, and imaginations of such spaces. As will be examined, the shaping of visitor imaginations is a crucial goal of wine tourism strategy for the Western Cape. As will also be discussed, visitor imaginations of the Western Cape, and its wine estates, may be infused with ethical ambivalence and tension. It is an interrogation of these tensions that informs this chapter's key findings. Hence, I draw on key arguments from Chapters 5 and 6 to answer the following questions: *How do assumptions underpinning strategies to grow middle-class wine consumption materialise in space?* And *In what ways do middle-class consumers experience wine in the Western Cape, and how do they articulate these experiences within a register of ethics?* I first begin by presenting and analysing data on the transformation of the wine estate into a space of consumption. This includes consideration of the tourism materials used to identify new tourism groups by industry actors. Next, I examine the construction of the wine estate as utopian space in contrast to its dystopian histories (Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020). In the final section, I argue that the utopia

of the imagined wine estate sits uncomfortably with middle-class experiences of the space. This disconnect, I suggest, is directly connected to the ways in which people can experience a wine estate visit as uncomfortable and unsettling and is directly connected to ongoing ethical concerns around the racial and classed disparities of everyday life in the post-apartheid Western Cape.

8.2. Wine Estates and Consumption

8.2.1. *Wine tourism*

The evolution of wine estates from spaces of wine production into spaces of both wine production and consumption is most often understood through the concept of wine tourism. While there are multiple definitions of wine tourism (Back, 2016), the 2017 Wine Tourism Strategy for South Africa defines it as:

> Travel to wineries, wine regions or wine festivals and events for the purpose of enjoying food and drink, hospitality, activities, scenery, culture and local South African lifestyles.

> Vinpro and Cape Winelands District (2019a).

In interviews in which wine tourism was discussed, all industry respondents stated that wine tourism was increasingly important for the wine industry, the Western Cape, and South Africa. Those involved in wine marketing suggested its value lay in opportunities to positively shape the international reputation of South Africa and its wine industry through tangible experiences of the Cape Winelands. For the majority, however, the perceived value of wine tourism was connected to its economic benefits. Many industry respondents expressed anxieties that the traditional wine business model (i.e., wine sales via various distribution channels) was not economically sustainable. For example:

> "You can maybe check this, but what I've heard is that about 90% of local producers don't make a profit."

> Johan (I21); industry respondent (05/03/2020).[48]

Through WISE, there has been significant institutional investment in the wine industry's tourism strategy including the appointment of Vinpro's first wine tourism manager in 2017,

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[48] In 2019, 28% of respondents surveyed by Vinpro made a profit and 30% made a loss (Winetech, 2020). The profitability figures shared by industry respondents were broadly aligned with this value suggesting that many were grounding their perspectives in data from this survey.

the launch of the Wine Tourism Toolkit in 2019 designed to support wine estates build their wine tourism offering, the quantification of the economic value of wine tourism, and the development of market-oriented tools (e.g., the public-facing wine tourism portal, www.visitwinelands.co.za) (Vinpro, 2017; Vinpro, 2019a; Vinpro, 2019b; Visit our Winelands, no date).

Wine tourism is understood to represent an important way by which wine estates across the Western Cape might generate additional revenue beyond the traditional business model involving sales via retail and/or hospitality. Economic researchers tend to corroborate these perspectives with wine tourism often "considered a vital driver of economic and social development in many rural areas" in the Western Cape (Ferreira and Hunter, 2017, p. 676). This shift has required the diversification of the wine estate to anticipate and accommodate visitor needs. In a 2019 survey of 113 wine estates, wine tourism activities included wine tastings, paired wine and food tastings, accommodation, restaurants, museums, art galleries, and cellar and vineyard tours (Vinpro, 2019a). In addition, wine estates are being increasingly utilised as venue spaces, hosting events such as weddings, conferences, and farmer's markets (Vinpro, 2019a). It is evident that wine estates are increasingly understood as spaces of consumption. Quantitative data show that micro and small wine cellars, collectively representing 86% of all wine cellars in South Africa, attribute 27% and 41% of total turnover to wine tourism activities, respectively (Vinpro, 2019a).[49] Regional differences have also been also identified, with cellars in the Durbanville Wine Route reporting wine tourism accounting for 60% of total annual turnover in 2018/2019 (Vinpro, 2019a). Wine tourism is also considered to support wine sales beyond the farm gate with several industry respondents commenting that the economic value of wine tourism extended beyond consumption at the wine estate. Its true value is understood to be associated with the conversion of wine tourists into wine ambassadors who, it is presumed, might seek to reconstruct their experiences at the wine estate by purchasing South African wines long after their visit. For example:

> "It is something that once you've been to South Africa and experienced our
> Winelands, experienced the farms, the beauty of the landscape, the quality
> of the wines, the food, the South African hospitality, it's inevitable you're
> going to return [home] an ambassador. There's just no two ways about it."

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[49] Micro wine cellar: total annual turnover <R10 million; small wine cellar: total annual turnover from R10 million to <R50 million (Vinpro, 2019a).

Aligned with the Wesgro definition of wine tourism – which does not specifically reference the consumption of wine – the true value of the wine estate is understood to be connected to visitors' desires to recreate a pleasant and enjoyable experience. Within their everyday lives, former visitors are presumed to act as ambassadors for the South African wine industry in an effort to reconnect with the materiality of a space they now enjoy through memory, including the architecture, the winescape, the amenities, and the hospitality afforded to visitors. This sense of ambassadorship is presumed to materialise in people acting as advocates for the wine industry in their everyday lives and within their social networks, thereby increasing demand for wines made in South Africa. For example:

> "It [wine tourism] churns out ambassadors […] you come in, you have [an] experience, and it was wonderful, and you go home. You tell people about [it], you tell your friends over dinner, and you pour them the wine, and they go off and buy that wine and pour it for their friends again, and tell them that story, because [they] know stuff, you know, and 'I know this about this' [type of] anecdotes."

Here wine stories are understood as an important source of knowledge which, as described in previous chapters, is often valued as a form of expertise and class status in the context of wine. These stories are also understood as mobile; they are shared between people exponentially and, in turn, inform purchasing decisions. A sense of ambassadorship is also believed to be associated with return visits to the Cape Winelands, thereby helping to forecast future revenues. In a survey of visitors to the Cape Winelands, Hunter (2017) suggested that 80% of those who had previously visited wine regions around the world (68% of all participants) had been to the coastal region of the Western Cape (that includes the Stellenbosch, Swartland, Constantia, Tulbagh, Paarl, Franschhoek and Darling Wine Routes). Furthermore, 78% of visitors were 'likely' or 'very likely' to return to a wine region they had previously visited. The most appealing reasons for visiting were the 'Scenery or natural beauty' (25%), 'Good wine or wineries' (19%), and 'Food or restaurants' (16%) (Hunter, 2017). A visit to a wine estate is clearly extremely powerful in shaping consumer preferences, perspectives, and habits. As such, growing wine tourism at wine estates

continues to be an important strategy for the wine industry, economically, socially, and culturally.

8.2.2. *Growing middle-class wine tourism*

South African residents are a critical market for wine estates in the Western Cape. According to the Vinpro Wine Tourism Toolkit "most wine farms will know that the majority of their visitors are local and domestic" (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019b, p. 11). In a 2017 study, it was suggested that 64% of wine estate visitors were South African residents, with percentages varying depending on the Wine Route (i.e., South African residents are more likely to travel further afield to lesser-known Wine Routes) (Hunter, 2017). This is aligned with industry data showing that 35% of day visitors to wine estates are "locals living within 40km / easy driving distance" and 29% are South African visitors who live further away (e.g., in a different province) (Vinpro, 2019a, p. 15). As industry materials also show, the tourism market in South Africa is understood to be extremely competitive. The Vinpro Wine Tourism Toolkit, for example, states that only 356,800 people in South Africa currently have the "means and the motivation to travel for leisure purposes" (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019b, p. 11).

SA Tourism (2012) defines this group of 356,800 South African people as the 'Defend' group. They are defined as those who have a "high travel maturity" and who already "travel primarily for holiday purposes" (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019b, p. 14). In 'defending' this group, the expectation is to ensure the demographic continues to visit wine estates alongside the development of a new wine tourism offering intended for newer wine tourists. These groups are labelled as 'Build' and 'Convert'. 'Build' refers to those people who do not travel for purposes of tourism, who earn a threshold income of R5,000 per month, and have a "low travel maturity". 'Convert' refers to those people who travel but not necessarily within the context of wine tourism and whom have a "medium travel maturity" (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019b, p. 14). Lower income South African people are not included within such analyses with the presumption that the "prosperity to travel is very low for these segments" (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019b, p. 14). Figure 11 presents a schematic of 'Build', 'Convert', and 'Defend' wine tourist segmentation which is itself adapted from materials initially developed by SA Tourism (2012) and is based on perceived "similarities in travel behaviour and preferences" (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019b, p. 13). Table 6 presents additional visitor segmentation information from

the Vinpro Wine Tourism Toolkit, including psychographic profiling and presumed demographic characteristics. Within this, psychographic information is presented for the segments prioritised for growth: 'High-Life Enthusiasts' (Defend), 'Seasoned Leisure Seekers' (Convert), 'Spontaneous Budget Explorers' (Convert), 'Well-To-Do Mzansi Families' (Build), and 'New-Horizon Families' (Build).

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

MI, middle income; VFR, visiting friends and relatives.
Colour code: Grey, excluded from analysis; Green, 'Build'; Yellow, 'Defend'; Blue, 'Convert'.
Source: South African Tourism (2012) as adapted in Vinpro and Cape Winelands District (2019b).
Figure 11. Wine tourism market segmentation (South African residents)

'Defend'	'Convert'	'Build'
• 356,800 people from higher income brackets • Regular local travels from higher income brackets	• 1.5 million people • Travelling but not necessarily for leisure purposes • Described as the 'growing middle classes'	• 3.6 million people • Earning enough to travel locally but do not currently have a culture of travel • Understood as the 'emerging first time travel segment'
Sub-categories		
<u>Older middle income</u> • Middle-income whites of all family situations, over 46 years old	<u>Older high income</u> • Older, high-income people of all races • Most are married and about half have dependent children	<u>Business travellers</u> • High-income people of all races travelling for business
<u>High-Life Enthusiasts</u> • High-income Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians aged 25–45, without children and mostly single	<u>Seasoned leisure seekers</u> • White, middle, and high income aged 25–45, without children	<u>Well-to-do Mzansi families</u> • High-income Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians with dependent children, mostly middle aged
"I travel because the places I have been to (cities, restaurants, nightclubs, events) tell other people who I am. I like to experience what other places have to offer and be able to tell great stories to my friends and family back at home."	"I travel because it is a way of life for me and those around me. I don't even really think about "why" anymore as it is such a natural thing to do, but I know that travelling gives me the opportunity to get away from the pressures of city life and to build new memories that I will cherish forever."	"I travel because I enjoy taking my life and moving it to a new location every now and then. Getting away from the pressures of work and city life so that I can spend time with my spouse and kids is really important. Sometimes, I also need time away from my spouse and kids though, which makes a drinking weekend away with buddies a great option!"

'Defend'	'Convert'	'Build'
Established holiday families • White, middle, and high income, aged 18–45, with children	Spontaneous budget explorers • Middle to high income, aged 18–24, of all races and all family situations "I travel because I feel a restless energy and a yearning to explore things outside of the world that I have always known. Travelling provides me with a way to have fun with my friends and gives me a chance to escape the stresses and pressure of trying to establish myself."	New-horizon families • Middle-income Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians over 35 years old. Most are married with children "I travel because I feel that I need to give my children an opportunity to experience more of the world than what is in their backyard." Up-and-coming black singles • Middle-income Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians, aged 25–34, with or without children

The information detailed in this table are themselves adapted from "Marketing Mzansi to South Africans" (SA Tourism, 2012). It is unclear if these quotes were generated by market researchers as examples of tourist archetypes or if these are perspectives expressed by research participants.

Source: adapted from Vinpro and Cape Winelands District (2019b).

Table 6. South African wine tourist archetypes

Wine tourism segmentation is focused on a narrow segment of South African society – those earning a threshold income who have the resources and/or the inclination to travel for leisure. The five tourist archetypes prioritised are those considered to be the most attractive options by SA Tourism (2012) in terms of the transformation of culture and growth. This has led to the development of different approaches and strategies to reach these archetypes, including key messaging (Appendix G).

The Vinpro Wine Tourism Toolkit does not provide specific information on developing strategies or policies for these individual archetypes. Instead, users of the toolkit are encouraged to identify target markets of relevance and build personas based on demographic information, socioeconomic attributes, and psychographic and behavioural characteristics and developing appropriate marketing campaigns accordingly (Vinpro and Cape Winelands District, 2019b). It is notable, however, that those categorised within the 'Build' segment are largely understood to be middle-income people of colour. In contrast, white South Africans mainly fall into the 'Defend' and 'Convert' categories. As with wine markets more generally, it is evident that wine tourism is understood through a racialised lens, with black middle-income South African residents, alongside other people of colour, presumed to not generally engage in a culture of leisure-related travel. As with wine consumption practices, industry respondents working in tourism understood this to be a legacy issue associated with apartheid-era spatial restrictions, for example:

> "Because of the history of our country, and we speak about race quite a bit, because of the history of South Africa, a lot of our segmentation will still be based on race, and that's not just in tourism or wine, that's across the country and you will encounter that. But that is shifting […] What we see is older white families will be in the 'Maintain' [i.e., 'Defend'] market because they take a number of domestic trips per year because that is how they grew up. It's a legacy issue, whereas what we'll see with black families in roughly the same age band, and income group it is a tough job that SAT [South African Tourism] has faced over a couple of years, unlocking a culture of travel in large groups of South Africans, simply because it wasn't how they grew up, because of how the country was structured and the system that they grew up within that required their parents to have a piece of paper to get to and from work."
>
> Helen (I25); industry respondent (16/01/2020).

Helen recognises that wine tourists are mainly those in the 'Defend' group and are likely to be white and wealthy but understands the importance of ensuring current and future

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offerings are appealing to those in the 'Convert' and 'Build' segments (i.e., Black middle-class South Africans). During the interview, Helen emphasised the importance of ensuring people within these segments were made to feel welcome at wine estates and to ensure the tourism offering was appropriate and appealing. This included, for example, using accessible language when discussing wine, ensuring messaging was appropriate and delivered via the most suitable channels, and developing more inclusive marketing materials. It is evident that as with wine more generally, the concept of wine tourism has generally been understood in racialised and classed terms, with industry materials primarily conceptualising South African tourists as white and wealthy. This is directly connected to apartheid era policies that restricted movement, mobilities, and wealth creation to a minority of the population. As a result, South African tourists are largely presumed to be white and middle-to-high income (Mkhize, 1994; Butler and Richardson, 2015; Mapadimeng, 2018; Musavengane, 2019; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021). For example, while a small number of holiday resorts existed for black middle-class South Africans during apartheid it is accepted that spaces such as these largely centred white tourists (Teversham, 2013).

The contemporary challenges associated with these histories of exclusion and segregation are noted in the National Department of Tourism's "Domestic Tourism Growth Strategy (2012–2020)" within which a core goal is to "outline practical mechanisms to address the lack of a tourism culture amongst South Africans, particularly the previously disadvantaged communities" (National Department of Tourism, 2012, p. iv). However, this is mainly connected to the possibilities of growing the economic value of tourism by increasing the number of domestic tourists (Butler and Richardson, 2015). Helen's understanding of this being a legacy issue of apartheid is aligned with Butler and Richardson (2015), who argue that while an increasing number of tourists are interested in nature-based tourism, including in South Africa, research in the country typically focuses on the perspectives of international tourists and "wealthy, predominantly white, domestic tourists" (p. 147) with negligible consideration of black South African residents. They argue that leisure "immobilities", exacerbated during the apartheid era, form a critical component of "underrepresentation of black domestic tourists" (Butler and Richardson, 2015, p. 148) in post-apartheid South Africa. However, as Daya (2022a) recognises, there remains a mainstream tendency to assume that Black South Africans do not engage with nor care about leisure-based activities and/or nature and are instead motivated by consumerism and materialism. As discussed in Chapter

6, this speaks to the ways in which black middle-class South Africans are largely viewed in terms of consumerism, aspiration, and status (which are themselves understood as antithetical to an interest in nature and/or leisure activities). As Butler and Richardson (2015) argue, black South Africans risk an emotionally fraught experience in such places. For example, in research exploring barriers to visiting South Africa's national parks, black respondents express fears of "racial conflicts or being made to feel unwelcome" (Butler and Richardson, 2015, p. 160).

8.3.   The Utopia of the Wine Estate

Aligned with insights shared by industry respondents, nearly all of the consumer respondents interviewed had previously visited wine estates in the Western Cape, some for more than 40 years, and continued to do so approximately once per month or more. Visits included overnight stays in wine regions that were further afield (e.g., Robertson), daytrips to wine estates closer to Cape Town (e.g., those in Constantia, Durbanville, Paarl, and Stellenbosch), and shorter, more casual visits (e.g., in the evening after work). Consumer respondents visited wine estates for a variety of different reasons that varied in their degree of formality and included work, leisure, socialising, and special occasions. As recognised by industry respondents, a smaller number of consumer respondents planned visits around the availability of specific wines; these tended to be those who thought of wine as a hobby and were interested in expanding and/or refining their wine-related knowledges. Most consumer respondents visited wine estates to socialise with friends and family in scenic surroundings, with wine, food, and other amenities adding to their sense of enjoyment and relaxation. For example:

> "So, when we go for our little Tuesday work drinks, Lanzerac [wine estate] has become that place we go to when it is somebody's birthday, like it must be special, like something big happened. You know? Then we go to Lanzerac because the wine there is a bit more expensive – oh, but it's delicious, and the portions are per glass is just, one glass is enough, you know? So we go there when we're feeling fancy."

> Simosihle (C6); consumer respondent (05/02/2020).

The wine estate described above is understood as a particularly special place for celebrations, speaking to the heterogeneity of these spaces in terms of the ways in which some are perceived as more expensive than others. It is a ritualised place, which Simosihle and her friends visit when something "big" happens. Again, this is connected to the

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perceived wealth of the wine estate, as denoted by the price of the wines – here, wines are savoured and enjoyed with the context of a "fancy" performance. As will be discussed below, this speaks to the "utopianism" (Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020, p. 148) of the wine estate, that is, the "attempt to rehabilitate past mistakes by striving for a better future while embroiled in a defective present" (Howland, 2020 quoted in Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020, p. 148).

8.3.1. *Wealth and luxury*

Several industry respondents, notably, those working for wine producing companies and/or in wine tourism, stated that a visit to a wine estate had become increasingly popular for people living in and/or visiting the Western Cape. Visitors were perceived to be motivated by several factors that included wine tasting but, more importantly, the desire to engage in enjoyable, relaxing, and sociable experiences with friends and family. For example:

> "The [local] culture is about going out for the day and enjoying the day.
> Not about 'We're gonna taste or' it's not about that, it's about going to the
> farm. Learning about the history, enjoying the view, enjoying the food.
> And to the person that's pouring the wine, what do they have to say, it's
> the whole experience."
>
> Caroline (I45); industry respondent (26/02/2020).

> "You get to have a lovely day out in greenery, which is a luxury for a lot of
> people where they live. And just have like wonderful family time. So that's
> also for us a message that we drive quite strongly is just low spending,
> slowing down a little bit with your family in these spaces that really allow
> for it."
>
> Helen (I25); industry respondent (16/01/2020).

Here, the wine estate is imagined as a multisensorial space of "experiential consumption" (Hall *et al.*, 2013, p. 83) within the broader winescape (Bruwer and Alant, 2009; Bruwer and Lesschaeve, 2012; Bruwer *et al.*, 2017). At the wine estate, visitors are encouraged to engage in guilt-free practices of consumption, looking out at the scenery, sampling premium wines and foods, and creating new memories with friends and family. It is, as Edensor (2018, p. 913) states, connected to an understanding of tourism that is "multi-sensual in practice and experience." People, their friends, and their families are able to socialise together in a resort that is intentionally catered to their needs (e.g., many wine estates provide children's playgrounds and offer grape juice 'wine tastings'). Each facet is seen as

critical in creating a special experience for visitors and speaks to the "more-than-visual experiences" of tourism (Edensor, 2018, p. 913). For example:

> "We set the table for people to celebrate all the special occasions in their lives and that is what we see a lot in the Western Cape. When people have a special occasion, they tend to go to a winery, and that's a wonderful thing. It's a wonderful thing to be able to give them a slice of that lifestyle."
>
> Helen (I25); industry respondent (16/01/2020).

Framing a visit to a wine estate as special separates it from the everyday and the ordinary. As Howson, Murray and Overton (2020, p. 148) argue, this speaks to the ways in which "stakeholders have been concerned with projecting an idyllic or utopian image of South African wine production" over the past two decades. Through the lens of tourism, the wine estate is imagined as an "enchanting", idyllic, and fantastical space (Weaver, 2009, p. 180). This can also be understood in terms of transience and experiential scarcity, adding to its sense of exclusivity. For example, the specialness of the wine estate is connected to the opportunities for visitors to tangibly yet fleetingly access a "slice" of a lifestyle that retains permanence through memory. As scholars argue, this lifestyle is understood not only in terms of the performance of wealth but in terms of its exclusivity and luxuriousness (Ferreira, 2020; Zainurin, Neill and Schänzel, 2022). Several consumer respondents stated that they enjoyed visiting wine estates precisely for these reasons, for example:

> "The venues are all quite posh like upper class, I think. Yeah, nice decor, beautiful views. I mean the settings are always obviously, it's like divine, beautiful, and what else can I say, yeah. I love it. I feel fancy when I go to wine farms."
>
> Margaret (C18); consumer respondent (27/02/2020).

Margaret is not referring to a specific wine estate. Yet this is powerful in showing how wine estates are collectively understood and imagined as enclaves of unapologetic luxury and wealth (Pastor, Torres and Pastor, 2020). Within the boundaries of the wine estate, visitors are encouraged to engage in experiences that are framed as separate from the everyday. For those with the time, money, and mobilities, the wine estate is a space in which to indulge in guilt-free luxury wealth. Simultaneously, they also represent spaces of sociability and relaxation, spaces to enjoy with friends and family.

In this context, the 'everyday' could be seen to represent an individual's dissociation from the stresses of their day-to-day life. However, it could just as easily be understood in relation to the extremely high levels of poverty in South Africa's urban spaces. As Schuermans (2016) argues, the visibility of poverty in post-apartheid Cape Town is understood as threatening to wealthier white residents because of the sense of discomfort connected to the disparities with their "luxurious lifestyles" (p. 188), causing them to question the "legitimacy of the huge inequalities in the country and the privileged position therein of people like themselves" (p. 188). At the wine estate, which is largely understood to be a rural space that is actively framed as space for middle-to-high income visitors, such anxieties can be left at the farm gates. Visiting a wine estate is understood as a glamorous and luxury experience removed from the mundanities of everyday life. At the wine estate, visitors – who are arguably already living relatively privileged lives – can embody the imagined consumption practices of the wealthy and/or elite. It can therefore be understood in terms of a class-based performance of consumption, with respondents enjoying a memorable experience of luxury and wealth. Simultaneously, it acts to confirm the class position of visitors as distinct to and different from the majority of South Africans.

This construct of the imagined wine estate as a utopian space also implies the erasure of poverty. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, the wine estate is still historically understood as a place of racialised hierarchies in which people of colour work as labourers for low pay, precarious employment terms, and insecure housing. The ways in which the wine estate is constructed as a space of hedonism and luxury, therefore, can be seen as emblematic of the social and economic extremes of South African society, for example:

> "I think it's the symbolic stuff of a real celebration of excess and indulgence and wealth that is quite poor taste in this country. That's how it feels. And maybe it's just closer to the source you know, so you're a bit more uncomfortable or I'm a bit more uncomfortable of like, what exactly this space is, so. Because it's, I mean it's, so you know, as the consumer those spaces are created to be such a luxurious heightened experience."

> Emily (C12); consumer respondent (18/02/2020)

Reading the wine estate as a space of consumption that values "excess", "indulgence", and "wealth", and contrasting this with the realities of poverty and inequality in contemporary South Africa frames the wine estate through a lens of ethics. Additionally, this is a luxuriousness in which drinking – and its effects (e.g., drunkenness) – are understood as a

sign of joviality and sophisticated fun. As I called attention to in Chapter 7, this is antithetical to understandings of alcohol, consumption, and the township.

However, this is does not necessarily mean visitors themselves can be understood in ethical binaries. Emily, for example, previously enjoyed visiting wine estates with friends while a student at Stellenbosch University. While she now felt ambivalent towards wine estates – in part because she felt it distasteful to celebrate "excess" and "indulgence" given the wider societal context – she continued to attend and enjoy wine festivals in the Cape Winelands that she felt were more down to earth. Being geographically removed from wine estate within spaces that valued wine and community – rather than spaces and lifestyles she read as luxurious and/or materialistic – alleviated some of the discomfort Emily felt in relation to consumption at, and of, wine estates. Of particular interest is the sense of ambivalence Emily expressed with being "closer to the source" of wine. Considering Emily's connections to people working in wine-related NGOs, I interpreted this discomfort to be connected to being in closer proximity to a space of production that continues to be associated with racialised and gendered hierarchies of labour. Emily situated her discomfort within South Africa's societal context yet, through friendships, had insight into some of the challenges on grape farms and wine estates that focused on labour relations. These tensions were also understood by some industry respondents. While the wine estate may be strategically framed as a space of beauty and luxury, it is also understood as a space of deep inequality and volatility, for example:

> "So then you end up with 50 young men sitting idle in the worker's village at the bottom of the estate. Meanwhile, on the estates is this posh massive Dutch mansion where management sits and rich people come to visit and sell wine in the tasting room. But meanwhile there's a start of a, I don't want to say the start of the revolution, but there's this dangerous mob of people just growing and growing and growing frustrated every day. And then they probably sit there and see these fancy cars coming in and out and probably think 'Why can't that be me?' Or then be like feisty or something and like 'If I steal that whole car, it changes my life, it changes everything'. And every wine farm, every single estate in Stellenbosch has got something similar going on and it's just toxic, it really is. It's a really scary, scary situation. I don't know. I have no answers on how to fix it, right, you know we can mechanise it and then get rid of the workers completely and then, then you know, create even more unemployment, which is quite problematic. But heck man."

> Simon (I16); industry respondent (04/02/2020).

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Encouraging visitors to wine estates makes visible the inequalities associated with the production of wine and emphasises the disparities between those who consume and those who labour. The everyday social dynamics of the wine estate can be understood as a microcosm of wider societal inequalities in South Africa. Wine estates may be presented as spaces of luxury and wealth to visitors, separated from everyday challenges and anxieties, but they also contain their own deeply rooted racialised inequalities. Such inequalities might be largely unrecognised within wine tourism marketing campaigns, but they form a critical element of the Western Cape's viticultural biography. Many wine estates, for example, continue to frame their histories with settler colonial mythologies that involve the 'taming' of empty and wild lands into 'productive' agricultural spaces (Veracini, 2011). Only a small number of estates (primarily Solms Delta and Groot Constantia) reflect critically on these narratives by, for example, presenting museum displays focused on biographies of those who were enslaved in such spaces. More tangibly, labour relations continue to be fraught in the Winelands including the farm labour strikes of 2012/2013, increasing reliance on labour brokers, wage deductions, and growing numbers of farm evictions (Devereux, 2020). The insights from Simon, who at the time of interview worked for a wine estate in Stellenbosch, speak not only to these inequalities, but to the recognition that the ways in which the wine estate is framed to wealthy visitors as "posh" is in direct contradiction to the experiences of farm labouring people. It also emphasises the egregiousness of framing the wine estate as a spectacular space of experiential consumption specifically tailored for wealthier people without critically reflecting on how this might be interpreted by people living and working in the same space. Simon's ambivalence is materially connected to the "posh massive Dutch mansion" alongside "rich people" and "fancy cars" that again call attention to the wine estate being understood as a space of ethical contestation. As Emily stated, being "closer to the source" of wine – supported via wine tourism strategies – makes visible the inherent contradictions of the space: simultaneously striving to be a space of utopia yet understood as a space of unequal labour relations. Hence, the everyday dynamics and tensions of the wine estate can be seen as a reflection of wider patterns of social and economic inequality in South Africa. These inequalities are emphasised because the wine estates are increasingly focused on encouraging visitors who are perceived as wealthy and engaging in luxurious consumption that is presumed to be compartmentalised from the poverty prevalent in everyday South Africa.

8.3.2. *Natural beauty*

While visits to wine estates were often categorised within a tourism-oriented checklist of Cape Town and the surrounding areas (that included, for example, visits to Robben Island and the V&A Waterfront), it was notable that many industry respondents connected spaces of wine tourism to 'natural' touristic landmarks, for example:

> "Wine tourism is such a huge element of what we do here in the Western Cape, you know, other than Table Mountain and of course the beaches and penguins."

> Emma (I24); industry respondent (05/11/2019).

The natural framing of wine is understood as a motivation to visit wine estates. It was clear that many industry respondents felt that 'natural' landmarks – Table Mountain given as one such example – shared an affinity with viticulture in terms of their imprint on the Western Cape's landscape. On the surface, the examples described by Emma speak to a market-oriented package of "peri-urban ecotourism" for which Cape Town is internationally known (Pirie, 2007, p. 11). As recognised previously, for example, Table Mountain and Groot Constantia wine estate are categorised within Cape Town's 'Big Six' tourist attractions. Yet, additional interpretations can also be gleaned from industry perspectives. Banks *et al.* (2007, p. 15) describes wine as having a "perceived naturalness" and it can be argued that it is this 'naturalness' that is used to connect wine, the spaces within which wine is made, and 'natural' landmarks such as mountains and beaches. Similar discourses can be found within tourism literature, where the South African wine industry is described as "nature, rural and heritage in one product" (Rogerson and Visser, 2020, p. 6). Accepting the material and cultural imprint of viticulture on the Western Cape's landscape to be as 'natural' as its mountains – which in themselves "may be thought of as rock-like and solid, timeless and unchanging in their wildness and naturalness" (Brown, 2015, p. 661) – is important for several reasons. Similar to the descriptors Brown (2015) applies to mountains, framing wine and the landscapes of wine, as 'natural' situates them within a 'timeless' and 'unchanging' imaginary. Dooling (2007, p. 1), in relation to viticultural vistas, writes that they "convey a picture of perpetuity and timelessness – as if to say that the presence of those who occupy the land today is as natural as the landscape itself." If understood within a "culture/nature dichotomy" the viticultural landscape is perceived as belonging to the category of "untouched pristine nature" which "must be protected from human contamination" (Wall-

Reinius, Prince and Dahlberg, 2019, p. 3). While a fallacy, and ironic given wine grapes are a monoculture and the product of settler colonialism in the Western Cape, it was striking the extent to which industry respondents felt that the 'natural' and rural viticultural landscape of the Cape Winelands was under threat, requiring protection (which wine tourism might support) from encroaching urbanism in the form of the development of luxury housing complexes within the Winelands alongside the growth of the City of Cape Town. For example:

> "He [winemaker friend] says the biggest threat there, he's just on the outskirts of Stellenbosch, is housing. And it's inevitable I mean, there's nothing, and that's why it's so important for people to build brands and to kind of protect that land."

<div align="right">Emma (I6); industry respondent (17/02/2020).</div>

Wall-Reinius, Prince and Dahlberg (2019, p. 4) argue that mountains are often understood as an "arena for nature conservation, for recreation and as an escape from civilisation" and this uncannily mirrors the ways in which the viticultural landscapes, which include wine estates, are understood. Here, 'civilisation' is read in the threat associated with the use of viticultural land for housing with strategies needed to "protect that land" (Emma). Connected to this, naturalising the viticultural landscape helps to legitimise its imaginative and material permanence on the Western Cape landscape (Dooling, 2007). In the Western Cape, the materiality of viticulture is irrevocably entangled with centuries of successive colonial and apartheid rule (Dooling, 2007). This aspiration for unquestioned permanence speaks to theorisations of settler colonialism within which operations are justified "on the basis of the expectation of its future demise" (Veracini, 2011, p. 3). Within this, agriculture "with its life-sustaining connectedness to land, is a potent symbol of settler-colonial identity" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 396). The suggestion that winescapes are 'natural spaces' results in their being treated as "neutral settings, devoid of historical narrative or human influence" (Butler and Richardson, 2015, p. 148) and has implications for the ways in which wine estates continue to be presented to visitors as spaces, not just of spectacular consumption but as "white leisure spaces" (Butler and Richardson, 2015, p. 162). Connecting wine to other 'natural' landmarks makes visible the ways in which they have been interpreted through a colonial and apartheid lens and understood as spaces of whiteness and wealth. Van Sittert (2003), for example, charts white Anglo urban middle-class imaginations of Table Mountain

(1891 to 1952), documenting the growth of recreational mountaineering and emphasising the politicised act of looking "at people, plants, animals and landscapes either in nature or reproduction" (p. 162) as being "deeply implicated in the ultimate physical domination of the objects surveyed" (p. 162).   Coastal spaces are no less contested, with scholars calling attention to the ways in which successive colonial and apartheid governments sought to restrict access to beaches for the majority of South Africans based on social locations of race (Thompson, 2011; Mafumbu, Zhou and Kalumba, 2022). Framing viticulture as fragile and in need of protection minimises the violence it has itself caused within such spaces.

The vision of the imagined wine estate as timeless, peaceful, and enjoyable is connected to the ways in which it is understood to contribute to a landscape of beauty. Several industry participants stated that the beauty of the Cape Winelands was an essential factor incentivising visitors to wine estates. In the Cape Winelands, the 'beautiful' views typically referenced to mountain vistas, indigenous flora (e.g., fynbos), architecture of wineries, and vineyards. Within this, it was interesting that visitors were encouraged to look outwards towards the vista and to enjoy a sense of peace and contemplation, for example:

> "You get wine farms that are based solely on the view, so you go there to have a beautiful glass of wine and enjoy the view and a lot of people love that. They like to go to see the view that they can't just sit here, and just look at the beauty of nature."
>
> Caroline (I45); industry respondent (26/02/2020).

> "It really is an environment that is so beautiful that you can't [help] but be happy sitting on the stoep, drinking a glass of wine."
>
> Rebecca (I11); industry respondent (26/11/2019).

Similar responses were shared by consumer respondents, for example:

> "And isn't this just gorgeous, and if you're working among it, the vineyards, you can smell the grapes and you can, can't you just smell the picture? Right? And it's the beginning of the deliciousness that I'm going to have in my glass, and we drink lots of [wine estate] wine, and we are there, and we have the greatest of times."
>
> Simosihle (C6); consumer respondent (05/02/2020).

Source: shared by Simosihle (C6) with permission.
Figure 12. "Can't you just smell the picture?"

The notion of "looking out" speaks to the critique Van Sittert (2003, p. 166) raises in relation to middle-class colonial-era interpretations of Table Mountain within which "'looking out' from the summit revealed an imaginary future beyond the horizon" was connected to the "manifest destiny" of white settlement (ibid, p. 177). While, in a post-apartheid context, 'looking out' at the viticultural landscape could be interpreted by visitors as hope for a more equitable and just society, 'looking out' at the materiality of the space – including the vineyards and wine estates – can also be argued to represent an observation of what Dooling (2007, p. 2) describes as "a specific culture and its durability." The "material remnants of this culture" Dooling (2007, p. 2, author emphasis) continues, "are those of an ancient landed ruling class that established itself at the southern tip of Africa" – specifically, a "*colonial* ruling class." As argued earlier, this landscape is viewed as under threat from urban encroachment and continues to require protection to ensure its future survival, speaking to settler colonial theorisations of fear of extinction (Veracini, 2011).

8.4. Disrupting Utopia and the Uncomfortable Everyday

While consumer respondents generally understood wine estates to represent spaces of luxury, wealth, and beauty, they also engaged with wine estates in ways they considered to be relatively everyday and/or ordinary. This included, for example, eating meals in onsite restaurants at different times of day (e.g., brunch and dinner), socialising with friends and family, visiting weekly farmer's markets, spontaneously driving to a farm to purchase cases of wine for the home, and taking part in weekly exercise clubs (e.g., the Durbanville Parkrun 5 km route that includes the vineyards of Meerendal Wine Estate). While many respondents made distinctions between wine estates based on price, with more expensive estates typically reserved for the 'special' occasions discussed by industry respondents, wine estates were themselves utilised in relatively everyday ways.

The perceived everydayness of wine estates was typically connected to their perceived accessibility. This included the ubiquity of wine estates, the majority of which are open to the public without appointment, but it also included the resources required to visit such places. Consumer respondents generally found wine estates to be accessible in differing combinations of time, geography, mobilities, and finances. For example, many consumer respondents owned a car, knew someone with a car, and/or could afford to pay for e-hailing services such as Uber or Bolt. The majority of respondents interviewed were employed full-time and, overall, were comfortable spending some of their income on premium wine experiences. Additionally, it was evident that many consumer respondents had friends and family who worked for wine estates and, as a result, were able to tap into social networks that shaped their experiences of such spaces in everyday ways. As a result, consumer respondents tended to understand a visit to a wine estate as belonging to a set of everyday middle-class experiences for people living in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands. Wine estates were still understood to be spectacular spaces of beauty and wealth; however, these were seen as so abundant and all-encompassing that they were simultaneously recognised as relatively ordinary. For example, as Silondile, originally from Johannesburg but now living in Durbanville near to several wine estates, recounts:

> "The first time I got to Cape Town, I was amazed by all the wine farms and all of it like, this is, like obscene wealth and this is ridiculous, what is all of this, and then when you live in the wine farms [sic] like you start getting desensitised."

> Silondile (C23); consumer respondent (10/03/2020).

Calling attention to the ways in which consumer respondents understand visits to wine estates as belonging to a set of relatively everyday middle-class experiences is important because it emphasises the extent to which wine estates are situated within the realm of the quotidian for people living and working within their vicinity. Wine estates are interpreted as spaces of luxury, wealth, and beauty which, in themselves, seem fantastical in relation to the broader societal context in South Africa. Nonetheless, greater proximity to – and continued engagement with – such spaces result in a sense of desensitization to this wealth. For Silondile, her weekday commute to and from work passed hectares of vineyards and she often went to the closest estate to her home when entertaining guests. This proximity meant that, while Silondile still read wine estates as spaces of wealth, the intensity of their imprint on the landscape around her meant that she now viewed them as everyday spaces within which to socialise as a resident of Cape Town and/or the surrounding area.

8.4.1. *Historicised discomfort*

In the introduction to this chapter, I recognised that there are many difference types and scales of wine estates across the Western Cape with varying types of ownership. This includes South African and international investors whose wealth originates from outside of the wine industry itself. It is therefore notable that several consumer respondents – all describing themselves as white and middle-to-high income – expressed that although they enjoyed visiting wine estates, they also experienced a sense of ethical ambivalence connected to their perceived understanding of the colonial and apartheid histories of these spaces. Of particular interest, however, were the strategies employed to mitigate the sense of discomfort, notably, through the application of a historicised lens:

> "I mean I'm not thinking, I don't think dwell too much or like, I don't focus on the current inequality at the wine farms which I think you have a much better picture of, but it's just this, I keep going back 300 years and thinking 'Wow' like that was it, at that stage, all these people and claim everything and now 300 years later there's this huge farm that's owned by the same types and just how, yeah how ignorant they seem to be. Well not ignorant, I don't meet the people, but you know it's just, it's a little bit weird, these sort of, all the white people going and sitting under the trees on a Sunday."

> Callum (C3); consumer respondent (30/01/2020).

> "I know a lot of them have a long and murky and sordid history and like apartheid land ownership. And, you know, the further back you can, probably the less savoury it gets. And it's kind of thing I've sort. Yeah, I

maybe don't pay enough attention to it or kind of consciously try not to think about it, you know, when I'm at Kanonkop or at Grand Provence."

Graham (C5); consumer respondent (04/02/2020).

Applying a temporal caveat to unsettling and uncomfortable feelings acts to emotionally distance white and relatively wealthy South African visitors from fully reflecting on the contemporary meaning of wine estates in post-apartheid South Africa and their participation in practices of spectacular and experiential consumption. Framing reflections within the collective and historicised biography of South Africa creates a sense of the impersonal; while accepting the construction and survival of wine estates to be implicit in the settler colonial encroachment of land and the construction of racialised ownership dynamics, there is discomfort in connecting this to contemporary spaces within which visitors are encouraged view as enjoyable. The consumer respondents above verbalise a sense of denial in terms of connecting their experiences of wine estates to ongoing and historical labour injustices. Neither Callum or Graham necessarily denies nor adopts a historical amnesia around "historical injustices and privileges and their reiterations and re-making in contemporary life" (Shefer, 2019, p. 367). They do not seek to engage in "practices of denial of the past (in particular complicity with abuses)" (Shefer, 2019, p. 366) nor do they engage in the "historical amnesia" that is "evident in numerous strategies of evasion played out within post-apartheid South African discourse, especially (but not exclusively) by white South Africans" (Hook, 2013, p. 269). However, it can be interpreted that they limit the extent to which they are willing to personally connect with such discomfort in the present. Nonetheless, connections to the contemporary seep through; Callum's observation of it being "weird" that white visitors sit "under the trees on a Sunday" alongside the perspective that the "huge farm" continues to be "owned by the same types" is testament to the recognition that, in post-apartheid South Africa, wine estates remain largely conceptualised as spaces of white leisure and ownership. It is these everyday contestations of space that come into conflict with the vision of wine estates as unapologetically wealthy and extravagant. Yet, both frame this in a relatively impersonal way beyond themselves and their own practices. Their ambivalences, as demonstrated, are connected to the ways in which they imagine the histories of wine estates across the Western Cape rather than their own engagement in such spaces.

8.4.2. *Contemporary discomfort*

Several consumer respondents, notably those who self-identified as black or coloured South Africans, described a sense of discomfort at wine estates that was directly connected to their own personal experiences of these spaces. Most consumer respondents generally enjoyed visiting wine estates and saw them as a space within which to socialise. Nonetheless, many respondents felt that wine estates continued to be problematic in terms of the intersection of race- and class-based dynamics, for example:

> "Yeah, there's Franschhoek and Stellenbosch, there's some weird undercover race and class things happening there where it's like, I don't really wanna go to those places. I would have gone on Monday [with work], that's because there was enough [people] of colour and people going with [me], that I wouldn't feel weird, but I can guarantee there'll probably be some people there. They were like 'Who the fuck are these guys?' Like, 'cause we got guys from Mitchells Plain and stuff like so there's like 'Oh what's, this place is going down' you know, so there's levels which I guess you gotta jump past it, but it's not really something I really care about."

> Ale (C2); consumer respondent (24/01/2020).

The wine estate is read by Ale as a space of whiteness and wealth and this is seen to make it unwelcoming for people who do not fall within either category. Echoing Butler and Richardson (2015) who state that South Africa's so-called natural spaces (e.g., national parks) continue to be understood as spaces of "white leisure" (p. 162), the wine estate and the Cape Winelands are similarly understood by Ale – a young, coloured man in his mid-twenties who, at the time of interview, worked at a fine-dining restaurant in Cape Town – in this way. He imagines a scenario in which he and his colleagues visit a wine estate, with the anticipation of judgment from other (presumably white and wealthy) visitors. Ale emotionally distances himself from the scenario, compartmentalising it as a work-related visit rather than any kind of personal connection to, or enjoyment of, wine.

For visitors attending wine estates for leisure, who sought an enjoyable experience with friends and family, the emotional ambivalence to experiences within the space were more personal. It was notable that an experience of out-of-placeness was recognised by some consumer respondents, for example:

> "You know, I always have, whenever I go to spaces like that, I always have some discomfort, in a strange way. I find that I enjoy myself and I enjoy

the experience, but I always feel like a bit of an outsider like it's not my space. I don't know how, almost I'm from this country, I've born, I've been here my whole life. But I feel like it's, how do I feel? I go there because it's aesthetically beautiful and it's a pleasant experience, but I don't. I don't feel at ease, I don't feel comfortable, and I don't. I feel like a tourist in those spaces, even though I'm, even though I'm a South African, even though I'm resident in Cape Town and I should feel like it's a normal Saturday or normal Sunday out with a bunch of friends, I still feel. I still feel like a visitor."

Silondile (C23); consumer respondent (10/03/2020).

"We'd be like, okay let's stop here, this looks nice, let's just, and we'd stop, and if we feel like, 'Oh it's got a restaurant and we really like it here, let's eat.' We'll sit, we'll eat, taste some wine, and buy wine, which is also like the thing that I'd notice, that when we did buy wine, it was like 'Oh you actually here to buy?' And I was like, this is, it's rather weird, and so I started making it a thing […] Ja, that's kind of been my experiences with like finding good wine that I actually enjoy. I have to literally like talk myself into it. Like 'Okay, you're now going into Stellenbosch. There are going to be some things that are going to irritate you, but we gonna get some great wine!' Anything for the wine, right?"

Nonhle (C30); consumer respondent (13/03/2020).

Mtose (2011, p. 325) argues that "the legacy of apartheid racism continues to have a significant impact on black people in South Africa" through experiences of everyday racism. As Ndlovu (2022) argues, this has implications for the experience of black middle-class South Africans who engage in practices of consumption in spaces conceptualised as white. A wine estate is not a neutral space of utopia for visitors, and experiences here are a microcosm of the dystopian yet everyday life for many black middle-class South Africans. Nonhle describes the emotional preparation required in advance of visiting spaces within which she expects to feel discomfort based on the racial dynamics that take place there. This is similar to the observations from Ndlovu (2022, p. 6) in which the legitimacy of black consumer presence is questioned and results in "sour dining experiences." Importantly, the root of discomfort is connected to different readings of the wine estate, with its conceptualisation as a space of wine tourism acting in contrast to the ways in which it is experienced as an everyday space.

8.5. Conclusion

A visit to a wine estate can be a strangely seductive experience. Despite my background with WFP, my knowledge of the racialised hierarchies and disparities in working conditions,

and my general discomfort of in such spaces, I nonetheless found a part of myself wanting to accept the "utopian image of South African wine production" (Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020, p. 148) presented to me. I am clearly not the only one. Wine tourism is increasingly becoming the most economically lucrative element of the wine estate operation, arguably more so than winemaking itself (Vinpro, 2019a). As my findings demonstrated in this chapter, the South African wine industry has made a concerted effort to grow wine tourism in the Western Cape, with a particular focus on appealing to black middle-class visitors.

Hence, as argued in this chapter, a key ambition is to present the wine estate experience as a utopia – removed from the banalities of everyday life and infused with luxury, wealth, beauty, and nature. Here, unapologetic consumption is encouraged, away from the stressors of everyday life, allowing visitors to perform a classed way of living – if only for a short time. Yet, as I also called attention to, the utopia of the wine estate is disrupted through recognition of its "dystopian history" (Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020, p. 152) of racialised enslavement and disenfranchisement, alongside white dominance, and supremacy. As white consumer participants described, recognising these histories was unsettling and discomforting within the post-apartheid context of ongoing societal inequalities in South Africa. The tendency to construct distance through time speaks to the politics and ethics of "remembering and forgetting" in post-apartheid South Africa (Meskell, 2006, p. 157). In tandem are the experiences of Black South African visitors within the present. Speaking to the influence of "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 167), several consumer respondents, notably people of colour, described experiences of exclusion and unwelcomeness at wine estates. Far from representing a utopia, it is evident that the ethics of the wine estate remain "embroiled with" the dystopia of a "defective present" (Howland, 2020 quoted in Howson, Murray and Overton, 2020, p. 148).

Chapter 9. Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

In this thesis, I have sought to expand on the ethics in wine consumption with respect to the middle classes of Cape Town and the Cape Winelands. The foundational cornerstones for this analysis were two-fold. Firstly, as Popke (2006, p. 508) argues, "ethical dispositions are always-already inscribed in the everyday performance of consumption". Through this, I argued that "everyday consumption routines" can be thought of as *"ordinarily ethical"* (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 28, author emphasis). The ethics in consumption do not solely encompass narrowly defined social and environmental responsibilities but account for the "activity of constructing a life by negotiating practical choices about personal conduct" (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholm, 2005, p. 10). Secondly, I argued that this understanding of the ethics in consumption must also account for the entanglements between consumption and identity. Here, I specifically refer to the ways in which Posel's (2010, p. 167) concept of "regimes of consumption" is seen within the everyday lives of people living in post-apartheid South Africa. In apartheid South Africa, the legalised racialisation of commodities and consumption practices meant that the majority of South Africans could be criminalised for purchasing and drinking wine. As Ndlovu (2020, p. 572) argues, this "pervasive nature of racialized consumption" has had a "massive impact on quotidian reality" in post-apartheid South Africa. Everyday spaces of consumption, such as restaurants, continue to act as highly politicised sites of racialised exclusion (Ndlovu, 2020). As I argued throughout the chapters of this thesis, what people are presumed to consume, alongside questions of where they consume, why they consume, and how they consume, is significantly shaped by deeply entrenched perspectives about who people are *assumed to be*. This, in turn, dictates the conceptualisation of everyday consumption practices through unhelpful binaries: the ethical or unethical; the moral or immoral; and the responsible or irresponsible.

A key finding of this study is that these dynamics are explicitly evident and applied to the case of the black middle classes of post-apartheid South Africa who, through their very existence, disrupt entrenched racialised binaries within which whiteness is made synonymous with wealth and blackness with poverty (Ndlovu, 2022). In this study, several research participants inferred the consumption practices of black South African people to be transgressive in contrast to previously agreed upon norms largely associated with white consumer practices. For example, the perceived aspiration for wealth, luxury, and status –

through wine – was consistently framed as problematic, with this position justified amidst a wider societal context of extreme social and economic inequalities (Iqani, 2017). Assimilation into the world of wine, I argued, required black consumers to accept the "one-way" street of consumption in post-apartheid South Africa which has "always encouraged non-whites to acquire behaviors previously reserved for Whites at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy" (Timan, 2021, p. 156).

In this, the concluding chapter to this thesis, I aim to outline the following. In the first section, and as expanded on below, I briefly summarise the aims and questions of the thesis. I next present the key arguments, oriented around the core research questions. I follow this by detailing my primary contributions to the literature, both theoretically and empirically. Finally, I reflect on opportunities for future research directions.

9.2. Thesis Summary

The data presented in this study were the culmination of six months of ethnographic fieldwork in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands from October 2019 to March 2020. The study centred insights from 31 middle-class wine consumers in Cape Town and the Cape Winelands and 47 people working in the value chain for wine in South Africa. In doing so, I sought to achieve the overarching aim of illuminating the ethics that exist in the everyday consumption of wine.

The research questions guiding this study were the following:

1. How are contemporary wine trends and patterns interpreted by people working within the value chain for wine in South Africa, and/or wine consumers?
2. What are the assumptions underpinning strategies to grow middle-class wine consumption, and how do these assumptions materialise in space?
3. In what ways do middle-class consumers experience wine in the Western Cape, and how do they articulate these experiences within a register of ethics?
4. In what ways does the example of wine and South Africa's middle classes further geographical debates on the ethics in consumption?

The overarching aim of the initial chapters presented in this thesis (Chapters 1 to 4) was to provide the context necessary in understanding the empirical context for the study. In Chapter 1, I began by introducing some of the complexities, politics, and ethics of wine consumption in post-apartheid South Africa. Further, I sought to establish some of the

motivations behind the development of the study, connected both to the literature and my personal experiences, alongside an explanation of my research questions. The purpose of Chapter 2 was to outline my conceptual framework as mediated by three concepts – ethics, consumption, and the growing middle classes – and their relationships to wine. Here, I aimed to establish the gaps in the literature on wine and the growing middle classes while also clarifying my interpretation of the key concepts applied in this study. In Chapter 3, I outlined the importance of wine in the Western Cape, paying specific attention to the racialised and classed histories of its production and consumption. Finally, in Chapter 4, I expanded on my methodological approaches to this study with a focus on feminist theories of care, emotion, affect, and subjectivity in fieldwork.

In Chapters 5 to 8, I discussed the key findings of this study as identified via the systematic and rigorous analysis of qualitative data. In Chapters 5 and 6, I aimed to understand the following: firstly, how wine trends in South Africa have been interpreted by industry respondents; secondly, how these interpretations have informed strategies to grow middle-class wine consumption. Chapters 7 and 8 evaluated the ways in which these strategies have materialised in space and are understood as complementary to one another. In Chapter 7, I evaluated the role of the township wine festival in introducing a highly specific wine culture to middle-class attendees. In Chapter 8, I analysed the changing role of the wine estate as a space of utopic consumption specifically intended for middle-class visitors.

Below, I reflect on the ways in which this study has addressed the questions detailed above with a summary of its main arguments.

9.3.   Summary of Main Arguments

9.3.1. *Wine trends in post-apartheid South Africa*

A core aim of this research was to explore contemporary consumer-related wine trends in post-apartheid South Africa, specifically, over the past 20 years. A wealth of quantitative data has been amassed over this timeframe, notably by the wine industry institution, SAWIS. It was therefore essential to determine how industry respondents interpreted these data and applied these towards their imaginations of the so-called 'ideal' wine consumer. As demonstrated in this study, it is only in recent years, specifically from 2014/2015 onwards, that the South African wine industry has developed a clear and comprehensive business strategy geared towards the local market, including the identification of new target markets.

In this study, industry respondents accepted that wine consumption in South Africa is low, and has remained low, for decades (Anderson, Nelgen and Pinilla, 2017). Within this, premium-plus wines account for only a small proportion of the overall market (FTI Consulting, 2021). Through this study, it was evident that industry respondents understood these market dynamics through a racialised and classed lens. For example, wine sales were understood to be low in part due to the assumption that the main consumer market for wine has historically been a white minority South African demographic. Notably, industry consumers often connected white consumers to wine consumption cultures within which the intrinsic qualities and geographies of the product were most valued. This speaks to the ways in which the value of wine is often associated with "cultural capital rather than [the] economic" (Currid-Halkett, Lee and Painter, 2019, p. 85) in many wine consuming cultures around the world. As Overton and Murray (2013) argue, for example, the status associated with premium wine cultures is often connected to notions of authenticity, appreciation, and knowledge. A key finding emerging from this study, however, was the recognition that these broader and more global trends are blended with the dynamics of the local social and political context. The recurrent assumption amongst research participants that white South Africans are the predominant wine consumer group within the country is connected to the histories of wine within its borders and, aligned with this, the legalised enmeshment of identity and consumption in apartheid South Africa. As Posel (2010, p. 172) argues, the "regimes of consumption" that dictated life for the majority of South Africans for much of the 20th century continue to have, as argued in this study, ramifications for the contemporary setting.

Hence, connected to the above, this study demonstrated that the concept of a premium wine consuming culture is often and implicitly associated with the concept of whiteness. Here, whiteness can be understood as a "configuration of power, privilege and identity consisting of white racialized ideologies and practices, with material and social ramifications" (van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema, 2017, p. 652). As van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema (2017, p. 652) further argue, this focus on racialisation makes visible the ways in which "power and privilege are bound up with the social construction of identity." Again, the whiteness of premium wine consumer cultures has been increasingly recognised across geographies around the world, particularly by professionals within the industry itself. A number of Black wine professionals, notably in the USA, have long called for greater recognition and respect

from the wider industry (Saladino, 2020; The Hue Society, 2023) with this gaining traction in the mainstream media from 2020 onwards (Robinson, 2020c). What is unique to the South African context, and what represents a key finding within this study, are the ways in which consumption practices were historically used by the apartheid state to legally differentiate its citizens along social locations of race. In apartheid South Africa, the white middle classes were the primary focus of the South African wine industry, specifically in terms of fostering a consumption culture predicated on luxury, status, and lifestyle (Nugent, 2014). As Ndlovu (2022) argues, such practices were reflective of the apartheid state's ambitions to naturalise the relationship between whiteness and wealth, the ramifications of which continue to be seen today. This is not to say that the concept of whiteness is homogenous (van Zyl-Hermann and Boersema, 2017). While beyond the scope of this study, I recognise the heterogeneity of whiteness in post-apartheid South Africa, where the concept is often "defined in terms of the struggle between English and Afrikaans subjectivities" (Steyn, 2004, p. 147). While this is no less significant in contemporary dynamics around viticulture and land ownership, it is notable that research participants themselves did not make this distinction. The insights generated from this study, therefore, speak to the ways in which wine continues to be understood, beyond distinctions between different white ethnicities, through a lens of whiteness as understood in terms of power, privilege, and implicit normativity.

Connected to this is a further finding of importance to this study – many research participants felt that low wine sales could be explained by the presumed disinterest of black alcohol consumers (Conningarth Consultants, 2015). This was demonstrated, for example, by the ways in which several industry respondents explained contemporary alcohol markets, with black consumers presumed to prefer beers, spirits, and ciders. Such perspectives, however, often failed to account for the ways in which certain wine consumption cultures – notably, those associated with white consumers – are experienced as exclusionary by people of colour. Here, several respondents described a sense of hypervisibility when engaging in premium wine consumption spaces, calling attention to the ways in which people of colour who seek to engage are held under scrutiny and suspicion. A sense of exclusion and exclusivity is commonly associated with premium wine consumption cultures around the world and is not unique to the South African context (Brierley-Jones *et al.*, 2014; McIntyre and Germov, 2018; Wright *et al.*, 2022). Despite this, research within this sphere typically

centres class dynamics within such analyses. Rarely have scholars considered the ways in which social locations of race and class intersect within spaces of exclusivity and exclusion. To date, for example, only one other scholar – Ho (2019, 2021a, 2021b) – has researched and articulated the ways in which racialised and classed prejudices shape assumptions of newer wine consumers, particularly those in emerging wine markets across Asia.

To summarise, it is evident that contemporary wine trends in post-apartheid South Africa are intuitively understood and interpreted in relation to pre-existing racialised and classed assumptions. These assumptions are ethically contentious and speak to the ways in which regulation of "people's aspirations, interests and powers as consumers" alongside their "desire and power to consume" (Posel, 2010, p. 160) continues to be understood in deeply racialised terms. Importantly, and as demonstrated through this study, wine in a post-apartheid context is entangled with the concept of whiteness. While this shares commonalities with wine cultures around the world, it is significant that the perspectives shared by participants for this study were also entangled with the politics of consumption unique to the South African context, notably, the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 167) that governed life for the majority of people throughout the apartheid era.

9.3.2. *Middle-class wine consumption in post-apartheid South Africa*

Having delineated the contemporary context for wine markets in South Africa, a second aim of this study was to examine the assumptions underpinning strategies to grow the number of middle-class wine consumers in the country. A significant shift has taken place in industry attitudes to wine consumers, particularly from 2014/2015 onwards and in response to the Wine Industry Strategic Exercise. Whereas the idealised South African wine consumer was once imagined as white and wealthy, many industry respondents felt that the primary avenue for wine growth was now connected to black middle-class South African consumers. Such perspectives are reflective of growing corporate, institutional, and scholarly interest in the emerging middle-classes across the Global South, particularly in relation to consumption practices and preferences (Chevalier, 2015; Ncube and Lufumpa, 2015; Spronk, 2018). Within the context of wine, for example, several scholars have argued that middle-class consumers in newer wine markets across Asia and Africa represent the most significant opportunity for the growth of the global wine industry (Overton, Murray and Banks, 2012). Within this body of research, it is evident that many scholars assume the core motivations

underpinning the desire to consume wine are oriented towards ideas of status, conspicuousness, and distinction (Järvinen, Ellergaard and Larsen, 2014; Ho, 2021b).

Within this study, similar assumptions were found to underpin strategies to grow wine consumption in South Africa, with a particular focus on the black middle classes. Here, the application of the 'middle-class' label was found to be crucial. Aligned with literature on the middle classes in emerging wine markets, many industry respondents felt that the desire for status and aspiration acted as a key motivator for black middle-class South Africans to consume wine. This was, in itself, a significant finding. Whereas black South Africans were once envisaged as mass market of consumers who were collectively disinterested in wine, the opposite was now understood to be true within the case of the black middle classes. In fact, as I argued in this study, industry respondents sought to naturalise the relationship between black middle-class South Africans and wine; the former presumed to aspire towards the material and symbolic acquisition of status, and the latter presumed to be infused with status. This again, speaks to assumptions within the literature on wine and the global middle classes in which the patterns, practices, and performances of wine consumption are often assumed to be associated with aspirations for "social prestige" (Overton and Murray, 2013, p. 702) and act as a "signifier of middle class status and distinction" (Howland, 2013, p. 335).

As I argued, this positioning is problematic and, within the context of this study, was entangled with racialised and classed stereotypes about wine consumers. In the first instance, many industry respondents inferred that the presumed desire for wine consumers to gain status through wine was antithetical to where its true value was seen to lie. Hence, while industry respondents sought to grow wine markets in South Africa, with specific focus on the black middle classes, they also expressed ambivalence in the ways in which consumers were understood to engage with wine. For example, several respondents expressed discomfort with the idea that consumers might associate the value of wine with its price as opposed to its more intrinsic qualities, for example, its geographies. Such notions speak to the broader discourse that surrounds the black middle classes in post-apartheid South Africa, specifically concerning accusations of materialism amidst a societal context of extreme social inequalities (Iqani, 2017).

These perspectives, I argued, failed to account for the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) which criminalised black aspiration in apartheid South Africa (Ndlovu, 2020).

In a post-apartheid context, it is evident that black South Africans continue to be judged for engaging in practices of consumption that are seen as normative in many wine-consuming cultures around the world. In some ways, this bears similarities to recent research from Ho (2021a) within which newer wine consumers in China and Hong Kong were shown to be racially stereotyped by European wine critics, with presumptions that such consumers lacked the knowledge and familiarity felt to be required to authentically engage with European wine cultures. Within the context of this study, there was generally a failure amongst some research participants to reflect on the ways in which black middle-class wine consumers were hypervisible in wine spaces typically associated with whiteness. As a result, while the black middle classes were a key demographic target for wine growth, they remained under "heightened scrutiny and surveillance" within which "failures [were] magnified" with people lacking "control over how they [were] perceived by others" (Settles, Buchanan and Dotson, 2019, p. 63). The assumption that black middle-class consumers drink wine as a form of conspicuous consumption, therefore, failed to sufficiently interrogate the ways in which this demographic is scrutinised and monitored for possible transgressions as understood by a white lens. Within this context, it was unsurprising that several industry respondents felt that black consumers were intimidated by wine, specifically in relation to its associations with the concept of whiteness.

Nonetheless, this study found that such perspectives had implications for the materialisation of strategies to grow wine consumption, notably, in the case of the township wine festival. The concept of the township wine festival is relatively new, with only the Soweto Wine Festival maintaining any sort of longevity over the past 20 years. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in this study, such spaces are largely understood in terms of middle classness. The concept of the township continues to be understood in terms of poverty and violence; as shown in this study, the notion of a luxury wine event hosted in such a space was seen to be extraordinary. It is therefore with a sense of poignance that I argued that the concept of the township wine festival could only be understood as an enclave that allowed for the admission of the black middle classes while excluding the "racialized or poor bodies" (Timan, 2021, p. 158) most often associated with South Africa's townships. Within the case of the two wine festivals examined in this study, middle-class attendees were expected to conform to the wine consumption culture established by those 'bringing' wine to the townships – that is, wine producers. Here, the expectation was for black wine consumers to "acquire

behaviors previously reserved for Whites at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy" (Timan, 2021, p. 156). Within the case of the township wine festival, this included so-called responsible drinking practices (e.g., not behaving in a drunken manner) and pairing wines with food as deemed to be appropriate. Given the histories of wine in South Africa's township, notably, the promotion of poor-quality and low-cost products during the apartheid era, it can perhaps be understood why there is an industry focus on the promotion of more premium products in this context. Questions remain, however, on who is and is not encouraged to engage in premium wine consumption cultures within this space.

In summary, the assumptions used to guide strategies to grow middle-class wine consumption in South Africa are similar to those expressed by those seeking to grow consumption in emerging markets across Africa and Asia. Broadly, these assumptions envisage a consumer who aspires for status through their consumption practices. Wine is implicitly understood to carry status and for several respondents in this study, this was seen as a key motivator for black middle-class consumers. As a result, the presumed desire to attain status was materialised through the concept of the township wine festival, a space explicitly envisaged as middle-class. Once again, such perspectives failed to account for the "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172) that continue to criminalise and make hypervisible black aspiration in a contemporary context (Ndlovu, 2020).

9.3.3. Articulations of ethics through wine

The third aim of this study was to explore the ways in which middle-class consumers experienced and articulated a sense of ethics through wine. Here, the concept of ethics was not constrained to narrowly defined practices associated with the consumption of products with specific certifications and accreditations. I instead sought to better understand the ways in which "everyday consumption practices are always already shaped by and help shape certain sorts of ethical dispositions" (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 28). I recognised that, in post-apartheid South Africa, everyday consumption practices remain entwined with racialised and classed identities. Importantly, these identities have genealogies that can be traced to the ambitions of the apartheid government to subjugate the majority of South Africans while uplifting a white minority demographic (Posel, 2001a; Posel, 2010). In seeking the ethics in consumption, I sought to better understand the ways in which consumer respondents articulated a sense of ethics that was intimately connected to these racialised and classed identities.

Such an approach was imperative given the tendency of consumption scholars – including those focused on wine – to centre notions of materialism, status, and conspicuous consumption in relation to middle-class consumers in emerging economies (Overton, Murray and Banks, 2012) without reflecting on the nuances of the local context. A central aim of this study, therefore, was to disrupt commonly held assumptions evident within literature on wine, consumption, and the growing middle classes in emerging economies. These are as follows: firstly, that the size of the middle-class population within a market will dictate wine sales; secondly, that middle-class consumers drink wine because of the desire to acquire status. Notions of status and aspiration within the world of consumption are often understood in terms of pejoratives; as demonstrated in the study, this was particularly evident in the context of South Africa which continues to struggle with widespread social and economic inequalities (Iqani, 2017). Many research participants, for example, felt that certain wine consumption practices – notably, those associated with wine tourism and wine estates – were distasteful and lacked sensitivity towards the broader societal context of the country.

An important finding from this study, however, was the recognition that notions of status and aspiration were primarily assigned to the perceived motivations of black middle-class consumers. Speaking to the normative power of whiteness in premium wine consumer cultures, I argued that it was the hypervisibility of black consumers – the ways in which they existed under a lens of scrutiny and suspicion – that led to the construction of such beliefs. Yet, beyond this, centring the concept of regimes of consumption in relation to notions of status makes the desire for visibility to be a deeply radical and powerful act. For much of the 20th century, the aspirations of black South Africans were criminalised (Ndlovu, 2020). Indeed, everyday practices of consumption – including those concerning alcohol – were "invested with racial significance" (Posel, 2001b, p. 61) to such an extent that they were used by the apartheid state to inform its arbitrary racial classification processes (Seekings, 2008). The power of this egregious approach was evident in this study; aligned with findings from Ndlovu (2022), I identified a tendency amongst some research participants to equate whiteness with wealth and blackness with poverty. Amidst the entrenchment of such perspectives, the desire to be intentionally visible is both empowering and brave.

Connected to this, the study found that, beyond ideas of status, distinction, and materialism, many consumer respondents expressed a deep sense of ambivalence towards wine that was

specifically connected to its colonial and apartheid histories in the Western Cape. For example, several consumer participants were highly aware of the legacies of wine in the local context, notably, in relation to the impact of the dop system on farm labourer communities. For some participants, their connection to such practices was both intimate and familial, with extended family members impacted by this practice. For others, the dop system was critical to shaping their identities as both South Africans and residents of the Western Cape, including a sense of unease and ambivalence in their own participation in premium wine consumption cultures. Such unease was made most explicit in consumer imaginations of wine estates, which increasingly represent important spaces of wine consumption specifically intended for middle-class visitors. Wine estates are extremely diverse, not just in terms of size and business model, but in terms of ownership, working practices, and farming approaches. It was therefore significant that many consumer respondents imagined such spaces in terms of whiteness, wealth, and privilege. For some consumer respondents, notably white South Africans, the perceived whiteness of such spaces sat uncomfortably with their imagined histories – specifically, those connected to a European settler colonialism, apartheid-era labour practices, and ongoing workers' rights issues.

A similar sense of ambivalence was expressed by several Black consumer respondents, many of whom shared experiences of discomfort and unease when visiting wine estates across the Western Cape – notably, however, in relation to the oldest wine-producing areas such as Stellenbosch. The sense of discomfort expressed by these participants was specifically connected to the ways in which the concept of regimes of consumption continued to have impact in their everyday lives. Many participants, for example, expressed a sense of exclusion connected to wine estates, typified by the microaggressions they received from other visitors and, at times, employees. This speaks to the ongoing entanglement of wine with whiteness in post-apartheid South Africa. Within this, however, it should be recognised that many consumer respondents expressed and applied ethical judgements towards others, in particular, within the context of the township. Calling attention to the ways in which so-called problematic consumption practices are spatialised across different urban spaces, several consumer respondents expressed discomfort in relation to the perceived consumption practices of lower-income township residents. This speaks to the ways in

which alcohol continues to be understood through a moralised lens particularly when considered in relation to those who fall outside of the realm of the middle classes.

In summary, the consumer respondents interviewed for this study were highly aware of the politics of wine in their everyday lives, not just as consumers but as residents of the Western Cape and citizens of South Africa. This was often expressed with a deep sense of ambivalence that was entwined with their racialised and classed identities. In turn, ambivalence informed the ethics expressed by research participants, not just in relation to their own experiences, but their understanding of the wider context of wine in the Western Cape.

9.4. Contributions to Knowledge

In the following section, I reflect on the ways in which this study has contributed to knowledge in two fundamental ways. The first is the study's empirical contribution to literature on class, consumption, and wine markets. The second is the study's empirical and theoretical contributions to debates on geographies of the ethics in consumption.

9.4.1. Class, consumption, and emerging wine markets

A key aim of this study was to challenge the following assumptions in literature on middle-class wine consumers in emerging economies across the heterogeneous Global South. These are as follows: firstly, the size of the middle-class population in any given market dictates the volumes of wine consumed, with the middle classes presumed to have an ingrained preference for wine (Banks and Overton, 2010; Smith Maguire and Lim, 2015; Howland, 2019; Clifton, Clifton and Velikova, 2021; Ho, 2021a; Ho, 2021b). Secondly, the middle classes in emerging economies consume wine, particularly those imported from wine-producing countries in Europe, to signal and embed their class position, social status, and cultural identities as distinct from other social groups (Järvinen, Ellergaard and Larsen, 2014; Ho, 2021b). Importantly, there is very little empirical research available that justifies such assumptions about consumers in emerging wine markets. To my knowledge, only Ho (2019, 2021a, 2021b) has sought to critically evaluate and understand the perspectives of middle-class wine consumers, with a specific focus on those living in Hong Kong. This study therefore seeks to address this gap in the literature by disrupting engrained assumptions and adding nuance to debates that continue to centre concepts such as materialism and conspicuous consumption without a more reflexive, considered, and nuanced analysis.

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Throughout this study, I argued – and demonstrated – that the aforementioned characterisation of middle-class wine consumers within emerging economies was problematic and unhelpful. This framing, I argued, essentialises and homogenises a diversity of consumers and consumer experiences across geographies under the shared label of the 'global middle-class'. An example of this can be seen in writings from Overton, Murray and Banks (2012, pp. 278-279) who suggest that the newly wealthy in emerging markets have increasingly turned to wine as "a new high-status product." This mirrors arguments from Howland (2013, p. 335) who suggests that wine is seen to act as a "signifier of middle class status and distinction."

Yet, curiously, there is very little empirical research that actually involves middle-class wine consumers from emerging markets. As Ho (2019, p. 91) notes, "despite the large amount of existing literature on wine, much of it is Anglo-European focused" with limited attention paid to wine markets outside of this geography. It is therefore important that Ho (2019, 2021a, 2021b), in research involving middle-class wine consumers in Hong Kong, recognises the Eurocentricity and accompanying exclusivity of contemporary wine cultures that includes the problematic – if not outright racist – judgements applied to consumers in emerging wine markets. While this study focuses on within-country dynamics in South Africa, it was notable that many of its findings were reflected in the arguments put forward by Ho (2019, 2021a, 2021b).

Ho (2019, 2021a, 2021b) has allowed for important empirical advances in this research space. However, the centring of theoretical analyses focused on capital results in a framing of consumer practices that are primarily governed by the desire to conspicuously display wealth. This speaks to the ways in which wine is often seen to communicate "connotations of high culture … wealth, and being Westernized" (Ho, 2021b, p. 249). As this study demonstrated, many research participants shared similar views, particularly in relation to black middle-class consumers. Importantly, however, by seeking the ethics in consumption, I added much needed nuance to these findings. I demonstrated, for example, that the concepts of status, aspiration, and visibility remain highly contentious within the post-apartheid context. As demonstrated in the following section, by seeking the ethics in consumption, I created space to delve more deeply into the genealogies of these perspectives. Throughout this study, I have argued that understanding the ethics in consumption requires an understanding of the ways in which consumption and identity are

deeply entwined, particularly along social locations of race and class. While this has implications for empirical research in other emerging wine markets, it is particularly poignant within the South African context given the extent to which regimes of consumption continue to impact people's everyday lives.

9.4.2. Geographies of the ethics in consumption

In Chapter 1, I described the assumptions I held when first developing this study. Initially, I equated the concept 'ethical consumption' to mean ethical trade involving Southern producers, Northern consumers, and ethically certified products. I assumed that consumers were motivated towards ethical consumption through knowledge. Unknowingly, I implicitly understood the ethics of consumption through binaries. My understanding of ethical consumption has shifted considerably since this time. In line with a growing set of geography scholars, I understand this shift as an expansion of the conceptual parameters of ethics as understood in relation to consumption (Barnett *et al.*, 2005; Barnett *et al.*, 2010). Constraining ethics to social and environmental accreditations does not sufficiently account for the myriad of ethical meanings within everyday consumption practices. Understanding everyday consumption as *"ordinarily ethical"* (Barnett *et al.*, 2005, p. 28, author emphasis) allows consideration of the ways in which memories, emotions, and experiences are infused within the everyday "activity of constructing a life by negotiating practical choices about personal conduct" (Barnett, Cafaro and Newholm, 2005, p. 10).

This study contributes to a growing body of geographical work that calls attention to the absence of Southern consumers in research on ethical consumption. Despite the growing focus on the middle classes in emerging economies, the ethical meanings of consumption practices are "under-researched and under-theorized" (Crang and Hughes, 2015, p. 131). It is within this context that I consider question 4: *In what ways does the case of wine and South Africa's middle classes further geographical debates on the ethics in consumption?* Here, I contribute to the literature in two core ways. Firstly, in tracing the genealogies of wine in the Western Cape, including its settler colonial and apartheid histories, I show the ways in which this commodity continues to have political, social, and economic ramifications for the construction of South African society. Here, I address a key gap in literature on geographies of ethical consumption across the Global South which, to date, centre consumption practices without focus on the biographies of the products consumed. I therefore account for the "localized and historically-embedded moralities of [wine]

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consumption" (Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015, p. 150) in the Western Cape. Secondly, as I argued, understanding the ethics in wine consumption must account for the all-encompassing cultural and economic dominance of wine in the Western Cape. Wine has shaped the lives of generations of people living in the Western Cape. It offers a "window into places, cultures, and times" (Dougherty, 2012, p. 5). When this is understood in relation to its entanglements with "regimes of consumption" (Posel, 2010, p. 172), it makes visible the ways in which contemporary understandings of middle-class consumers, alongside their consumption practices, remain entangled with and haunted by the legacies of the apartheid era which actively sought to naturalise "black poverty and white wealth" through consumption (Ndlovu, 2022, p. 4). This finding offers an important empirical and theoretical contribution to research on the geographies of ethical consumption across the Global South which has often centred the concept of class (Hughes, McEwan and Bek, 2015; McEwan, Hughes and Bek, 2015; Gregson and Ferdous, 2015; Daya, 2016). This study demonstrates the importance of an intersectional approach to the ethics in consumption that accounts for social locations of race and class within the everyday lives of consumers.

9.5.   Future Research Directions

The richness of the data generated for this study required difficult decisions on which stories to include and why. While I have detailed my core study findings, there are a wealth of ideas that require further consideration. Below, I reflect on two opportunities for advancement in this space.

9.5.1. *Middle-class wine consumer cultures in emerging markets*

This study draws attention to contemporary wine trends taking place in post-apartheid South Africa. I demonstrated that perspectives critical to wine consumer markets are currently in a state of transition. This is not, in itself, unique to this geography. As I argued throughout this study, many of the findings – namely, the perspectives shared by research participants – mirror those shared by institutions, governments, and indeed, scholars within a more global context. A unique finding, however, was the intensity of the industry gaze on black middle-class consumers. Notably, this required the changing mindset of industry respondents. From once viewing wine as product for white and wealthy consumers, many now sought to naturalise the relationship between wine and the black middle classes. The intensity of this focus is evident in this study where much of the analysis focused on strategies that centred and magnified the black middle classes.

Yet this study was not, in itself, an exhaustive study of black middle-class wine consumer cultures. Nor has it evaluated the intricacies of white middle-class wine consumer cultures in a post-apartheid context, or those of other racialised peoples. Such work is important and necessary in order to add more nuance to a research space that typically orients itself around status, capital, and distinction. By connecting contemporary trends and perspectives to an ethics connected to the concept of regimes of consumption, I believe this study has laid the groundwork needed to explore these consumption cultures further. I have shown that the concept of regimes of consumption continues to impact the lives of people who engage in everyday practices of consumption. Understanding that the manipulation of consumption practices for much of the 20th century continues to impact consumers along social locations of race and class is key to better understanding consumer cultures moving forwards. This includes, for example, the ways in which people of colour navigate different wine spaces, changing identities around wine, and the meanings of whiteness amidst shifting consumer-related conceptual frameworks.

9.5.2. *The Eurocentricity of wine consumption cultures*

During fieldwork for this study, it was evident that unique processes were taking place in wine cultures in Cape Town. Here, I am referring specifically to the community of Zimbabwean sommeliers who are making a global name for themselves in the world of wine. The significance of this collective is partly connected to the ways in which they have called attention to the Eurocentricity of wine consumption cultures. This includes, for example, the ways in which the concept of wine tastes has been developed to accommodate a highly specific suite of flavours that are framed as universal and objective. Several sommeliers interviewed for this study, for example, described the difficulties of identifying tastes they were previously unfamiliar with, instead creating a palate of flavours guided by indigenous fruits. Such debates are not specific to the South African context but are also seen in the USA, where Black sommeliers are increasingly challenging the enforcement of a wine palate presumed to be universal. This speaks to both the Eurocentricity and whiteness of wine consumer cultures at more global levels. To date, however, there is a lack of empirical research focusing on 1) a post-colonial analysis of wine tastes and 2) the work of Black, Indigenous, and other people of colour across a global wine industry to advocate for change. Both represent important avenues of future research to better consider the ethics in consumption.

Appendices

Appendix A

Interview schedule – industry respondents

Version dated: 14/01/2020.

Please find below questions of interest for this interview. Please note, you are not obligated to answer all of these questions; rather, the purpose of this document is to share the anticipated semi-structured approach in order to explore the key themes and considerations of relevance to this study. You are welcome to provide any additional insights and questions which may not have been addressed below.

1. Background and role
   a. Can you tell me about your role within the company?
   b. Can you tell me about your company's position within the domestic wine market?
      i. E.g., national and/or regional market share

2. The domestic market
   a. Can you tell me more about your work in relation to the domestic wine market in South Africa?
   b. Can you tell me about any emerging trends in wine preferences within the domestic market (within the context of your company)?
      i. Have you identified any gaps in the domestic market (e.g., product type, specific brands, consumer demographics?)
   c. Can you describe your key consumer demographics nationally and/or regionally and why?
      i. Have these demographics changed over time and, if so, how?
      ii. Are target demographics tailored to specific wine brands and, if so, how?
   d. Can you describe your key goals and ambitions within the context of these consumer groups?
   e. Can you describe how you aim to achieve these goals and ambitions?
   f. Can you tell me about any potential challenges that may affect these goals and ambitions?

3. Outreach

    a. Can you describe how your company reaches domestic consumers?

        i. E.g., Retail stores, media, sales team, traditional and online outreach?

        ii. Does your engagement strategy change for different audiences?

    b. Can you describe how this strategy has changed over time?

        i. Can you tell me about any future ambitions?

    c. Can you tell me about any influencers or celebrities who may engage with domestic consumers?

    d. Can you tell me about any events the company is involved with?

4. Themes of sustainable, ethical, and responsible consumption

    a. Have you observed any trends in the public arena that are driving sustainable, ethical and/or responsible wine consumption?

        i. Have you observed any campaigns, celebrities, influencers etc. who are raising awareness of sustainable, ethical and/or responsible wine consumption?

    b. Could you tell me about the work of your company in ensuring it / its supply chains are sustainable, ethical and/or responsible?

    c. Could you describe to me the ways in which the company communicates this work to the domestic market?

        i. Do you observe consumers to be receptive to this work?

    d. Do you observe any emerging trends in consumer interest in sustainable, ethical and/or responsible wine consumption?

5. Interview end

    a. Do you have any other insights you would like to share?

Appendix B

Interview schedule – consumer respondents

Version dated: 30/01/2020 Please find below questions of interest for this interview. Please note, you are not obligated to answer all of these questions; rather, the purpose of this document is to share the anticipated semi-structured approach in order to explore the key themes and considerations of relevance to this study. You are welcome to provide any additional insights and questions which may not have been addressed below.

1. Wine biography
   a. Do you remember the first time you tried wine?
   b. How long have you been drinking wine?
   c. How do you view yourself as a wine drinker (e.g., fundi, novice)?
   d. Do you consider yourself to be very knowledgeable about wine?
       i. Where do you get this information from? E.g., social media, books, travel?
   e. Could you describe your 'wine philosophy' or 'ethos'?
   f. How does wine make you feel?
       i. Relaxed, confident etc.
   g. What is your perception of wine drinking and the wine industry in South Africa?
       i. Could you describe any trends you have seen in wine amongst your friends and/or family?
       ii. Do you observe any differences in wine cultures?

2. Wine habits
   a. Could you tell me why you drink wine?
       i. Could you tell me what you enjoy?
       ii. Could you tell me what you dislike?
   b. Could you tell me how often you drink wine?
       i. Per day, week, monthly etc.
   c. Could you tell me when you tend to drink wine?
       i. Special occasion or everyday occurrence?
       ii. Time of day?
       iii. Day of the week?

      iv. Could you tell me how much wine you tend to drink during these occasions?

  d. Could you tell me who you tend to drink wine with?

      i. Alone, friends, family

      ii. Why is this the case?

  e. Could you tell me how much you typically spend?

      i. At home

      ii. Out of the home

      iii. Why is this the case?

3. <u>Wine tastes</u>

  a. What types of wine do you like and why?

      i. Cultivar, style, red, country, region, terroir, bottle, box etc.

  b. What types of wine do you dislike and why?

  c. Could you describe any specific brands you enjoy / dislike?

  d. Have you had any experiences that have shaped these tastes and preferences?

  e. Have you noticed your tastes in wine change over time? How so?

  f. Could you tell me about your opinion of wine labels, designs, and associated items (e.g., cork, can, medium)?

4. <u>Wine locations</u>

  a. Could you tell me where you typically drink wine?

      i. Home, bars, restaurants, hiking and outdoors?

      ii. If at home – where do you buy it from?

      iii. Can you describe what you like about these locations?

  b. What decisions go into choosing a wine?

      i. If out of the home – could you describe your decision-making?

  c. Are there any occasions we haven't talked about that are particularly memorable for you?

5. <u>Wine tourism</u>

  a. Could you tell me about a time you have visited a wine estate, festival, event?

      i. What was the context?

      ii.   What were your impressions?

      iii. How did you feel?

   b. Did you capture the event? How and where?

   c. How did you get there and back?

   d. Tell me how this influenced your wine preferences after you visited the estate, festival, event?

6. <u>Wine media</u>

   a. Could you tell me about any media stories, events etc that influence your wine drinking?

   b. Could you tell me a little about your social media habits within the context of wine?

   c. Could you name any particular wine influencers, celebrities (national and/or international)?

7. <u>Ethics, sustainability, responsibility</u>

   a. Could you tell me: what is important to you about how and where a wine is produced?

   b. Could you describe any ethical, sustainable etc. accreditations associated with wine?

   c. Are these important to you when choosing a wine?

   d. Is there anything else important to you within wine that may not necessarily have a specific label?

8. <u>Interview end</u>

   a. Do you have any other insights you would like to share?

Appendix C

Participant recruitment poster (consumer participants)

Appendix D

WISE – 'toolbox' and 'gamechanger' projects

	Project	Objective(s)
TOOLBOX	Single South African information portal and search engine	• To support the development of a centralised portal and search engine that combines existing information systems, databases, and libraries into one single portal to aid accessibility and utilisation • To incorporate new electronic services and databases that may be identified as value adding
	Price point analysis of supply chain – packaged and bulk	• To understand how price points are established (and the types of pressures that warrant a lowering of prices) in South African wine and those in the top-ten competitor countries • To build an understanding of value chain elasticity to better drive the future price of South African projects
	Implementation plan for learning and development in the wine value chain	• PricewaterhouseCoopers has prepared a Learning & Development Strategy for the wine industry, making a number of recommendations • The aim of this project is to implement the most essential of those recommendations and create an enabling environment for the other recommendations to also be addressed within the structures created • The Plan includes an integrated Learning Management System for the industry and is linked with the targets for skills development included in the Transformation Plan

	Realignment of research and development structures	• To determine the value and relevance of existing research and development structures in order to initiate constructive changes including:
		   o A research and development strategy
		   o Technology tools and solutions that facilitate decision-making
		   o Develop networks and forums of collaborative expertise
		   o Develop a new business model for industry
		   o Fund research and education programmes for top academics and technologists in the industry

GAMECHANGER	Analysis of market and consumer trends in key markets and formalising global trade agenda	• To build a customised model for market opportunities for South African Wine, explore up to five individual markets in more depth, and support the dissemination of insight to stakeholders • Focus markets include China, Africa (Angola and Nigeria), and the USA. This complements WOSA's strategic framework • The project also includes the analysis of non-tariff barriers, as well as setting the trade agenda for government engagement in key markets

	Project	Objective(s)

	Wine tourism baseline study and strategy development	• The objectives of this project are to:
		   o Build an understanding of current wine tourism industry
		   o Make projections as to where the industry wants to go
		   o Develop a strategy for wine tourism to move from the "as is" to the "to be" state

	Brand South Africa local marketing strategy	• The objective is to re-energise and revitalise the local wine market by:
		   o Raising the status of the category within the broader alcohol repertoire;
		   o Building new customer target groups – creating a lifestyle choice;
		   o Making wine more "accessible" to consumers;
		   o Taking greater share of the local alcohol beverage market;
		   o Improving profitability and driving entrepreneurship

	Land reform & transformation plan	• The objective of this project is to:
		   o Conduct desktop research on compliance levels of wine value chain players;
		   o Compile comprehensive transformation plan for wine value chain, indicating intent, quantifying timelines, and targets

	Technology transfer and innovation strategy for the wine value chain	• To assess the current state of technology and innovation usage through a SWOT analysis, plotting the ideal future state on a ten-year horizon; and providing a road map to reach this future state
	Wine social compact	• A social compact is an agreement amongst the members of an organised society or between the people and the government, which covers a specific topic • The compact has the right to secure mutual protection and welfare or to regulate the relations among members. Because the agreement is a contract, each party to the contract is granted certain rights, but also bears certain responsibilities. In the case of the Wine Social Compact the parties involved are industry, government, labour, and civil society

SWOT, Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats; USA, United States of America; WOSA, Wines of South Africa.

Toolbox' defined as "creating an enabling environment for business as usual"; 'gamechanger' defined as "changing the wine & brandy industry's landscape".

Source: South African Wine & Brandy Portal (no date).

Appendix E

NOW consumer segmentation tool (2014 version)

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Source: CIA (no date-a).

Appendix F

NOW consumer segmentation tool (updated version, accessed 2021)

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Source: CIA (no date-b).

Appendix G

Messaging for key South African tourist archetypes

Source: adapted from SA Tourism (2012).

	Archetype	Messaging
DEFEND	High-life enthusiasts	"Communications to High-Life Enthusiasts must position domestic travel as the quickest and easiest way to enjoy invaluable and enviable world-class (but home-grown) experience."
CONVERT	Seasoned leisure seekers	"For Seasoned Leisure Seekers, the message needs to focus on the different places and ways that South Africa has to offer so that they can escape, relax and spend quality time with loved ones."
	Spontaneous budget explorers	"Communication to Spontaneous Budget Explorers must position travelling within South Africa as an affordable way to have fun in new/ different surroundings, whether with existing friends or meeting new friends along the way."
BUILD	Well-to-do Mzansi families	"Communications to Well-to-Do Mzansi Families must position travelling within South Africa as a great way to break away from daily pressures, whether relaxing with family or having good times with friends."
	New-horizon families	"Communications to New Horizon Families must position travelling within South Africa as an accessible way to broaden their children's horizons, while spending quality time as a family and rewarding themselves for their hard work in providing for, and looking after, their family."

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