

WINE HERITAGE AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT. CONSTRUCTED IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS. THE CASE OF BURGUNDY WINE TOURISM

Charles RIGAUX

Temporary Teaching and Research Associate, University of Burgundy (France) Email: charles.rigaux@u-bourgogne.fr

Abstract: *What does wine tourism do to territories? Starting with the transformation of the image of Burgundy, we will examine how the development of wine tourism transforms the social representations of a territory and how heritage becomes a tool of reputation. Wine tourism is developing in the world and in France, in various ways that have variable impacts depending on the area. The image of a wine-producing region like Burgundy appears to us today as anchored in our representations for several centuries. However, it is necessary to go back to the socio-historical process that allows this transformation and the passage of an image of the vineyards as simple dull agricultural landscapes into a much more patrimonialized and valued vision. It is in response to strong economic crises that the actors of the region will seek to change the image of the region and make it more attractive to consumers and tourists. It is on these bases that wine tourism develops. Subsequently, in reaction to the market of reputations that sees the European vineyards have the best places, tourism develops in the new vineyards, allowing them to build a real image and identity in the wine industry. On the model of what the European vineyards have known, the vineyards of the new world develop a complete tourist offer that benefits from globalization and faster exchanges to bring consumers to the place and position themselves as new competitors. This will then lead to the development of a more modern wine tourism in Europe, following the example of American success stories.*

Keywords: Tourism, Burgundy, 20th century, wine, reputation, territories, heritage

1. Introduction

Wine has long been at the heart of representations, exchanges and consumption patterns (Dion, 1990). Already in antiquity, numerous sculptures depict Dionysus, the Greek god of the vine, wine and excess. Wine is therefore an object of fascination, exchange and ancient consumption. Wine production is an old activity, dating back more than 7,000 years (according to Institut Supérieur du Vin) and which developed in France, and particularly in Burgundy, during the Roman conquest. The French vineyard, which enjoys a great international reputation, is however very diversified, divided into various wine-producing regions and appellations. The prices of some French wines have been soaring for the past few years and wine seems to be becoming more and more a luxury product for a (minimal) part of its production. Many investors are interested in wine, speculating on the product or investing in famous estates in the most prestigious appellations. Nevertheless, wine remains a widespread consumer product and seems to be consumed by various social categories, with different habits, behaviours and fashions.

By drinking wine, we ingest a foodstuff as much as we assimilate its symbolic characteristics (Fischler, 1999).

Great winegrowing figures are portrayed on the local scale of territories, but also in more global social representations. Wine is intimately linked to history, a guarantee, we are told, of quality, authenticity and a vector of tradition. Thus, there are many ways of presenting it, and they allow us to construct images and imaginaries that contribute to the identity of wine-producing areas. It is also an important product for the producing countries and territories. The

market share is rarely negligible on a national or regional scale and the weight of wine growing in the economy remains important. Wine is also an object of power, speculation is on the rise, investments too, and it is becoming, in part, a luxury item. This only concerns a small part of the production, the so-called fine wine, which despite its low representation on an international scale, is becoming the model and the showcase of world viticulture, a sort of standard-bearer of local heritages.

However, wine tourism has not always existed. Moreover, the vineyard has not always been a tourist asset. The regional image of Burgundy has only recently been built around its wines and the landscapes associated with them. This construction is done to cope with a succession of severe crises that affect the wine industry. Following these processes, wine tourism developed, first in the "new vineyards" before emerging in Europe. These tourist activities do not have the same territorial realities, due to their heterogeneous reputations, implying different actions according to the contexts but also to the actors involved.

2. The emergence of a wine image

If wine has always been an object of consumption with a high symbolic value, drawing territories and nourishing myths, it has not always been this attractive object for vineyards. This shift in image and representations is particularly interesting for understanding how wine tourism subsequently became an essential tool for territories and the development of heritage.

2.1. The vineyard as a repellent

The implantation of the vine in Burgundy dates back to the Roman colonization. The legionnaires, after their victory over the Gauls, imported the vine and began cultivating it on the slopes of the "Côte", which stretches from Dijon to the south of Beaune (around Santenay, see map). The Romans passed on the cultivation of the vine to the Gauls and it never left the territory (Gadille, 1967; Gautier, 1992). After the fall of the Roman Empire, wine growing was controlled by the Church. In Burgundy, powerful abbeys shared the vineyards and controlled production. The abbeys of Bèze, Saint-Bénigne, Saint-Vivant, Cluny, Cîteaux, etc., organised winegrowing, prioritised the locations and carefully delimited the plots (Lachiver, 1988). The impact of these decisions will be crucial for contemporary viticulture and is today one of the foundations of the Burgundian wine image, which still feeds many fantasies of this period when man would have known how to delimit (by simple experience, it is said) plots and places with singular characteristics.

Until the French Revolution, the Church kept control of most of the Burgundy vineyards, especially the "hauts-lieux" (plots of land considered by producers and consumers alike, in a consensus on possible qualities and specificities, the veracity of which we cannot judge here, nor any hierarchy, apart from that resulting from the history of Burgundy vineyards).

A local story, often quoted by those involved in the vineyard, is that the Cistercian monks (one of the most influential orders in Burgundy in the Middle Ages, particularly in the field of winegrowing) used to taste the soil in order to delimit a plot. It is an allegory of the work done by the monks to delimit the different crus, which is certainly the fruit of experience through cultivation and tasting. Above all, this story allows us to express the ancestral character that Burgundy's winegrowing industry seeks to claim through a set of heritages that draw on the past. Despite this history and the social representations that it can convey, the vineyard is not a factor of attraction for the consumer and even less for the tourist, before the 20th century.

Until then, particularly since the end of the 19th century and the beginnings of tourism, the tourist image of Burgundy has focused on its natural heritage (Jacquet and Laferté, 2014: 425-444). Following the Alpine model, it is the coombs and nature reserves that are promoted. Influenced by the precepts of the regionalist doctrine, the local actors, politicians and notables, sought to enhance the region's cultural, historical and architectural heritage.

Until then, the vineyards and gastronomy were not factors in attracting tourists. There is no more interest in visiting the vineyards than there is in visiting the beetroot fields. As for discovering the local gastronomy, for tourists at that time, it did not yet enjoy an interesting place in their social representations and was not an element of distinction (Bourdieu, 1979).

It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that a transformation in these representations occurred. Wine, at first a repellent for tourists, was then valued as a cultural object, worthy of interest and even a factor of attractiveness. The consumption of "fine", prestigious wine is a lever of distinction. It also becomes an element of curiosity and growing interest for consumers, amateurs and tourists. Gastronomy is being totally rethought by political actors and gastronomy professionals, in the construction of representations and its valorisation.

Attracting consumers and selling them an experience through which they will acquire knowledge or anecdotes are all additional elements to add to their cultural capital. This passage is crucial in understanding the modification of the image of the region and the vineyard: a social object is constructed from an object of consumption, which is valid for wine as it is for gastronomy or heritage. By seeking to attract consumers to the area¹, the actors are thus staging their territory. This process of image transformation is not the result of a "natural" evolution, but rather the result of the actors' desire to respond to a critical situation.

2.2. Crises and the construction of a valued image

During the 19th century, cryptogamic diseases of the vine, coming from America, among which mildew and black-rot, appeared in Europe. It was discovered that they came from America with the introduction of American plants intended for the experimentation of more productive vines. These new diseases (which did not only affect vines, mildew being perhaps at the origin of the diseases affecting potatoes, partly causing the great famine in Ireland²) were unknown to winegrowers at the time, and there was no trace of these pathologies in the history of French vineyards until then. They were the first thorn in the side of the country's wine industry.

Indeed, the respite was short-lived. In 1868, Jules-Émile Planchon, a professor at the Montpellier School of Pharmacy, discovered an insect on a property in the Bouches-du-Rhône region where the vines were mysteriously "dead". This was the first observation of *phylloxera vastatrix*, the name given to this parasite that attacks the roots of vines. From the 1870s onwards, the disaster became more widespread and the French vineyard was ravaged in just a few years, falling from 85 million hectolitres produced annually before the epidemic to less than 30 million at the end of the century (Lachivier, 1988). It was not until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th that a solution was found and became widespread: the grafting of vine plants onto American vines, adapted to the parasite.

However, not everything was settled, as new crises followed at the beginning of the 20th century: crises of over-consumption following phylloxera (producers were trying to make up for lost production by producing more, but the market had changed in the meantime); the First World War; the 1929 crisis and the disappearance of certain important markets (Russia, United States, Germany, etc.). Also, in the inter-war period, wine sales were poor and the main producing countries (France, Spain and Italy in the lead) tried to find a solution. The succession of different crises profoundly modified French and European wine production. Diseases that have decimated vineyards, changes in consumer habits, overproduction and wars have weakened the economies of wine-producing regions. Burgundy has not been spared and has embarked on a process of building an image, a regional identity, with the aim of attracting consumers to the region and benefiting from the emerging tourism (Cousin and Réau, 2016). It is not the only region to do this. The global context is difficult for all the vineyards and it is therefore necessary to find solutions to reposition itself on the wine market. Thus, Burgundy is trying to build an image around regional characteristics that will bring consumers to the region.

¹ We are talking more about consumers at first, as tourism is still emerging and wine tourism does not yet exist.

² An explanatory document on this subject: https://pub.epsilon.slu.se/2210/1/widmark_ak_100111.pdf

Wine and gastronomy are very quickly targeted by the political actors but also by the professionals of the sector themselves, as real assets for the whole territory. This particular context is essential to understand the changes that took place during this period and whose effects are still visible today. The image of the Burgundy vineyard is not as old as the social preconceptions and representations might lead one to believe. It was essentially forged in the first half of the 20th century, in particular between the wars. The tradition is built and inscribed in a long time and allows to acquire a certain prestige (Ichikawa, 2012).

It was also during this period that the Appellations d'Origine Contrôlées (AOC) were created in 1935 (Jacquet, 2009). This new regional image is still relevant and effective: it is also conveyed by wine tourism practices and their actors. From now on, the image of Burgundy is wine, its landscapes, its culture and its heritage. The territory is reinvented, rethought, it becomes enhanced and the actors take over emblematic places to make them symbols of a culture, in the broadest sense of the term. Whereas a few decades earlier, vines were no better considered than beet fields, they became landscapes and were no longer considered as "crops" or farmland. The great sites of regional viticulture became a must-see. The Hospices de Beaune, the Château du Clos Vougeot, but also the Clos de la Romanée Conti (i.e. the vineyard itself) are now must-see places for the visitor and the wine lover. Today, the landscapes are still valued according to criteria defined at that time. The walls, the castles, the churches and even the plots of land are valued when the "climats de Bourgogne" are classified by UNESCO in 2015.

Burgundy's wine-growing territory has become the emblem of a region, even though not all the departments produce wine and wine-growing represents only 1.2% of the exploited agricultural land (BIVB figures for 2019). Despite the construction of a regional image and the desire to bring consumers to the region, Burgundy is not really one of the first regions to see the development of wine tourism.

3. Tourism development

After the Second World War, the wine market became global, on the one hand through the greater and easier circulation of production, and on the other hand through the arrival of new producing countries, those that we will call "new vineyards" (Lignon-Darmaillac, 2014: 30-46). This new competition is reflected in the effects on both the wine trade and on tourism and its development in new wine-producing areas.

3.1. The new world versus the old world

To understand how these "new vineyards" manage to define their own conception of the quality of their wines, it is necessary to understand how they have defined their own identity, how they have built themselves as vineyards in their own right, in the face of the European model. The Californian example is very interesting in this sense, as it shows how a vineyard that was not very prominent in the middle of the 20th century has become highly attractive and has completely transformed its image. If wine tourism emerges in its contemporary form first in South Africa (Lignon-Darmaillac, 2018), it is the American model that is often presented as the example to follow, the one that has spread the most throughout the world. The equation is simple: California, the driving force behind American winegrowing, is seeking to position itself on the market in the second half of the 20th century. Not benefiting from the historical representations commonly associated with Europe, the region's players had to find an original way to define themselves as a vineyard. Just like France between the wars, whose wine-growing areas sought to attract consumers to the region, the "new vineyards" also followed the same logic. California's strategy for attracting consumers, however, is quite different. Not having a multi-century history of wine production, California plays a different card, using iconic family figures to build a history that is certainly recent, but omnipresent.

In California, it is especially the Napa Valley that is the model. It is not only the most famous vineyard in the United States but also the one that attracts the most tourists. In 2018,

the valley attracted 3.85 million visitors¹. This model is all the more interesting because it is being built up as California wineries develop (Castaldi, Cholette and Frederick, 2005). From less than 200 wineries at the beginning of the 20th century to around 1,700 according to the latest figures published by the Alcoholic Beverage Control of California, the Napa Valley is now a heavyweight in American and world viticulture, both in terms of production and reputation. To compensate for the lack of historical weight in comparison with Europe, which has been producing wine for thousands of years, Californian players refer to a more contemporary history, centred around emblematic figures and family dynasties (Lignon-Darmaillac, 2018, Wozniak, 2007: 203-219; Mondavi and Chutkow, 1999). This is the case, for example, of Robert Mondavi, who is often cited as one of the first to develop the Californian wine tourism model.

Robert Mondavi's idea was simple. Born into a family of wine producers, which he left to develop his own business (Hira and Swartz, 2014: 37-53), he built a winery in 1966, based on the model of the Spanish missions of the 18th century, close to the main axis that links the town of Napa and the valley floor (as far as the town of Calistoga). The allusion to the missions is not insignificant, it recalls a past, admittedly close, but which allows to anchor the Californian viticulture in an era. Mondavi quickly wanted to attract consumers to his winery and make it a "*pleasant and welcoming*" place (Mondavi and Chutkow, 1999:60). He was also one of the first to use large billboards along the road to attract customers. The great innovation proposed by Mondavi was that he was one of the first to offer a variety of activities. Thus, the tourist can choose between various activities (gastronomic, entertainment, workshops ...) that are centered around the wine without necessarily being directly related and allow to attract the whole family group. Many initiatives were quickly created and inspired by the Mondavi model.

Nowadays, Californian wineries are real attractions, the owners call on renowned architects to create buildings that are in themselves a curiosity, and tourists enter them to taste, admire the architecture, participate in activities, etc. It doesn't matter how coherent the buildings are, it's the uniqueness of the buildings that takes precedence and is presented as the wineries' own identity. This is in contrast to Europe, where the models are defined and rather homogeneous (châteaux in Bordeaux, small estates in Burgundy etc.). The model is therefore that of the "*winescape*" (Gravari-Barbas, 2014: 238-245), a "*set of landscaped elements that combine contemporary architectural wineries, vineyards dotted with works of art, and spaces that are always open to visitors, designed to provide multiple experiences around wine*" (Lignon-Darmaillac, 2007: 5). If the vineyards of the "new world" have been inspired by Europe to build a wine tourism with historical references, especially concerning the European origins of wine growing, the architectural dimension (especially contemporary), its use and its place in the visits, has inspired the old continent. But above all, the development of mass tourism, centred around wine, of which California is the most famous showcase, has profoundly changed the world wine market. By building a tourist destination (Amirou, 2013), California has been able to identify itself as a vineyard in its own right.

3.2. The emergence of wine tourism in Burgundy

Seeing the beneficial effects of wine tourism for the world's vineyards but also to meet a new consumer demand, Europe will in turn see the development of tourism initiatives within its vineyards. France is not to be outdone, especially as its wine industry is going through a new consumer crisis at the beginning of the 21st century, suffering from the new competition. Indeed, France's privileged position is being called into question and sales are declining (due to competition from wines from the new world, tensions between France and the United States following France's refusal to get involved in the war in Iraq, the appearance of the Euro and its monetary value, etc.). Wine tourism developed in France from this time onwards, initially in response to difficulties for producers. But wine tourism also allows the sector to relay a

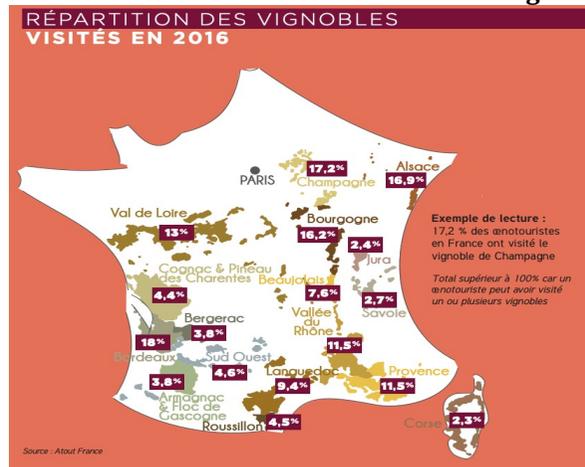
¹ According to figures released by "Napa Valley," the equivalent of the Napa County tourism board, titled "Napa Valley Visitor Profile Study and Economic Impact Report" in 2018.

discourse (and to spread it) around the quality of French wine. By welcoming tourists, consumers, wine lovers or the simply curious on the spot, the winegrowers (but also other actors) can give evidence put forward as concrete, empirical proof of the quality of their production, based on the creation of a territorial image upstream. By inviting the client to the site, they can see the production process, the place, the techniques, the heritage, in short, everything that the producers put forward to talk about the quality of their wines.

Today, wine tourism has developed in Burgundy and is becoming increasingly important for regional tourism and the wine sector. The figures provided by the BIVB¹ show that the regional wine industry is doing well. As we have seen previously, Burgundy has made decisive choices in the wake of the various crises it has experienced. Thus, the winegrowing Burgundy of the 20th century has little in common with that of the pre-phylloxera period. The Burgundian wine sector is important in the local economy. With an estimated turnover of 1.74 billion euros, the wine industry represents 2% of the regional GDP². The BIVB lists 3,943 wine-producing companies. 16 are cooperative cellars, which is well below the national average, 269 are tradinghouses and 3,659 are wine estates.

In France, "wine tourists" numbered 10 million in 2016 according to the latest figures published by the organization Atout France³, an increase of about 2.5 million visitors since 2009 and the previous report. Thus, we can estimate that more than 10% of tourists staying in France participate in wine tourism activities. Indeed, wine tourism is not necessarily motivated primarily by wine, which may be only a secondary activity. The wine heritage, architectural or natural heritage, are often put forward in at least as important a way. Wine tourism does not stop at just visiting a winery, there are also many other activities, such as workshops for creating your own wine, wine routes, walks, hikes, exhibitions, trade shows, etc. The majority of wine tourists are French (58%) but foreign customers remain important and are even increasing strongly with a 40% increase between 2009 and 2016 (and 29% for French tourists). From a territorial point of view, it can be seen that wine tourism is not homogeneous in terms of visits. Indeed, according to the figures given by Atout France, there are strong disparities.

Figure 1 Representation of the number of tourists visiting French vineyards.



The map shows a hierarchy of wine reputations, and therefore wine tourism, with five destinations dominating visits: Bordeaux (18%); Champagne (17.2%); Alsace (16.9%); Burgundy (16.2%) and the Loire Valley (13%). It is worth noting that Alsace is the first French wine region to have invested in wine tourism initiatives. Bordeaux dominates this distribution thanks to the reputation of its wines on the international market and its geographical location which favours strong tourist development (Lignon-Darmaillac, 2009). On the other hand, other tourist destinations are struggling to develop a wine and wine tourism identity.

Despite a clear delay in development compared to the vineyards of the new world, wine tourism is now an unavoidable fact for the French vineyards. In Burgundy, it is not developing in a homogeneous way, but it now exists everywhere, in various forms and covers different realities (Rigaux, 2021).

Above all, its visibility has been strengthened, with the State, local authorities, inter-professional organisations and stakeholders wanting to provide a framework for activities. Thus in 2009, Atout France¹ created a "Vignobles et Découvertes" label which gives institutional and legitimate recognition (since it is awarded by a state body) to service providers who respect the specifications. In Burgundy, all the vineyards have now been awarded the "Vignobles et Découvertes" label, which confirms the strong development of wine tourism in recent years. In total, more than 800 service providers have been awarded the label for the whole of the Burgundy Franche-Comté region.

Wine tourism is also developing in many ways. Wine tourism is not only centred on wine, it also includes gastronomy, which has been closely linked to the wine sector since the beginning of the 20th century (Laferté, 2006) and which is an important component of tourism in general. It is a fact, as we have seen previously, that gastronomy is not only an asset for the vineyards (and vice versa) but it is also an essential element in tourist stays in territories that have built up their own regional identity during the 20th century. "*Regional cuisine and food specialities are gradually emerging as a distinctive sign of the locality and the region, and the idea is gaining ground that there are regional cuisines in France that are worthy of interest*" (Bessière, Poulain, and Tibère, 2013: 73). Above all, wine tourism is not going to develop in a homogeneous way across the territories, leading to inequalities and geographical and social differences.

3. Competing territories

Wine tourism develops in specific territories, valorising singular heritages, staging them according to varied empirical realities. Through this observation, we can see differences in reputations, i.e. shared representations, based on criteria combining product quality, symbolic importance of certain heritages, notoriety, etc.

In international representations, French wines enjoy anteriority over other European productions - anteriority that is not historically attested since other Europeans (Greece, Hungary, etc.) are older (Dion, 1990). Wines from France have a history, an imagination, which makes them part of an ancient tradition, a symbol of quality.

The Burgundy vineyard already holds a place of choice in the world hierarchy, just like Bordeaux, even if the latter is even more important from a volume point of view and is widely distributed on a national and European scale (Dion, 1990). It is in this perspective that the actors will forge a territorial wine identity, by appropriating and staging concepts such as authenticity or heritage. Faced with what Chauvin calls the "*market of reputations*" (Chauvin, 2010), other vineyards find themselves in less enviable positions in terms of reputation, as is the case for American or Australian vineyards for example.

After having largely encouraged the production of fine wines, and therefore at high prices, many actors, first and foremost the Confrérie des Chevaliers du Tastevin, promote these products by using a wine folklore, by organizing commercial events with a national or even international scope. With the rise of fine wines, often built around quality criteria related to the

¹ Atout France is the name of the national tourism development agency

place, markets of singularities (Karpik, 2007) are emerging. It is no longer economic bases that serve as a foundation but quality judgements. The price is irrelevant, it is something else that governs these transactions. This logic is similar to that of the market of reputations (Chauvin, 2010) which can be applied to the wine world whatever it is. This social construction that hierarchizes the world's vineyards (or at least reflects a certain more or less unofficial and instituted hierarchy), clearly shows an over-representation of European vineyards. These vineyards are those that would be considered the most qualitative: a subjective judgement, the result of multiple social processes by which the actors have forged the image of the region whose wine character is now global and inseparable from the territory and representations. The older the history (this criterion is sometimes validated by the work of historians, but its representation remains the result of social constructions), the more it corresponds in the representations to a qualitative vineyard. In the case of Burgundy, the promotion of historical and cultural heritage has aimed since the 1920s to strengthen the image of the vineyard, to develop its attractiveness and to create a whole regional image that draws on viticulture, gastronomy and the cultural, architectural and natural heritage. History would be the guarantor of quality: since (reputed) wine has been produced on the territory for centuries, this production is qualitative because it is validated by human experience and the work of the "elders".

If we can admit that the wines have their own particularities, which change from one village to another for example, we can also notice that the image of the vineyard (even if it adapts according to the different territories within it) is built on a global scale.

Taking advantage of the reputation of the vineyards of the Côte d'Or mainly (32 of the 33 grands crus are present in the department¹⁴⁰ as well as many symbolic places for the regional viticulture), Burgundy builds its image through the representations that are attached to the most famous crus. The region's emblematic sites (the Château du Clos Vougeot, the Abbey of Cluny or the Hospices de Beaune, for example), traces of a rich winegrowing past, are held up as guarantors of the image. And it is indeed this image that takes precedence over all the representations, this reference to history, which is first conveyed by the events created or rehabilitated in the inter-war period. A cohesive identification (Lhuillier, 2005:73-98) of the object with its criteria of quality and authenticity. The territories are therefore building wine tourism around heritages that convey positive representations, which echo the criteria for building quality. This is one of the explanations for the development of wine tourism, first of all in the "new vineyards", which are lacking in heritage and are seeking to define and create it. But this also explains the geographical differences, on the scale of the Burgundy region for example, where all the vineyards are not equal. Some are particularly well endowed with a reputation, partly thanks to the development of particularly strong and famous historical, cultural, architectural or natural heritages.

Conclusion

The image of Burgundy has undergone many changes since the French Revolution. Wine and gastronomy, as well as the heritage associated with them, have become representations with a high symbolic value. So, when wine tourism develops in the regional wine territories, it is logical that it should be based on these images and imaginaries.

However, since not all territories are equal in terms of reputation, and even if the regional image serves as a reference for all, we notice many local specificities that show us how the actors seize representations and heritages. Depending on the reputation that a vineyard enjoys, on an international, national or local scale, the actors will not promote the same heritage elements. And wine tourism will not have the same vocation, nor the same interest.

¹ According to BIVB figures published in 2017.

For the most famous vineyards, wine tourism is a tool that allows them to spread and maintain prestigious and positive images. It is thus a good way to maintain a reputation. For the less reputable vineyards, on the other hand, it is an opportunity to build their own identity, to establish themselves as a wine region in their own right. Professional practices, tourist activities, wine images, are then specific to these effects of reputation and what they do to the territories. Wine tourism is thus interesting for the vineyards in different ways and according to territorial criteria. The importance of heritage is considerable since it is diluted in all representations, both by the actors in the sector and by the tourists themselves.

References:

1. Amirou, R. (2013). *The Tourist Imagination*. Paris: CNRS.
2. Bessière, J., Poulain, J-P. and Tibère, L. (2013). L'alimentation au cœur du voyage, le rôle du tourisme dans la valorisation des patrimoines alimentaires locaux. *Mondes du tourisme*, Tourisme et recherche, May, 71-82
3. Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*, Le Sens commun. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
4. Castaldi, R.M., Cholette, S. and Frederick, A. (2005). Globalization and the Emergence Of New Business Models In The Wine Industry. *International Business & Economics Research Journal (IBER)*, 4, 3, March, [online] available at: <https://doi.org/10.19030/iber.v4i3.3577>
5. Chauvin, P-M. (2010). *Le marché des réputations: une sociologie du monde des Grands Crus de Bordeaux*. Bordeaux: Féret.
6. Cousin, S. and Réau, B. (2016). *Sociologie du tourisme*, New edition, Repères 535, Paris: La Découverte.
7. Dion, R. (1990). *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France: des origines au XIX. siècle*, reprint of the 1959 edition, Paris: Flammarion.
8. Fischler, C. (1999). *Du vin*. Paris: Editions Odile Jacob.
9. Gadille, R. (1967). *Le vignoble de la côte bourguignonne: fondements physiques et humains d'une viticulture de haute qualité. 1896-1968*, France: Les Belles Lettres.
10. Gautier, J. F. (1992). *Histoire du vin. Que sais-je? 2676*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
11. Gravari-Barbas, M. (2014). Winescapes: Tourism and Articization, Between the Local And The Global Culture. *CULTUR: Revista de Cultura e Turismo*, 3, October, 238-245.
12. Hira, A. and Swartz, T. (2014). What Makes Napa Napa? The Roots of Success in the Wine Industry. *Wine Economics and Policy* 3,1, June, 37-53, [online] available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wep.2014.02.001>
13. Ichikawa, Y. (2012). History of the universal reputation of Chablis wine. From the origins to the mid-twentieth century. *Territoires du vin*, 4, March 1, [online] available at: <http://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/territoiresduvin/index.php?id=1391>.
14. Jacquet, O. (2009). *Un siècle de construction du vignoble bourguignon: les organisations vitivinicoles de 1884 aux AOC*, Collection Sociétés, Dijon: Éditions Universitaires de Dijon.
15. Jacquet, O. and Laferté, G. (2014). La Route des Vins et l'émergence d'un tourisme viticole en Bourgogne dans l'entre-deux-guerres. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec* 57, 162, 425-444 [online] available at: <https://doi.org/10.7202/1026527ar>
16. Karpik, L. (2007). *The Economy of Singularities*. Paris: Gallimard, 2007.
17. Lachiver, M. (1988). *Vins, vignes et vigneron: histoire du vignoble français*, Nouvelles études historiques. Paris: Fayard
18. Laferté, G. (2006). *La Bourgogne et ses vins : image d'origine contrôlée*. Paris: Belin.
19. Lhuillier, D. (2005). Le 'sale boulot'. *Travailler*. 14, 2, 73-98.
20. Lignon-Darmaillac, S. (2009). *L'Œnotourisme en France, nouvelle valorisation des vignobles: analyse et bilan*. Bordeaux: Féret.

21. Lignon-Darmaillac, S. (2014). Wine tourism, rediscovering the heritage values of historic vineyards, developing new-world vineyards. *CULTUR* October 2014, 8, 03, 30-46.
22. Lignon-Darmaillac, S. (2018). Les grandes orientations de l'œnotourisme: modèles européens, modèles californiens. *Territoires du vin*, 8, February, [online] available at: <http://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/territoiresduvin/index.php?id=1336>
23. Mondavi, R. and Chutkow, P. (1999). *Harvests of Joy: My Passion for Excellence* New York: Harcourt, [online] available at: <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10463684>.
24. Rigaux, Ch. (2021). *L'œnotourisme en Bourgogne. Images, heritages and professional identities, a journey with multiple destinations*. These in preparation Bourgogne Franche-Comté, <http://www.theses.fr/s198934>.
25. Rigaux, Ch. (2021). L'œnotourisme en Bourgogne: outil marketing, économique, mais surtout diffuseur d'image. *Territoires du vin*, 13, December, [online] available at: <http://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/territoiresduvin/index.php?id=2223>;
26. Wozniak, S. (2007). In vino veritas? Autobiography and marketing strategy. Le cas de l'entreprise Mondavi (Napa Valley, California). *ILCEA. Revue de l'Institut des langues et cultures d'Europe, Amérique, Afrique, Asie et Australie*, 9, December, 203-219 [online] available at: <https://doi.org/10.4000/ilcea.755>
27. ***Atout France's data [online] available at: <https://www.visitfrenchwine.com/produits/chiffres-oenotourisme-france>
28. *** Institut Supérieur du Vin, [online] available at: <https://www.isvn.fr/la-filiere-vin-dans-le-monde-et-en-France>