

Creating a French Brewing Heritage through *Terroir*

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Abstract

The relevance of *terroir* in the creation of a French brewing heritage

Drinking is a performance that reveals our identity and is shared by a community to become a distinctive behavioural pattern. In France this notion is particularly relevant through the promotion of *terroir* referring to the soil, the art and craft that went into the creation of the product. The importance and global recognition of the *terroir* is the basis of recognition for French wines on the international market, linking the product to a regional identity and craft.

The need for craft, heritage and authenticity through *terroir* has spread to the brewing industry with French breweries opening every week to achieve one goal: brewing craft and local. The development of autonomous breweries that cultivate their ingredients is developing the concept of *bière de terroir*. Different beer styles can in fact be directly linked to their *terroir* as a result of a region's geography, topography, economy, politics and cultural heritage.

My research will look at the importance of *terroir* in the creation of a French gastronomic heritage and its influence on the brewing industry. Through my research I want to find out if this *terroir* heritage can enable and be relevant in the creation of a French brewing heritage.

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I) Introduction

Eating and drinking cultures become an integral part in the shaping of cultural identity, reflecting regional and/or national rituals and traditions. It has become a type of intangible heritage that should be protected, in particular faced with challenges such as global warming, industrialisation and globalization. The creation of a product is a craft that can be perceived as cultural heritage, and the rituals surrounding its ingestion are social practices deeply rooted in one's behaviour. It becomes a part of intangible heritage that helps define cultural identity.

This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (Labadi, 2013: 129).

The need for preservation is recognised by UNESCO which in 2003 demonstrated the importance of intangible culture heritage and the need for its protection.

The importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next. The social and economic value of this transmission of knowledge is relevant for minority groups and for mainstream social groups within a State, and is as important for developing States as for developed ones. (Website 16, UNESCO, 2003b, Article 2.1).

UNESCO therefore endorses this measure in order to promote intangible heritages to the community involved and through tourism in order for it to survive and be passed on from generation to generation:

Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavor to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management (Website 16, UNESCO 2003b, Article 15).

Intangible heritage can be related to tangible heritage such as an historic monument, a religious building or even the result of an art or craft, localising it geographically. The definition of intangible heritage by UNESCO relates it to tangible heritage by referring to “States” and “cultural spaces”. In order to be recognised as intangible heritage, States Parties have to identify which community or communities are involved or affected by this heritage. The recognition of a common heritage gives a group a sense of identity, belonging and community.

Gastronomy – including food and drink - is a form of intangible heritage as it involves the ingredients available in a specific place and therefore its regional climatic aspect, but also the rituals surrounding the creation of the dish, its presentation and serving as well as its ingestion.

The culinary heritage experienced in rural areas corresponds to a collective memory and roots, which promote a sense of belonging to a territory. It gives value to a place and can be the means and the motive for our attachment to a place. Thus, know-how, culinary practices and productions can distinguish one place from another. The culinary heritage of rural places is thus an element of individual, collective and territorialised identity construction (Bessiere, 2011: 278).

Gastronomy in France is an entry on UNESCO’s list of intangible heritage since 2010:

It is a festive meal bringing people together for an occasion to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking. The gastronomic meal emphasizes togetherness, the pleasure of taste, and the balance between human beings and the products of nature (website 16, 2003).

The gastronomic meal in France involves the drinking and pairing of food with wine, just as the drinking culture in France is internationally renowned for its wine. For centuries, wine has been the French national drink – and pride.

For French people, wine, or more precisely the love of good wines, characterizes Frenchness in much the same way as being born in France, fighting for liberty or speaking French (Demossier, 2010: 1).

Not only is it acclaimed for its taste and quality, its reputation and success starts during the creation process, and even before that, during the planting of the vines. This success and reputation is due to the French concept of *terroir*. The product's *terroir* will define its taste according to its place of origin, climate, culture, the land it was cultivated in, the craft involved in its creation. *Terroir* defines the product geographically, giving it cultural identity.

Terroir is conceived as a spatio-temporal indicator that plays a role in the qualification of a local society's identity. As it is connected to the past and to the memories of the community, *terroir* makes up a space constructed in time and thus becomes an argument for regional unity. Endowed with local socioeconomic specificities, as well as a set of practices and representations associated with a specific place, *terroir* means 'belonging to the same community' (Bessiere, 2011:281).

The notion of *terroir* has developed in particular through the wine culture, with each *cepage* representing a different region producing its own taste. Therefore each wine producing region in France can boast its own type of wine and its qualities.

Terroir was reinforced by the re-emergence of oenology and also the influence of geologists, who provided the scientific foundations for many of the claims made on their behalf. Geological determinism became a trump card in the recognition of quality wines, successfully obscuring the socio-political construction that made their legal emergence possible a few decades earlier (Demossier, 2011).

Terroir in France may have originated in the wine industry, but it has spread to other culinary products and become a notion generating heritage and pride. Created as a geological notion defining taste according to the soil of the product, *terroir* has become a cultural concept relating identity and cultural practices to place. It is interesting to look at *terroir* as a generator or expression of cultural identity.

French national identity, which could be identified by the consumption of a single ordinary type of wine, has seen its sphere of influence challenged by the increasing consumption of quality wines attached to specific wine-growing regions. In this context, the concept of regional identity has come to the fore through this new type of consumption, a new medium for social differentiation and identification (Demossier, 2005: 130).

After the creation process, this bubble of success continues through to the drinking rituals of wine in France: the specific glass used, the twirling of the wine in the glass to release its aromas, the first sip, the pairing of one wine with a particular dish. Wine drinking in France is raised to the state of art that some experts go as far as describing as *objet d'art*.

This perception has been reinforced through designations such as AOCs (Appellations d'Origine Contrôlées) and AOPs (Appellations d'Origine Protégée), of which the creation and relevance I will explore further. Indeed, these designations define a product as it has to be created a specific way using ingredients from a local *terroir*. They have become a form of protection for the product and for the *terroir* as it showcases the values and heritage of a local community.

In France, which remains the cultural and commercial centre of the wine world, the acceptable styles of winemaking aren't just a matter of history and convention; they are codified into law. For a wine to be labelled as from a particular region, it must adhere to strict guidelines about which grapes and production techniques can be used, and how the resulting wine should taste. This system of certification – the *appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC), or “protected designation of origin” – is enforced by inspectors and blind-tasting panels. Wines that fail to conform to these standards are labelled “vin de France”, a generic designation that suggests low quality and makes them less attractive to buyers (2, Buryani, 2018).

An AOC wine therefore will stand out and automatically be perceived as a quality wine. This implies that the consumer needs to know about the designation and what it represents. It influences not only the choice of the wine but also its tasting.

Branding is the orchestrated attempt to communicate this brand- linked relevance and meaning to key audiences with the purpose of enticing them to buy. Wine branding might therefore be seen as an attempt to link relevance and meaning to wine and identity (Harvey, White, Frost, 2014: 7).

Yet, slowly but quite steadily, this reputation and success is wilting. With new international wines on the market, a less favourable climate and a change in consumption habits in the newer generations, the wine culture in France is shifting.

Gluckman (1990) argues that purchasing wine is bounded by insecurity. He contends that the purchaser is highly unlikely to reveal their ignorance by asking for assistance; very few will consult the wine specialist. Likewise, many consumers may initially feel a little uncomfortable in their wine knowledge when at the cellar door (Harvey, White, Frost, 2014: 8).

Seen as archaic and elitist by some, it is given less shelf space in shops, less promotion in order to give room to a new drinking trend: beer. In a country so deeply rooted in a wine culture, it is interesting to see more and more beers and breweries pop up in shops, markets, festivals. It is given more attention in the media with dedicated magazines and with food and beer pairings starting to appear in restaurants. With this change taking place within a decade, I will investigate whether it is a passing trend, soon replaced by another type of drink or consumption, or the creation of a new French drinking culture surrounding beer.

My research will also look at who is now drinking wine, and who is drinking beer, with new generations that are preferring other drinks to wine. Another trend that will impact drinking cultures is that of eating and drinking local and organic products. The importance of ingesting a product that is fresh, qualitative and craft is increasing and being more and more promoted.

Terroir fulfils that need by offering a product created artisanally, respecting its tradition and heritage, in small quantities to offer the best quality – which comes at the highest price:

Yet the different notions of *terroir* nevertheless share an appeal to notions of unchanging place and of enduringness which are used to justify claims of authenticity and to consolidate established reputations by emphasizing the local and even the micro level of production (Demossier, 2011).

The key to marketing drinking cultures in France therefore seems to be through the concept of *terroir* as a stable and reliable reference . Yet, there is a gap in the study of *terroir* in other drinks than wine such as beer. **My research will therefore focus on the relevance of *terroir* in the brewing process and its contribution to the creation of a brewing culture and heritage in France.** I will look at the possibilities of reflecting *terroir* through beer and how this contributes to creating a brewing identity.

As the beer culture is spreading in a country associated to a wine drinking culture, few publications focus on why this phenomenon is happening and how *terroir* is being used in order to achieve this transformation. There have been publications on the history of beer led by Jackson (2000), Cornell (2003) or Mosher (2004), on the creation of different beer styles and even its marketing in the United States, that demonstrate the importance of sociology, politics and climate in the creation of a beer style.

Beer is a deep, wide river, that flows through human culture. It appears along with the earliest signs of civilization and is enjoyed and venerated in nearly every society with access to its makings (Mosher, 2004: 2).

A recipe can reflect a form of *terroir* as it becomes adopted as a reference drink by a whole brewing community and then promoted as a national drink, such as Lagers or India Pale Ales.

However, there is little to no research on the beer market in France and its promotion faced with the wine culture and its lobbies. Zythologist Elizabeth Pierre is one of the leading figures in the promotion of beer in France and has worked towards the promotion of beer and its food pairing possibilities:

France is therefore a country with a brewing tradition; that is a done deal. The rebirth of regional breweries for more than twenty years now has shed a new light on this drink whose memory had been erased in the same time as the 3000 regional breweries between the early 20th century and the 1980s (Pierre, 2015: 8).

With several books published on the subject, a website and frequent appearances in the media, she describes how beer has come back into the spotlight and how its perception is changing. However, there has been no study of why this market is growing in France and how French beer is being promoted. Hervé Marziou is another spokesman for beer in France as he writes, teaches and leads many conferences on what is beer and how to taste it. Associations such as *Brasseurs de France* (website 4) and *Houblons de France* (website 15) have been created in order to develop and showcase the quality of French beers. *Houblons de France* is an association dedicated to the development of French hops and demonstrates the importance of *terroir* in the creation of a beer. This is a crucial step in the recognition of French *terroir* and its impact in the brewing process.

The purpose of this study is to question the relevance of *terroir* in the brewing process and how this notion has contributed in the creation of a brewing culture in France. This will be led through a literature research during which I will look at what constitutes an intangible heritage and a food heritage. From then I will study the meaning and influence of *terroir* in the creation of food heritage in France and

how it has evolved in the wine industry. I will analyse the shift in wine consumption in France and understand the reasons behind it, due to industrialisation, a fiercely competitive market and also a generational change that has impacted drinking cultures. Through the field work led by Charters and Pettigrew (2008) the generational evolution of wine drinking is clearly marked.

This will be followed by a look at how beer consumption has changed in France and the creation of a new perception of beer through the birth of *Biéronomie* (a term combining the words *bière* and *gastronomie* which demonstrates the shift in perception of beer in France). An overview of beer styles, their creation and evolution will underline the importance of *terroir* in the creation of a beer, even before this notion has spread internationally. The need for protection for intangible heritage and food cultures will lead to the study of designations, existing ones such as French AOPs, and AOCs, and future possible protection systems.

This recognition, expressed at a larger social scale, can involve processes of specification and qualification, such as food labelling or quality tourism labels. Obtaining a label (AOC, Protected Geographical Indication, Bienvenue à la Ferme ...) that aims to meet consumer expectations, showcasing that label and the number of tourists involved are expressions of external recognition processes that help legitimise the existence of cultural heritage (Bessièrè, 20011: 282).

There are as yet no designations for beer in France, no protection system as can be given to products that showcase their local *terroir* and identity. Associations such as the Campaign for Real Ale (website 10), the Society of Independent Brewers (website 25), the Belgian Family Brewers (website 2), exist in order to promote the cultural value of beer and claim recognition and protection in respectively the United Kingdom, the United States and Belgium. However, in France there have

been not yet been official designations that recognises a specific style or beer producing region.

The literature research will be supported by a qualitative study in order to define who the consumer of beer is in France now and what leads the choice of consumption. The qualitative study involves semi structured interviews with people aged between 25 and 40, working in the beer industry as brewers, bartenders, distributors and salesmen. I chose to interview expert key informants as I want to collect cultural data, therefore need interviewees with a global vision of the beer market and a first-hand experience with the consumers. As well as from a marketing perspective, my research will consider the sociological aspects of this evolution from wine to beer in France.

The interviews will be semi structured and include around twenty questions about wine drinking in France, the shift from wine to beer consumption, the understanding of *terroir* and its relevance in the brewing culture. These will be detailed in the methodology chapter. They should highlight the perception of the wine culture in France seen by the consumers and professionals of the industry and the evolution of beer consumption. I will question the legitimacy of *terroir* in beer and the promotion process through designations. I will also examine the possible creation of a brewing heritage in France and how this may be achieved and promoted.

The objective of this study is to demonstrate the potential birth – or according to some, the rebirth - of a brewing heritage in France showcasing French ingredients and culture in the creation process. I hope to show the importance of *terroir* in the

selection of ingredients and brewing process in order to mobilise cultivators, farmers and brewers to create a French beer and style which showcases French *terroir*.

This will encourage associations such as *Houblons de France* (website 15) and *Brasseurs de France* (3), among others, to pursue their work promoting fresh and craft products. I also wish to raise awareness as to the change in perception of beer which offers so many tasting possibilities and a pallet that can be complex and surprising.

There are limitations to my research as it is mostly focused and led in Paris, a modern, cosmopolitan and relatively well-off audience. It would be interesting to compare these results with that of the same study led in the countryside, in a remote French village for example. However, I believe that trends that endure in Paris eventually shift to the rural villages and foresee future consumptions and habits. Therefore, it is my hope and belief that the results of this study will demonstrate the future evolution of beer in France and help raise awareness on the importance of creating and protecting its brewing heritage.

The other limitation of this project is the risk of folklorization of cultural identity. Indeed, the risk of accentuating *terroir* and regional identity in the creation of a beer style is to end up with *choucroute* beer, or beer made with *foie gras* in order to promote it internationally without valuing its quality. This is something I will also draw attention to as my project is to encourage the creation of a French beer style which is fresh, qualitative and representative of modern-day *terroir* and not of how French cuisine is perceived by idealised conceptions. The other danger is the

folklorisation of a said respected *terroir* through such creations that do not reflect the quality of the products.

Designations are also something I wish to study as they can be a powerful tool for promotion and preservation but also damaging to a spirit of creation and innovation.

Even protecting a certain style can become detrimental to the evolution of a craft:

CAMRA (the Campaign for Real Ales) succeeded in rescuing real ale from the scrap heap, but at the same time, this movement was anything but encouraging to innovation, although it has now started to change (Mosher, 2004: 15).

As designations are recognised to specific products following certain guidelines, they impose a standardised view of the product to represent an idealistic perception of local identity and *terroir* which can also become fixed and folklorised.

Therefore, through my research I hope to promote the rebirth of French beer and the drinking culture surrounding it and look at how this culture is to be preserved and promoted by keeping its spirit of creation. As Mosher (2004) writes in his forenote:

To all the brewers, past and present, who have pushed the boundaries in search of something great to drink.

II) Context and Background on Drinking Cultures

This literature review will focus on the importance of drinking cultures in the creation of cultural heritage and identity and how they can be protected. I will therefore define what intangible heritage is and how gastronomy encapsulates a form of cultural heritage. This will lead me to look at previous studies of French gastronomy: its definition, recognition and its protection. Finally, I will examine the concept of *terroir* and its use in the promotion of French drinking culture in relation to wine in order to see how it has been applied to the brewing industry.

The construction and recognition of intangible heritage through food and drink

In 2003, the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage provided consideration and protection to community cultures as well as tangible monuments and artefacts, and gave a response to criticism against the elitist and “monumentalist” selection of the World Heritage System, the majority of protected sites being located in Western countries and concerning historic and religious Christian buildings:

Indeed, the 2003 Convention can be considered to provide, from the outset, a reply to some of the salient criticisms associated with the World Heritage System – in particular, its elitist and monumentalist bias, its tendency to exclude communities and their associated living heritage, and the unsustainability of various tourism management models it promotes (Labadi, 2012 : 127).

Intangible heritage includes practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, objects and artefacts from a community and individuals (website 16, UNESCO 2003, Article 2.1). In the face of growing globalization, the protection of these rituals and customs is crucial to preserving a sense of cultural identity.

Considering the importance of the intangible cultural heritage as a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development, as underscored in the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore of 1989, in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001, and in the Istanbul Declaration of 2002 adopted by the Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture, (...) Recognizing that the processes of globalization and social transformation, alongside the conditions they create for renewed dialogue among communities, also give rise, as does the phenomenon of intolerance, to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular owing to a lack of resources for safeguarding such heritage (website 16, UNESCO, 2003).

The importance of safeguarding intangible heritage stems from the value of knowledge of these traditions and the transmission of such knowledge from generation to generation (Kurin, 2004). Intangible heritage encompasses traditions from the past as well as contemporary and newly created traditions and rituals, and includes those that have migrated or evolved.

Whatever the geographical position, intangible heritage provides a link with one's traditions and a sense of continuity.

Certain heritages can help social cohesion and for one person to feel included in a society, promoting cultural diversity and human creativity. Intangible heritage involves communities as tradition can only be recognized as such by a community, thus creating, maintaining and sharing this tradition. This gives it recognition and makes it a heritage.

The prestige of international recognition that comes with listing is thus designed to elicit the self-recognition of communities as the inheritors and custodians of their own heritage (Foster, 2015: 154).

In 2003, UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage listed five domains in which intangible heritage is defined.

The "intangible cultural heritage", as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains: a. oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; b. performing arts; c. social practices, rituals and festive events; d. knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; e. traditional craftsmanship (website 16, UNESCO 2003, Article 2.2).

Oral traditions and expressions include languages, proverbs, tales, rhymes, myths etc. Performing arts, rituals and events can encompass singing, instrumental music, dance and theatre. These arts are often involved in rituals or what UNESCO refers to as "social practices" that can mark passing of seasons or time, can celebrate communal or personal important events, such as the Peruvian Wititi dance of the Colca Valley:

The Wititi dance of the Colca Valley is a traditional folk dance associated with the beginning of adult life. It takes the form of a courtship ritual and is typically performed by young people during religious festivities celebrated throughout the rainy season. (...)The dance coincides with the beginning of the agricultural production cycle and symbolizes the renewal of nature and society (website 16, UNESCO, 2003).

Such events can serve to remind a community of the passing of time and of the evolution of society with globalization, migration and individualization. Another domain is the knowledge about the universe and its nature, involving practices and representations of interaction with nature. This domain can be expressed through language, or feelings towards nature, place, memories, that can influence beliefs and cultural traditions. This knowledge can involve medicinal knowledge, agricultural exploitation and space discovery. This is largely affected by industrialization such as the desacralisation of forests, pollution, different species

that are becoming extinct. The last domain defined by the 2003 UNESCO Convention is traditional craftsmanship and the skills and knowledge involved in the making of a tangible object. This will be influenced by teaching, heritage and culture, and the Convention aims to promote the teaching of these arts. We must preserve this knowledge in order to better understand customs and cultures in the future. With the spread of mass production, traditional craftsmanship faces the risk of becoming obsolete as a means of production, and with that we risk losing the cultural heritage and understanding of the making of these products.

It is interesting to define these domains as they are not listed under separate heritage domains but rather can be fluid and one ritual can be attached to several of these: as a ritual can involve music and dance, artisanal costumes, craftsmanship to create the accessories, oral traditions if there is chanting involved...

Take, for example, a shamanistic rite. This might involve traditional music and dance, prayers and songs, clothing and sacred items as well as ritual and ceremonial practices and an acute awareness and knowledge of the natural world (website 16, UNESCO, 2003).

As I will be looking at drinking cultures and in particular wine and beer drinking, these will involve the craft in making the drink and the social ritual surrounding the act of consuming it.

Intangible heritage is intertwined with the notion of tangible heritage as it is defined by the culture and practices surrounding an object or monument. Memory, authenticity and a transmission of culture throughout generations contributes to the creation of heritage. Alivizatou (2012: 34) emphasizes the importance of intangible heritage by comparing its influence to that of famous tangible monuments:

In this sense, aspects of heritage that are not expressed in monumental prehistoric civilizations, beautifully preserved town centres, or imposing

cathedrals, but rather in languages, songs, cultural performances, and practices, are recognized as defining elements of cultural and national identities.

She underlines the importance of intangible heritage as a means of preserving identity and tradition through reliving the past and giving a sense of pride in one's past. Emphasising the continuity between tangible and intangible heritage, the 2003 Convention refers to "cultural spaces", linking the geographical space or tangible object or monument, to the cultural heritage related to it. For this reason, some theorists believe tangible and intangible heritage to be overlapping and refer to intangible heritage as artificial.

It is true that heritage, be it tangible or intangible, concerns the negotiation and formation of identities, as well as a sense of place. However, in terms of the specificities entailed in safeguarding this heritage and its transmission, these two types, tangible and intangible, belong to two different spheres. (...) For this reason, intangible and tangible cultural heritage could be considered as complementary or continuous domains rather than identical, overlapping or superficial ones (Labadi, 2013: 130).

It can be recognised that although both types of heritage involve the creation of tradition and culture as well as a sense of space, they require different forms of protection in order to preserve traditional and authentic cultural heritage. This matters to this research as French drinking cultures as we will see relate intangible with tangible heritage as a material that will represent a specific origin, community and tradition.

As a remedy for loss of identity in a context of mass globalization, authentic heritage requires preservation in order to transmit national pride to future generations. It can be for one product, such as Croatian Gingerbread, which was added to the World Heritage List in 2010, or for a larger scale with the same goal:

a transmission of skills and ideologies which help bind a community and honour cultural diversity.

Gastronomy is an inherent and crucial part of intangible heritage as it shapes and defines communities. Defined by geography, geology, climate and tradition, it reflects not only a culture but also customs. Passed on from generation to generation, it is adopted and recreated by future generations affected by sociological, climatic, economic and political changes. Brulotte and Giovine (2014:

1) emphasize the importance of diets as a marker of cultural difference:

Just as we humans must procreate, and just as our bodies will all eventually pass from this state of living, we all must eat to sustain ourselves. Yet how we eat, and what we eat, and when we eat, and with whom we eat, all uniquely vary from place to place, group to group, time to time – thanks to longstanding geographic, economic, social and cosmological differences throughout the world.

Gastronomy and food-and-drink-related heritage were recognized quite recently, as a reaction to globalization and mass exportation of culinary goods. The list of ICHs related to food and drink shows that they were added in the last decade:

2010:

Gastronomic meal of the French - France

Krakelingen and Tonnekensbrand, end-of-winter bread and fire feast at Geraardsbergen – Belgium

Traditional Mexican cuisine - ancestral, ongoing community culture, the Michoacán paradigm - Mexican

2013:

Turkish coffee culture and tradition - Turkey

Washoku, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year - Japan

Mediterranean diet - Cyprus, Croatia , Spain , Greece, Italy, Morocco, Portugal

Commemoration feast of the finding of the True Holy Cross of Christ - Ethiopia

Ancient Georgian traditional Qvevri wine-making method – Georgia

2015:

Arabic coffee, a symbol of generosity - United Arab Emirates – Saudi Arabia – Oman – Qatar

2016:

Winegrowers' Festival in Vevey – Switzerland

Flatbread making and sharing culture: Lavash, Katyrma, Jupka, Yufka -

Azerbaijan – Iran (Islamic Republic of) – Kazakhstan – Kyrgyzstan – Turkey

Beer culture in Belgium – Belgium

2017:

Nsima, culinary tradition of Malawi – Malawi

The recognition of national or regional customs and their protection, is crucial to the transition of a custom or gastronomy into a form of intangible heritage.

The recent inclusion of the French gastronomic meal in the Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO attests to the societal and political challenges existing around food cultures while also highlighting the emergence of a new research area. In addition to the inventory work undertaken over the last decades, food heritages have been studied in various disciplines, according to various approaches and methodologies: in sociology for example, food heritagisation is addressed as an answer to the fear of food standardization (Bessiere, 2013:279).

This notion of identity and pride is a crucial one for the transition of a custom or gastronomy into a form of intangible heritage. For the French, gastronomy takes on a major role in the construction and identification to a heritage and as early as 1984, a compilation of French culinary heritage, with an inventory of traditional and regional food and cuisine, was created to help preserve the gastronomic traditions and witness the changes in French society. Demossier (2000: 141) analyses the French obsession with gastronomic heritage as stemming from the fact that eating and drinking takes on a symbolic significance. What and how one person eats can

define their social class, their preferences, their lifestyle and choices. Korsmeyer (1999) states the different roles that food and therefore taste can have in our culture and identity, as have been expressed aesthetically through writing and art.

Gastronomy also encompasses a transmission of skills, the art of transforming the fruits of French soil into a gastronomic meal and a journey for the senses. Food is the result of the art and caring of the soil, nurtured for a long time to possess all the possible qualities of consumption. This participates in the construction of the pride related to the transmission of heritage, giving a product history and authenticity.

The construction of identity in relation to drinking practices

“Tell me what you eat and I will tell you who you are”

Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1838) states in this aphorism that our identity is reflected in what and how we eat. Though we may believe that our choices of ingestion are decided purely by personal preferences, they are the result of society, customs, social influences and marketing, a form of cultural practice in itself which we shall discuss further. Both food and beverages are deep with cultural meaning as they can reflect our origins, our status and our habits. Bell and Valentine (1997) explore the relevance of identity through the choice of ingredients by showing how much of our identity is shaped by geography.

Methods and choices of consumption are passed down from previous generations, adapted to our social surroundings. Eating and drinking can be considered not only

necessities, but also rituals that take on a symbolic significance when absorbed. Meals are social times, ones shared with friends and family with a specific protocol – breakfast, lunch and dinner that include starters, mains, desserts, sometimes with drinks adapted to each course. Certain occasions imply a specific menu, such as turkey for Thanksgiving in the United States, or *foie gras* with a glass of Sauternes for Christmas and New Year in France. These are symbolic meals of celebration, communion, that become emblematic of a nation and culture and provide an insight into the cultural and political aspects of a Western society (Demossier, 2010: 7). In its submission to be part of UNESCO’s heritage list, the French sent a video in which the art of gastronomy was promoted. No recipe or dish is exactly described, it is the process of creating and consuming a celebratory dinner in an authentic way, from buying the products to serving them, which requires protection and preservation in the face of mass production. It also emphasizes the act of sitting at a table together to eat rather than the concept of “fast-food” and grazing. There is a form of leisure involved in the process. “The gastronomic meal is a social practice bringing together a group to mark, in a festive way, important moments in the lives of individuals and groups” (UNESCO, 2010: 2). What is outlined however is the addition of wine, the setting of the table, discussions about the *cuisine*. It is more than a meal which is presented, but a ritual:

The gastronomic meal should respect a fixed structure, commencing with an aperitif (drinks before the meal) and ending with liqueurs, containing in between at least four successive courses, namely a starter, fish and/or meat and vegetables, cheese and dessert (website 16, UNESCO, 2010).

The term “should” implies that in order to be called “gastronomic” a meal doesn’t have to follow this description. Indeed, the flexibility of this ICH adds to the idea

that what matters most in this meal is not so much what the French eat during a gastronomic meal, but rather how, and the decorum that surrounds this ritual:

It is a festive meal bringing people together for an occasion to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking. The gastronomic meal emphasizes togetherness, the pleasure of taste, and the balance between human beings and the products of nature. Important elements include the careful selection of dishes from a constantly growing repertoire of recipes; the purchase of good, preferably local products whose flavours go well together; the pairing of food with wine; the setting of a beautiful table; and specific actions during consumption, such as smelling and tasting items at the table (website 16, UNESCO, 2010).

Wine pairing is a crucial element of a French Gastronomic Meal, with a different wine for every course which highlights the quality of the food but also the host's knowledge of their products. The actual dishes served or recipes followed do not matter as they are subject to change as there is a "growing repertoire". The importance is the quality and origin of the products used "preferably local". Notably, in order to be considered gastronomic, it must include alcohol through the "pairing of food with wine".

However, the knowledge of wine and its pairings is still reserved mostly to the middle and upper class middle class, as Bourdieu explains in his *Distinction Sociale*. Now considered elitist by some, wine and the knowledge of wine, its components, designations and pairings are part of what Bourdieu calls "le bon gout" or "la culture légitime". Bourdieu (1979: 327) even separates the higher class in two categories: the old bourgeoisie (CEOs, heirs, etc.) and the new one (engineers, senior managers, etc.). Whereas the old *bourgeoisie* will tend to spend their money on expensive holidays, cars and works of art, the new *bourgeoisie* will turn towards cultural experiences such as theatre, music and the art of wine tasting.

If the first don't always have the taste for their means, the second almost never have the means for their tastes, and this discrepancy between economic and cultural capital condemns them to an ascetic aesthetic (Bourdieu, 1979 : 327).

He opposes the classes according to their tastes and their need: *gout de luxe* (taste of luxury) and *gout de nécessité* (taste of necessity):

The idea of taste, typically *bourgeois*, as it supposes the absolute freedom of choice, and is so closely associated with the idea of freedom, that we strive to conceive the paradoxes of taste of necessity (Bourdieu, 1979 : 199).

However, he explains that the art of eating and drinking in France is one that escapes the idea of taste and social condition. It runs so deep in French culture that all classes will enjoy gastronomy at their own scale:

The art of drinking and eating remains one of the only fields in which popular classes are explicitly opposed to the art of legitimate living. To the new ethic of sobriety and thinness, that is more recognised of the higher classes in the social hierarchy, peasants and particularly workers oppose a moral of "the good life". The *bon vivant* is not only one who likes to eat and drink well. He is one who entertains generous and familiar relations, one that is simple and free in which eating and drinking together is encouraged and ritualised, and where restraint, reticence, and reserve express distance by refusing to blend in and let go. (Bourdieu, 1979 : 200).

Gastronomy in France as it is defined by UNESCO has no class distinction as all classes will consider it as a social gathering and an expression of the 'bon vivant'.

Class distinction will intervene in the choice of dishes and drinks served.

We can define the system of differences by taking a closer look at how food consumption is distributed: the industrials and the businessmen differ greatly on this point from members of liberal professions and teachers, because of the importance they attribute to products made of cereals (such as patisseries), wines, canned meats, game, and the relatively low part they give to fresh meat, fruits and vegetables. (Bourdieu, 1979 : 207).

He explains that whereas the lower classes will consume foods that are cheaper and are the most calorific, the *bourgeoisie* and upper classes will prefer foods that are more expensive, refined and light:

The abolition of economic barriers comes with a reinforcement of social censors that forbid roughness and size to benefit distinction and thinness. The taste for rare and aristocratic food encourages traditional cuisine, rich in products that are expensive and rare (fresh vegetables, meats, etc.) (Bourdieu, 1979 : 207).

However, whatever the social condition, gastronomy and the alcohol surrounding it, as far as *aperitif* and *digestif*, will be acknowledged and ritualised in an abundant and convivial way for the lower classes, whereas it will be refined and meticulously planned and laid out by the aristocrats. Alcohol itself and the ritual surrounding its ingestion is a reflection of our cultural heritage and social customs. Just as the French will turn to wine to enhance their meals, the Germans are known for their mass consumption of lager.

Drinking is the veritable stuff of any and perhaps every level and type of culture, and is implicated in the behaviors, values, ideologies and histories of these cultures. In essence drinking is itself cultural; it is not so much an example of national or other cultural practices , in the sense that it is a performance of something that runs deeper in the national or ethnic makeup, as much as it is itself a bedrock of national and ethnic culture. As such it is an integral, social, political and economic practice, a manifestation of the institutions, actions and values of cultures (T. M. Wilson, 2005:4).

Drinking is part of our identity and culture and has become, through marketing of cultural specificities, a nationalistic and ethnic claim. In fact, anthropologists believe that beer has shaped society and civilization as we know it, when hunter-gatherers in Mesopotamia abandoned their lifestyle to settle down and cultivate barley and wheat in order to make beer (Payton, 2013). They started societies and developed education, religion, commerce, and public houses. In his “Code Hammurabi”, the Babylonian king Hammurabi defines twenty styles of beer including wheat beers, red beers and black beers (Smith, 2014). Laws were enforced to make sure that every citizen had the right ration of beer, and brewers or

innkeepers that did not meet these rations or who sold spoiled beer were severely punished - some force-fed with beer until asphyxiation.

The earliest archeological trace of wine dates back to 6000 BC in Georgia, where wild grapes were stored in jars lined with resin to seal and preserve the wine. It took on a major role in the Egyptian ceremonial life as early as 3000 BC (Millon, 2013). Wine itself was considered a divine drink, a drink from the gods. Alcohol also plays a part in religion: the Egyptian god Osiris was seen as the protector of brewers as well as the god of fertility death and resurrection, Greeks and Romans celebrated Dionysus and Bacchus, the god of wine and celebration, and wine also took on a crucial role in Christianity. Religion contributed greatly to the widespread culture of wine, as a necessary means to commune and celebrate the Eucharist. Only the most privileged could afford to spend so much money and care to produce this drink. The production of wine from an early age was considered an art and gives meaning to the exaltation that has surrounded wine to this day.

In the same way, beer was a means of communion with the gods and in social occasions with neighbours. Countries with cooler temperatures which could not grow vines were rich in barley and wheat and developed the art of brewing. Also considered a gift from the gods, it was used as a medical aid, seen as a source of strength, as well as being a celebratory drink.

Alcohol has been studied in a medical context, bringing to light the dangerous effects of alcohol on one's health and psychology. Literature and warnings have been published as to alcoholism, diseases related to alcohol as well as depression. Anthropology has also studied its social dimensions and the reasons why people turn to alcohol in their daily life as Wilson (2005: 9) describes :

While most other social sciences have concentrated on alcohol and drunkenness as social, psychological and health concerns, if not outright problems, anthropology has just as often looked at drinking in its cultural and historical contexts, as part of often acceptable, predictable, encouraged, mainstream, majority and normative behaviour.

Charters and Pettigrew (2008:13) explore the reasons we drink in contemporary society and have postulated that alcohol is used to strengthen social bonds, through relaxation, community and celebration and as a marker for cultural and personal identity. It is adopted to mark occasions as various as celebrating the end of the day at work, weddings, comings of age and death.

Drinking is a performance that reveals our identity, through the choice of drink, the way one pours the drink, the ritual surrounding toasts, and the ingestion of the alcohol. This performance that is shared by a community becomes a distinctive behavioral pattern (Heath, 2002) that can differ from one population to another, national and/or regional. The sense of belonging to a community is mediated through the production and consumption of this particular drink, or the meanings associated with it as a collective good. 'French wine, on the one hand, could be defined as a single national alcoholic drink, 'a national treasure' and, on the other hand, because of its geographic elements, as a plural drink, supporting the expression of several identities' (Demossier, 2010: 47). As French wine can differ greatly from one region to the next, though the viticultural practice and heritage might be similar, certain regions have adopted a staple representative wine which boasts the richness of their *terroir* .

***Terroir* in wine: an expression of French Cultural Heritage**

When French consumers choose their wine, they will be influenced by its taste, their knowledge of its aromas, by price, packaging (colors used and the obvious marketing choices) and by recommendations.

It is important to remember, however, that external cues, which enable the consumer to make a more informed choice, are primarily used by high-involvement drinkers only. Low-involvement consumers are likely to avoid information-seeking activity, and rely on more established marketing devices – extrinsic cues such as brand, price, distributor recommendation or label – to inform their choice (Pincus, 2006: 206).

Their choice reflects their knowledge of wine and its heritage. Pincus (2003: 87) asserts that wine is directly connected to a cultural and agricultural identity as the physical environment impacts the grapes and the production, and the making of the wine is influenced by local tradition:

a combination of geology, aspect, and weather that the French call *terroir*. Thus wine production techniques are (in principle at least) adapted to local conditions, resulting in wines that can be strongly connected to their particular place in the world.

This is particularly remarkable in Europe, where certain grape varieties associated with viticultural techniques are key to producing wines that are of high quality but mostly that are famous for their regional identity. The term *terroir* is exploited in France to promote this sense of identity, and by consuming these products, one feels a sense of belonging.

In France *terroir* is often associated with *racines*, or roots, a person's history with a certain place. Local taste, or *goût du terroir*, is often evoked when an individual wants to remember an experience, explain a memory, or express a sense of identity. People will discuss *sentir le terroir*, to have the qualities (or even defects) of where you were born or live (Trubek, 2008: 51).

In fact the word *terroir* comes from the latin *territorium* meaning the territory. The *terroir* would refer to the soil, the space of the earth. It is therefore closely linked to the production of wine, the grapes being the fruit of the soil, which is why French wine tasters will use expressions such as *avoir le goût de terroir* and *sentir le terroir*, to feel the land. Therefore, absorbing a *produit de terroir* implies incorporating the land, its properties and its history.

The French notion of “*terroir*” is one that knows no proper translation in English and that can be defined as much ethnologically, agriculturally, historically and commercially. This notion can be dated as far back as 1808, when *Le Cours Gastronomique* by C. L. Cadet de Gassicourt was first published, mapping out the French territory according to its agricultural and gastronomic products, such as the wine regions or for example the Rhone, famous for its Roquefort and Brie. Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin further explores this notion in *La Physiologie du Goût* (1838) which includes the cultural development of taste from a scientific, literary, political and economic perspective. *Terroir* has been used in agricultural terms for centuries, however its relationship to taste and place is more recent and can be analysed as a consequence of globalization, industrialisation and political changes.

Trubek (2008:51) describes *terroir* as not only the result of the environment (climate, soil and flavours) but most of all “the cultural domain, the foodview, creates the *gout du terroir*”. According to her, the taste of place is not only defined by geography, but by the producers, food-critics, gastronomes, and other such influencers she names “French tastemakers” who saw a way of protecting and preserving their products and traditions. As such, *terroir* and *produits de terroir* are increasingly being recognised worldwide and added to the World Heritage lists as

intangible cultural heritage. What was once a way of preserving and protecting artisanal practices and qualities as well as regional identities, is now a means of identifying, understanding and acquiring these identities and roots.

Barham (2011) analyses this fascination for regional foods and *terroir* as a collective belief that when the French eat a *produit de terroir*, they consume the past. The increasing historical and culinary documentation of such products is a means to preserve French regional cuisines. With time, *terroir* has come to reveal the regional differences that shape the map of France through the recognition of regional gastronomies as a definition of local identities. But this national preservation project on the whole promotes a past of artisanal and qualitative cuisine faced with the rapid changes of globalization and the importation of international products. “*Terroir*, in all its manifestations, is our key to agrarian and culinary France” (Trubek, 2008:53).

This is a Brave New World for wine, and how it is managed depends on how the past is repackaged and re-imagined as heritage and expressed in branding. As place/ *terroir* has played such a critical part in wine’s history and development, its role in heritage and branding is also considered. Indeed, several contributors extend the concept of *terroir* so that it seamlessly blends with heritage and branding in what might be described overall as wine culture (Harvey, White, Frost, 2014:3)

By choosing a *produit de terroir*, the consumer is aware of the involvement that went into the creation of the product: from the knowledge and craft of its creation to the observation and respect of the landscape. It is a recognition of a skill and art that constitutes a heritage. As such, *terroir* is an efficient means to protect the heritage that is French wine and marketing said *terroir* can be considered a useful tool for preservation. As Harvey, White and Frost note in *Wine and Identity*, wine

is chosen for its identity which is a “combination of brand, heritage and *terroir* and that gives certain wines and wine regions a competitive advantage” (2014:3).

In a context of globalization, drinking cultures from other countries have shifted over the last few decades to give way to new influences. The importance and global recognition of the *terroir* is the basis of recognition for French wines on the international market, linking the product to a regional identity and craft. It has become a synonym of quality, to the point of being associated to the French ‘cultural exception’, as an object of art, as Demossier explains: ‘today, wine has become an *objet d’art* for the middle class, a means of differentiation, a place for social judgement, a medium for the expression of new social identities and ties, the arena of new discourses and the place for contrasting identities’ (2010:71).

The wine culture in France is acknowledged world-wide and is an opportunity for one to try new wine experiences, whether in a French region or internationally. The notion of *terroir* and designations such as AOPs and AOCs has therefore become a selling point for most products, as a promotion and guarantee of craftsmanship, quality and authenticity.

Local tastes now define superior quality, which means the French are willing to pay a higher price. Burgundy wines are known to have different taste profiles than wines from Bordeaux and Languedoc, though all may be red wines. (...)The French also perceive that goods produced locally on a smaller scale are superior. An AOC wine produced from a single vineyard in Bordeaux is considered better than a blended wine brought in from all over the Languedoc. Wine producers and consumers use *terroir* as an ordering and evaluative concept when it comes to quality of flavor, to the point that in France *terroir* is now used to market food and wine, indicating their quality (Trubek, 2008:44).

As such, it can be considered a powerful marketing tool. Whether it be the winegrower or the food critic, these influencers have planted the seed of *terroir* revealing its taste qualities and its promotion of agrarian France.

Gastronomical tourism is centered on this urge to belong, to take part in a cultural ritual. By consuming a ‘vin de terroir’ a tourist is consuming French identity, memory and culture. Identity emerges through experience: our culinary experiences, our drinking habits, as individuals or as a community, shape a national identity. Transmitting these customs and values helps preserve and feed the French cultural identity.

Certain French regions are now associated with *lieux de mémoire* , places of memory in which customs embody centuries of tradition. Holtzman (2006) develops the notion of memory through food as it embodies social changes and a patriotic identity. Food and beverage become a means to represent cultural heritage, a transmission of skills that are centuries old. French policy strives to protect regional culinary heritage as a part of France’s patrimony in order to promote regional development resulting in the emergence of *produits de terroir* as well as a national cohesive gastronomic heritage. Demossier remarks that the act of consuming *produits de terroir* is a proof of a quest of identity in a context of globalization and cultural fragmentation and change. Through the ingestion of these products, one reconnects with a history, a craft that is particular to one region. It is not only a gustative experience, it is one of community and reconnection with a past. She goes as far as stating that “wine is a place of memory”. Regional culture and *produit de terroir* link the past to the present by associating traditional craft with modern tools.

Hall (2005: 70) distinguishes regional identities with the example of Czech beers, each town boasting its own brewery that have exclusive contracts with pubs. Economically, this will encourage the sales of these regional beers, keeping the brewery alive. Nowadays, exclusivity contracts also serve to boost regional tourism and promote Czech regional identities. We could also apply the notion of *terroir* to these local beers as they each boast a strong heritage, a transmission of knowledge and skills from older generations, as well as becoming a reflection of regional traditions. The Pilsner brewery is the most famous example of regional identity as its beer is known and spread world-wide, giving international fame to the town Pilsen. Identity is reflected in how we consume and naturally in what we produce. The notion of identity is a key factor for the creation of heritage just as heritage creates identity.

Heritage is impacted by history, as Millon (2013:63) demonstrates in *Wine, a Global History*, with the example of *Riesling d'Alsace*. Produced in a region which alternated between French and German nationalities, it associates elements of heritage from both countries, combining German grape varieties with a French-style wine production. With globalization, this phenomenon will become increasingly frequent as regions around the world grow international grape varieties to produce wine. Climate change is also enabling international wine makers to produce surprisingly high-quality wine such as can be found in England or Wales as the warmer temperatures are improving the quality of the grapes. Robert Pincus (2003: 87) goes as far as declaring the art of viticulture almost obsolete as climate change will affect the grape and wine, making it impossible to associate a wine to its place of origin. Along with the issues of global warming, wine-makers are also faced with

a dramatic increase of international wine export as the French wine market now has to compete with New-World wines. The climate in these regions is favorable to producing wine and the production costs are low. As these foreign wines gain international fame, the French wine producers have to rely on the respect and importance of their ‘appellations’ as a certification of their quality in order to keep producing and selling.

Quality wines are a rich heritage, acquired through the skills of men during centuries. Bound with soils that have been labored for their aptitude and personality, they are products of grape varieties selected for their adaptation to these *terroirs* that are the fruits of ‘local, loyal and constant use’. The origin appellations that this regulation protects are conceived as national heritage as well as a collective brand which belongs to all producers who accept its constraints (Deroudille, 2003: 15).

The notion of *terroir* in France dates back to the mid nineteenth century but has become increasingly important for wine makers, with the evolution of globalization, as a “protected mark”. More than ever, they have needed to protect their product and their craft, by promoting the quality and origin of their wine. As Trubek emphasizes, the concept of *terroir* promotes the origin of the product and its quality:

This fundamentalist mode always begins with a defined place, tracing the taste of place back from the mouth to the plants and animals and ultimately into the soil, creating a very Gallic twist on the oft-used American phrase “location, location, location”. In France, food and drink from a certain place are thought to possess unique tastes. Thus, more than words, *terroir* and *gout du terroir* are categories that frame perceptions and practices – a worldview, or should we say foodview? (2008: 1).

Terroir refers not only to the geographical origin of the wine, but also to the artisanal skills involved. Belasco defines the implication of *terroir* for the artisan and producer who is responsible for creating a quality product that recreates a taste of place:

Rather than establishing hierarchies of taste, the newer, democratized *terroir* fosters the three Rs: *regard* for one’s native landscape, *reciprocity* between

food producers and consumers, and an overall sense of *responsibility* for the consequences of one's own behaviour. In short, as the theory goes, pride in place becomes an instrument of local environmental, economic, and cultural regeneration (2014: 25).

He implies that the notion of *terroir* has changed and is no longer only a way to preserve a brand or an "appellation". It now involves the consumer as it is an expression of a landscape and a regional identity. *Terroir* does not only refer to geography anymore, it is not enough for a product to be cultivated in a region known for its products. Now every *produit de terroir* is an expression of a craft and knowledge of the landscape.

With *terroir* is linked the notion of pride: a pride in the quality of the product, but also a national or regional pride in the soil and the ingredients that were able to capture and create taste. *Vignerons* were the first to link origin and quality in 1855 with the Bordeaux wine classifications. Wine maker, Pierre Le Roy de Boiseaumarié from Châteauneuf-du-Pape, was the creator of the Appellations d'Origine Contrôlée in order to protect his wine from other industries. He was the first to define the Châteauneuf-du-Pape as an AOC in 1933, guaranteeing the quality of his production in a fast developing market. AOC refers to the area in which the product is made, following a specific process and craft, which guarantees certain quality, as I will explore further on. Therefore, *terroir* also encapsulates tradition as the product is made following a certain artisanal workmanship (Célérier; Schrimmer, 2012). The figure of the wine grower, the *vigneron*, has become a symbol of quality and authenticity and is now used as a powerful marketing tool. Demossier (2010; 197) raises the question of gastronomic tourism, in which tourists absorb a part of the *terroir* in order to identify to the craft and culture of one region:

The region has also come to provide a complex site of identification for the nation as part of a wider narrative attached to the national 'rural idyll', by which wine consumers experience others, not only through the incorporation of glasses of wine, but also by the consumption of a landscape, closer contact to the producer as the paragon of quality, the authentic experience of collective drinking and the progressive acquisition of a complex and distinctive drinking culture rooted in a *terroir*.

According to her, when tourists absorb a *terroir*, and in a sense, an identity, it represents the acknowledgement of a landscape and its resources and contact with the producer. It is no longer a simple tasting but a promotion of a craft, the recognition of regional ingredients and a transmission of skills. Increasingly, tourism centres will highlight the gastronomic values and crafts of their region in order to attract customers. As Trubek (2008: 25) points out, the wine makers were the "first to take this foodview and use it to their economic advantage", questioning the authenticity of the notion of *terroir*. It also raises the question of folklorisation of a gastronomic heritage in order to generate economic profit, particularly through regional and national tourism.

What they (gastronomes) said may have embraced the timeless and essential notion of mother Earth, but what they did was to create a vision of agrarian rural France and convincingly put it in people's mouths. These tastemakers and taste producers cared about taste and place and did not want traditional ways of growing, eating, and drinking to be lost. They made arguments linking place, taste, types of agriculture, and quality that helped protect certain forms of agricultural production and enabled France's modern regional cuisines (Trubek, 2008: 21).

Therefore, as Trubek points out, the folklorisation of gastronomy can represent a threat to the authenticity of a product and its craft but also helps preserve and promote a heritage. The marketing of a *terroir* is as much an economical tool as it can be used as a protection for cultural heritage and expression.

Marketing heritage: a legitimate part of cultural expression and preservation

Terroir has a geographical origin as it is the result of the knowledge of the environment: wine is created through the use of a specific grape, in a specific soil which is defined by climate and geology/pedology. As such, *terroir* is an efficient means to protect the intangible heritage that is French wine and marketing said *terroir* can be considered a useful tool for preservation and international promotion as observed by Rocchi and Gabbai (2013) when looking at the success of Tuscan wines on an international market. And in turn, Tellström; Gustafsson, and Mossberg (2006) underline how producers and taste makers will brand a product for it to represent an idealized *terroir* that matches consumers' perception.

Champagne is the most famous example of a protected name that defends its geographical and artisanal origins. It is a unique beverage from the Champagne region in France, famous for its chalk soil and caves. During *la Belle Epoque* in France, drinking champagne represented taking one's place in society. It symbolized richness, power and good taste. Champagne was unique and distinctive as a sparkling wine which no other could reproduce. It still benefits from world-fame because of its selection of grapes, its method of fabrication, but most importantly, because of the marketing of a *terroir*. Champagne is associated with festivity, France and tradition (Kolleen, 2003). From its creation, the brand has been defined by genealogies and a transmission of skills: "Champagne became a national brand in an international market, a commodity with tremendous symbolic and cultural capital linking taste, place, and the past" (Trubek, 2008: 25). In 2015, UNESCO marked the Champagne region as a World Heritage site, symbolically

recognizing the influence it has on the French intangible heritage. This consecration is proof of the importance Champagne production has in the French lifestyle, customs and tradition.

In order to preserve its unique quality and symbolism, Champagne was defined as AOC (*Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée*) in 1936, marketing Champagne as a national drink. Regional products have since been marketed as national goods such as Burgundy wine that promotes authenticity and French peasantry. The AOC system aims to protect and promote regional and rural cultural heritage in order to develop economy and tourism in certain regions. In a context of globalization, this ensures the preservation of tradition and landscapes but also develops a sense of patrimony. It is a ruled and measured system to promote national heritage that already exists in most communities. According to Demossier (2010: 20), this explains why wine has such patriotic values as it is steeped with French history, 'it remains a powerful symbol between global national and regional identities in France.'

In a context of globalization, drinking cultures from other countries have shifted over the last few decades to give way to new influences. According to Demossier (2010), globalization has redefined the wine-drinking culture in France by focusing on wine and regionalism through the concept of *terroir*. The importance and global recognition of the *terroir* is the basis of recognition for French wines on the international market, linking the product to a regional identity and craft. It has become a synonym of quality, to the point of being associated to the French 'cultural exception', as an object of art, as she explains: 'today, wine has become an art object for the middle class, a means of differentiation, a place for social judgement, a

medium for the expression of new social identities and ties, the arena of new discourses and the place for contrasting identities' (Demossier, 2010: 71).

However, one can argue that the success of wine in France is not so much the product of an art or a craft but one of effective marketing. The state considers the notion of *terroir* as an economic lever to help sustain and develop French regional tourism and well as its national economy. It also helps build a sense of regional identity and pride. The whole concept of *terroir* and the wine culture in France is a successful marketing strategy to boost regional identity and sales. The image of the wine grower, the authentic *vigneron*, provides consumers with a familiarity, the feeling of knowing and supporting a family tradition, which distinguishes a particular wine from the anonymity of industrialization and globalization. It helps consumers remember which wine they liked and to identify to a particular region. As stated previously, it is as such, a powerful means for preserving cultural identity but threatens the authenticity of the product through its folklorisation.

The problem with the commercialization of intangible cultural heritage is that it can lead to its "folklorization". This can include freezing the elements and enacting them according to the state in which they were when inscribed on the lists, which corresponds to their most visible and documented form. This can also include turning the elements solely into tools for economic profit, adapting/simplifying their performance for tourists or emptying them of their content and as a result alienating the communities related to them (Labadi, 2013: 141).

Certain wines and *cépages* in France have been associated with a particular immovable image that seems fixed in time and no longer a reflection of the craft and people that are behind the product.

One example of the product of marketing is the difference in advertising of Bordeaux and Burgundian wines. Bordeaux wines are associated to the *Chateaux*

and the aristocracy whereas Burgundian wines rely on the symbolic image of its soil that has been ‘*béni des dieux*’, blessed by the gods, and that is still farmed by local peasants. It has an almost religious representation as a gift from the gods that has been nurtured by the skills of the local and humble community.

A sense of permanence and fixity characterizes Burgundy and is even showcased through local wine tourism and the cultural *mise en scène* by selling authenticity, history, and tradition in a nostalgic fashion. Very few changes are visible to the naked eye of the anthropologist returning for an annual field trip, and it could be argued that globalization has not visibly affected the local wine industry. The façade of an unchanging place, ‘a *terroir* blessed by God’, remains superficially convincing, and the issue of how individuals mediate globalization seems almost incongruous in this context (Trubek 2008: 85).

With this publicity, each region boasts its own wine colour and aroma which helps the consumer differentiate the different soils and themes.

Taste, then, in France resides as a form of local knowledge. The success of the turn-of-the-century tastemakers and taste producers lay in their ability to create an association between place and quality. (...) Local tastes now define superior quality, which means the French are willing to pay a higher price. Burgundy wines are known to have different taste profiles than wines from Bordeaux and Languedoc, though all may be red wines (Trubek, 2008: 44).

The wine industry in France is proud of its diversity as every region boasts its own wine production, craft and symbolism. Wine as seen by the French can be original and surprising to the senses, created for different tastings and pairings. Its understanding comes with culture and education.

Wine and food pairing is an art that has been particularly developed by the French. Nowadays one increasingly finds beer and food pairings. Beer is becoming an increasingly important part of the gastronomical tradition. No longer only considered as an aperitif or as a social drink with friends, it is embodying a new generation who sees wine as old-fashioned and elitist (Lorey, Poutet, 2010).

Wine symbolizes tradition, a drink that seems to have been anchored in time and that does not evolve, which is not appealing to the newer generations who want to explore and develop their taste buds. By making wine an art, an object of the French 'cultural exception', wine is now transformed into a ritualized act, a public performance of wine tasting, requiring knowledge about viticulture and viniculture. No longer associated to family meals and social gathering, it has become a form of social distinction, reserved for a certain category of enlightened connoisseurs. Demossier (2010: 89) agrees with Bourdieu's remark on the hierarchy of wine and states that:

access to oenological /scientific discourse is thus, in part, a question of power, as very often people who are able to describe wines, and to differentiate between them, position themselves in relation to that knowledge, to establish a sense of distinction and social domination.

Extensive research has been led on the wine heritage in France, on its development through AOC, but it is interesting to note the impact the brewing trend has had on the wine industry and heritage in France. Since 2014, beer is also a part of the French National heritage according to UNESCO, with breweries opening every week to offer French craft beer. However, similarities between wine and beer cultures are drawn as the need for familiar references and marks of quality remain.

Although societies 'progress' and move away from traditional structures and some of the more formal rites of passage disappear from the cultural landscape, the need for them remains (Murphy, 2015: 53).

According to Murphy, societies hang on to their traditions and roots as a sense of belonging when adopting new customs. French consumers might have discovered a new drink that perhaps better fits their ideologies in an era of globalization, but the need for tradition and the recognition of quality is expressed through the

importance of the French *terroir*. As such, the search and construction of a French brewing tradition and heritage is increasingly clear and will be the focus of this research.

In this review, I have introduced drinking cultures as expressions of identity and the need to preserve them as intangible heritage. In France, the importance of the brewing community and craft is such that it is now a part of the French National Heritage, but what brewing heritage do the French have to preserve? Up until recently, breweries in France have expressed melting pots of international brewing traditions, producing English Ales, German lagers and many others, and are now focusing on producing a French beer. Therefore, the focus of this research will be the creation and preservation of a French Brewing Heritage through the use and promotion of *terroir*.

III) Methodology

The research will focus on the evolution of beer drinking in France and the creation of a brewing heritage in a country known for its wine culture. This wine culture has been heavily promoted and protected through designations and the recognition of its *terroir*. The addition of the French gastronomic meal to the list of ICH in 2010, which includes the necessity of having wine pairing for every course, demonstrates the value that wine has in the French gastronomic heritage. Gastronomy is an inherent and crucial part of intangible heritage as it shapes and characterises communities. Defined by geography, geology, climate and tradition, it reflects not only a culture but also customs. With the rise of globalization and mass exportation of culinary goods, the need for UNESCO preservation is increasingly urgent in order to protect the French gastronomic heritage (Ferrucci, 2012). This was achieved primarily through the protection of French wines and their *terroir*, promoted in France and internationally. Through my research I have found it relevant to look at the different approaches that have been used to study *terroir*.

Indeed, the first researchers to look at *terroir* were for the most part geologists who wanted to understand how one plant or seed can produce such different flavours according to where it was grown.

It was in Burgundy that the realization came to me that it was not the surface geology alone that decides the better vineyards, but the combination of the elements of the vineyard habitat. I quickly learned that the natural history of wine would be a complex study, but the key factor would be geology (Wilson, J.E., 1998: 5).

The geological aspects of the French landscapes became the focus of attention in order to create the *gout du terroir* and for it to be recognised internationally:

Terroir was reinforced by the re-emergence of oenology and also the influence of geologists, who provided the scientific foundations for many of the claims made on their behalf. Geological determinism became a trump card in the recognition of quality wines, successfully obscuring the socio-political construction that made their legal emergence possible a few decades earlier. More than 400 French wine-producing areas have gained the AOC label over the past six decades, and every year new ones are added to the list (INAO 2001) (Demossier, 2011: 7).

Barely a decade after Wilson's work, Trubek published her own view of *terroir* in *Taste of Place*: not denying the effect of geology, she demonstrates that *terroir* should also be considered from an anthropological perspective. Indeed, climate and geology will define a product, but the result is mostly protected in order to preserve a cultural heritage:

The taste of place does not originate with the Mesozoic-era collision of the African and European continental plates that defined France's geography and geology. Rather, beginning in the early twentieth century a group of people began to organize around this naturalized interpretation of taste, for they saw the potential benefits of a foodview celebrating an agrarian and rural way of life. French tastemakers—journalists, cookbook writers, chefs—and taste producers—cheese makers, winemakers, bakers, cooks—effectively shaped how people tasted wine and food (2008: 20).

As Bessièrè has pointed out (2013: 279), the addition of the French gastronomic meal as Intangible Cultural Heritage highlights the new food cultures and emphasis on food heritagisation against its modern standardization. She demonstrates that there is a new sociological research field which looks at food cultures and heritages. Demossier's (2010) research focusing on the *terroir* in French wines – and more generally in French regionalisation – shows the impact the protection of *terroir* and its promotion has had on the protection and heritagisation of French products. After looking at the symbolism that the origin of products can trigger in consumers, she underlines the shift in the representation of *terroir* from reflecting the soil and climate from a geological perspective (Wilson, J.E., 1998) to an anthropological understanding of its cultural construction (Trubek, 2008).

During the 1990s, for example, Burgundian wine production was dominated by a growing scientific and technical discourse and *terroir* was widely acknowledged and used to explain the individuality of different plots of land, even when they were located only a few metres apart. *Terroir* was systematically cited by wine-growers, landowners, and wine merchants as the result of the primary influence of geology, which explained the reputation, the location, and the price of fine wines (Demossier, 2011: 7).

Pincus (2003) emphasises the cultural and agricultural identity which transpires through the making of and the consumption of wines in France, as a direct reflection of the soil and heritage. Parker (2015) demonstrates how *terroir* has been used in France to explain language, behavioural patterns and gastronomic identities. The anthropological approach is therefore to study the cultural meaning of *terroir* as well as its geological definition.

Certain anthropologists such as Wilson (2005) have studied the relationship between the construction of identity and drinking cultures. Another approach is to look at the evolution of alcohol consumption in France over the last few decades and understand the reasons for this shift as does Laporte (2005) who diagnoses the evolution of wine drinking and the reasons for its change. Douglas (1987), Heath (2002), Charters and Pettigrew (2008) and Bennett (2013) each looked at behavioural patterns regarding alcohol consumptions and the sociological aspects of drinking cultures. However, I have found the research regarding drinking cultures in the last decade to be lacking as the focus of research in food cultures in France is on wine and the French cuisine (Sadoun, Lolli and Silverman, 1965). This no longer seems the adapted focus of research as Lorey (2014) emphasises the change in wine consumption in France. Wilson (2005) analyses drinking cultures around the world and the case of beer symbolising community in Czech Republic,

Laverick (1996) underlines the emergence of beer faced with wine, but I have found little to no study of the beer industry and the culture surrounding it in France. As we have seen, there have been publications on beer, its history and creation by Cornell (2003), Hornsey (2003), or Dineley (2004) and its evolution, by Unger (2004) or Brown (2006). Several authors have dedicated their work to the art and evolution of brewing such as Goldammer (2002), Mosher (2004) and Heimonen and Usitalo (2009). In his *Projet Amertume*, Gillard (website 11, 2017) traces back the history of brewing in France and the evolution of breweries but does not dwell into the reasons for this evolution. There is no existing research on why the beer culture has developed in France and how it is being promoted. As well as this, beer was added to the UNESCO list of heritages in France even though it is a country with no real historical background in beer or brewing heritage as could boast Germany or England.

When starting my research on drinking cultures in France, I was led by Demossier's research on *terroir* in wine and how it has affected regional cultures and traditions. Her analysis of the influence *terroir* has had on the construction of regional identity made me look at food heritage and how this could be applied to the rebirth of the brewing industry. Trubek analyses *terroir* in France and its cultural meaning as the *gout du terroir* gives the consumer a sense of identity, heritage and meaning (2008:51). She emphasises its marketing power and its symbolism as is perceived by French consumers and what she calls "taste makers". This notion also developed by Dion (1977) showing that although *terroir* plays an important part in the creation and marketing of a product, it will mostly direct its consumers' expectations, and

these consumers become the taste makers and influencers. Spielman and Gélinas-Chebat (2012) analyse the perception of *terroir* in wine according to the consumer type and his level of involvement with said *terroir*. It has been relevant to me to see how this concept guides consumers and also has been applied to other food domains than wine, and in my case study, how these “taste makers” are promoting beer. With Bérard and Marchenay’s (2004) research on the importance of appellations in the protection of *terroir* and therefore of gastronomic identity, I wanted to study the effect of these designations and protections on the brewing industry. Coulombe-Demers (2015) applied *terroir* to a new beer style born in Quebec, the *anneda* and demonstrated how its geography and locality had impacted its creation and development. How can this be applied to French beer?

I therefore focused on the evolution of the brewing industry in France in the last decade and how it has been promoted. By comparing production and promotion techniques between wine and beer, I analysed whether France can create its brewing heritage through the use and promotion of *terroir*.

In terms of field research that has been led, I have found very little qualitative research through interviews apart from Lorey and Poutet’s study of the evolution of wine consuming through the last four generations (2014). Most research has been quantitative, looking at wine consumption over the years, the number of breweries that have opened or closed, litres drunk and other factors. Several researchers also have focused on the history of drinking cultures such as Wilson, Heath (2002), or Millon (2013). However, I have found little information on why there has been a change, how modern-day French consumers choose their drinks and why there has

been a recent increase in beer selection and consumption. In particular, I want to look at how the notion of *terroir* is being applied in beer and if it affects its promotion.

Conduct of project

As I analysed the construction and promotion of a French brewing heritage which is taking place, the importance of *terroir* and origin in beer production was highlighted. This involved looking at designations such as AOCs, IGPs, POs... Why do these designations matter and how do they help promote the product nationally and internationally? Along with these recognitions, the museumification of the place of production seems to play a major role in the protection of the craft, as consumers feel the need to see how and where the product is made, as a way of being assured of its authenticity and quality.

This led to question how French beer should be promoted and protected in order to be recognised as part of the French ICH as a part of French culture, identity, a reflection of the French soil and climate and as an example of a *produit de terroir*. The research is based on articles, library catalogue, publications and websites that are less than 10 years old, and focused on the beer industry in France and Europe.

In order to conduct the field research, I chose a qualitative approach through semi structured interviews as I needed the informants' interpretation of the facts provided.

Qualitative data is credited with providing the meaning and factual interpretation that quantitative data does not, thus it is more accurate in findings, interpretation and theory as opposed to the conjectures that explain fabricated quantitative findings. Qualitative data is real life collection of data that avoids the quantitative distorting difficulties in collecting data by preformed questionnaires and overly simple analytic techniques (Glaser 2003:99).

This involved interviewing beer and wine producers, hop and barley farmers, salesmen from both industries, people working for the protection and promotion of French hops, barley and beer. The interviewees were chosen through purposive samples as I chose to talk to active professionals in the brewing industry: brewers, distributors, and bartenders.

When you are collecting cultural data, as contrasted with data about individuals, then expert informants, not randomly selected respondents, are what you really need (Bernard, 2011:158).

I therefore chose to talk to key informants who know a lot about the brewing industry and specialised informants that had a particular competence such as brewers. This already gave me a list of people that could be interested in my research and willing to share information. I then chose my list of interviewees according to my relationship with them and chose to talk to people I knew already.

Key informants are people who know a lot about their culture and are, for reasons of their own, willing to share all their knowledge with you. When you do long-term ethnography, you develop close relationships with a few key informants— relationships that can last a lifetime. You don't choose these people. They and you choose each other, over time (Bernard, 2011: 165).

This meant easier access to them to plan and record an interview, but also helped them feel more comfortable to speak freely to me.

Good key informants are people whom you can talk to easily, who understand the information you need, and who are glad to give it to you or get it for you (Bernard, 2011: 165).

I drew up a list of 30 knowledgeable professionals in order to not disperse my research and keep a qualitative approach through measured sampling.

There is growing evidence that 10– 20 knowledgeable people are enough to uncover and understand the core categories in any well-defined cultural domain or study of lived experience (Bernard, 2011: 170).

This was led through semi-structured interviews with producers and tradesmen in the wine and beer industries to analyse the consumption of beer and wine and its shift in the last 10 years. I chose semi structured interviews in order to guide the interviewees and obtain answers to my questions all the while letting them expand or develop their ideas or trains of thoughts if need be. Semi-structured interviews then become more of a conversation, during which new thoughts can arise. It provides a line of questions that guide the interviewer as well as the informant through the information received, supplying comparable quantitative and qualitative data from one interview to the next. This type of interview also meant I could prepare my questions ahead of time and keep control of the discussion. My research therefore included an interview schedule with the topics that had to be discussed through approximately 20 open-ended questions in order for the informant to stray from the topic to open new fields of discussion when he or she felt it needed. The interviews lasted around 15 to 20 minutes in order to gather enough information and let the interviewee express him/herself without interruption.

Around 30 interviews were conducted with active professionals of mixed gender, aged between 25 and 55. All are healthy and involved in the production or the promotion of beer and wine:

- Brewers: in order to gather information as to their brewing techniques, choice of ingredients, targets, choice and execution of recipes
- Representatives from beer distribution companies in France for bars, cafes and restaurants: to get their opinion on the evolution of the beer market, the demands, the promotion techniques used in beers
- Beer bloggers and event planners have been asked to participate as they are strong influencers. I have chosen several associations related to the promotion of beer in order to look at the growing interest craft beer has in France and how this is animated, promoted and encouraged.
- Selected managers from beer bars in Paris as well as managers of beer and wine *caves* /shops to understand how they chose the products they sell, who are their clients, and how their activity is evolving.

They were asked about their targeted audience and any potential shift in target they have noticed, if they have seen a change in the promotion and marketing of beer, how they think French consumers react towards beer and wine, if they are influenced by a wine heritage. These professionals were also asked what they think of *terroir* and how it is involved in the creation process and the product promotion and how it influences customers. Finally they were asked what they thought would contribute to the heritagisation of French beer and brewing culture.

To understand the process of museumification of a place of production or consumption, I have also visited breweries and vineyards that organise tours and visits and observed how they promote the environment and looked at the impact of place and the idea of “drinking local”. During the interviews the owners were asked if they promote the relationship between the product and the place of production with beverages directly related to the place they were made in.

The interviews were conducted by myself through appointments to take place in their office or place of work. Consent was obtained as the interviews were dealing with alcohol consumption and for some with their businesses and financial results. The purpose of the research was explained from the start, any result has been communicated to the participants in order not to mislead the interviewees. All interviews were recorded, which was stated before each one and obtained assent. This recording was saved on my personal hard-drive, and transcribed by myself. As most interviewees were French, the records were translated by staying as true as possible to the terms and tone used by the interviewee. After the interview, a written record was sent to the interviewee so that he or she was able to change/add to within two weeks.

These methods were in addition to research and gathering of data regarding beer and wine sales in France. These sales results were obtained through consent for use of the distribution company, ensuring anonymity of data involved. I also consulted statistics from INSEE (website 34) on the production, sales and consumption of beer, wine and organic products in France.

Interview Schedule

- Introduction (age, job, how long, etc...)
- Why did she/he chose that job?
- Who is the audience ? Describe a potential customer/consumer ?
- Have you noticed a change in consumers in the last ten years ?
- How do you communicate with this audience ?
- Do you believe there has been a shift in beer and wine consumption over the last five years in France ? If so, can you describe it ?
- Do you see resemblances/differences between beer and wine consumption ? Have you noticed a shift in consumption between these two drinks?
- Have you noticed or applied a change in the method of communication of breweries or wineries in the last 10 years ?
- Can you explain your understanding of *terroir* ?
- What to you think of the promotion of *terroir* ?
- Have you seen a change in communication regarding organic products?

Questions specific for brewers :

- How do you chose your ingredients ?
- Does their origin or place of production impact your choice ?
- Have you noticed a will to « drink local » in France or even with tourists ?
- Do you organise tours ? If so why ? What do you promote ?
- Do your customers drink a beer/glass of wine here ?

Questions specific to beer salesmen/distributors :

- How do you choose the beers you wish to sell ?
- Do you highlight local beers ? Why?
- What do you think of the concept of *terroir* in beer?
- Do you think designations such as AOPs, AOCs and IGP would impact the promotion of craft beer in France ?
- Would you want French beer to have more official recognition through designations and certifications ?
- How does that impact its production/promotion/sales?
- What is the legacy of an AOP/IGP?

Benefits of research

This study is the first look at French beer as part of Intangible Cultural Heritage and could therefore strongly impact the development of breweries and the marketing of craft beer in France. It will outline the importance of cultural practice in our drinking habits and will determine whether we can truly talk about a French Brewing heritage through the promotion of French *terroir* in beer and how this heritage can be preserved through time and place. The results found could help brewers or producers obtain certifications to be recognised as AOP or ICH or even by the Commission Européenne, by underlining the importance of *terroir* in the production of French beer.

Through this research I also hope to show the growing mobilisation and number of people – consumers and professionals – who are getting involved in the production and preservation of a brewing heritage in France in order to be able to offer a wide range of craft beers in a country known for its wine heritage and culture.

The result of the research will define whether or not France can boast a brewing heritage through the use of *terroir* and claim international recognition for a regional or national product or if this change in consumption is a temporary trend, resulting in the folklorization of a drinking culture as a consequence of globalization and successful marketing techniques in a new growing trade. If proved possible, this could open a field of possibilities of creation, promotion and marketing with the use of *terroir* and AOPs for local craft breweries.

As I was conducting the project, I unexpectedly was confronted with the trend of organic products and what they represented to French consumers. I therefore looked at the evolution of organic products, in what areas of production they had most increased and how they were perceived. As well as this, studying *terroir* implied looking at origins of products, the impact of designations, of consuming local goods so I included this notion in my interview schedule. This would help me understand if the origin of products and therefore whether the notion of *terroir* had an impact in the choice of the wines or beers.

Another factor that I was not expecting is the notion of trend: several articles such as Delcourt's (website 7, 2018) article in Slate or Mailer's (website 19, 1957) "The White Negro" related the brewing industry increase to the "hipster" trend. I

therefore look at the definition of this trend and what it represented sociologically. I chose to not dwell too much into this element as I believe this trend is fading now whereas the brewing industry in France is still rising. It would however be relevant in the future to look at how this movement perhaps enhanced and helped the rebirth of the brewing industry in France and why.

Finally, I found certain limitations to my field work as it was led in Paris with Parisian tradesmen and consumers. This meant a social category that was international, wealthy, and in-the-know of new trends and cultures. However, it also implied talking to people that are perhaps not as familiar with the notion of *terroir* as someone who has grown in a wine region, or near farms and producers.

IV) Beer vs Wine: the construction of a new drinking culture?

Before looking at the reasons for the increase of the brewing industry in France, I wanted to analyse the evolution of wine drinking in France, in particular the reasons French consumers drink wine. This will lead me to look at promotion techniques for wine as well as how they have influenced brewers to communicate with their audience.

The drinking rituals and choices surrounding wine is also important in order to understand the approach French consumers have to beer, in particular the notion of *Bièronomie*.

The evolution of wine drinking in France

Even though France is famous for its wine, and the French are renowned to be quite heavy wine drinkers, this perception is changing. The wine consumption in France has been decreasing, from 50 million HL in 1980 to 32 million in 2008, and finally 27.2 million HL (one bottle per person per week) in 2017, with a change in the French drinking habits. Lorey and Poutey (2011) segment the wine drinking market into three categories: the non-drinker, the occasional drinker and the regular drinker. The number of regular consumers has decreased and a new type of consumer has emerged: the occasional drinker, now the largest wine consumer group (41,3% in 2005, 51% in 2017). In the same time, the choice of wines has changed with occasional drinkers who drink less wine, but of better quality. Wine

used to be drunk at almost every meal and was a familial affair before becoming a public and festive consumption. According to Wilson (2005: 17), wine has become a “mode of regional differentiation, class distinction and discourse of French Nationality”. Still a staple for French identity, the mode of consumption now distinguishes certain categories and age groups (Simonnet-Toussaint, 2006). This can be related to the impact of globalization introducing a wider choice of wines, with wine growers having to use marketing tools in order to commercialize their product and emphasize its quality. Wine is also a cause for regional disintegration with each region promoting their own terroir, the wine cellars and shops showcasing these regional differences. This differentiation encourages a display of knowledge and wine tasting through which wine is no longer a private family matter but rather a public statement of education, knowledge and social status, wine still being seen as an elitist product.

According to Charters (2006), wine consumers can be divided into four categories: the connoisseurs, aspirational drinkers, beverage wine consumers and new wine drinkers. Connoisseurs are regular drinkers who can recognize and define wines. Aspirational drinkers enjoy wine socially and are seen as ‘fashionable’ or ‘image-oriented’ drinkers. They will care for where the wine comes from and how it is perceived. Beverage wine drinkers are “keen consumers” who drink all kinds of wine with no interest regarding their origins, as long as they are basic and ‘safe’ wines. The new wine drinkers also drink socially but have no interest in which wines they drink as long as they are in a social context. They are more interested in wine as a social lubricant than as an image projection.

Lorey and Poutet (2011) distinguish four generations of wine drinkers with different drinking habits and intents: heritage generation, network generation, mosaic generation (or generation X) and the most recent, the Y generation. For the oldest generation, the “heritage” generation, wine is a social binder to reunite family and friends every day. They have inherited the love of wine, most of them will have a personal story or experience with wine. For this generation wine is a symbol of French culture, with different wines representing every region of France, carrying history and tradition. Of course, for many, it carries a strong religious implication as the blood of Christ and the result of the work of men with the soil. They can be mapped out onto the cultural drinking category though the richer part of this generation also wants to discover more wines and often has a good relationship with their *cavistes* or wine maker, and can be associated with the authentic drinking category. Those who can afford it will chose their wine according to the advice of the wine seller and enjoy the social exchange to guide them through the choice of regions, appellations, and grape variety. The poorer part will stick to a wine they know, which most often is a “vin de table”.

The next generation is the “network” generation, or “Baby Boom generation”, aged between 40 and 50 years old, for whom wine becomes a means of expressing social status and knowledge and belong to the hedonic drinking category. Though it is still a convivial moment to share with others, drinking wine becomes a statement. This generation saw major sociological changes through globalization, urbanisation, and introduced a new drinking concept, with wine considered a product to be appreciated and drunk in moderation. As Wilson writes: “Good wine and the culture attached to it has become a symbol of middle-class lifestyle, and more so than food

its consumption acts as a social marker or a sign of belonging to a dominant social class” (2005: 133). Wine incarnates French culture, not as much as a tradition, but as a national pride of the richness of the soil and quality of the French terroir. The “network generation” will prefer AOC wines, or *vin de pays*, after receiving advice from their wine-seller. Choosing a good wine is for them a public display of their status, knowledge and taste.

They identify is the “mosaic” generation, or as Lorey (2014) also calls it, “generation X”, as the one who drinks wine to share a social time with friends and family, therefore constituting the social drinking category but for whom the pleasure of drinking is festive. Wine is for family meals or friendly gatherings during the “aperitif”. They are occasional drinkers who most often don’t know much about wine or how to recognise and appreciate good wine. They know of regional wines but can’t differentiate them or recognise different “cépages”. For this generation, wine, its history and environment, is an elitist universe that seems stuck in its time and all the knowledge they have of wine comes from books or tasting clubs.

The transmission of wine as a cultural heritage to future generations first and foremost motivates regular and well-off consumers; in parallel and in opposition, for some occasional consumers and non-consumers (particularly women), it can be noticed that there is less interest in the transmission of the values of wine: “it would not be all that important” (Lorey, 2014).

These two latter generations are not as comfortable or enthusiastic when having to choose wine as they are faced with a very wide choice, vague description and no idea as to the quality of the wines. The “network” generation will try to understand the variations in order to impress his/her guests and join the elitist crowd of wine

amateurs. They belong to a social generation that believe in strengthening social ties and distrust institutions.

The “mosaic” generation is one that will be open to trying different drinks, and looking for craft and local products in what they drink. These are the consumers that will start looking for other, less elitist, drinking traditions.

In his work “Evolution of French wine identity” (2014), Lorey also identifies a last generation, Generation Y. Wine is no longer sacred and its heritage is to be questioned. With the emergence of other alcoholic drinks that seem less elitist and archaic, these occasional consumers no longer have the knowledge to appreciate qualitative wines. Even though they associate wine with pleasure, they do not differentiate wines and have not been enlightened as to its regional dimensions. This reluctance to appreciate wine can also be related to the awareness of wine and alcohol’s dangers. There is now a very large gap between the regular consumer and someone who has grown up in a winemaking region who has been initiated to wine making and consumption. These consumers have a strong will to preserve and transmit their knowledge of wine in order to preserve this knowledge, ritual and appreciation.

Nowadays, younger consumers have an interest in wines from the Old World (France and Italy) as a proof of authenticity. Consumers want to know where the product has been created, from which soil and to feel engaged to the product.

There also seems to be a group of wine drinkers who enjoy wine because of its agricultural roots. Andrew Barr (1995), suggests that ‘the fact that wine continues today to reflect the rhythm of the seasons in the countryside makes its appeal especially potent to the increasingly urbanized or suburbanized communities of the Western world’ (1995, p. 345). It has been noted in Greece that there is a segment of urban consumers who respond positively

to wine which is marketed with a geographic association, because they perceive it to be more traditional – an authentic drink (Dimara & Skuras, 2003) – and in France, it has been suggested, many urban drinkers see wine as a link to their rural roots (Charters, 2006: 191).

As we will discuss later, this phenomenon is increasingly visible in the craft beer industries, with more microbreweries opening, offering tours to their customers. As such, the client feels engaged in the creation process, understands how the product is created and can appreciate a whole experimental process.

As such, Lorey and Poutey (2011) emphasize the evolution of the consumption of wine over the last 60 years through these four generations, from being a daily drink that carries cultural, historical and traditional values, to a drink that is elitist, luxurious and unattainable. As it has lost its identity, its consumption has rapidly decreased. However, its regional values remain and the notion of terroir is still respected and admired.

Charters and Pettigrew have explored why, in this generation, people chose to drink wine and found that overall, wine acted as a social lubricant. It is also a renowned food enhancement of course, with the importance of “accords mets/vins”:

Part of the aesthetic process is the careful complementing of wine with a specific food, and entire works are dedicated to the principles of food/wine matching (Simon, 1996). Aesthetics is concerned, in part, with judgments of value in the arts and crafts – the concept of what is “good taste”. Food and wine can offer consumers the opportunity to exercise judgments of taste – both organoleptically and aesthetically. This shared potential for aesthetic appreciation constitutes a significant link between food and wine, providing further justification for examining the nature of their relationship (Charters, 2006: 172).

In their study “Why do people drink wine?” (2008), Charters and Pettigrew found that the first and single motive for drinking wine was enjoyment. This enjoyment covered the social context, the effects of alcohol, the taste of the wine and its pairing with food:

Taste was discussed by interviewees as the key (though not the only) element of enjoyment. ‘Taste’ as a concept may operate as an overall reason for drinking wine and it may also involve the process of differentiating specific flavours. For many interviewees, the taste of wine seemed to be the paramount reason for drinking wine and the key component of their enjoyment (2008: 21).

Their interviewees mentioned the relaxation that offered wine and food consumption as well as the romanticism involved in such pairings. It is interesting to note that sparkling wines are to be drunk on their own as a celebratory drink (such as champagne) that have a very strong symbolic meaning. The drop in wine consumption over the last four decades reflects the changing role that wine has taken on: from being a staple accompaniment to meals, it is now a quality product, perhaps even luxurious, that is drunk to mark special occasions and celebrations.

Wine drinking has become increasingly detached from the art of eating, representing a unique act of consumption by its own right. By shifting from an integrated element into an intrinsically hedonistic food, it has gained a highly complex set of meanings. Attached to these new representations, wine tasting has also become an *affaire de goûts*, or a place of social discernment, hierarchy and power. Wine drinking has become drinking wines (Wilson, 2005: 131).

In bars and pubs, wine is purchased by the glass, enhancing its quality and origin. Customers are encouraged to taste wine as a high value product. Other drinks have been introduced such as spirits, softs and beers, which have created more distinction between consumers.

Wine industries and the emerging trend of *Bieronomie*

The wine industry in France is heavily protected by laws and regulations as an economic and cultural strength as wine symbolises French tradition, *terroir* and gastronomy. With many societies and associations such as *Vin & Société* (website 31), fighting against the regulation of the Loi Evin (law forbidding the promotion and advertising of alcohol in France) they underline the economic importance of the wine industry in France. As the second largest income after aeronautics and in front of luxury goods, the wine industry exports almost 8 billion euros worth of wine every year, and employs around 500 000 people in France. Faced with the increase of international wines and the rise in success of different types of alcohol, this industry is reinforcing all its measures to protect its heritage and future.

Wine as a culture and as an object of consumption has always been used in different ways, and in French culture its emblematic position remains the landmark of a cultural specificity as it still underlines Frenchness. However, it also defines a culture of exclusion. Today, consumption in France could be seen as a way of reshaping old ideologies, and contradictory values are undoubtedly embedded in French wine-drinking culture (Wilson, 2005:148).

In a time of globalization and multiculturalism, this tradition is endangered not only by international wines penetrating the market, but also with different drinks and alcohols taking over the market promoting regional *terroir*. Climate change is having a great impact on wine production, with international wines and *terroir* is taking on a new enhanced personality.

Without doubt, climate change will have a dramatic effect on the world of wine. In fact, it is already having a dramatic effect. In established quality wine-producing countries, average temperatures have increased. As a result, grapes are often reaching very high levels of ripening, leading to wines that are higher in alcohol and lower in acidity, and which may lack subtlety or

aromatic complexity. (...) As a result, new wine regions and countries may emerge in the future that are capable of producing quality wines (Millon, 2013:144).

French wine industries have to find new ways of differentiating themselves and promoting their historic and traditional values. Younger generations such as the “mosaic” or “Y” generations feel that wine is overrated, old fashioned, reserved for the elite and can be compared to a work of art that belongs to a museum. The wine industries seem lacking in innovation to appeal to these younger generations as they focus generally on the quality of the *terroir* and the sense of tradition. Everything is regulated – the cepages, appellations, down to the shape of the bottles – which leaves little room for the consumer to choose and differentiate one wine from another.

Faced with the dramatic increase of the brewing industry in France, wine seems to be growing out of favour as beer bottles take over the rows of the supermarket with original and colourful bottles and designs.

Market factors have also contributed to the complexity, for example, atomistic production structure, lack of coordination in policies relating to marketing, innovation, organisation in the wine supply chain, and increase in competition of beer and soft drink industries (Agnoli, Begalli, Capitello, 2011:176).

In their article, Agnoli, Begalli and Capitello discuss the shift in alcohol consumption of this younger generation:

This confirms that Generation Y considers wine and beer as substitute products in discos, pubs or bars. Except meals taken at home, the preferences for one or the other drink depend from the informality of the situation (2011:185).

Wine is still very much preferred as food enhancement and there has been an increase in the consumption of sparkling wines outside of meal times or during the “aperitif”. Wine and food pairing is an art that is particularly developed by the

French, but nowadays one increasingly finds beer and food pairings. Beer is becoming an important part of the gastronomical tradition. No longer only considered as an aperitif or as a social drink with friends, it is embodying a new generation who sees wine as old-fashioned and elitist (Lorey, Poutet, 2010). Wine is sometimes contrasted with a list of industrial or local craft beers, which, as I will analyse further on, are adopting similar concepts as the wine industry such as *terroir* and barrel aging for example.

The daily consumption of wine has decreased and has moved to beer and spirits. Beer has become a symbol of democracy and community as being accessible to all – *communitas* in Czech Republic - and is steadily taking a more important stance in the French Gastronomic rituals, starting with the French *aperitif* or *apéro*.

I do believe that though there is a big wine culture and consumption in France, and there will always be because it is France and it is the *terroir*, but beer changes because it belongs to the everyday. You can easily open a beer every day, not a bottle of wine (S08).

The *apéritif* is a time of relaxation and community, during which a group of friends share drinks (often beer or liqueurs such as Pastis) and relax before eating together. The French are also now promoting beer and food pairings and in particular beer and cheese pairings. Certain gastronomes believe that beer enhances cheese much better than the traditional red wine. Chef H  l  ne Darroze talks of beer and its pairing potential:

With the help of my chef sommelier, the ingredients and dishes are carefully selected in order to enhance the flavors, taste impressions and subtle qualities of beer. It has such a diversity of flavors that it enables varied and diverse culinary experiences (website 4, Brasseurs de France).

She is in fact a brand ambassador for Leffe beer and launched the *Grand Prix de l'Ap  ronomie* invented by Leffe to promote high quality *aperitifs*. Philippe

Etchebest, a Michelin star chef and a “Meilleur Ouvrier de France”, promotes beer and food pairings regularly, and has even collaborated on the recipe for the 1664 Millésime 2016. He created a beer that would be a good pairing with food and invented three recipes to be associated with that beer. An increasing amount of restaurants are developing their beer menus to pair with their dishes. Some beers are now for sale in *cavistes*, the French wine cellars, and certain *cavistes* have dedicated their entire shop to beer, such as “La Capsule” in Lille, and a dozen beer shops and dedicated bars in Paris. The beer blog Happy Beertime (website 13) recently published a list of bars dedicated to craft beer in July 2018 (see annexe 2).

The revolutionary trend of craft beers, with the increase in hoppy IPAs or even sour beers, is pushing consumers to change their drinking habits. France has seen a wave of craft breweries opening, defying the wine drinking ideology of the French (Daneshku, 2014). In 2016, more than one thousand breweries were active in France, the highest number since 1903, before the First World War closed thousands of breweries. By December 2017, the number of active breweries was more than 1 300. In contrast to the wine culture, beer appears to be a democratic field, in which all consumers can appreciate different beers, and can experience brewing first hand. Consumers can purchase kits to “Brew your own beer” at home or attend brewing sessions. It is more accessible than wine growing with a less elitist perception. Beer has taken on a new identity, with the craft beer revolution which is spreading from the United States to Europe (Blum, 2012). As opposed to the viticultural respect for tradition, brewers are pushed to go beyond their comfort

zone, to create beers that are increasingly original and different, that challenge our knowledge of the brewing industry.

French consumers might have discovered a new drink that perhaps better fits their ideologies in this context of globalization, but the need for tradition and the recognition of quality remains. The French have a particular relationship with food and wine, wine is the preferred food enhancement, as is shown in its inclusion of the definition of a gastronomic meal. However, beer is increasingly included in these pairings, in fact shown to be more flexible and enhancing than wine:

Beer actually offers a much wider potential spectrum of flavor characteristics than wine, due to the diversity of ingredients, and brewing and cooking have much more in common than wine making and cooking. Beer can range from the full bodied, sweet, rich and malty, to the bitter, heavily hopped and light-bodied, with many variations in between (Smith, 2014:98).

Books on beer pairings have been published and restaurants offer a growing range of beers to enhance their meals. In France, restaurants devoted to beer pairings have opened and are met with great success, including La Fine Mousse or Le Triangle in Paris. What is often an opportunistic form of tasting in other countries is turned into an art form in France with courses dedicated to beer and food pairing. Elizabeth Pierre conducts such courses and has launched “l’Académie” (website 3) which offers seven-hour long workshops on beer tasting and beer pairing, some of which are in association with FERRANDI, the school of Gastronomy in France, *L’Ecole Française de la Gastronomie*.

During the *Mondial de la Bière* in June 2017, a three day convention took place in Paris featuring Florent Ladeyn, a chef that has become recognised and famous for his food and beer pairings. His restaurant is devoted to this art, and during the

festival he set up a pop up restaurant with a beer pairing menu. His success is largely due to the originality of his pairings and to his devotion in promoting local and craft beers rather than wine.

In France the notion of *vin de table* has also been transferred to *bière de table* with breweries offering a light versatile beer which can be easily paired with food and will be aesthetically pleasing on a well-laid table. In general, its ABV is limited to 3, or 3.9° in order to be appropriate for any meal of the day, lunch or dinner and offers a light alternative to wine which can be overpowering. It is also referred to as “liquid bread” containing barley which emphasizes its adaptability to any meal.

Whereas wine has a long and noble tradition as the accompaniment to good food, it is only in recent years that many nations have begun to consider beer a viable companion to fine cuisine. At the same time, whisky has also emerged as a candidate for food pairing, as a growing number of people have become receptive to combinations of less obvious food and drink types (Smith, 2014:97).

As well as this, a particular consideration is given to the beer glass, its shape chosen to enhance the different aromas a beer can present, including the foam consistency. Books have been written guiding the consumer through beer tasting including which glass to use to enhance one’s drink, including for example *Biérogaphie* (Pierre, 2015).

Whereas the United States and Great Britain are turning towards cans in order to preserve the beer from the sun and keep the hops fresh, the French for the most part still associate cans of beer with cheap, industrial, flavorless beers. A real revolution is taking place at the moment thanks to breweries such as Beavertown, Northern Monk,, Cloudwater, Bevog, and TØol that create artworks rendering their cans attractive and almost collectibles for consumers. In France, canned beers are still

rare to find as the canning equipment requires a massive investment. A few have tried producing limited series such as the Paname Brewing Company with its *Singe en Hiver* or *Bête Noire*. However they find it difficult to sell as consumers still associate canned beer with cheap, bad, industrial beers.

However, French consumers are still drawn to the aesthetics of beer bottles, who also offer the possibility of aging beers and creating *bière de garde*. The *bière de garde* is a beer that can be kept for several years in order to enhance its flavour and round textures. It is often associated with barrel-aged beers, which consists in brewing beer that is aged in a barrel for several months (often a wine barrel) in order to make it richer, smoother and with a woody nuance. Barrel aged beers are increasingly popular and brewers experiment with the flavours given by the barrels: calvados, bourbon, red or white wine but also rum and tequila barrels.

In the last decade, brewing and drinking beer in France has therefore developed a certain “etiquette” similar to that of consuming wine. In a country that has basked in a wine drinking culture, that heritage has carried through and is still present when consuming beer: the same promotion tools, the same art of serving and drinking whilst introducing food pairings and aging bottles with a *millésime*, a term generally used to designate the year a wine was bottled. The aesthetic surrounding the consumption of the beer is very similar to that of wine and it seems that the French consumers are creating not only their own style of beers, but perhaps also their own beer drinking culture and heritage. This has been exploited by industrial breweries to promote new styles of beer, such as the 1664 Millésime, or the even the Leffe Caractère in which the beer has aged in old whisky barrels.

This approach of beer is relatively new and seems to be a trend that affects a particular target. Through my interviews I wanted to outline a personae of the beer drinker, what attracted that consumer to that specific product and why. I also hoped to define whether this would be a passing trend or an actual French drinking culture that was being constructed through the brewing industry promoting its products and its consumption similarly to that of wine.

V) Results

A new audience for the rebirth of beer

Out of the 30 interviews, the first relevant factor was to find out that almost all of the interviewed professionals of the industry have turned to beer as a result of a recent growing interest in the field. Most had completely different jobs until about five or six years ago which demonstrates the increase in interest and demand in this industry. Some have in fact changed careers quite dramatically, leaving behind jobs as engineers, or lawyers, in order to work in a brewery or to open their own bar or beer shop. This can reflect a sociological effect happening at the moment in which young employees with successful jobs find no meaning in their day to day routine and want to go back to manual labour.

Each of these people claims to have made the change because they wanted to develop the brewing industry, increase accessibility to good beer as well as just being passionate about beer. Some even volunteer to work or participate in beer-related activities as a hobby. Associations such as the *Paris Beer Club* (website 23) and *Houblons de France* (website 15) are non-profit organisations run by volunteers who want to see craft beer spread and promoted in Paris and France.

All interviewees explained that their interest in beer and their decision to work in the beer industry was due to finding only industrial lagers and perhaps a few Belgian beers in bars and shops. Tired of the monotony of this type of selection, and of the

overall market monopoly of industrial breweries, they tried to contribute to changing this.

We seriously lack craft beer bars and shops in Paris; for a city with more than 2 million people it is pretty sad. (...) I wanted to feel as involved as I could to help it grow (A01).

Some also realised that France had brewing potential with many microbreweries producing local quality beer that was not being promoted and that the majority of beer drinkers and aficionados had no idea that France had its own breweries. Emmanuel Gillard (2017) works actively on this through his “Projet Amertume” which lists every brewery in France and updates this list constantly in his Ebook: *Bières et Brasseries Françaises du 21ème siècle* (website 11). The number of active breweries referenced in his work had reached 1,247 in France by December 2017.

When asked what their targeted audience is, most interviewees hesitated. It seems the brewing industry doesn't really have a specific audience in terms of age, sex, or profession. Most beer related professionals target people aged between 18 to 35 years old, some mentioned “hipsters”. The “hipster” phenomenon is a trend targeting middle class people aged from 25 to 35 years old. First originating in New York, and specifically Brooklyn and the East Village, they identify as a blend of *bourgeois* and *bohème*. In his “Hipster Handbook” (2003: 1), Lanham describes the hipster:

You've seen them all over town with their mop-top haircuts, swinging retro pocketbooks, talking on cell phones, smoking European cigarettes, shading their eyes behind bug-eyed lenses, and strutting in platform shoes with a biography of Che sticking out of their bags.

More seriously, the hipster trend originated in the end of the 1990s and led by students and young workers who sought a return to authenticity, to rebel against

consumerism for a more natural ethical life. It is inspired by and reflects the 1930s jazz and swing trend, expressing repressed anxieties. In the 1940s, the word “Hipster” was invented meaning “hep cat”, someone that is trendy and in-the-know. Norman Mailer (1957) was the first to theorise the notion of Hipster in his article “White Negro” (website 19) explaining the movement as an expression of the changes and mutations happening in the States. Spread in Europe in the early 2000s, this trend took on in France a somewhat satirical stance that nevertheless was embraced by younger generations as a fear of the insecurity and instability of the present day economy. This is reflected in the fact that an increasing number of graduates from prestigious schools and careers seem to rebel against this conformity by turning towards manual professions that are closer to products and crafts. It is reassuring to them to know what they are producing and what their role is in society in a manual and no longer solely service economic way.

All of the interviewees underlined the importance of having an interest in ingredients, production methods and process.

Clearly the audience is financially quite comfortable – we are talking about Paris – people who are into *Fooding*, who are careful with what they eat and buy, with the food they consume. Even though craft beer bars are often as expensive as bars with industrial beers, the craft bottles are more expensive so the marketing has an effect on who will buy it (A01).

Craft beer draws in people who care about what they consume, eat or drink, about drinking local products, and who don’t mind paying a little extra in order to drink a beer that is craft. The beer industry in France has been able to evolve this much because of this shift in French consumerism; consumers are more interested in what and how they eat. They will buy espresso machines, beer machines for their homes in order to drink good quality coffee or a beer that has been poured with the right

foam at the right temperature. The development of DIY kits for baking, but also for brewing, cultivating herbs, mushrooms, producing ingredients for one's own consumption is proof of the need to know how something is made, with what ingredient, from where. In 2015, Ipsos (website 17) published a study demonstrating the success of DIY activities in France with 71% of the French population saying they take part in a DIY activity every week. 43% do it in order to relax whereas 37% want the pride of creating something with their own hands. This is furthermore demonstrated by the fact that 61% of these creations are then given to a friend or family as a gift, showing the personal disinterest in the final object but the pride taken in sharing the creation. A Do it Yourself fair took place in Paris in 2015 and drew in a new generation of consumers that want to be more ecological, responsible and to know how the products are made, and where the ingredients come from. This also reflects the phenomenon of people going back to manual labour positions, which involve craft and traditions.

Interviewee B01 from a Parisian Brewpub mentioned: "I tell people: this beer has just fermented, it just got tapped today and is the freshest beer you can have, and it tastes amazing". Consumers like to know that they are not only drinking the freshest version of the beer possible, but also can see where and how it was made. This translates into most consumption goods with an increasing number of books, videos and shows dedicated to cooking, growing ingredients, making your own healthy food.

I think in general with our generation and the younger generations to come, there is more of a movement towards local, ecological, artisanal, sustainable... All these words that may be buzz words but that show that people are interested in where their food comes from, what it is made of and who is making it (B01).

Ten or fifteen years ago, this did not matter as much, the focus was more on efficiency, cost production, time saving etc. This new focus on production means people will ask for higher quality in their products and a certain traceability, which also explains the increase of organic products on the market. Even though organic means no use of pesticides and chemicals in the production, it has come to symbolise quality and craft. Having organic products is perceived by the consumers as a sign of quality and a careful selection of the products. “An organic label implies the product was made according to certain specific rules with good ingredients” (D01). This perceived added value means the producer can raise the prices and cover the extra cost of production. Organic fruits, vegetables and alcoholic drinks are the products that have seen the most dramatic increase since 2011 according to Agence Bio (website 1). Even gluten-free products are getting more interest and has impacted the brewing industry with a few brands releasing their gluten-free beer such as Mikkeller or Brewdog. It is once again evidence of a careful selection of ingredients in the creation process and reassures the consumer.

As well as sharing an interest in beer and enjoying its taste, the craft brewing industry attracts people who are curious to try new things, who do not want to drink the same beer every time they go to the pub. One interviewee mentions the difference between the new beer culture that is starting in France and that which already exists in England. The pub culture in England as is perceived implies a certain repetition, going every night to the same pub to drink the same pint, whereas the craft beer culture in France promotes change, new experiences and trying new beer styles. “

We have all kinds of customers, some of them come to the shop every week to look for something new as there are new interesting things in every week. Every day we have people that are walking into a beer shop for the first time because they are looking and just want to try something new and interesting. We have a lot of tourists because they are interested in what's brewing in France too. Mostly it is people interested in something new and exciting (S07).

This is also translated through the fact that all the professionals of the industry want to see more local breweries develop and increase their presence on the beer market.

This echoes Lorey's (2014) analyses of the new generations X and Y that enjoy alcohol as a social lubricant rather than an elitist and class differentiation practice.

These generations want to try new things and widen their knowledge in terms of drinking practices.

This audience has massively increased in the last five years and has been translated in the rise of attendees at events such as tap take overs, festivals and at the *Paris Beer Week* for example. There are in fact an increasing amount of events and festivals focused on beer in France, such as the Lyon beer festival (created in 2017), the Saint Malo beer Festival (2018), Planète Bière (2015) and the Mondial de la Bière (2018 in Paris).

What started off as a small circle of friends that met up at craft beer bars is now spread to include people of all ages and backgrounds. It is still not a generalised interest but it is growing. One interviewee talks of the change in reaction with his friends:

Five years ago, when I would tell my friends that I would pay 4.50€ for half a pint of craft beer rather than for a pint of industrial beer, they thought I was crazy. Now, they will go to bars and chose the beer they want and not just take the cheapest, most famous beer (S01).

A curiosity is growing around the different types of beers available. Bars and restaurants promote the number of beers they have on tap, or the breweries they showcase.

We always try to offer the most different styles of beer, on our 15 taps we try to have as many different styles on tap as possible, at least 10 different styles. We try to promote the most international breweries as possible, so not have only one brewery on tap but to have one or two from one country and one or two from another so we have the most choice and representations to show that craft beer is an international and current movement (S05).

Certain French chefs have even introduced beer pairings in their menus, but it is still a rare offer, democratised in 2013 when Florent Ladeyn won the TV show “Top Chef” to open a beer and food pairing restaurant near Lille. A French Youtube channel called “Une Bière et Jivay” (website 21) is dedicated to videos about beers in order to educate the French public as to beer styles but also with topics such as how the industrial breweries are destroying the beer market.

This new style of education reflects the change in consumption and interests happening with younger generations.

The interviewees were quite unanimous in believing that we can't as yet talk about a brewing culture in France. With wine as predominant as it is, it not yet a generalised reflex to order a beer at the bar, and especially not with a meal. Some believe that the way to gain a wider access on the French market is through food pairings.

The French cuisine is famous, and we could perhaps include beers and food pairing into this culture. But it will have to face the wine culture, in restaurants you can see that wine is the first choice to have with food (A01).

As French cuisine is so famous world-wide, it is an object of great pride for the French who want to showcase the possibilities different regions have to offer. If there are more breweries, there will be more local beers to pair with a particular *terroir* dish.

All the interviewees also agreed on the fact that this shift in impact was slower in France as wine culture was deeply rooted in the consumers' habits. French consumers will still automatically choose a wine to have with their meal, or believe that wine has more to offer in terms of quality and *terroir*. The French consider beer as a "sub product", a drink to have during "apéro" or while watching a sports game before the "real meal" begins.

They don't take beer very seriously and don't get the production, the industry or the people who work in it. They don't believe that quite often a craft beer will be of better quality than an industrial wine (A01).

In fact it is interesting to note that before IPAs were in all the bars, one growing trend for breweries in France was barley wine. It seemed that the way to the French consumers' heart was by offering a similar product to that of wine that could be consumed in the same kind of way. A wine made of barley rather than grapes, aged in barrels, at around 13-15° that could be paired with meals, cheese or drunk as a "digestif". Someone who enjoys a deep rich red wine would be able to appreciate a barley wine, or even an imperial stout.

French beer: a *Bière du Terroir*

Beer has always been shaped by geography and climate. Each species of grain is adapted to a particular climatic zone, with wheat favouring milder climates while oats and rye thrive in harsh Northern region. Barley is pretty hardy, but does need a richer soil than rye or oats. Hops too, are sensitive to latitude, as they require a particular summer day-length to trigger one production. Each herb, fruit and other ingredient has a preferred habitat, and in the days before the easy transport of commodities, every drink tasted of its own unique flora (Mosher, 2004: 6).

As I have emphasised previously, *terroir* plays a vital role in the wine-making process in France, as well as other agricultural products and methods of production, such as the brewing process even if it isn't as influential in the marketing of the product.

The development of autonomous local breweries, that cultivate their own barley, cereals, their hops, is developing the concept of “*bière de terroir*”. In the same way, the creation of several local barley-malt-beer industries, who work in a tight collaboration with the farmers, the malters and brewers, is giving the brewing industry a new future closely related to *terroir* (website 15, Houblons de France).

Several interviewees mentioned the importance that origin would have on water, hops and yeast in order to flavour the beer. The water used will influence the taste and colour of the beer, which gave the Burton Pale Ale its fame, and has been used for centuries to promote the local beer brewed with the “town liquor”:

In the case of London, Munich, and Dublin, the beers that developed around the local water were dark beers. This is because dark malts have sufficient acidity to bring the whole system into balance, and whether hoppy, like Irish Stout, or malty, like Münchner, these dark beers are smooth on the finish without any raspy bitterness. It's a very different story for sulfate (permanent hardness). The brewing locations famous for such water is Burton-on-Trent, long famous for pale, bitter beers (Mosher, 2014: 55).

The malt used will affect the colour of the beer, its roundness. As a result certain malts are increasingly hard to find as they have come to know world-wide fame,

such as the English malt Maris Otter. The hops will give the beer its bitterness but also modify its aromas: American hops are a preference for aromatic IPAs as they are more citrusy and fruity than German hops that are used as bittering agents. Single hop IPAs are now being created to showcase the impact a certain hop will have on the beer, which demonstrates a growing interest in the product's origin.

Imagine three of the same single hop pale ale but with the same hop sourced from three different regions. The ability to critically analyze these different possible flavors is going to open a whole new world of possibilities for hop flavor and customization in craft beers, allowing brewers to even more precisely decide what flavors and components they want in their beer, all thanks to the wonderful influence nature has on our naturally fermented beverage of choice (website 18, Kollman Baker, 2016).

In the last decade, bitter and hoppy beers have become incredibly successful, it seems beer aficionados want their beers with increasingly high IBUs (Indication of Bitterness Unit).

As such, hop farms have seen a dramatic demand for their bittering hops. It is very interesting to study the culture of hops as their flavour and bitterness will greatly vary according to their origin. English hops are known to be quite herbal and bittering, whereas hops grown in the United States are very fruity, with grapefruit and tropical fruit aromas (Cascade, Mosaic, Centennial...) for instance.

Varietal aroma hops are a premium product valued for their delicate, refined aromas. Many come from regions that have been famous for centuries – East Kent in England; Hallertau, Spalt and Tettang in Germany; and the town of Saaz in the Bohemia region of the Czech Republic. Aroma hops generally have an alpha acid content of 5 percent or less. There are also certain varieties with intermediate alpha acid levels (6 to 9 percent), and decent aromas, and these are known as dual use hops. Northern Brewer, Cascade, and newer varieties such as Centennial and Mount Hood all have nice aromas and find a useful place in the homebrew arsenal (Mosher, 2004: 48).

Some American brewers have tried to cultivate Hallertau hops (German) and Saaz hops (Czech) but they are more citrusy and not as spicy as when cultivated in Europe as the soil and climate differs.

Some new aromatic varieties have come into cultivation, especially in the American Northwest. One of the elusive goals in the United States has been to develop a hop that will produce European noble hop character, which is not the case when varieties such as Saaz and Hallertau here. Crystal, Liberty, Vanguard, and Mount Hood come pretty close to the Hallertau goal: Ultra and Sterling have very nice, spicy Saaz qualities (Mosher, 2004: 48).

Les Houblons de France (website 15) promotes the exceptional taste that can be found in French hops thanks to the French *terroir*:

French hops have always been considered as the most refined in the world. The *terroir*, the exceptional climate and the craft of the growers have made France the ideal land for the culture of “beer’s cepage” (website 15, Houblons de France).

Every country and region can boast (whether objectively or not) a different hop, that will influence the flavour of the beer. The same barley or hop cultivated in different regions will taste different: the same applies to yeast which reacts to the air surrounding it.

Interviewee A01 mentioned Mikkeller brewery which has issued a series of beer in December 2017 called “*Terroir*” focusing on the impact the environment has on hops.

In the same way that people in the wine world talk about *terroir* - that is to say the effects that geography and climate have on grapes and wine - we can also talk about the *terroir* of hops and beer. A hop variety can taste markedly different depending on the country in which it’s grown and the processes involved in its production (Website 20, Mikkel Borg Bjergsø, 2017).

In order to prove and showcase this concept, the brewer teamed up with Dirk

Naudts from the Belgian brewery De Proef in order to brew nine beers following

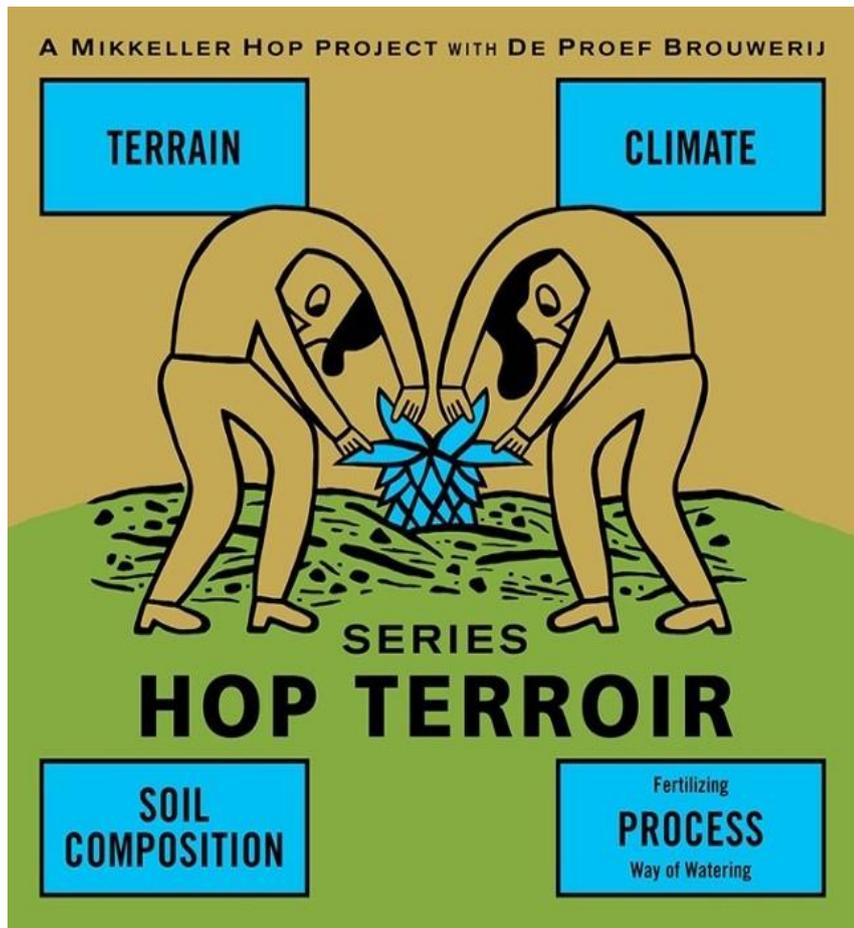
the same recipe but with hops from different origins around the world. The

brewery's Research and Development has been conducting research on hops in order to produce the most consistent beer possible over time. The project called the *Hop Terroir* follows up the Single Hop Technology project from 2010 and has resulted in the Mikkeller Single Hop series. The project also aimed to show the importance of the quality of the hops :

Hopefully, *Terroir* will help put more emphasis on honesty and straightforwardness from the producers' end because the brewers will be able to taste how big a difference there can be between hop varieties depending on where they're grown, which could lead them to be more critical about where they source their ingredients from (Website 20, Bjergsø, 2017).

The series is made up of nine IPAs, brewed with four different hops:

- Terroir Series Cascade Australia
- Terroir Series Cascade Germany
- Terroir Series Cascade Washington State Two with Amarillo:
- Terroir Series Amarillo Idaho
- Terroir Series Amarillo Washington State Two with Centennial:
- Terroir Series Centennial Washington State
- Terroir Series Centennial Belgium And two with Sorachi Ace hops:
- Terroir Series Sorachi Ace Belgium
- Terroir Series Sorachi Ace Northwest US



Website 20, Mikkeller Shop

Even though all nine beers follow the same recipe, their taste and hoppiness is different. The taste will vary not only between the different hops, but also between two beers using the same hops that were cultivated in different regions. This demonstrates the growing awareness of the impact of *terroir* on the products but also on their promotion.

If French people understand beer in terms of *terroir*, then why not use it? Especially as hops work just like grapes. If you replant your hop in another place, it will not taste the same. You will not have the same hop even if you give it the same name, it will have a different flavour profile. So use it absolutely, if it can help French people to understand that craft beer is an art (B01).

Certain brewers will select their ingredients carefully according to their *terroir* as their taste will be impacted by it. Some varieties of hops are more in demand than others because of their aromatic potential.

Terroir in connection to beer refers to the special characteristics of a region for the cultivation of hops, comprising growing conditions (such as soil composition, nitrogen, moisture) and climatologic conditions as well as biotic variables (such as microorganisms, managing practices). *Terroir* may have a significant influence on regional hop properties including aroma, flavor, bitter substances and longevity, affecting the brewing values of the cultivated hops. Therefore, brewers must rely on desired hop varieties from the same *terroir* in order to achieve consistent hoppy aromas in their beers (Van Holle, 2017, website 30).

For the creators of a home-brewing kit S01, the choice of hops was decided according to logistics criteria but also as the demand for hops in France is for more bittering hops. This trend made them try the Mistral hop: a hybrid between Strisselspalt, a bittering hop, and Cascade, an aromatic hop known for its citrusy notes. They chose to use only French products as this would lower the cost and not necessarily as a promotion tool, which it eventually became to their surprise. Indeed, the kits have the “Label France” meaning that all the ingredients are produced in France.

From the taste and origin of the hops and malts, different styles were created meaning that one could define beer styles according to their geographical locations and products. A 'beer style' is the result of a region's geography, economy, politics, climate, cultural heritage and therefore can be defined as a *produit du terroir* in order to promote the product but also the craft and heritage that has influenced the brewing process.

Burton-on-Trent, home of the original IPA, found through trial and error that beers that have been heavily hopped have a smooth, crisp bitterness that makes for a refreshing pale ale. London, the birthplace of the porter, had water that was extremely hard and of a high pH. (...) The Czech found that with their water that is almost barren of all ions, and soft as could be, made for the most drinkable of light beers styles and the pilsner was born out of Pilsen, Czech. The Germans, with their low sulfate and moderate chloride mountain water, has led to a bevy of malt forward beers styles, from their more malt focused German Pilsner, to the malt bomb that is a bock. These styles exemplify the water around them, and whether wittingly or unwittingly, the brewers and those that drank their beer had their preferences shaped by the water! (website 18, Kollman Baker, 2016).

The Belgian lambics are specific to the region surrounding the Senne river as the air has favoured the development of certain yeasts *Brettanomyces Bruxellensis* and *Brettanomyces Lambicus*, which provoke spontaneous fermentations. The Lambics and Gueuzes produced by the breweries there have known world-wide fame, such as Cantillon, 3 Fonteinen, for their sweet and sour qualities. In fact the brewers of the *Vallée de la Senne* region are applying to obtain an AOP certification defining Lambics produced in their geographically defined *terroir* in which they have this specific yeast.

If you have a beer that is 100% pilsner malt and ferment it with a German ale yeast at slightly cooler than normal ale temperatures, you wind up with a *Kolsch*. If you take a German lager yeast, ferment even cooler, you wind up

with a *Pilsner*. If you use a German weizen yeast, guess what, you wind up with what is basically a *Hefeweizen* (website 18, Kollman Baker, 2016).

Yeast, though its existence and value was discovered much later in the brewing history, is crucial in the brewing process as it will determine the style of the beer, its flavour, its alcohol percentage and its sweetness:

Every set of local conditions bred its own blend of brewer's yeast, sometimes with wild yeast and bacteria mixed in. Remnants of this ancient way of brewing exist today in the Lambic beers of Belgium. In these unique brews, the region's wild yeast is encouraged to come through slates in the eaves and inoculate the wort cooling in shallow pans in the attic. Wild yeast and bacteria have also taken up residence in the walls, barrels and (so they say) cobwebs of these rustic breweries. The beer undergoes a complex chain of fermentation whereby one microorganism breaks down materials in the beer to create ideal conditions for the next (Mosher 2004: 58).

Therefore the origin of the ingredients will impact their taste, but the place in which the beer ferments will also affect the flavour and style of the beer. Geographical origin and *terroir* plays a role in every step of creation of the beer.

Certain beers will represent their geographical region, or a tradition (Trappist beers for example) or a reference to a brewing story. Porters were invented for the London porters that needed a rich drink at the end of the day, *saisons* were created with leftover cereals to produce light refreshing, crisp beers for farmers who had been laboring in the sun:

Saison is the product of francophone Belgium, specifically the western part of Hainault Province. It has a long provenance as a farmhouse ale, brewed to serve as a fortifying – but not stupefying – thirst quencher for the labors of the summer field (Mosher, 2004: 119).

Beers in France are not only associated to industrial lagers any longer but can represent a history, a heritage and a craftsmanship. Beer amateurs are looking for differentiation in their beers, a product that is original and qualitative:

The increase in both the number and the widening scope of craft and artisanal products provides further emphasis that product differentiation and niche market segments are becoming increasingly important to today's discerning consumer. (...) Put simply, the operator who demonstrates the same efforts currently put into wine merchandising to the craft beer market can achieve sustained loyalty and competitive advantage. (Murray; O'Neill, 2012:900)

The craft beer market, just like the wine industry, develops the beer's quality but also its story and branding by promoting the quality of the ingredients as well as the production process and the story of the brewers.

The variables that influence the wild cultures that you catch is near infinite, and every one has some impact on the final bugs you have caught. This trickles down into the fermented product you make and will create a taste experience that is a true expression of your localized terroir (website 18, Kollman Baker, 2016).

Not only are the products and soil valued, the heritage and skills that go into the brewing process are increasingly highlighted. The protection is one of a transmission of heritage and of a narrative that is shared in one region: "heritage is a claim that ultimately mediates between individuals within a social group strengthening social ties within the society spread out over time and space, imaginarily linking past and present" (Brulotte; Di Giovine, 2014: 15). It is now increasingly applied to the beer industry: the perfect example for this type of 'protected mark' are the Trappist breweries in Belgium. In order to be acknowledged as Trappist, a beer has to be brewed in an abbey or monastery by a community of monks. The brewing techniques are passed on from generation to generation in order to produce a certain beer style which will be honoured with an

‘ATP’ for “Authentic Trappist Product” label, guaranteeing its quality and authenticity. All the benefits from this production serve to protect the abbey, and the rest is given to charitable causes. As a result, Trappist beers are acclaimed worldwide as their production is limited, of high quality and a preservation of a brewing art form and heritage (Mosher, 2004).

However, as we have noted, *terroir* is also related to history and heritage, therefore one can question the use of the term *terroir* when dealing with the creation of new beers in France.

It is an integral part of collective representations of social reproduction. *Produits de terroir* can be described as part of an ‘evolving’ heritage, directly influenced and constructed by humans through their social activities. This form of heritage also reveals the ability of modern societies to act collectively, projecting themselves into the future through a sense of shared identity derived from the *terroir* and its products (Blowen, Demossier, Picard, 2001:163).

Yet, in their production, most French microbreweries are valuing the origin of their products, trying to brew ‘locally’ in order to produce a beer that represents its roots, a *bière du terroir*, and a production method which could be transmitted to future generations.

France has the third biggest exportation of barley but very few hop farms. This is changing with the rise in beer consumption and production in France which has influenced farmers and associations to promote the culture of hops. The main association is *Les Houblons de France* which cultivates hops and encourages French consumers to grow their own hop fields in order to be able to create beers that are brewed using 100% French ingredients.

The growth in the overall craft beer market and the movement towards craft beer type offerings by the large brewing companies indicate that the interest in

craft beer is growing and that the potential niche goes well beyond the active home brewer population (Murray; O'Neill, 2012:906).

In France, there is an increase in marketing of *bières du terroir* , which promote a beer produced locally and therefore is fresh, qualitative, using French regional products from a French soil. Malt and hops are cultivated locally thanks to the help of associations such as *Les Houblons de France*, as the French want to produce beers using only French regional products. This association promotes the value of preserving and cultivating French products in beer:

The hop is the reflection of a *terroir* , one variety planted in different climatic and geological conditions will develop unique flavours. However we have so few typically French varieties, that with our knowledge and our experiences, we hope to engage in the rebirth of ancient varieties and the creation of new ones (website 15, Houblons de France).

They have in fact contributed to the official recognition of three varieties of French hops that have been certified: Strisselspalt, Aramis, Barbe Rouge.

The marketing of craft beer can therefore be compared to that of the wine industry as the focus is increasingly drawn on the origin of the product: a beer made with local ingredients, cultivated by the brewer and blended together in a local brewery which will reflect the roots of a specific region.

Designations: a form of preservation ?

Designations were recognised in trade markets centuries ago, since Antiquity, and have stemmed from the wine trade. There was already a need to mark the origin of the product in order to identify its quality.

The regulation of indications of geographical origin began with wine trade, noted since the ancient Greek Empire, and at different periods of time wine trade regulation was a basis for the establishment of dedicated legal systems

and institutions for diverse GIs identifying food products (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:2).

The *terroir* is particularly recognised in wines as the taste of the soil is defined in the grapes and therefore wines have always been identified by the geographical origin:

Wine itself is a special kind of product as a result of the variety of grapes selected by producers and the capacity of various grapes to express in the winemaking process differences in the soils and climates where they were grown. These specific attributes were developed and valued through centuries for cultural reasons, and the writings of the ancient authors reflect the special attention given to the diversity of wines (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:2).

The delimitation of vineyards and wine origins through appellations started in the Middle-Ages by wine producers, mostly for religious institutions. Since then, appellations have developed following trade and new measures are enforced in order to preserve the specificities of the soil, but also the heritage of the craft. Collective organisations and set designations were needed in order to limit the different origins (which in wine can be as precise as a certain hillside or valley), define appellations and acknowledge specific characteristics in these products. These organisations enable the codification of practices and origin of products to meet the demands and requirement of an evolving market.

Terroir has been used to explain agriculture for centuries, but its association with taste, place, and quality is more recent, a reaction to changing markets, the changing organization of farming, and changing politics (Trubek, 2008:21).

An *Appellation d'Origine Protégée* as we have seen, is a designation that identifies a product whose origin is defined and limited geographically, a region and sometimes, a country. This geographical origin has to present natural and human characteristics that are specific to that area.

Long before being recognized as geographical indications (GIs) in modern legal frameworks, place names enjoyed an extensive history in trade. Certain products were recognized as possessing specific characteristics, and they were often, though not systematically, designated by a geographical name when sold in the market. This history stretches back to well before the industrialization and postmodern worlds, where food and diet are almost totally commercialized (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:1).

This explains why the notion of *terroir* is frequently linked with that of AOP or AOC. The final product has to represent its origin through certain characteristics that are representative of the *terroir* of the region. Its production has to be entirely processed in said geographical region in order to preserve all its regional specificities. The AOP was recognised in 1905 in France before being internationally acclaimed in 1958 thanks to the Lisbon arrangement, and then set in Europe in 1992. A product is first defined as AOC (Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée) before being acknowledged as AOP.

Products can also benefit from the designation *Indication Géographique Protégée*, referred to as IGP, which identifies products that come from a specific region or country that present certain characteristics of the geographical area. It differs from the AOP as it requires only one process of production to take place in said region as opposed to all of them.

Designations of origin cover products for which the quality or characteristics are essentially or exclusively due to geographical conditions, including natural and human factors. Geographical indications cover products for which a given quality, reputation or other characteristic may be attributed to its origin (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:7).

Both designations are protected and are not brands but belong to a collective patrimony of a certain region, any producer located in the delimited area that respects the specifications of an AOP or IGP can benefit from the designation. A *terroir* can't belong to one person or producer as it represents a limited geographical

area that is characterized by its ecosystem and over time and is acknowledged by a community. This implies that producers benefiting from this *terroir* have to group in an organization to recognise not only the qualities of the product but of the soil it comes from, with all products adhering to a common code of practice. The recognition of the product will then have positive impacts on the region of the *terroir* (economic, social, cultural and environmental) which will benefit its community. This community and gathering of producers protecting the same soil for its typicity is what differentiates an Origin Product (AOP or IGP) from other quality products that don't present the same link with the land and its history. The more a *terroir* is valued and protected, the more the producers and local actors can benefit from its reputation and quality, as it will value the environment, its landscape, culture, heritage, regional identity and craft.

The law of 1935 establishing the AOC was promulgated in a period of social and economic crisis and it privileged landowners, an artisanal model of production, and a natural conception of wine delineated by a specific area of production (Demossier, 2018: 5).

In fact, their application will encourage them to meet and discuss in order to set up a corporation in the community to work together with local firms towards the protection of their *terroir*.

Producers need to register their product with the *Organisme de Défense et de Gestion* (ODG) that represents the *Institut National de l'Origine et de la Qualité* (INAO). Since 1935, this institute can assess and regulate the definitions of a GI product under the authority of the French Agriculture ministry, as certain producers have tried to usurp a designation for products that do not originate from a designated

region. First only applied to wines, this designation was extended to cheeses in 1955, before being applied to all agro-food products in 1990.

In their application for a PDO or a PGI, the producer or group of producers need to include the geographical origin of the product, its description including specific characteristics defined by its designated region, an evidence of its origin and a description of the method of production. The application should emphasise the link between the quality of the product, its creation and its relationship with its regional origin. Wines benefit from the highest level of protection but therefore requires each member / producer to include practical conditions and methods of production in order to differentiate products that have homonymous indications.

These designations help promote a product thanks to the reputation of the geographical area and its *terroir* or craft and protects it against any imitation or usurpation, or even products that are defined as 'genre', 'type', 'façon'... The acknowledgement of an AOP or IGP can only be given to products from a geographical area and *terroir* already known and recognised for its qualities and specificities.

But for the origin of the product to matter, the product must have some recognized special quality or qualities. Generally, when origin matters for merchants and clients it is represented as an identifier of high quality level product. Origin products keep to their specificity if it is difficult or impossible to copy them in any other place owing to specific local assets, secrets of fabrication or legal protection (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:2).

Therefore, in order to benefit from an appellation, a product must be a representative of a geographical region already renowned for its qualitative specificities. It must also preserve a heritage of that region, a craft or codified practice that can be recognised by the consumers. GI products are in time considered as having

patrimonial characteristics and can be recognised a part of a local heritage. As we have seen certain products that represent a region and a *terroir* can convene a sense of pride in one's regional identity and offer a feeling of belonging in one community that shares the same cultural and gastronomic heritage. Consumers identify to a typicity that is specific to a designated region, micro areas, such as certain wine *cepages*.

Typicity related to know-how can have an individual dimension (*tour de main*) as well as a collective dimension that links consumers and producers together through, for example, clubs, contests or festivals (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:6).

In order to stand out in a competitive market, new products have to be innovative by boasting their heritage whilst presenting novel specificities. These innovations or novelties are often promoted by the market chain, equally important in the success of these protected products:

On the one hand, there is a need to follow tradition in regard to system heritage and the true basis of the collective reputation. On the other hand, there is a need to be innovative in maintaining the collective reputation in times when market conditions are changing. Either way, in order to maintain tradition and manage innovation, cooperative rules are necessary. As a result, the social organization of the producers and the entire market chain gives these products their final characteristics (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:5).

Most recognised Origin Products will be sold at local markets where they are already recognised for their quality and represent the local craft. The further away the product is sold, the more it must convey the image of its place of production, its creation process and heritage. Even when sold far from their production area, IGPs and AOPs reassure consumers as to their quality and their production, ensure traceability, welfare, social and environmental concerns. Faced with so many brands and products, these attributes promote Origin Products that help develop rural activities and employment.

The market chain is therefore an important actor in its marketing and promotion as the product needs to be regionally identifiable as well as show innovative and original characteristics. During its entire chain of market distribution, the product has to maintain its quality and reputation.

Although traditional products have strong links with European food culture, they do not always achieve commercial success within their rural areas of production and/or in urban outlets, despite the good reputation they enjoy. Commercial success depends, among a great number of factors, on product characteristics, market penetration, production methods, supply chain management and the image and cultural –economic strength of the area of origin (Barham, Sylvander, 2011:31).

The product has to represent the same level of quality and authenticity throughout the supply chain, even when furthest away from its origin. This is achieved by promoting the reputation of the producers and the region's cooperatives, even the firms taking part in the supply chain have to follow certain codes of practice to ensure the product's quality and origin when pursuing their own marketing strategies.

In fact, an increasing number of firms are including the imagery of origin on their products, whether they represent a region, a country or specific territory.

It could be argued that *goût du terroir* has come to describe an aspect of French identity that is locally defined, but perhaps it is also ultimately part of a national project to preserve and promote France's much vaunted agrarian past. The "production of locality" through taste helps constitute the meaning of France in the midst of the global flow of ideas, ingredients, and values shaping our tastes for food and drink. *Terroir*, in all its manifestations, is our key to agrarian and culinary France (Trubek, 2008:53).

Foods that clearly represent their origin – and therefore the use of their local products – are a safer choice for hesitating consumers as they enable traceability. If representing a specific region known for its craft, the product will seem to have enhanced qualities and a typicity specific to a craft. This is particularly notable with

the upsurge of organic food that ensures authentic methods of production with fresh and local produce. This will of course be more notable with proximate consumers who will be choosing products that are produced locally and that awaken certain affective or emotional feelings such as pride, heritage, or a sense of belonging. However the effect of marketing of an Origin Product is more notable with distant behaviour, when consumers will chose a product they do not know or associate with only because it has an official GI label which guarantees its quality and authenticity. Therefore a product designated as AOP/AOC or IGP will stand out as a representative not only of its craft and quality, but also as a means to support a community, its producers and its rural development.

This phenomenon is happening in Belgium with the association HORAL, located in the region of the Senne valley. This region is known for its production of Lambics and Gueuze that are specific to that region as a result of its open aired fermentation and its contamination with wild *brettanomices* yeast. This yeast can only naturally be found in that region which has contributed to its fame and to the development of a dozen breweries in that area, greatly contributing to its economy, social community and development. This production process has been recognised and certified as STG: *Spécialité Traditionnelle Garantie*. The designation certifies that the product was created following a tradition and respecting the heritage of the craft.

However, the area of production is not limited or protected through this designation and has resulted in brewers reproducing said yeast as far as in the United States in order to produce their own *Lambics* . These beers are being sold as *Lambic* and *Gueuze* even when the fermentation process is not respected according to the

brewing heritage of the region. As a result, the Horal (website 14) community is asking for official recognition from the INAO in order for their geographical region of production to be limited so that any similar products being produced elsewhere can't be sold and promoted as *Lambic* or *Gueuze* and benefit from their reputation.

This aspect revealed a new issue during my research: if one can reproduce the same yeast used in Belgium in the United States, how can one talk of *terroir* ? When asked about protecting a style of French beer, one interviewee mentions:

You can't block the movement of craft beer so as long as we don't have something different and original, it is useless to want to lock down a style. I'm thinking of the Berliner Weiss style that want the appellation for beer only brewed in Berlin, if we start doing that because we invented a style specific to a region we will be limiting creativity (S05).

But this leads to the question of the definition of *terroir*: if one can reproduce the style anywhere in the world, should the style be geographically defined and protected? I believe designations can be applied in order to protect a cultural heritage but this should not limit the creation process in a different place. This would mean that a *Berliner Weiss* brewed in France could not be defined as such but only as a sour beer. However, another consensus among interviewees was the lack of guidelines and regulations in the definition of beer styles. This means not only that brewers are promoting their beers under false styles but also can be confusing for the consumers.

In a way it is good because it means brewers can be creative and do what they want but it also means you have no guideline. A brewer approached me the other day with a wheat beer brewed with hemp that the brewer called a Berliner Weiss. I tasted it and asked him why he calls it a Berliner Weiss, what yeast he put in it to which he replied that he called it a Berliner Weiss as it seemed coherent to him. However, there was no lactic yeast in it so he can't call it a Berliner Weiss. And yet as there are no rules in France as to styles, he can sell his beer as a Berliner Weiss. To me that is a problem. We need to control that so that when you are in a bar and order a product, you

have to know that the product will correspond to the style promoted. That is why I think we need appellations in the beer industry for all the styles, foreign styles and French styles like Biere de Garde (S08).

Having specific recognised appellations such as AOC and AOP for wine would help in recognising and tasting new beers and for consumers to be reassured as to the style of beer they will get:

You can define beers by style, but there are very different versions of the styles. So you could benefit from having an AOC (...) for the French regular breweries, but I think it would especially help the customer in the end. If the customers know about an AOP or AOC, which not everybody does, (...) it could help understand more about how the beer is made and in what conditions (S07)

There was no real consensus regarding the promotion process and the protection of beer between the interviewees. Most agreed that it was important to show the impact of the quality of each product, the careful selection of ingredients and their freshness, the process of production amongst other factors. But whereas some believe in showcasing *terroir* and the origin of the products, others do not think *terroir* can be applied to beer yet; that it is just a marketing tool that has worked for wine and is being applied to beer with no real meaning.

Indeed, interviewee D01 mentioned the fact that we can't really talk of *terroir* yet and took Paris as an example. Breweries in Paris can't promote *terroir* in their beers and "it has been decades since Paris has been a place of production". A few ingredients are grown in the Parisian suburbs, and there is still a lot of work to be done for them to develop a Parisian typicity that could justify promoting them as *produit de terroir*.

For me *Terroir* in France is applied to gastronomy, and food. To promote it we would need to make beer from a specific food, or one that goes particularly well with a type of food (S05).

The production of malt and hops in France is still insufficient to cater to the needs of all the French brewers, and as a result, most of the malt is imported from Ukraine for example. The hops are imported from Germany, England or the US. As well as this, the demand at the moment is for American hops such as Citra and Cascade which enable the creation of “hopbombs”, hoppy beers full of citrusy flavours. “We try to use local ingredients, but we don’t have access to a lot of French malts and French hops, so how local can you get?” (B01). Therefore, these ingredients can’t reflect the local *terroir*. This is why the creation and growth of associations such as *Houblons de France* (website 15) are so important in the development of French beer. “If you look at how beer has changed, it is all to do with what malts were available, what taxes there were on hops, what governments chose to regulate flavour profiles.” Very few French breweries have produced a beer made with 100% French ingredients. It was interesting to note that the brewer B01 had recently put on tap such a beer that was a replica of an IPA using French water, malt and hops. According to her, the clients were so unaccustomed to the flavour of the hops that a few did not appreciate it:

I had a client the other day (...) try the beer and give to his friend who didn’t like it, and I felt obligated to go see them to say “let me tell you about the beer, why it has a particular flavour. It tastes different it is because it is brewed with French hops rather than American hops that have a different flavour profile. It isn’t as bitter, not as hoppy maybe to what you are used to.” The French are used to hop bombs, it is a different palate here (B01).

Certain interviewees pointed out that what creates a certain beer recipe is the different roasting of the malt or the quantity of hops added, and not their origin. They believe that as these ingredients are cooked, their taste could no longer define

a *terroir* which also undermines the importance of origin in the ingredients selection.

Another objection to the use of the concept of *terroir* in beer is that the term is known in wine and therefore should perhaps not be copied in beer just to imitate a promotion tool. In the beer industry, one should talk of styles that are defined by heritage and *terroir* to begin with, as we have seen. Beer consumers could be educated in terms of styles and how they were created rather than where products were grown. A beer is promoted because it represents a style and a history or the specificities of its region of production, not for the origin of its products. A Belgian triple or a German lager can be reproduced anywhere now, so brewing traditions are not going to survive through the promotion of its *terroir* and geographical origins but rather through the communication of recipes and tradition. This could slow the education people have of beer, and limit the definitions of beer to where it was brewed. “I want to promote beer by showing its amazing possibilities in terms of taste that can be developed to no end, rather than making it the new ‘*vin de table*’ (S01).

Interviewee D01 declared that *terroir* was and is still promoted in wine as it enables wine producers to evolve and value their production, but that nowadays certain producers are trying to break out of this promotion system.

In France, which remains the cultural and commercial centre of the wine world, the acceptable styles of winemaking aren't just a matter of history and convention; they are codified into law. For a wine to be labelled as from a particular region, it must adhere to strict guidelines about which grapes and production techniques can be used, and how the resulting wine should taste. This system of certification – the *appellation d'origine contrôlée*

(AOC), or “protected designation of origin” – is enforced by inspectors and blind-tasting panels. Wines that fail to conform to these standards are labelled “vin de France”, a generic designation that suggests low quality and makes them less attractive to buyers (website 6, Buranyi, 2018).

An AOP or AOC is a mark of quality but also dictates what ingredients to use and how to use them, and therefore limits creativity. A beer with an AOP certification would have to limit the recipe to certain hops and malts, a specific yeast, all of which would have to be characterised by the region. It would have to have a certain typicity representative of the local *terroir* and would be delimited geographically. “I would also be scared that it limits brewers to take a specific hop or malt in order to be certified, when a better one is in their reach” (S04).

This would go against the ‘renewed’ spirit of craft beer which celebrates creativity, new styles and blends. Beers are now brewed with spices and exotic fruit from all around the world. It could be a huge restraint for the brewer to have to follow guidelines and a recipe in order to be certified AOP or AOC. A new trend in the craft brewing industry is to set up collaboration brews and blend different styles together. Respecting certification guidelines or traditional recipes would work against this creativity.

Terroir (...) is something super French and it is a bit « dusty » because it is very closed. There is *terroir* and if you do something slightly different you are not representing *terroir* anymore. Definitely something very French, deeply rooted in the French culture (S07).

Others thought of *terroir* as a very stereotypical and folklorising tool. A beer will not be typically Alsatian because it is brewed with *choucroute*. Brewers have to be careful not to limit the definition of their products to stereotypical images which could damage rather than benefit the reputation of quality of their products. Already there are views and fixed perceptions for example with breweries in the North of

France that have a reputation of being authentic qualitative breweries as they have a longer history and most consumers still find it hard to believe there are classified world best beers come from the new breweries in the United States.

French brewers have yet to create their own brewing style. The styles and recipes created today are still mostly inspired by Belgian, English, American or German recipes. Even the names of the beers are in English.

I don't believe that a brewing culture will be created by producing IPAs, which is what they are all doing now. Yes it is what the market requires but at some point we will have to find how to make a French IPA, or a French Triple, or Parisian... A typicity needs to be found in taste, aromas, in the creation process... there needs to be a specific element that localises the beer. At the moment, French brewers just reproduce styles that work (D01).

But most of all, the general opinion of the interviewees is that the value and originality of brewing comes from the fact that craft beer requires creativity. The renewal of beer comes with new recipes and styles created by the master brewer.

In wine, there's the *terroir* and the producer, and both are equally important. In beer, the ingredients and their quality will matter, but the essential factor is the recipe, the brewer's work, his capacity to work with his equipment, to time every step... (D01).

A brewing heritage will not develop by reproducing old styles or defining which hops and malts to use for each recipe, but rather by recognising the creation of new styles that reflect the local *terroir*. The French gastronomic heritage includes wines and cheeses as they offer a certain typicity; this needs to be applied in the brewing tradition. What can craft beer be from a French perspective? How can a beer represent the French palate and *terroir* ?

As well as this, with global warming comes a shift in climate and geology which is going to affect *terroir*. If one tries to regulate *terroir*, doesn't that stop it from expressing its own identity and taste? I believe searching for the replication of a

certain *terroir* will unfortunately lead to a conformity of taste that fits an ideal rather than showcases the real geological and cultural aspects of a particular region.

Buranyi (2018) mentions this when discussing the new trend of natural wines :

If natural wine is a backlash against anything, it is the idea that it is possible to square traditional methods of winemaking with the scale and demands of that market. There is a sense that alongside economic success, globalisation has slowly forced the wine world toward a dull, crowd-pleasing conformity (website 6).

However, this aspect does apply to the brewing industry with different cultures trying to replicate beer styles that are not theirs historically. This is what I find lacking in the French brewing industry at the moment as there seems to be a lack of originality and creation. Can we really speak of a French brewing heritage, and if so, how can we protect this from climate change, globalization, and conformity in industrialisation?

Creating and protecting a French brewing heritage

Several beer styles such as Kölsch or Kentish ales have already received a form of protection or designation recognising their heritage and impact on the brewing culture.

Understanding heritage as a form of expression and of social differentiation brings us to contemplate the idea of continuity between the past and the present, of preservation, of a proven persistence. As a witness of the history, the notion of heritage promises a guarantee, a historical depth, and a constant order amidst continual change. As a marker of a temporal link, the heritage element is inseparable from tradition, which is thus a fundamental concept (Hervieu, 1996: 277).

In the large brewing countries with active brewing cultures, associations and guilds were formed in order to unite producers and promote the products. CAMRA (website 10) was the first campaign to react against the industrialisation of beer by promoting a “craft beer revolution” in which brewers are localised and innovative. Founded in 1971 by Michael Hardman, Graham Lees, Jim Makin and Bill Melior, its purpose was to help offer beer diversity to British drinker and particularly to preserve the tradition of cask fermentation.

Another fermentation method consists in pursuing fermentation in casks, it is a traditional conditioning and service method for English Ales. The beer is non-filtered and non-pasteurised, continues its fermentation and oxidation in the barrel and will be served via a manual pump (Pierre, 2015: 48).

On March 16th 1971 was founded the Campaign for the Revitalisation of Ale, before being renamed in 1973 as Campaign for Real Ale. 5000 members had already joined the association by 1972, proving the great interest there was in preserving the cask ale tradition and craft

By early 1973, when the organization’s name was changed to the Campaign for Real Ale, membership had reached 1,000; by February 1974, the campaign had 9000 members. The first Good Beer Guide published that year sold 30 000 copies. The first national ‘real ale’ festival in Covent Garden, London in May 1975 attracted 40 000 visitors.(...) These ‘real ale’ enthusiasts were drinking hand-pumped, unpressurized beers from those local brewers the nationals had either not succeeded in taking over or scared into ripping out the hand pumps themselves (Cornell, 2003: 220).

Now gathering more than 183,000 members internationally, CAMRA is working towards preserving endangered brewing styles through “zytophile.co.uk”, a blog led by Martyn Cornell. As new styles are invented, more traditional ones are being put aside and forgotten, some already for more than a century. CAMRA has set a

list of “vulnerable styles”, “endangered styles” and “critically endangered styles” such as Burton Pale Ale or Sour Aged Ale.

CAMRA has therefore set up a Beer Styles Working Group in order to encourage the production of endangered beer styles :

However, reactions against the perceived blandness and uniformity of beers produced by such international conglomerates has not been restricted to the activities of CAMRA in Britain, and small-scale ‘craft’ brewing operations have developed widely, with the concept of the brewpub, which made beer on the premises and renewed the long-lost connection between customer and brewer, being embraced with enthusiasm in the USA in particular during the 1980s and beyond (Smith, 2014: 33).

Other associations were created such as the Society of Independent Brewers in 1980 (SIBA, website 25), Belgian Family Brewers (website 2), the Brewers Association (website 5) in the US, or even HORAL (website 14) in Belgium. These associations help preserve and promote existing beer styles that reflect their history and craft. They also encourage the creation of new styles in order to promote diversity and innovation in the beer industry:

For 2018, the Brewers Association has added several new categories to the official beer style guidelines. All of these are directly influenced by the creativity and diversity in the current craft beer market (website 28, The Manual, 2018).

Several new categories were defined by the Brewers Association (website 5) in 2018 for the definition and guidelines of beers styles: New England IPAs, Contemporary American-Style Pilsners, Contemporary Goses, and Milkshake IPAs.

The latest trend to hit the beer community is the Brut IPA from San Francisco: a pale, light bodied IPA that offers a very dry and crisp body resembling that of Champagne.

Using an addition of an amylase enzyme, which breweries more often employ to lighten up the body of heavy stouts and porters without watering down the alcohol percentage, Sturdavant (Social Brewing) decided to apply it to a more approachable beer, made with extremely light malts and on occasion, flaked rice or corn (website 24, Pereira, 2018).

Australia and the United States are both creating new beer styles that represent their products and *terroir*. These are being recognised by beer related organisations in order to obtain recognition and defined guidelines. This will enable the reproduction and transmission of this style ensuring its heritage.

Labels were also created to protect brewing tradition such as the ‘Authentic Trappist Product’ label. This legally enforced appellation was created in 1962 in order to protect brewing families against the rise of industrial breweries. This appellation stipulates that the beer has to be produced within a Trappist Monastery, by monks or under their supervision. Any beer produced under that label must not be making profit, only enough in order to cover the monastery’s expenses and any extra money is to be given to charity. The beer itself is submitted to a panel of judges every five years who determine its quality which must be irreproachable.

In France, the association *Brasseurs de France* (website 4) was created in 1880 in order to promote the brand “France” in the brewing industry. The objectives of the Brasseurs de France is to promote and encourage the creation of new microbreweries – more than 1000 in France since October 2016 – and craft brews, to help rediscover the French cultural heritage and *terroir* and to prove that France is not only a wine country but also a land of beer.

to comfort the excellence of the French brewing industry, to make the French consumers rediscover the cultural heritage and taste of this drinks made up of natural ingredients, to show that France is also the land of beer (Loos, President of Brasseurs de France, 2016).

The association aims to secure and harmonise public support for the creation and development of microbreweries, to support the promotion of French beer throughout the world to increase exportation, to help bars and cafés shift from industrial beer to craft beers in order to offer quality and diversity to the French consumers. One of their main objectives is to highlight the French ‘Culture Bière’ by creating a ‘Bière de France’ label. This recognition would serve to guarantee a craft and knowledge as well as the quality of ingredients that went into the creation of a beer. The knowledge and craft of French brewers is to be promoted through cultural events, publications and publicity.

One interviewee mentioned the possibility of creating a specific label for French beer, that wouldn’t only recognise the origin of the ingredients, but the artisanal creation process and recognise innovation and quality.

However to create a “filiere d’excellence”, AOP guarantee quality, evolution and an increase of quality in the creation of the product. It has also worked in other industries, like the cheese industry in France, and could work with beer (D01).

This was said a few days before the announcement of a new French label: *Profession Brasseur*. This label is given by the *Brasseurs de France* association (website 4) which recognises a dynamic ecosystem, in which all the actors contribute to the development of French Brewing.

It is the result of two years' work from French brewers who wanted to defend their *terroir*, their specificities and tradition. The label *Profession Brasseur* has three objectives:

- To help consumers choose their beers in a range of more than 4000 French beer brands to date.
- To guarantee the quality of the beer: it is controlled by CERTIPAQ, a recognised independent certification organisation that promotes beers that were brewed and conditioned in France following a rigorous specifications.
- To promote the excellence of French beer: French breweries must rekindle their brewing tradition and defend the characteristics of its craft.

With this certification, brewers are kept to three specifics:

- Origin: This label certifies that the beer was brewed and conditioned in France by a French brewery.
- Quality: the brewer has to respect hygiene and traceability conditions, to control his ingredients and the beer at different steps of its production in order to guarantee the quality and craft of the final product.
- Craft: the collective brand 'Profession Brasseur' will favour professionals that have their own production unit and are professional brewers, with at least three years of experience or a 'Titre brasseur' degree.

Twenty-one brewers have already signed up for certification and three have been awarded the label:

- Brasserie la Choulette (Hauts-de-France)

- Brasserie Duyck (Hauts-de-France)
- Brasserie la Grenouille Assoiffée (Grand-Est).

This label aims to help French beers and breweries promote their craft and traditions. However it is once again a controversial topic as the *Brasseurs de France* is also composed of breweries such as Kronenbourg, which are industrial breweries, so some brewers question the value and quality of the label awarded to craft brewers. As well as this, it certifies that the production took place in France following certain hygiene and quality guidelines but it does not require the use of French ingredients. This means a brewery with the *Profession Brasseur* label could be using international ingredients that are processed in France to create an international style of beer, such as an IPA, a stout or a triple. This will not contribute to the creation of a French brewing heritage.

Another controversial topic came up in September 2017, when the Paris Town Hall announced the launch of a Parisian beer in a collaboration with *Brasseurs de France*. This beer was supposed to be brewed with malted barley produced in the East of Paris in the Vincennes woods, and with locally grown hops. The beer would represent the Parisian *terroir* and brewers. This initiative was not very well received by local craft brewers as they had not been involved in the creation process. The interviewees were quite torn on this subject as on the one hand, it promotes local beer and raises awareness on the creation process of beer. However, this was led with *Brasseurs de France*, whose main members are industrial breweries, and goes against the promotion of small craft brewers. Local brewers simply did not have the budget to get involved even if they had wanted to. As a result, the ingredients were

not sufficient to create this beer so they had to ship in German malts, and hardly any of the local brewers were actually able to take part in the project.

One of the participants to the town hall's call for projects was the brewery *La Parisienne*, who planted 400 hop plants in the 2nd, 15th and 20th Arrondissement in Paris. This brewery was created in 2014 by Jean Barthélémy Chancel who used to be a wine grower and still owns Champagne vines and winery. He knew the possibilities and limitations of *terroir* and wanted to replicate them in the brewing process. The brewery is now planning to harvest 400kg of Cascade, Centennial and Glacier hops in September 2018 to produce their "Wet Hop Pale Ale" named *Intramuros* (within the walls). The beer will be brewed within 24hrs of the hops being harvested in order to produce the most aromatic and fresh beer as possible. The brewer goes as far as separating the beer brewed with hops from the 15th arrondissement from the ones brewed in the 20th in order to showcase the importance of *terroir*. These two will be named 75015 and 75020, the post codes of where the hops were cultivated.

This experience is to be led for five years, with 1,200k of harvested hops planned in 2020.



Source: Malts et Houblons (website 12)

These initiatives demonstrate the willingness French people have to create their own brewing traditions and styles. However, it seems they are lead mostly to promote existing beers and breweries that are reproducing international styles. Certifications of *terroir* and craft will not be enough to represent the specificities of French soil or the quality of its ingredients.

We have great breweries, French people are so proud of their French wine, French cheese, I want them to be also proud of their French beer. That is my hope for Parisian breweries (B01).

Before French brewers can find and develop their own typicity or brewing tradition, they can't boast their own brewing culture. At the moment the emphasis in craft beer is to showcase the value of the ingredient but they do this by reproducing existing international beer styles.

I think we can create a French quality and I hope one day we can create a beer style. There is lots to be done, I think we can bring a certain quality but (...) I find it difficult to imagine a style that people recognise as French, recognised internationally (S08).

There is an intention of development and creativity but that seems to be stuck within international recipes and foreign traditions. Why brew IPAs or Lagers and not find a recipe showcasing French history and *terroir*?

I think what is happening in beer now is that brewers are trying to create a French brewing identity using French ingredients: we have seen recently beers called French Pale and French IPA, with French ingredients and especially French hops. France has created new hop varieties, with new flavours that are interesting for the brewers to work with. But there are obviously influences from all over the world, especially from the USA at the moment, and Belgium has still a big impact on the French beer scene (S07).

Until the creation of a specifically French beer style is achieved, we should perhaps talk of or create a '*filière d'excellence*' a recognised sector of excellence, which would guarantee quality and evolution on the market, but that could also give more freedom of creativity. This could protect the existing brewing culture, emphasise the craft, work and quality that goes into brewing but also encourage the creation of new recipes and styles. The 'Profession Brasseur' Label could be an interesting and encouraging start but I believe that it should restrict the brewers to using French products in order to showcase the potential of French *terroir*, otherwise it adds no value to French brewing.

VI) Conclusion

Gastronomy has been recognised as a form of intangible heritage, one that not only represents local cultures and productions, but also a historical, political, environmental and sociological past and present. This applies to food and drink, as many anthropologists such as Bessiere, Barham and T. M. Wilson have analysed the importance of the choice of one's drink. Drinking and the rituals surrounding the act of drinking have become staple revealers of cultural heritage and identity. As we have seen, one of the most crucial elements of the "Gastronomic meal" according to the UNESCO's definition is the addition of *aperitif* and a selection of wine. The actual meal is not detailed and even more so, it is subject to change within its definition:

Important elements include the careful selection of dishes from a constantly growing repertoire of recipes; the purchase of good, preferably local products whose flavours go well together; the pairing of food with wine... (website 16, UNESCO, 2010).

This definition demonstrates how rooted the consumption of wine is in the French Gastronomic culture and heritage. The use of the word "local" also reminds us of the importance the origin of the product has in the collective view of what constitutes qualitative food. The origin of ingredients and their promotion in France is done through the notion of *terroir*. This notion encapsulates the geographical identity of the ingredient, its climate, its craft and the heritage that surrounds the making of the product. The heritage and production process give a product its sense of identity as well as its taste, encapsulated by food critics as the *gout du terroir*.

In order to protect wines and their *cépages* faced with globalisation and a competitive market, the French have created designations such as AOPs and AOCs. These designations are given if the ingredients are from a specific geographically defined environment and represent the specificities of that local *terroir*. Therefore, these designations reinforce the importance of *terroir* in the definition of the product. An AOC, AOP or even IGP label represents craft, promotes locality and the authentic farmer or *vigneron*.

Invented to protect wines, *terroir* has since spread its use to all foods and drinks in France and internationally in order to become a designation, showcasing the quality of the product. It has become a powerful marketing tool in the eyes of food critics as a sign of craftsmanship and authenticity, as well as a product of the soil. *Terroir* should encapsulate the taste of the region, as well as trigger a sense of identity for the consumer.

However, with global warming and climate change affecting production, *terroir* and its taste are bound to change. This has to be taken into account by producers looking for a specific taste. One can't try to control *terroir* as it must be an expression of the landscape. Therefore, *terroir* is increasingly used as a designation showcasing quality and craftsmanship rather than expressing a specific taste. It is becoming a mark of protection against industrialisation, promoting craftsmanship and cultural heritage. The promotion of *terroir* affects the identification of the product making it a powerful marketing tool and strong influencer over consumers. According to Demossier, *terroir* can be considered as part of the French Cultural exception, rendering products to be associated to *objet d'art*. However this has also led to a change in perception of wine consumption, seen by the younger generations as

elitist and intimidating. As Lorey (2014) has analysed, the Generation Y wants to choose a drink according to its ingredients, its origins and its creation process, but not as much for its heritage. They want to feel involved in the creation and promotion process and become ambassadors.

This is not only applied to wine any longer, with other products – and drinks – being showcased for their origins and creation process. Beer is going through a revival phase in France as wines are declining faced with climate change and an increasingly competitive market. No longer only considered as a drink to have in front of a football match, beer in France is given a new symbolic meaning. Added to the *Patrimoine Culturel* in 2014, beer is seeing a new light shed on its creation and its consumption. Not only is its consumption increasing, the marketing of beer has changed to show a more qualitative product, with beer and food pairings, books, shops and restaurants dedicated to its consumption, and even industrial breweries creating “Millésime” beers.

My methodology and field research showed that this trend is still limited to an enlightened, cosmopolitan and privileged sector of consumers. Indeed as craft, local beer is still more expensive, it is unfortunately only reaching an elitist part of the population. However, on a sociological perspective, it was interesting to see what interests this population had and why it was seduced by beer. There is a growing interest and care for ingredients that go into products and it would be interesting to further research the parallel between the trend of organic, gluten free consumerism and that of craft beer. The younger generations are reverting to craft and artisanal

products, rebelling against industrialisation. With the globalisation of wines, it is interesting to see this focus on new products such as beer.

As wine consumption in France has steadily been decreasing since 1980, Lorey and Poutey (2011) analyse this phenomenon by looking at the different consumption habits through generations. The latest generation they identified as a wine drinking category, the mosaic generation drink wine as a social lubricant and not as a necessary component to their meals. These occasional drinkers don't know much about wine and question its heritage. The authenticity of the *vigneron* is questioned as consumers will want to know where and how the wine was produced. This modern consumer might even turn towards other types of drinks that are craft and local, and in which this consumer feels involved. It would be interesting to relate this to the crowdfunding phenomenon that many breweries use in order to set up their business. Crowdfunding enables the consumer to not only be involved but also be the creator of the business. If a consumer is involved in the success of the product from the start, he will become the best brand ambassador possible.

Today the only way to build a brand is to live that brand. People want to feel like they are buying into something bigger than themselves. Your brand must give them that opportunity (Watt, 2016).

This demonstrates the importance of offering the image of a small, local and craft business to this new generation that wishes to move away from industrialisation and conformity. Therefore, the creation process matters almost as much as the taste of the final product. As well as this, as wine drinking is becoming detached from the art of gastronomy, it gives way to different food pairings in France and a new focus on food and beer pairings. Aided by famous chefs or beer experts, restaurants and even industrial products offer ideas of beer pairings that would enhance what they

eat. There is a new form of drinking culture that is being created through beer and its consumption called *Bieronomie*.

Terroir also has its impact in these new drinking trends with the origin of ingredients described and promoted and a marked enhancement of anything that is local. Rather than buying an Australian wine, some consumers might turn towards a drink made locally. As the wine industry is facing an ever increasing international market as well as climate change, its marketing is changing. Wine shops now also have sections dedicated to spirits and beers and certain shops are now only dedicated to these other drinks. In the same way, beer is increasingly developing a culture around it resembling that of wine, with the creation of *bière de table* for example. The brewing process is being explained as an authentic craft, the origin of the barley and hops are explicit, different glasses fit different tastings and certain foods are a recommended pairing.

Furthermore, there is a real concern from brewers and beer aficionados to produce French beers that reflect their *terroir*. Therefore, the approach remains the same culturally: to create, find and consume a beer that relates the consumer to a regional identity. The product still has to represent its geographical origin, its production process, its heritage and other characteristics. There is a cultural approach from modern consumers towards these new craft products, a search for tradition and heritage.

This led me to my field research looking at who is interested in craft beer in France, how do the sellers and consumers choose their beer and what is the importance of *terroir* in this selection?

Through my literature research I looked at the definition of *terroir* and its application in the promotion of wine and other products. Different research from geologists and anthropologists made me understand the definition of *terroir* through taste and through cultural heritage. This enabled me to see how this was applied through marketing and how it impacted the consumers. Talking to the producers, the salesmen and the consumers enabled me to get feedback from every step of the cycle of a product. For each step, *terroir* – or at least the origin of a product - was a crucial factor. Through semi-structured interviews, I was able to collect information and feedback which helped me analyse how the beer market was evolving confronted with that of wine. In a country deeply rooted in traditional crafts, products, and culinary traditions, it was interesting to see a real enthusiasm and curiosity towards the beer culture. The increase in the number of breweries and dedicated beer shops demonstrates this growing mobilisation towards creating a brewing culture and heritage in France.

The French brewing industry has developed at an incredible speed in the last decade, with influences from international brewing cultures and promotion techniques. This has led to the creation of more than one thousand active breweries today in France and a rise of craft beer sales of 6.3% in 2017 with 3.4 Billion Euros (Itasse, 2018). Not only was beer added to the list of French Cultural and Gastronomic Heritages in 2014, but it is also being increasingly considered as a replacement for wine in food pairings. This phenomenon in the land of wine is worth analysing and

pursuing. Many brewers nowadays look at the *terroir* in their beers, through the choice of water, barley and hops. Interestingly, though the notion of *terroir* is born in France, French brewers were not the first to promote it in their beers. The notion of *terroir* and the focus on the origin of hops in particular seems to come from the United States and was largely promoted through Danish brewer Mikkel and his range of *Terroir* beers. Therefore, it is interesting to note that the concept of *terroir* beer can no longer be seen as a French concept. Though the notion of *terroir* is born in France, its application to beer has arrived later in France than in other beer focused cultures. This will be interesting to note when analysing the creation of a brewing heritage through *terroir* in France.

Brewers and farmers in France have since started to look at their *terroir* thanks to associations such as *Houblons de France*. Several new hop plants have been created reflecting the French soil and climate. This could enable breweries to not only have a fresh beer using local fresh ingredients, but also to perhaps create a style that can be defined and protected as a French creation.

However, the interviewees were not unanimous when it came to the notion of designations and protections of this heritage. Indeed AOPs and AOCs are still very much associated to the wine industry and their protection comes with very strict rules as to the creation process. Certain producers and beer aficionados fear that if one tries to apply the same rules to the brewing process, it would go against the creativity and spirit of innovation that is found in the brewing industry. What makes the beer market interesting to the modern generations is its capacity to offer a wide range of flavours and experience, which could be very limited if trying to fit an idea of what a style of beer should be. In the wine industry, in order to be certified as an

AOP or AOC, the *vigneron* has guidelines to follow every step of the way: a certain cépage, from a specific region, fermented in a detailed manner. The protection of the art of wine producing becomes its hindrance. If applied to the brewing process, these designations would imply the definition of which ingredients should be used and from where, a specific fermentation method in a geographically defined area. One look at how the *Reinheitsgebot* has affected German brewing should show us that designations can become barriers to creativity though maintaining a strong protection of heritage.

Having certifications and designations applied could also limit the target audience who would have to be cultivated as to what constitutes a particular beer AOP and give an elitist aspect to the beer consumption. This aspect is one that is found to be increasingly depreciated in wine. Therefore, most interviewees agreed that as much as the origin of the products – in particular if local – should be enhanced and promoted, these should not be limited and shouldn't need to follow specific guidelines. The product should showcase its *terroir* in order to encourage the production of fresh, local, qualitative beers that represent their creation and heritage.

But as we have seen, whereas *terroir* was at first used to represent geology and the impact of the origin and soil of the product in the eyes of researchers, in the last decades anthropologists have underlined the importance of heritage and culture in *terroir*. Can we therefore talk of a *bière du terroir* if an IPA, a style of English heritage, is brewed with French hops such as Aramis?

It is not enough for a beer to be brewed using only French ingredients – though it is already a step to represent the French soil and its values. *Terroir* can only be

encapsulated through heritage and tradition. Furthermore, as we have seen, one same barley or hop will not have the same taste whether it is grown in the north of France, or in the Alps. Therefore how can a protected cereal represent its origins? Even if Aramis hop is certified as a French hop, it will not taste the same whether it is cultivated in Alsace or in Nord-Pas-de-Calais. Furthermore, with global warming and climate change, this hop will taste different. The question of *terroir* in itself is becoming problematic as it is changing. The wine regions in France are suffering from the heat and climate change as the grapes no longer taste the same. One can't moderate and guide how *terroir* should taste, therefore how can we hope to decide what flavours the final AOP protected product can have ?

This is why I believe the creation of a French Brewing Heritage can't be solely defined by its *terroir*. French brewers have to create recipes that define their heritage and culture and not replicate existing styles using French ingredients. One can showcase French ingredients through an IPA or a Belgian triple, but this does not reflect French economy, history and culture the way Burton Pale Ale does for Burton-on-Trent.

Because when you think about it, you can recreate a Belgian triple or a German lager anywhere. So it is not related to *terroir* but rather to reproducing a style, a culture, a training. Beer styles are related to history, culture. (D01)

It is time for French brewers and beer aficionados to reflect on what constitutes French heritage through taste and try to replicate that in their beers. Barley wines were a good start as it is a transposition of the wine production that has been anchored in French gastronomy for centuries, in the beer production process. A

barley wine that is brewed using local ingredients and aged in a red wine barrel such as Bordeaux could indeed be a reflection of French tradition and *terroir* so long as the recipe is authentic and original and not a transformation of an IPA.

But I believe that in order to make a French beer we need to find that element that defines us, and not just a nice brand image. We need a French touch, perhaps find an old recipe in an old industrial brewery, and perhaps re-emerge an old style, recipe... Find a specific emblematic product, a recipe, resuscitate an old brand or an old tradition. (D01)

This research has raised many questions related to drinking cultures but mostly about *terroir* and what constitutes *terroir*. Indeed, looking at its definition and increasing value in the eyes of consumers, I question how this is going to evolve with the change in climate, production processes and consumption habits. As *terroir* is shaped by climate and soil, it will now constantly be changing therefore can not be defined and limited. The expression of *terroir* has to be one that can evolve.

The greater standardization of wine techniques and viticultural practices has led to the negation of *terroir*, and awareness of this broader context is essential to understanding the strategies deployed at local level. *Terroir* is about protection, but it is also a tool to engage constructively with a global market and its literary, economic, and legal manifestations (Demossier, 2011).

Therefore one could imagine *terroir* becoming an increasingly cultural concept, moving away from a definition of taste to one of tradition and heritage. Still limited geographically, *terroir* would represent an anthropological definition of a product's creation rather than a geological one.

In their work, social scientists have traditionally defined *terroir* as a system in which complex interactions are created between a whole series of human factors, including technical or collective uses, agricultural production, and physical milieu. For most European anthropologists, on the other hand, *terroir* is expressed through the product to which it confers its originality (in the sense of typical product). It is undeniable that the discipline has engaged constructively with the issue of *terroir* as very often anthropologists have

been called upon to provide their expertise on questions of origin, tradition, historical change, or notions of quality (Demossier, 2011).

Finally, I wish to end this paper with a look at the brewing history and evolution in the United States. For a country that had no other brewing culture than that of the German and Irish settlers, the United States has been the birth place of an immense number of breweries since the 1980s, producing new beers every day. What is most interesting is that it seems to be a country that is now inventing and defining new styles that represent the local *terroir* and culture, with for example New England IPAs, or Milk Shake IPAs. It seems that not having a brewing heritage and a strict definition of styles and what should constitute beer has worked in their favour, with brewers that are given free range to their creations.

In a strange way it may be a good thing that America's brewing tradition has the artistic life just about squeezed out of it by the industrial brewers. This was liberating, as American home and craft brewers felt completely free to invent a new style of brewing unhindered by the need to preserve a vanishing folk tradition (Mosher, 2004: 15).

This shows that perhaps the best way to create a new brewing heritage is perhaps not through certifications and designations protecting a product and its craft, but through creativity and free range to express one's identity – and therefore one's heritage.

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