



Out of the Box, Into the Bottle: an Example of Documentary Film as a New Research Tool in the South African Wine Industry

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ABSTRACT

Due to recent developments in digital video technology, the documentary film format is increasingly being used and adapted in unconventional ways, including in the illustration of research in academia and as an educational tool in corporate contexts. *Generation Wine* is a feature-length research documentary created by Gosia Podgorska and myself between 2012 and 2013 and submitted as a Master's in Media Creative Production at the University of Cape Town. The aim in creating the film was to use the documentary format as a research tool to investigate key contemporary marketing and media-related issues in the South African and French wine industries, and to ultimately communicate these research findings to academics, industry professionals and other interested parties in a highly engaging manner, thus demonstrating the effectiveness of the documentary format in research contexts.

This paper serves as an explication to accompany the *Generation Wine* video, which uses the documentary as a departure point for discussing theoretical issues regarding the use of documentary film as a research tool, as well as the production process and wine industry-related content explored in the documentary.

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THE CHANGING FACE OF DOCUMENTARY FILM

“Reality changes; in order to represent it, modes of representation must change” (Brecht, 1938, in Kilborn & Izod, 1997:55).

Many decades of documentary filmmaking have passed since 1938, when the famous German playwright and poet recognized the indivisible relationship between a relentlessly changing world and the similarly shifting ways in which we, as human societies, make sense of it. Since John Grierson first coined the word ‘documentary’ in 1926 (Curthoys & Lake, 2005:152), this term for a nonfiction mode of filmmaking has come to represent a fragmented and diverse array of subgenres and films, most of which bear little semblance to their Soviet forebears. Despite documentary’s place as a well-established and widely practiced tradition, constant developments in technology and modes of representation mean that the question of how best to define documentary continues to puzzle and fascinate film theorists (Plantinga, 2005:105). Whilst the Soviet pioneers of a documentary method initially viewed documentary film as depicting life ‘as it happens’, Grierson’s flexible definition of documentary as the ‘creative treatment of actuality’, acknowledging the filmmaker’s agency in the process, has remained far more widely accepted (Ellis & McLane, 2005:4). Nevertheless, regardless of differences in definition, the concept of documentary has always been (and continues to be) linked with some notion of portraying reality, or an aspect thereof, and that is what primarily differentiates it from the fictional film narrative. Prominent documentary theoretician Bill Nichols proposes that documentary as a concept or practice occupies no fixed territory. He explains:

It mobilizes no finite inventory of techniques, addresses no set number of issues, and adopts no completely known taxonomy of forms, styles, or modes. The term *documentary* must itself be constructed in much the same manner as the world we know and share. Documentary film practice is the site of contestation and change (1991:12).

In this way, one might say that documentary is the true *auteur*’s medium, in that it allows for extensive innovation and experimentation and, as society changes, it continuously presents new creative possibilities. It is arguably this adaptability that has given rise to sub and hybrid genres such as *docudrama*, *docufiction* and *mockumentary* – and in recent decades, documentary has overlapped with television forms to produce hugely profitable genres such as *reality TV* or *docusoaps*: real-life miniseries set in potentially high-drama situations (Aufderheide, 2007:4).

It appears that the documentary format owes its flexibility and effectiveness to a number of factors. Documentaries tend to be significantly cheaper to produce than fiction films. Also, as viewers expect to engage with an aspect of real life, there is no need to entice them with seamless visuals, expensive special effects or famous screen stars. Nichols (1991) supports this by asserting that when documentary film is at its best, a sense of urgency brushes aside our efforts to analyze rhetoric or contemplate form. The feasibility of documentary, especially when compared to fiction film, additionally means that a greater range of stories, both mainstream and on the margins, can be realised in film format with greater ease. Moreover, the effectiveness of documentary lies in its ability to reveal essential 'truths' about the world we live in. As Aufderheide (2007:5) suggests, "documentaries are always grounded in real life, and make a claim to tell us something worth knowing about it." Arguably, this desire to inch closer towards a more complete vision of reality or 'truth' is what perpetuates the documentary format.

TECHNOLOGY SHAPING VIDEO-BASED RESEARCH

In his article *Designing New Media Education Research: the Materiality of Data, Representation and Dissemination* (2005:3), Voithofer proposes "the current historical moment is marked by the gradual transition from a print culture to a digital new media culture, and this shift carries material effects for how education research contexts are perceived and represented." Likewise, as digital video technology continues to become cheaper, easier to use and increasingly integrated into both personal and professional life, it corresponds that the documentary narrative format is becoming highly accessible and useful across numerous research disciplines. It would appear that the growing use of documentary film to communicate and conduct research is proving to be a highly effective manifestation of the possibilities stemming from the rise of video technology, and this will be discussed in more detail further on in the paper.

Whilst other nonfiction modes such as instructional educational and corporate films are hardly new mediums, they have tended to fall somewhat outside of the widely accepted notion of what constitutes documentary filmmaking, and have not generally employed the key tropes of documentary. However, as new technologies develop and become widely accessible, it is unsurprising that the already-blurred lines between different genres and filmmaking methods continue to converge, allowing for innovative possibilities around the use of documentary as a tool for research, learning and communication in educational contexts.

Video as a research tool

According to an article published by the United States National Academy of Sciences (2001:4), the use of video in research has been evolving in numerous fields, from anthropology to qualitative research traditions in education, ethno-methodology, interactional analyses and sociolinguistics. Adding to this, in her article published in the *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* (2002:22), Rosenstein suggests that video is used in research in three primary ways: as a feedback mechanism, as a means of distance learning and consulting via videoconferencing, and as an observational tool (i.e. data collection and analysis). More than a decade has passed since the publication of these two articles, and the dramatically changing digital landscape has since allowed for far broader possibilities in using video as a research tool, some examples of which will be discussed shortly. Whereas in previous decades video may have primarily been used in qualitative research for rudimentary record keeping and data collection as suggested by Rosenstein, the development of new digital tools means that video is increasingly being used for research in surprising and sophisticated ways – one of them being the use of the documentary narrative format, with its distinct tropes and conventions.

Black Diamonds at the cinema

In 2005, the UCT Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing used video to transform the way marketers conduct and transmit marketing research in South Africa, with a study entitled *Black Diamond* (Simpson, 2005). The Institute conducted an extensive study (which is in fact ongoing) on the country's burgeoning Black Middle Class, and coined the now commonly-used phrase 'Black Diamonds' to describe the under-served market representing the greatest growth opportunity for South African marketers and entrepreneurs (Olivier, 2007:180). Arguably, the study owes much of its tremendous success to the way in which the researchers used video material as a tool in communicating the study's findings. The Institute conducted an extensive amount of video interviews with consumers to gain key marketing insights, and subsequently presented them to academics and industry professionals as part of a larger body of research (Simpson, 2005).

In 2011, the Institute did something extraordinary to expand its study and produced *Forerunners*, a feature-length documentary based on the Institute's research into the Black Middle Class (Unilever Institute, 2013:1). Throughout the ongoing Unilever study that first rose to prominence in 2005, interviews with a number of respondents revealed a complex relationship between consumer behaviour and traditional values. Furthermore, the study unearthed a number of compelling stories about how some of

these ordinary South Africans were negotiating societal transformation (Unilever Institute, 2013:1). *Forerunners*, which was directed by Simon Wood as his debut documentary, charts the stories of Mpumi, Miranda, Martin and Karabo, who all come from the first generation of black South Africans to rise above poverty and join the middle class. The film deals with issues originally identified in the Unilever study, particularly the conflict experienced between traditional African culture and Western consumerism (Iwunze, 2011:1).

What makes *Forerunners* truly remarkable is its ability to engage a number of exceedingly different audience groups across a variety of reception contexts. On the one hand, the film functions as a qualitative research tool by corroborating key consumer insights derived from the Unilever research, and communicating them in a highly effective manner to interested parties in research and corporate settings. On the other hand, *Forerunners* has achieved astounding success in the public sphere, scooping a number of international awards, including a prestigious jury award at the 2011 Cannes International Pan African Film Festival. At Cannes and elsewhere, the film has been hailed for its writing quality, film mastery and lyrical cinematography (Unilever Institute, 2013:1). Until recently, video material generated in South African research contexts has not typically been known for having high production value, yet *Forerunners* reveals how the professional use of documentary film in research can have far-reaching impact beyond academia and the corporate world.

The democratization of the filmmaking process

In recent years, two technological developments have been exceedingly influential in the rapid democratization of the filmmaking process – the first of which appeared to be almost accidental. The advent of high-end digital SLR cameras with video recording functionality, seemingly tacked on as an afterthought, expanded the possibilities of cinematic filmmaking for low-budget filmmakers and video-proficient researchers alike (Shaw, 2012:3). Early adopters were stunned to realize that they could film images that looked as good as many of those projected at their local cinema, for a fraction of the cost. Shaw (2012:3) suggests: “It was not the fact that the images were high-definition (you can record HD on a phone these days), but that combining the DSLR cameras’ powerful sensors with a decent lens meant they could record shots that had a quality and depth of field that was strikingly cinematic.”

In 2011, *Forerunners*, which was shot entirely on a Canon 5D digital SLR camera, was awarded the Best Cinematography prize at the United Nations Film Festival in San Francisco. Director Simon Wood had the following to say: “Our film was competing against some very high budget European and American

documentaries including an Oscar nominee, so it's amazing that *Forerunners*, which was shot on a Canon 5D for very little money, wins in this category" (Forerunners, 2011:1). Incredibly, it was cinematographer Felix Seuffert's first feature length documentary as director of photography, which perhaps reveals just how much can be achieved with a digital SLR on a restricted budget (whilst not understating his talent as a director of photography).

In addition to producing stunning images, these cameras are substantially more compact than most HD or broadcast video cameras, and can thus be used far less obtrusively – an aspect which is particularly useful in both documentary and research contexts, where natural observation is typically preferred over a conspicuous camera presence. Documentarians have long been grappling with the problem of the camera's presence modifying or affecting the scene being documented or observed (Ruby, 2005:41). As Scheinman (1998:194) proposes, "the camera is never a neutral presence, but one that prompts constructions of 'reality' by those on whom it is turned." While digital SLR cameras do not eliminate the presence of the camera or filmmaker, they are arguably more discreet than large broadcast cameras as they resemble commonly used stills photography cameras.

A second major development that has contributed to the democratization of the filmmaking process has been the growing pervasiveness of accessible professional video editing software at an affordable price. Amateur editors can now edit their footage on programs like Final Cut Pro, which is used by Oscar-winning filmmakers such as the Coen Brothers (Shaw, 2012:3). These noteworthy technological developments, in addition to many others including the ease of video sharing via the Internet and better data compression and storage, have unlocked a plethora of possibilities for film and video practitioners in various fields. Film is no longer the unfeasibly expensive and exclusive field that it perhaps once was, and there is now more room than ever before for interdisciplinary experimentation with video.

Additionally, it is important to remember that these advances have not taken place in a vacuum. As our digital new media culture continues to grow, amateurs and professionals alike are constantly finding new ways to interpret and use digital media. Lankshear and Knobel (2008:5) propose that digital literacy does not simply entail knowing how to encode and decode a particular kind of script. Rather, it involves "applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use." As blogs, video games, social media websites and online video platforms continue to proliferate and become part of everyday life, and as our culture shifts from print to digital, it seems logical for these practices to be equivalently integrated into academic and research contexts.

Show and tell

As these technological shifts occur, video sharing platforms such as Youtube and Vimeo are increasingly used to share technical or specialized knowledge. In various contexts, showing can be more effective than telling, and it appears that visual demonstration often addresses linguistic limitations and cultural barriers to learning. While few will classify didactic or instructional Youtube tutorials as documentaries, the incredible popularity of this mode of learning highlights the effectiveness of video as an educational medium. Arguably, documentary has the ability to reach beyond this basic mode by marrying visual information with narrative form.

According to a recent study discussing the cognitive processing of educational documentary formats (Glaser, Garsoffky & Schwan, 2012:45), hybrid documentary formats are a highly appropriate way to enable efficient knowledge acquisition, independent of recipients' prior knowledge structures about the educational content of a text. In this particular study, participants were shown a series of television documentaries and thereafter questioned about the content of the programs. The subsequent results revealed that educational facts closely linked to a narrative plotline were remembered better than detached facts, regardless of whether the participants watched the documentary for information or entertainment purposes. According to the authors,

Recipients with little prior knowledge about the educational contents in informal learning settings can be attracted to the media presentation, their attention can be maintained over a longer period of time, and they can be aided in knowledge acquisition by providing them with a curiosity- and suspense-evoking narrative for which they already have narrative-related prior knowledge and therefore can understand the educational contents in the light of the narrative presented (Glaser, Garsoffky & Schwan, 2012:45).

Essentially, because people regularly come into contact with documentary and narrative forms in daily life, the forms themselves can assist in the acquisition and retention of knowledge. As documentary genres evolve and fragment, documentary remains a highly effective way to convey information engagingly through the use of its narrative tropes. Glaser, Garsoffky and Schwan's 2012 study would arguably support the idea that documentary is particularly functional when used to provide a broad overview of a subject to individuals with partial or limited knowledge of the field in question.

GENERATION WINE – PROJECT BACKGROUND

Generation Wine, the research documentary that constitutes the primary focus of this paper, is a contemporary example of how digital new media practices can be successfully integrated into multiple stages of the research process including data collection, data analysis and the transmission of research findings. Moreover, the film illustrates how the documentary format in particular, within a narrative mode, can be used as both a research and educational tool.

An organic crossover to the documentary format in research

The project began when two postgraduate researchers – Gosia Podgórska and myself – wished to gain insights into key media and marketing-related issues in the South African wine industry. Having both grown up in non wine-producing areas of South Africa, and having both moved to Cape Town in the Western Cape for our tertiary education, over a period of years we had experienced a parallel sense of growing intrigue as we were gradually exposed to the region’s wine culture, which had previously been unavailable to us. As our interest in the world of wine developed, we began to question why this wine culture has seemingly not penetrated the majority of the country. Various contentious media debates related to the South African wine industry further sparked our interest in wine’s role in society.

Following on from this, we decided to further our research by spending six months abroad in the capital of the world’s top wine producing country, France. At l’Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris, which is more generally known as Sciences Po, we were able to gain a more nuanced understanding of the subject matter we wished to explore by taking a course entitled *French Terroir Wines and the Global Market*, and by networking with experts and academics knowledgeable about the global wine industry.

A core module of the *French Terroir Wines* course examined the differences between Old World wine producing countries such as France, Italy and Spain and New World wine producers like Australia, Chile and South Africa. Gosia and I collaboratively worked on a paper looking at whether or not the French concept of *terroir* is correspondingly ubiquitous in the New World, and how this impacts marketing and sales strategies. It soon became clear to us that South Africa is caught somewhere between the two worlds: with a wine industry dating back to 1659 it can hardly be classified as a newcomer, but due to complex socioeconomic issues leading up to and throughout Apartheid, the global export market only picked up substantially post-1994. Until recently, South Africa’s wine industry could be divided between the quantity-producing majority and the quality-conscious minority, and it is only in recent years that a larger

group of wine producers have begun to foster a quality-oriented domestic wine culture (Robinson, 2006:645).

Gosia and I strongly wished to find a way to address the media and marketing-related questions we had begun to consider before arriving in France. We were eager to learn more about how France and South Africa's respective industries operate – and ultimately gain an overview of the two industries' marketing landscapes. As we both came from strong theoretical backgrounds in Media and Marketing Studies, we shared a desire to investigate industry issues related to both of these fields and to integrate our research into our MA dissertations. However, during our preliminary research stages, we soon became dissatisfied with the idea of writing a paper as the principal means to convey our findings. We were discovering a wealth of industry-specific information that promised to be useful beyond the sphere of academia, and we deemed it unlikely that a written paper would have considerable impact beyond our university's walls. As Schuck and Kearney (2006:447) suggest, "the rich, visually appealing and seductive nature of video-based data can convey a strong sense of direct experience with the phenomena studied." Because Gosia and I were dealing with primarily qualitative data across two different countries, which we wished to ultimately share with academics and professionals in both South Africa and abroad, we strongly felt that a visual medium would be the most effective and interesting way to illustrate our findings.

Our shared objective to transmit our research in the most engaging way possible, to as many interested parties as possible, lead us to consider other formats for communicating information. At the University of Cape Town, students in the Media Theory and Practice MA degree program are permitted to submit a substantial media creative production or project in lieu of a written dissertation. Despite our dual track records as strong academics, Gosia and I were not entirely confident of our skills in film production, but were nonetheless curious to explore the possibilities of integrating contemporary digital practice into our study. After extended discussion with our supervisor at the University of Cape Town, we arrived at a decision to use the documentary film format as the primary vehicle for our research.

This paper has already extensively discussed the continuously developing possibilities of documentary filmmaking in research contexts and how technological developments have allowed for exciting new ways to communicate information. Given the flexibility of documentary, it appeared to us as the most convincing way to construct something akin to a visual research essay. In much the same way a researcher carefully collects and analyses data, and thereafter composes a convincing written argument on paper, a filmmaker undergoes a comparable process. In the creation of a documentary, data is collected by filming interviews and cutaways, and by gathering archive footage. The data is then analyzed and interpreted in

the edit suite, where insightful pieces of information are identified and selected. Finally, the master argument is constructed by juxtaposing and interweaving different voices, images and perspectives to create a new meaning – and the polishing that takes place in postproduction is much like proofreading an essay. It is by no means an objective process – but arguably, nor is a written paper in the Social Sciences, wherein the writer uses his or her own subjectivity to include or exclude information.

As has already been discussed: in the past, technological and skill-related barriers may have limited researchers' use of video to basic data collection and record keeping. Most academics (especially in South Africa) would not have had the means to use video in the communication of their findings, as a lack of production resources and practical skills would have made it difficult to create a polished, professional and effective final product. Despite having limited funding resources, Gosia and I believed that in light of the current technological moment, we were in a position to embark on this ambitious project – and the documentary format, with its narrative-driven pedagogical advantages, appeared to be a most appropriate vehicle for our research.

METHODOLOGY

Before undertaking this project, Gosia and I determined that we were equipped with the necessary production equipment and editing facilities to create a documentary that could be useful for training or broadcast purposes. I had recently purchased a digital SLR camera with video recording functionality, which we would be able to use in France when we did not have access to the University of Cape Town's resources. Fortunately, the Journalism department at Sciences Po agreed to lend us a film tripod and basic sound recording equipment, which assisted us tremendously when shooting interviews and cutaway footage in France. Because we had access to a wider range of equipment when shooting in South Africa, it was a challenge to maintain the same production value across the two contexts (this will be addressed later on in the paper).

Project aim

Our aim in creating *Generation Wine* was threefold. Firstly, we wished to create a highly informative research documentary about key marketing and media-related issues in the South African wine industry, while contrasting these issues with what we learned in France. Secondly, we ourselves were curious to know more about how the global wine industry operates, and believed that through the documentary

process we were likely to gain an overview of the two industries' marketing landscapes, while simultaneously learning practical production skills. Lastly, we wished to continue in the new tradition of filmmakers like Simon Wood whose documentary *Forerunners* stands as a testament to what can be achieved by using the documentary format in a research context.

It is important to note that it was not our aim to create a highly polished or visually dazzling entertainment film – something that would have been impossible given our limited resources and primarily theoretical research backgrounds. Ultimately, what we wished to demonstrate is what Schuck and Kearney hypothesise so articulately:

Ongoing developments with digital video cameras, computer hardware, and editing software increasingly make video use a viable option in research methodologies and, consequently, new ways of using, analysing, and presenting video data are occurring (2006:448).

Indeed, it would seem that technology has reached a point where academics can transmit their research effectively and professionally using video as a tool, despite varying backgrounds in film production.

Collaboration: together, we can do more

The decision to co-direct the film with Gosia was a fairly easy one to make, as film, by nature, is a collaborative medium. The Film and Media Studies department takes into account that creating a feature-length film is by no means a small task, and for this reason students are encouraged to gather a crew of other skilled students and professionals to assist them in the creation of their production. Due to financial and circumstantial constraints, it was unfeasible to recruit others to work on our film until the very end stages, when we enlisted the help of fellow students Charl Cater, Colleen Knox and Robyn Knox to assist us with creating graphical elements, polishing off the film with colour correction, and creating a final sound mix. Due to these crew limitations, Gosia and I quickly learned to work as an effective two-person documentary team, juggling the tasks of interviewing, sound recording, filming and directing.

The production process

After carrying out preliminary research in South Africa, Gosia and I travelled to France and conducted interviews with various industry professionals, including academics and marketing experts involved in the

French wine industry. At that stage, our focus was still fairly broad and was primarily centred on understanding French wine culture, marketing strategies and advertising legislation, and we began to probe how the French wine industry may differ from that of South Africa. We interviewed professionals at various events such as Le Grand Tasting, which is the biggest wine fair in Paris, and Wine Factory – a mini-conference bringing together winemakers, journalists, educators, bloggers and wine marketing specialists to discuss wine knowledge and responsible consumption. We additionally travelled to Dom Pérignon in the Champagne region to gain a better understanding of the origins and success of champagne as a best practice example.

After returning to South Africa, and as the project progressed, we narrowed our focus and wrote the final script for the documentary. We thus decided to divide it into four short episodes, each exploring different contemporary marketing and media-related issues associated with wine. Upon resuming our work at the University of Cape Town, we had greater access to the Film and Media Department's production resources, and were able to continue conducting interviews with a range of industry professionals and other relevant critics of the South African wine industry. We were additionally granted permission to film at events such as the Constantia Food and Wine Festival and the Gugulethu Wine Festival, which allowed us to observe and interact directly with wine consumers.

Choosing a mode

While fiction films are usually subcategorised according to long-recognized genres such as horror and melodrama, documentary is frequently referred to as a genre in itself. It would appear that this broad genre-oriented approach is helpful when grouping fiction films, but when discussing the varying types of documentary it is arguably too broad and thus it is more useful to analyse modes, as they form the conceptual backbone of most documentary film production (Nichols, 2010:158). Documentary theoreticians define six modes of representation in documentary film, which are the dominant organizational patterns around which most texts are structured: poetic, observational, expository, participatory, reflexive and performative (Nichols, 2010:31). As Nichols suggests:

These six modes establish a loose framework of affiliation within which individuals may work. They set up conventions that a given film may adopt, and they provide specific expectations viewers anticipate having fulfilled. Each mode possesses examples that we can identify as prototypes or models: these prototypes seem to give exemplary expression to the most distinctive qualities of that mode (2010:158).

Early on in creating *Generation Wine*, it was fairly straightforward to select a mode according to the subject matter we wished to cover. As Gosia and I intended to create something akin to a visual research essay, the expository mode appeared to be the best way to communicate our argument. According to Nichols (2010:167), “the expository mode addresses the viewer directly, with titles or voices that propose a perspective or advance an argument.” He additionally suggests that as the mode most associated with documentary in general, “expository documentary is an ideal mode for conveying information or mobilizing support within a framework that pre-exists the film” (2010:169).

For the purpose of our research, we did not deem it necessary to employ the more experimental poetic, observational and reflexive modes. We wished to investigate a range of different issues and hoped to communicate them to the target audience in an uncomplicated manner within well-established documentary conventions. Additionally, we did not identify any one or number of characters that would have effectively enabled a participative mode of documentary. However, towards the end of the filmmaking process we realized that we could bring warmth to the fact-laden and ostensibly objective expository style by incorporating the performative mode into the film. Nichols (2010:32) states that the performative mode “emphasizes the subjective or expressive aspect of the filmmaker’s own involvement with a subject” and “underscores the complexity of our knowledge of the world by emphasizing its subjective and affective dimensions” (2010:202). We also made the decision to incorporate our own journey with the topic into the film so as to soften the expository ‘voice-of-God’ commentary, and to weave together the different parts of the film into a cohesive narrative.

Sampling

When selecting interviewees for *Generation Wine*, a combination of nonprobability convenience and snowball sampling methods were employed. We initially used convenience sampling by approaching individuals who appeared knowledgeable about marketing-related aspects of the South African and French wine industries. As we attended more industry events, we used a snowball sampling method by gradually accumulating a larger interviewee base through networking and referrals. Additionally, our production supervisor at the University of Cape Town, Dr Liani Maasdorp, referred us to the public health specialists (Professor Charles Parry and Dr Joanne Corrigan) who could counteract the advertising argument in *Generation Wine* and assist in providing a more balanced debate overall. As our research was almost entirely qualitative in nature, probability sampling methods would not have been particularly useful and would not have translated well to the documentary format.

FINDINGS AND CONTENT DISCUSSION

As this was not a formal, measurable study, there are no conclusive ‘results’ addressing a particular research question, and for this reason the findings section of this paper will take the form of a discussion and overview of the theoretical framework behind the different issues explored in *Generation Wine*.

Generation Wine originated as an inquiry into some of the differences between the French and South African wine industries, with the goal of providing academics and marketers with useful information to apply in the field: therefore, throughout the film, the comparison of the two industries is a recurring focus. However, despite broadly defined beginnings, a few major areas of interest emerged as the project progressed, which were ultimately grouped into distinct sections in the documentary: branding, legislative issues related to alcohol marketing, and emerging consumer markets. As our understanding of these issues grew, Gosia and I concentrated on gaining access to highly knowledgeable individuals who could speak reputably about each topic. This section of the paper will provide a short overview of the subjects addressed in *Generation Wine*, and will concurrently examine some of the ways in which the film communicates this information via the documentary format.

Location, location, location: territory and brands

The French are notorious for passionately defending the name and honour of the nation’s infamous sparkling wine, which some even view as an embodiment of the French national spirit: the golden, delicately bubbly wine we have come to know worldwide as champagne is virtually synonymous with France. The opening statement of Kolleen M. Guy’s book *When champagne became French: wine and the making of a national identity* succinctly introduces the complex layers of meaning that contribute to this phenomenon:

Champagne. The word has found its way into languages far removed from French. People who have never seen, let alone tasted, French sparkling wine use the word as an image. Writers, painters and musicians, from eighteenth-century *philosophes* to twentieth-century jazz singers, contribute to the ongoing invention of the image by using the wine to denote social status and, more significantly, the glories of France (2003:1).

While throughout the rest of the globe many may understand champagne to simply be a general category of wine, the French are adamant at asserting that true champagne must, unquestionably, come from the

Champagne region. By no means does this come down to mere cultural imperialism: in France, there is a genuinely upheld belief that the quality and taste of a wine are directly linked to *terroir* – that is, the soil or region in which the wine is grown (Gade, 2004:848).

In light of champagne's success, *Generation Wine* attempts to address the issue of location (or regional) branding, which is a type of branding that occurs when a number of independent organisations share a brand that represents the region in which they operate. In this way, the competing organisations are offered a collective, overarching brand identity that is presumably more enduring than the brands of the individual producers (Charters & Spielmann, 2013:1). As Guy (2003:1) notes, champagne is possibly the most successful example of location or regional branding in any product category, to the extent that the product name is interchangeable with the name of the region from which it originates. The French wine industry has profited from this cooperative strategy to a great extent, culminating in a strong legislative framework protecting the brand names of its regional wines.

The *appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC), which can be translated as “controlled designation of origin”, is the legal system in France that governs and protects region-specific products (particularly wine), and acts as a powerful counterforce to the homogenizing trends in the in the globalisation of world food systems. The AOC, which can be seen as the legal manifestation of *terroir*, dates back to 1935 and is the oldest of its kind. It additionally continues to be the most sophisticated and carefully regulated labelling system in the global wine industry and has been pivotal in certifying the authenticity of region-specific products and eradicating counterfeits. Whilst AOC legislation is enforced strictly in France, many other countries also respect its designations (Gade, 2004:848). For example, champagne (the product) can only be legally labelled as such if the wine is grown and produced within the precise geographical boundaries of the Champagne region, according to a strictly scrutinized method. Protecting the name of the product and reserving its exclusivity is an ongoing issue that has, at times, taken on national urgency (Guy, 2003:7).

When conducting preliminary research for *Generation Wine*, it became immediately apparent that this region-based strategy regulated by the AOC is one of the French wine industry's most effective tools for maintaining a high global demand for its region-specific wines. To gain a greater understanding of how this works in practice, Gosia and I travelled to the birthplace of champagne in Épernay where, according to popular myth, the Benedictine monk Dom Pérignon first discovered the champagne method. The experience of interviewing and conversing with representatives of the Moët et Chandon champagne house (which produces the renowned Dom Pérignon vintage) granted us a more nuanced understanding of the

deep-rooted historical and cultural elements that aid in perpetuating French wine regions' enduring brands.

This exploration of what appears to be France's fundamental marketing strategy led us to investigate whether or not the same kind of approach has been or could be used in South Africa. Interviews with representatives of some of the most successful wineries in South Africa revealed that, though location branding has been attempted by some South African wine regions in an effort to emulate France's success, it has generally not worked. The reasons behind this stem from a wide range of legislative, historical, sociological, geographical and economic issues that are covered in condensed form in *Generation Wine*. However, in the process of examining South Africa's general lack of success in developing strong brands for wine regions, we discovered that the converse legal environment allows for a different approach to branding, which has the potential to be successful in its own right.

Message on a bottle

As Lina Kanapinskaite, one of the wine marketing experts we interviewed in France suggests, New World wine brands are not location driven, but as they are not governed by a strict labelling and regulatory system like the AOC in France, there is far more room for creativity and experimentation in marketing and promotion (2012). One of the greatest areas for innovation is packaging: New World wine producers, unrestricted by history and *terroir*, dare to integrate interesting concepts and contemporary influences into branding and bottle design. This insight translated particularly well to the documentary format in *Generation Wine*, as branding is a largely visual domain, and a substantial section of *Part 2* discusses how the effective use of colour can be a strong differentiating factor in labelling. Additionally, the documentary illustrates the difference between French and South African wine labels by displaying physical examples of each in different sales contexts, which adds credibility to the argument put forward by the interviewees. While South African wine producers may not be able to promote a centuries-old and globally iconic brand such as champagne, it seems that the few wine producers who have shifted their focus from *terroir* to effective branding are making inroads in the highly fragmented domestic market.

Law and order: alcohol legislation and the media debate

When identifying marketing issues currently faced by the South African wine industry, the changing legislative environment emerged as possibly the most critical point of discussion. In recent months, the

South African media has been ablaze with controversy concerning the introduction of new alcohol legislation, some of which has already been implemented on a provincial level (Phakati, 2013:1). In the Western Cape, liquor outlet trading hours have been reduced, and there has been extensive public debate regarding the government's intentions to legislatively tackle social and health problems related to alcohol consumption. Some of the measures contemplated by the South African government include restricting access to alcohol in time, location and content, consolidating national liquor legislation, reviewing liquor licence fees, strictly monitoring compliance with licence conditions, investigating the possibility of raising the age of consumption of alcohol from 18 to 21 years, strengthening the capacity of policing and regulatory bodies, and increasing measures to deal with public drinking and drunk driving (Payne, 2012:1). Moreover, the controversy at the centre of the media debate arose from the leaking of a draft bill in April 2013, which, if passed, could result in a total ban on alcohol advertising and sponsorship in the popular media.

As recently as the 12th of September 2013, Cabinet suggested that the draft Control of Marketing of Alcoholic Beverages Bill should be gazetted for public comment. The Bill was drafted according to World Health Organisation (WHO) alcohol policy standards for developing nations and, according to Social Development Minister Bathabile Dlamini, it is the state's responsibility to respond to the extensive body of research indicating that alcohol advertising influences behaviour negatively, especially in young people (SAPA, 2013:1).

This proposed Bill has been met with a considerable outcry from the largely self-regulated South African alcohol industry, which spends approximately R2 billion annually on alcohol marketing, with sports sponsorship accounting for approximately 30% of that figure (Parry, Harker Burnhams & London, 2012:602). A recent press release from the Industry Association for Responsible Alcohol Use (ARA) states: "South Africans cannot afford to ignore latest empirical research that shows that the ban of alcohol advertising will undermine almost 12 000 permanent jobs" (2013:1). The press release thereafter expounds on other negative scenarios that the ARA believes could arise from a total ban, including a significant loss of sponsorship for sports, arts and culture, and even greater losses in broadcast, print and outdoor (billboards) media revenue.

Conversely, the public health agenda is backed by a comprehensive body of international research, which indicates that making alcohol more expensive, reducing its availability and placing a ban on alcohol advertising are the three most useful and cost-effective ways to reduce the harm caused by alcohol (Parry, Harker Burnhams & London, 2012:602). Public health often competes with other social values such as

free trade, open markets and individual freedom (Babor *et al.*, 2003:9). In the case of the South African alcohol industry, the stakes are high for organisations on either side of the debate. While as mentioned above, the alcohol industry stands to lose a great deal of revenue, alcohol is estimated to have cost provincial health departments and the Department of Health R6.1 billion and R0.5 billion respectively in 2009 (Parry, Harker Burnhams & London, 2012:602). South Africa's Social Development Minister places loss figures much higher, and recently said in a statement "the tangible costs to the country of alcohol-related harm across government departments have been estimated at around R38 billion, while research indicates that the intangible costs could be as high as R240 billion" (SAPA, 2013:1).

In addition to the staggering financial costs stemming from alcohol consumption and abuse, approximately 130 people die daily in South Africa from alcohol-related causes – 46% from injuries, 35% from Tuberculosis (TB) and HIV/AIDS, and 15% from non-communicable diseases such as cancer and liver and cardiovascular diseases (Parry, Harker Burnhams & London, 2012:602). According to *Alcohol: No Ordinary Commodity* (2003:180), one of the most authoritative texts on the subject of alcohol policy, industry self-regulation has been shown to be fragile and largely ineffective and "the greater the number of players and activities involved, the less likely it is that voluntary codes will be sufficient to restrain unacceptable practices." Clearly, the public health research shows that South Africa has an immense alcohol problem, requiring drastic action beyond the measures proposed by self-regulatory bodies such as the ARA.

The South African wine industry is positioned somewhat precariously amidst these debates. While spirits and beer brands are the biggest offenders when it comes to advertising and sports sponsorship, South African wineries do not generally advertise via traditional media channels such as television and print, nor do they sponsor large-scale events (Priilaid, 2013). Whether this is due to substantially smaller advertising budgets or the grounds that wine is usually aimed at a slightly older and more sophisticated target market (which perhaps does not respond as readily to mainstream media messages), some might view it as unfair to impose the same kind of strict marketing regulations on an industry that doesn't appear to aggravate the problem. However, despite its fairly clean track record in marketing, the South African wine industry carries the legacy of the 'dop' system, and, despite its official prohibition, this arrangement by which farm workers were given alcohol as part remuneration for labour appears to persist in some wineries (London 1999:1407). The 'dop' system is arguably the root of much of the alcoholism prevalent in the Western Cape, and has created a social context in which wine producers ought to be especially responsible and sensitive when it comes to marketing and promoting an alcoholic product.

The alcohol and media debate was a tricky one to approach impartially in *Generation Wine*, as it was a difficult task to find a balance between the marketing and public health arguments related to wine. Interviewees' divergent opinions about alcohol advertising tended to be passionately upheld on both ends of the spectrum, and it soon became clear that the stakes are incredibly high for both the alcohol marketing and public health sectors. Despite being a documentary geared towards marketers and wine industry professionals, *Generation Wine* attempts to adhere to the documentary ideal of representing some notion of 'truth', by presenting the argument in as balanced and as useful a way as possible. In addition to fairly facilitating the debate, it was our goal as filmmakers to tease out potential solutions and scenarios in the event a total advertising ban arises, with the overarching aim of finding a happy medium between promoting public health and providing advice for responsibly growing the South African wine market. This is by no means a straightforward or simple issue, and the documentary format worked well to communicate something of the complexity of the health, economic and social aspects tied up in the debate.

While documentary can be used persuasively, it is not didactic – and ultimately, the viewer is encouraged to form his or her own opinion on the matter. We were careful to not sensationalise the issue, but rather, our primary goal for this section was to stimulate people to think and engage with the debate. This was done effectively by animating the argument through the documentary's characters (particularly Kurt Moore and Dr Joanne Corrigan, respectively representing the alcohol industry and the public health sector). Additionally, the documentary format allowed for the expression of analogies that would not have been appropriate to share in a formal academic study, and the on-screen fervour of the interviewees in their voices, facial expressions and gestures gave a degree of weight to the information being communicated.

The strict alcohol advertising laws which have been in place in France since 1991 provided a useful departure point for conceptualizing potential scenarios, as did a reflection upon the results following the tobacco advertising ban in South Africa in 1999. Most interestingly, the same argument threatening widespread job losses in the media sector was made in the lead-up to the ban on tobacco advertising, yet these losses did not materialise, and the advertising space vacated by the tobacco brands was largely taken up by mobile phone companies (Parry, Harker Burnhams & London, 2012:603). The advertising ban was successful from a public health perspective in that smoking rates decreased, and the tobacco companies came up with more innovative ways to differentiate their brands in the market, such as throwing exclusive concept parties (Simpson, 2013).

By weaving together these different debates and retrospective reflections in narrative form, *Generation Wine* provides a useful overview of the larger issue at hand, and endeavours to provide viewers (many of whom may already have deep-rooted ideas about the matter) with a challenge to rethink South Africa's alcohol-related problems, and conceptualize solutions.

Thinking out of the box, and into the bottle

While it appears that, given the magnitude of health and social problems related to alcohol in South Africa, drastic measures do need to be taken to address these issues. Additionally, it seems that a total ban on alcohol advertising is likely to come to fruition in the near future, and the alcohol industry needs to prepare for this highly likely possibility.

Despite the negative issues arising from alcohol consumption, one opinion expressed in *Generation Wine* is that wine, unlike tobacco, is not intrinsically a 'bad' product if consumed in moderation. In addition to this factor, wineries can find hope in the example set by France, which is discussed in *Generation Wine*. French wine culture continues to flourish in spite of the strictest alcohol advertising laws in the world (Babor *et al.*, 2003:181), and regardless of a completely different set of circumstances in South Africa, it would appear that South African wineries, which as it stands are not particularly dependent on advertising in the popular media, have the potential to survive and grow if they are willing to innovate – and do this in a responsible, legally sound manner. The final section of *Generation Wine* explores potential emerging markets of responsible drinkers.

Emerging markets

Due to the unfavourable economic conditions of the past decade, it appears that the export market is crippling the South African wine industry – and this dilemma has highlighted the urgent need to grow the domestic market. Possibly the biggest obstacle facing the industry is the lack of a wine culture in South Africa. Until wine becomes a bigger part of South African lifestyles, it seems the industry will always have to look outside the country to sell its wine (Green, 2006:6). According to a recent study by Ndanga, Louw and van Rooyen entitled *Increasing Domestic Consumption of South African Wines: Exploring the Market Potential of the "Black Diamonds"* (2010:293), the key factors influencing the behaviour of South African consumers are age, race, gender, income, and wine drinking history. South Africa has undergone a

massive societal and economic transformation over the past two decades, and demographic trends provide a useful base to work from when examining new opportunities in the domestic market.

Generation Wine explores a combination of these factors, most specifically age, race, income and wine drinking history. The documentary identifies and draws attention to two groups of consumers, which collectively can be classified as ‘entry level’ drinkers: those who have limited prior exposure to wine, but already exhibit a propensity and desire to learn about it. In *Generation Wine*, these two consumer groups are identified as ‘Generation Y’ and the ‘Black Middle Class’. It is important to note that the two groups overlap to a large extent, as the majority of South African Generation Y consumers are simultaneously part of the Black Middle Class. For the purpose of this paper, they will first be discussed as two separate groups.

Generation Y, or Generation Wine?

A number of the experts interviewed for *Generation Wine* in both in France and South Africa expressed the opinion that Generation Y – a group of young adult consumers born roughly between the early 1980s and mid 1990s – poses a unique and as of yet untapped opportunity for wine sales. According to Fountain and Charters (2010:47), limited research has been conducted into the wine involvement of Generation Y, but broader studies indicate that given this generation has grown up with ever-changing technologies, their openness to change may provide an important opportunity for wine marketers, if wineries are able to identify products and experiences which appeal to these young adults.

Indeed, as Lina Kanapinskaite (2012) suggests in her interview conducted for *Generation Wine*, Generation Y consumers tend to be curious, intuitive and ready to try new things. They’re not as sceptical as previous generations and, if approached with the right product and proposition, could become a substantial wine-drinking group. Generation Y has been largely overlooked by wine producers and instead, anecdotal evidence reveals that Baby Boomers, particularly males, have usually been viewed by producers as the typical and most desirable wine consumers. This is due to a number of factors, including their role in driving wine consumption growth in the Anglophone world, their perceived level of wine knowledge, and their greater disposable income (Fountain & Charters, 2010:47).

To acquire a *vis-à-vis* understanding of the potential of Generation Y as a wine drinking market, Gosia and I decided to observe some UCT Wine Society meetings, which take place every Friday night during term time, and which provide students with an educational tasting experience into the world of wine.

Having been a member of the society a number of years ago, I was curious to see if there was any sign of development towards a wine culture in this age group. What we found, and what is shown in *Generation Wine*, is a wine appreciation community that has grown exponentially over the past few years, and a racially diverse group of consumers who are genuinely interested in learning more about the complexities of wine. As Tom Magara, former president of the UCT Wine Society suggests:

People are actually interested in knowing more about what they're taking ... as much as at the end of the day, it is alcohol and most of them are students just out to have a good time, they actually would be fascinated to know what's going into what they're drinking and why it is it tastes this way (2013).

“Vox pops” conducted at the UCT Wine Society and other events attended by Generation Y wine drinkers corroborated Lina and Tom’s assertions about the generation’s curiosity, adaptability, sweet palates and propensity to learn. Once again, the documentary format was useful in physically *showing* what we had only suspected before. What we wished to communicate in *Generation Wine* is that there does indeed seem to be potential to grow this market in a responsible manner, and what it may take is removing the pretence and artifice from wine culture and, once again, communicating effectively through good branding.

As a personal observation, I noted that there has been a significant demographic shift in terms of race in the UCT Wine Society over the past five or six years. When I first attended the student-run meetings a number of years ago, there were mostly white students in attendance. This has changed completely, and the demographics of the society are now far more representative of the racially diverse university community.

Black Diamonds

According to Ndanga, Louw & van Rooyen (2010:293), “The black middle class, increasingly referred to as the ‘Black Diamonds’, are the most powerful marketing trend during the last 10 years, as they have emerged as the strongest buying influence in the economy, and making inroads in understanding this market presents a good opportunity.”

The latest presentation from the UCT Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing (Simpson, 2013) substantiates much of the growing body of research about the Black Middle Class, and further highlights

the staggering growth in this market segment. According to the research, which was conducted through an analysis of AMPS and other databases, data from ten focus groups, video interviews, workshops with experts and Ramsay Media Research (6000+ respondents), the Black Middle Class has now outstripped the stagnating white market in numbers, and will continue to be the country's most important consumer segment in years to come. Moreover, significant new data from the study reveals that in addition to the large consumer group already established as middle class, there are 1.9 million 'aspirants' who don't yet qualify, but who have a strong desire to achieve a middle class lifestyle – and these are the consumers who will fuel future growth in this market.

While it appears that distinct sub-segments have emerged within the Black Middle Class, strong evidence from the study would suggest that a sense of aspiration is pervasive across the entire consumer group. Lifestyle has become a priority in the lives of these consumers, and activities such as dining out at restaurants, taking vacations, socialising and exercising are becoming increasingly important. Investment in appearance is considered essential, and for this reason luxury, iconic and status brands are making inroads in this segment. Ndanga, Louw and van Rooyen's study (2010:310) indicates how this newfound opportunity for lifestyle products is especially relevant to the wine industry. According to their findings, "black consumers are willing and keen to learn more about wines, as they view them as an aspirational lifestyle beverage, as is illustrated by their willingness to attend wine courses."

From oppression to aspiration

In *Generation Wine*, Public Health Specialist Dr Joanne Corrigan suggests that to combat alcohol abuse in South Africa, the culture around drinking needs to be changed – particularly the prevalent culture of excessive binge drinking (2013). As much of the binge drinking culture related to wine stems from the legacy of Apartheid, whereby alcohol was used unethically and oppressively (for example – the 'dop' system which was explained earlier on in this paper), there are widespread residual associations linking wine to alcoholism and an oppressive regime (London, 1999:1412). According to Professor Charles Parry, director of the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Research Unit at the South African Medical Research Council, alcohol was used under Apartheid to help support the Bantu Administration. The administration owned numerous beer halls, and the money received from them was used to manage and control the 'black' areas (Parry, 2013). Dr Corrigan additionally points out that alcohol abuse in South Africa is strongly correlated with a stressed, economically impoverished population – a socioeconomic situation that also finds its origins in Apartheid.

Following on from this, it is unsurprising that the debate regarding how alcohol products are marketed to South Africans is so contentious: it comes after decades of a regime whereby alcohol was calculatedly used to exploit vulnerable groups. In light of these complex historical and societal legacies, one of our goals in *Generation Wine* was to explore whether or not the growing Black Middle Class, who no longer have the same economic pressures as consumers from lower LSM groups, retain the Apartheid-derived behaviours towards alcohol and associations with wine – and if not, whether they represent a new potential market of lifestyle-oriented and ostensibly more responsible drinkers.

The growth in recent years of wine festivals in areas such as Soweto in Johannesburg and Gugulethu in Cape Town would indicate that cultivating a wine culture in this market is a very real possibility. When exploring this trend in *Generation Wine*, the third annual Tops at Spar Gugulethu Wine Festival provided an excellent platform for observing this phenomenon and gaining relevant insights. Vivian Quann, who was one of the festival organisers, pointed out how people were not at the festival to get intoxicated, but rather to learn about wine (2013). This observation was certainly supported by how the educational wine and food pairing classes were packed to maximum capacity throughout the evening. In *Generation Wine*, we were able to visually illustrate this segment's growing desire for wine knowledge with footage of the consumers intently tasting wine in the classes and by showcasing some of the many nuanced opinions shared by festival attendees.

Using the documentary format to illustrate this was particularly effective in that it functioned like a well-constructed case study, validated by expert marketing advice about the consumer group's preference for iconic lifestyle brands. The documentary format additionally assisted in visually conveying something of the unique and vibrant nature of the Gugulethu Wine Festival, and thereby providing an indication of how wine producers need to adapt to target the Black Middle Class, which differs significantly from the traditionally white wine-drinking market.

As noted by Foxcroft (2009:33), “the Black Diamond identity is still ‘under construction’ in that the group is in its infancy and growing ... these issues all point to the malleable nature of the group whose interests can be directed towards wine.” The video content in *Generation Wine* would certainly support this assertion, but the documentary reminds producers that with great power comes even greater responsibility. In light of South Africa's past, any marketing of alcoholic products requires sensitivity and a commitment to protecting vulnerable groups such as the youth and the economically disadvantaged.

Findings and discussion: in summary

By framing various contemporary issues within the narrative of ‘our own wine journey’, the documentary format allowed us to create a broad overview of the South African wine marketing landscape, contextualised against the backdrop of France as ‘best practice’. This overview will ostensibly be helpful beyond the academic sphere, and will hopefully assist industry professionals in navigating the changing marketing environment.

From the content explored in *Generation Wine*, it would follow that the market segment exhibiting the greatest potential for expanding the wine market would be Generation Y consumers who are simultaneously part of the Black Middle Class. According to the longitudinal Unilever *Black Diamonds* study (Simpson, 2005-2013), this group can be classified as the Mzansi Youth, and the study’s key insight about these particular consumers is that they have great expectations for the future, and make a statement through brands. If wineries can produce wine brands that appeal to these brand-oriented consumers, it would appear that there is considerable opportunity for growth. However, due to the relatively young age and changing economic backgrounds of these individuals, *Generation Wine* reminds producers that responsible marketing is imperative when approaching this market.

LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES OF PROJECT

The major limitations and challenges in creating *Generation Wine* arose predominantly from a lack of financial and production resources. Due to a limited budget, the camera crew was usually restricted to two individuals, which meant that the focus during the project was often shifted from the theoretical to the technical. Had there been a budget for a larger camera crew, Gosia and I, as the directors, would have been able to share the production work with proficient film technicians, and devote more time and attention to research methodology and marketing research. The result of this funding limitation is that *Generation Wine* does not have as much theoretical clout as well-funded studies such as the Unilever *Black Diamonds* study (Simpson, 2006-2013), which presented research findings backed by professional marketing research companies, thousands of respondents and extensive databases.

Additionally, limited financial resources meant that we were unable to record footage in townships and areas deemed dangerous. According to the Centre for Film and Media Studies’ insurance policy, students are not permitted to take the university’s film equipment into areas considered dangerous without a security guard. Unfortunately, our budget did not allow for this, so we were unable to film in some of the

areas that would have made the sections of the documentary discussing the South African market more visually representative in terms of demographics. However, we did manage to work around this to a large extent by sourcing video footage from a public health television series called Booza TV, which Dr Joanne Corrigan kindly authorised us to use when discussing alcohol-related issues in townships.

A second major challenge, which was largely technical in nature, surfaced as we attempted to achieve consistent production value while recording video footage in two different countries. Unfortunately, film equipment tends to be bulky, heavy and accordingly difficult to transport, hence we were unable to take more than a digital SLR camera and a sound recording device to France. Conversely, when shooting in South Africa, we had access to a wide range of the University of Cape Town's production equipment. This variation in access to equipment caused the production process in France to be far more difficult than in South Africa, and we experienced a sharp learning curve to work under such limitations. Despite the difficulty of shooting in France as opposed to South Africa, this limitation did not result in an observable difference in video quality. This outcome arguably demonstrates that technology has indeed reached a point where filmmakers and researchers can create professional-looking productions, regardless of sizeable equipment constraints.

A slightly less critical challenge concerned the editing process: we would have preferred to begin editing footage while still abroad, but did not have access to editing facilities in France. Had we been able to begin the editing process while still in France, we would have been able to piece together the narrative structure of the film much sooner, which presumably would have provided us with a clearer directorial vision at a much earlier stage.

Achieving racial diversity across the interviewees in the project was an additional challenge. The wine industry is still largely white-owned, and the interviewees' demographics in *Generation Wine* reflect this. Throughout the production process we were constantly aware that we did not wish to marginalise any racial groups in the documentary. However, the demographics of the industry made it difficult to achieve a more balanced racial representation.

DOCUMENTARY ETHICS

A final challenge worthy of mention had to do with documentary ethics. As a filmmaker, one has a great deal of power in shaping the views and opinions expressed in a film. As Winston suggests:

Documentary is not fiction, but neither is journalism exactly, for all that it was widely perceived as being so at the end of the millennium. Although its claim on ‘actuality’ requires that it behave ethically, its unjournalistic parallel desire to be allowed to be ‘creative’ permits a measure of artistic ‘amorality’ (2005:181).

This is by no means a straightforward issue to address, as more than morality is involved: ethical assumptions have aesthetic consequences, and aesthetic assumptions have ethical consequences (Pryluck, 2005:195). However, while documentary ethics may compete with aesthetic demands, ethics are foundational to all research (O’Leary, 2004:50). When creating *Generation Wine*, we wished to marry research and documentary traditions, and at times were astutely aware of the competing priorities and values inherent in each one. Ethics are particularly important when dealing with marginalized groups: according to O’Leary (2004:48), “Insensitivity often arises from the tendency for researchers to be self-centric ... researchers need to be cognizant of the need to allow for alternate realities based on the unique attributes of the researched.” Because *Generation Wine* draws attention to demographic information such as race and age, and at times examines the consumer habits of arguably marginalized or vulnerable groups, we saw it as our responsibility to be as sensitive and as objective as possible in how we chose to portray these individuals.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Generation Wine does not masquerade as a formal, methodically stringent academic study, but instead demonstrates how documentary film and the narrative format can now be used to effectively package and disseminate knowledge in an interactive medium. The visual narrative structure allows for industry information to be communicated in such a way that it engages individuals to grapple with the issues at hand, and uses the tropes of documentary to stimulate critical thinking.

Perhaps the key implication for Marketing and Media Studies researchers is that the written medium is not always the most sufficient or effective means in communicating research findings to a digitally literate audience. There are now relatively inexpensive tools available to students and academics to create impactful research documentaries and videos with increasingly high production value. Additionally, building digital practice into Media or Marketing research curricula could equip students with skills and research tools that are useful for application beyond academia, while simultaneously coercing students to engage more critically with their own research findings.

Current economic conditions would suggest that Media and Marketing students require a set of interdisciplinary skills to succeed in the workplace. Due to the prevalence of video in our digital and globalised culture, being able to communicate information professionally in this format, and within a limited budget, is a useful skill to have in various industries.

For future studies using documentary as a research tool, there is certainly room to improve upon research methodology and to perhaps use the documentary format to communicate information grounded in more conclusive research findings. Additionally, as video technologies improve and continue to become more accessible, there will presumably be greater scope for further experimentation, as well as improvement in the production value of research documentaries.

CONCLUSION

After a brief discussion of how both the documentary format and video method are evolving as tools in research contexts, this paper has used the *Generation Wine* production as a departure point in discussing theoretical issues related to both the production process of the film, as well its wine industry-related content.

Generation Wine provides a useful and insightful overview of some of the South African wine industry's most significant current issues, with the aim of providing academics, industry professionals and other interested parties with practical takeaway insights gleaned from interviews and observations in both France and South Africa. The documentary format specifically allowed two postgraduate researchers to situate an industry's contemporary issues within a cultural and historical context by using visual and audio cues to reinforce understanding. Because the information is packaged in a highly engaging narrative structure, *Generation Wine* will plausibly be well received by a wide range of audiences beyond research and academia. Hopefully, the documentary will stimulate debate around issues in the South African wine industry and assist in conceptualizing solutions to South Africa's alcohol-related problems.

As stated early on in this paper, the rich, visually appealing and seductive nature of video-based data can convey a strong sense of direct experience with the phenomena studied (Schuck & Kearney, 2006:447). *Generation Wine* arguably illustrates this, and further expands the possibilities for using video in research contexts. Research across disciplines is fundamentally rooted in the pursuit of knowledge and the discovery of greater 'truths' about the world. Since documentary filmmaking is intrinsically linked to

portraying at least some aspect of reality, the documentary format is increasingly ideal for conducting and transmitting research, provided the same ethical codes that apply to academic research are upheld.

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